



*Spatiality of power surrounding "the Nenets" involvement in local tourism industry development*

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# **Spatiality of Power surrounding “the Nenets’” involvement in local tourism industry development**

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## Abstract

The importance of power structure analysis in tourism studies is appreciated by academic scholars based on the fact that the tourism industry is a capitalist activity concerned with wealth production, accumulation and distribution. This is the power structure that serves to reproduce and condition different modes of tourism industry development and, as a consequence, diverse outcomes for the local economy in general and its players specifically. However, under the influence of Karl Marx, theorists using critical approaches to research power have tended to focus on issues around the equality of power relationships between actors or stakeholders. In doing so, it may be argued that what is missing are the diverse geographies of power and, in particular, the inherently spatial nature of power, including the involvement of social relations in both space and power (Lefebvre, 1976; 1991). In order to address this, the present study focuses on the exploration of the spatiality of power that surrounds tourism industry development. A conceptual framework, based on the application of Lefebvre's (1991) concepts supplemented by Gaventa's (2004) 'power cube', placed in the broader context of Marx' political economy and 'Historical Materialism', has been developed. The case study locality is in a country with a non-colonial past, being in transition from socialism to capitalism, with the tourism industry at an early stage of its development. Of core interest to the study is the spatiality of power which frames local tourism industry development, the relationships between the indigenous reindeer herders, "the Nenets", local non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and the government in Yamal in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO) of the Russian Federation. Based on the aim to access the respondents' subjective comprehension and evaluation of spatiality of power, the research is positioned in neo-empiricism and uses qualitative methods of data collection and analysis.

The major theoretical findings confirm Marx' theory of 'Historical Materialism'. In these terms, they support Marx' (1974), Lefebvre's (1991), Webster *et. al.*'s (2001) and O'Neil's (2007) beliefs that, formed under the historical conditions, political economy regime influences "The Production of Space" and the associated spatiality of power (Lefebvre, 1991). The findings also support the conception of social space theorised by Lefebvre (1991) in terms of the interwoven nature of mental and material constructions of space. In this, the findings do not support Karl Marx and Georg Hegel, as well as their followers amongst tourism scholars, prioritizing material constructions of space over mental (for example, regulationists, comparative and Marxist political economists) or vice versa (for example, advocates of cultural political economy and alternative/post-structural political economy). Additional findings made do not support the existence of 'false consciousness' amongst the representatives from "the Nenets", indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators; the relationships of dependency between "the Nenets", local non-indigenous tour operators and indigenous travel agencies based on the possession by "the Nenets" the 'means of production'; and the existence of power everywhere promoted by Foucault. For future studies on spatiality of power it would be worthwhile to include the 'expressions of power' ('power within', 'power to' and 'power with') offered by VeneKlasen & Miller (2002) to complement Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' and Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube'.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

## **1. Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a rationale for the present research study. The chapter starts from the appreciation of the main issue this PhD study concentrates on and on the research context (section 1.1). In this section, the need for the present research study within the current tourism academic knowledge is acknowledged. This is made by identifying the limitations and gaps of previous research studies on the issue highlighted that require investigation. Based on the gaps recognized the main aim and objectives of the present research study are established (section 1.2 and 1.3 respectively). The chapter finishes by the section in which the structure of the PhD thesis is outlined (section 1.4).

### **1.1. Research Context**

Tourism, as a capitalist economic activity, has been described as one of the fastest growing industries and a source of wealth creation, especially in disadvantaged regions and less advanced nations (Cole & Morgan, 2010). However, an unbalanced focus on its economic benefits has been questioned not least by growing concerns over the uneven nature of tourism's economic development (for example, Cole & Morgan, 2010; Harris *et al.*, 2012; Uysal *et al.*, 2012; Fowler *et al.*, 2013; Hall *et al.*, 2015; Mostafanezhad *et al.*, 2016). One key reason for this imbalanced development has been identified to involve the power structure that serves to reproduce and condition different modes of tourism industry development (Bianchi, 2002; Holden, 2005; Mosedale, 2011). As a consequence, it is argued, this produces diverse outcomes for the local economy in general and for its players specifically. In other words, the balance of power within economic structures has been recognized to influence the economic benefits that arise from tourism and to determine how tourism aids the development of a country or region (Holden, 2005).

Based on an analysis of the conceptions of power that currently exist in tourism studies, it may be argued here that, the theoretical approaches employed in relation to studying issues of power have been influenced by Karl Marx' and

Georg Hegel's ideas. This is observable in terms of framing the key focus of study and determining the ways in which the issue of power is analyzed. For example, regulationists, comparative and Marxist political economists follow the ideas of Marx and stress the significance of concentration on the material, or politico-economic space, that shape power relationships (Morrison, 2006). In contrast, advocates of cultural political economy and alternative/post-structural political economy (underpinning the notion of 'Critical Turn') in line with Hegel emphasise the importance of paying attention to the mental constructions of space, its workings, ideas, the role the ideas play in the formation of and sustainability of differential powers and the inequalities resulting in consequence.

Moreover, under the influence of Karl Marx, theorists using critical approaches to research power have tended to focus on issues around the equality of power relationships between actors or stakeholders. In doing so, it may be reasoned that they have neglected to acknowledge the diverse geographies of power and, in particular, overlooked the inherently spatial nature of power, and the involvement of social relations in both space and power (Lefebvre, 1976; 1991). In order to fulfil these gaps, the present study identifies a need to focus on the exploration of the spatiality of power that surrounds tourism industry development.

One of the great contributors to discussions on the spatiality of power has become Henry Lefebvre (1991). He, first of all, brought the notion of space to the fore. Secondly, he argued that space and power are '*social relations*', and, most importantly, he insisted on the importance of the fusion of mental and material constructions of space when exploring the social space production, of which spatiality of power is a key part of, thus, accommodating the ideas of both Marx and Hegel. In the present research Lefebvre's (1991) concepts will be supplemented by Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' to facilitate analysis of the spatiality of power.

Yet, the application of Lefebvre's (1991) theory 'The Production of Space' supplemented by Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' on their own is considered to be insufficient. These theories are absent of such important concept as, for example, the role of the history. Thus, to study the spatiality of power at a

particular locality will require a combination of history and political economy to explain phenomena, for example, actors' motivations for decision-making and actions (Reed, 1999; Lieven & Goossens, 2011) because context determines peoples' viewpoints, interests, motivations, shapes the power relations and conflicts that occur (Clancy, 1999). In these terms, these theories be placed in the broader context of Marx' political economy and 'Historical Materialism'. They will also be complemented by other concepts developed from other political economy approaches such as regulation theory and comparative political economy. Regulation theory will assist in appreciating the role of the state and of the local government within a wider political, economic, social and environmental context with an emphasis on the context-specific tendencies of historical capitalist development (Marxist political economy). The findings will be linked to the level of economic framework analysis ('the comparative political economy') to investigate and demonstrate the influence of economic framework that exists in a particular locality on tourism industry development in general and spatiality of power specifically.

The present study will also challenge the notion of 'dependency' between international (the multinational corporations) and local (local indigenous communities) levels, by considering the relationships at the local level, namely between local tour operators and indigenous community.

The type of country in which to situate the study was chosen based on the observations of Webster *et al.* (2011). They noted that there has been a lack of focus in tourism studies on countries that have a federal type of governance, with a non-colonial past, being in transition from one political economy regime to another, and with the tourism industry at an early stage of its development. Yamal in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO) of the Russian Federation was identified as a suitable destination area to be studied.

## **1.2. Research aim**

The main aim of the present research is to explore spatiality of power and its influence on inbound tourism industry development. This is explored by examining the relationships between "the Nenets", local indigenous travel agencies, non-indigenous tour operators and local government in Yamal in the

Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO) of the Russian Federation, and the consequent contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare.

### **1.3. Research Objectives**

In order to reach the main aim, the study has six key research objectives:

1. To present a literature review on how the issue of power and power relationships was approached by tourism scholars. This will contribute to setting the context for the research and to identify gaps in academic knowledge;
2. To create a conceptual framework to guide the research and to justify the case study chosen, having drawn upon the literature review and identified potential research gaps;
3. Based on the conceptual framework developed, to investigate the ‘representations of space’ of the stakeholder group and ‘spatial practice’, of which spatiality of power is a key part;
4. To explore the role and influence of the historical context on the contemporary politico-economic situation in the YNAO, on the ‘representations of space’ of the stakeholder group and their ‘spatial practice’;
5. To examine the ‘representational space’ of the representatives from “the Nenets”, local indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators and their ‘spatial practice’, of which spatiality of power is a key part;
6. To identify the outcome of the interrelations between the ‘representations of space’, ‘representational space’ and “spatial practice” of the representatives from the stakeholder group for inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO, in Yamal specifically; for contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare.

### **1.4. Thesis structure**

The thesis has been structured into eight chapters. Chapter 2 critically presents the main debates between tourism scholars on power and power relationships. The chapter starts from an appreciation of the influence of one of the most fundamental philosophers who has determined the way that tourism studies on power and power relationships have been developed, Karl Marx with his political economy philosophy and theory of 'Historical Materialism'. This is followed by the recognition of the main philosophical disagreement between Karl Marx and Georg Hegel and its impact on the split between theorists in tourism studies on the ways in which issues of power should be approached. Then a detailed review of each of the approaches and the central arguments are presented, research gaps are identified and intended contributions of the present study are acknowledged. The approaches discussed are: 'Critical Turn' approaches; Marxist political economy; 'Dependency theory'; Regulation theory; Comparative political economy; and Community-based approach. The chapter finishes with a summary of the researcher's key thinking based on the literature review.

Chapter 3 builds on the concepts developed and presents the researcher's conceptual thinking in line with key theoretical ideas that specifically relate to space and power, with a view to articulating how the researcher conceptualises these two concepts/ideas in the context of this research study.

The chapter starts from an appreciation of and justification for the theoretical approaches that have influenced the development of a conceptual framework by the researcher. It is intended that the chapter will assist in providing a general sense of reference to the researcher's approaching of the study of spatiality of power. Each of the theoretical approaches that have influenced the researcher's conceptual thinking are discussed separately, in turn. This discussion begins with Lefebvre's (1991) theory 'The Production of Space' and is followed by a consideration of Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube', used to supplement Lefebvre's (1991) theory 'The Production of Space'. The chapter then goes on to present the author's conceptual framework, developed as a result of the literature review and the theoretical approaches presented within this conceptual thinking chapter, and research questions. This is followed by the proposal of a conceptual framework to be applied to the study context of

investigating spatiality of power in relation to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal in the YNAO of the Russian Federation. A summary of the key arguments and issues presented in this chapter and the implications for the research methodology is provided at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 4, in order to answer the research questions developed in Chapter 3, the conceptual framework developed is applied to a locality specially chosen to fulfil the main aim and objectives of the present research.

The research objectives presented in Chapter 2 introduced the researcher's identification of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO) in the Russian Federation as providing a suitable case context for the study of spatiality of power in tourism industry development. To recap, it was recognized that the YNAO would offer analysis of a context with a federal type of governance, with a non-colonial past, being in transition from one political economic regime to another, and with the tourism industry at an early stage of its development. Type of country is in line with research gaps identified by Webster *et al.* (2011).

This chapter provides a fuller justification of the case study area chosen. Detailed characteristics of the Yamal in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug of the Russian Federation are presented including, acknowledgement of the historical path of the country's development and the role of that development in the current political, socio-economic situation in the Russian Federation in general and in Yamal in particular. A specific focus is given to the spatiality of power surrounding relationships between the state government and society, examining the position of “the Nenets” (the indigenous community of the YNAO) predominantly. “The Nenets” are of a prime interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, with a population of around 40 000, this is one of the largest of the indigenous groups in Northern Siberia. Secondly, their traditional economic activity, reindeer herding, is the third Yamal’s industry after oil and gas. Thirdly, oil and gas industry development in the Yamal Peninsula threatens “the Nenets” reindeer herds, as more and more pasture territories are being allocated for the gas and oil industry purposes (Cherry, 2009). The latter, in turn, endangers the preservation of “the Nenets” traditional way of life, traditions and customs. In other words, space of Yamal has become not only the place where political struggles happen, but the very object of that struggle.

In this context, the spatiality of power will be explored through investigation of: the state government's 'representations of space'; space utilisation for industries' development (looking at oil and gas, reindeer herding and tourism specifically); 'spatial practice' used to sustain the government's control and domination; "the Nenets"' 'representational space' (or directly lived space) and "the Nenets"' 'representations of space' expressed through their 'spatial practice' in response to the state's 'spatial practice'. In this, the researcher follows Lefebvre (1991) who stressed the importance of the fusion of mental and material constructions of space when exploring the production of social space, of which the spatiality of power is a key part of. The historical period of analysis under consideration starts from the 1917 Russian Revolution up until '*Perestroika*' (restructuring of the Soviet political and economic system) in 1991. This historical excursus is made under the influence of Karl Marx's political economy and 'Historical Materialism', according to which historical conditions are directly linked to the production of space. The history of space is inscribed in its present. Thus, to study the spatiality of power at a particular locality requires a combination of history and political economy to explain phenomena, for example, actors' motivations for decision-making and actions (Reed, 1999; Lieven & Goossens, 2011) because context determines peoples' viewpoints, interests, motivations, shapes the power relations and conflicts that occur (Clancy, 1999). Subsequently, the chapter offers an appreciation of the current political and socio-economic situation and spatiality of power surrounding the relationships between the state, the local government, the private tourism industry sector and "the Nenets" indigenous 'community'. This is offered through an analysis of the 'representations of space' of the state and local government, their 'spatial practice' and space usage for oil and gas, reindeer herding and inbound tourism industries' development. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the implications of the case context for the design and execution of the research (as discussed in Chapter 5) and the operationalisation of the research objectives (presented in Chapter 2).

Chapter 5, in order to answer the research questions developed in Chapter 3 and to achieve the main aim and objectives of this PhD study, the conceptual framework developed and discussed in Chapter 3 assists in giving a general sense of reference in approaching empirical instances and in selecting the

appropriate methods of data collection and analysis (see Chapter 5 and 6 respectively).

In this chapter it is stated that the main aim of the study impacted the choice of the research philosophy which, in turn, influenced the design of the research strategy which consequently affected the stage of data collection and analysis and, in the present research study, the stage of ensuring epistemological objectivity. The chapter starts from a discussion of the stages of the research process. Then each stage of the research process is presented in detail: what the research question is; how the research question impacts the choice of the research philosophy; how the research philosophy adopted to this research study lead to the design of the research strategy. With respect to the research strategy, attention is paid to the deductive and inductive approaches; ethnography; phenomenology; and data collection methods utilised in the present research study to reach the main aim of the study. In relation to the data collection methods, the utilisation of semi-structured interviews and informal conversations, observations and sampling strategies are recognized. The chapter proceeds with the acknowledgment of the data collection process that included access to the field, field work and ethics in accordance with which the data collection was undertaken. The chapter finishes with a discussion of the stages of data analysis and the way that epistemological objectivity and claims to truth were reached. This is followed by a summary of key issues discussed in the chapter.

Chapter 6 starts from an appreciation of the way that data analysis was established. Attention is paid to the process of data transcription and translation from one language to another (Russian to English), followed by an explanation of familiarisation with data and coding. The purpose of the latter part of the process was to develop a set of inter-related categories that would form a theoretical framework to enable representation of the spatiality of power surrounding the relationships between the local government, indigenous travel agencies, non-indigenous tour operators and “the Nenets” in Yamal, YNAO. Each stage of the analysis process, including ‘familiarisation’, ‘open coding’, ‘axial coding’ and ‘selective coding’ is established in detail. In the last stage, the

'selective coding' stage, the cohesiveness of the theory or a story that explains the phenomenon under study is offered.

In Chapter 7 the conceptual story that was derived from the data is developed and the connections between the results of the analysis and existing theory are made. The main aim presented in Chapter 2 is considered in line with the research results emerging through the analysis of field work data. The major findings are summarized and related to the researcher's initial conceptual thinking (Chapter 3) and compared against the work of previous researchers in relation to spatiality of power in tourism research (Chapter 2).

Chapter 8 reflects on the conceptual framework (Chapter 3) and methodology developed and applied (Chapter 5) to address the main research aim and objectives. The discussion proceeds with an appreciation of the contributions made to academic knowledge based on the findings made. The chapter finishes with limitations and challenges of the research and recommendations for future research.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

## **2. Introduction**

In this chapter the main debates between tourism scholars on power and power relationships are critically presented. The chapter will start from an appreciation of the influence of one of the most fundamental philosophers who has determined the way that tourism studies on power and power relationships have been developed, Karl Marx with his political economy philosophy and theory of 'Historical Materialism' (see sections 2.2 and 2.2.1). This is followed by the recognition of the main philosophical disagreement between Karl Marx and Georg Hegel and its impact on the split between theorists in tourism studies on the ways in which issues of power should be approached. Section 2.2.1 followed by sections 2.3 – 2.5 provides a detailed review of each of the approaches, the central arguments that are used and identifies research gaps. The approaches discussed are: 'Critical Turn' approaches (section 2.3); Marxist political economy (section 2.4); 'Dependency theory' (section 2.4.1); Regulation theory (section 2.4.2); Comparative political economy (section 2.4.3); and Community-based approach (section 2.5). Section 2.6 focuses on the importance of 'Forms of power' and 'Space' concepts when researching the issue of power. Subsequently, section 2.7, based on the review performed in sections 2.3 - 2.5, considers the main gaps in academic knowledge on issues of power, identifies the approach to be used and intended contributions of the present study. The chapter finishes with a summary of the researcher's key thinking based on the literature review.

### **2.1. Approaches to studying issues of power and power relationships in tourism studies**

Tourism, as a capitalist economic activity, has been described as one of the fastest growing industries and a source of wealth creation, especially in disadvantaged regions and less advanced nations (Cole & Morgan, 2010). However, stress on its economic benefits has been questioned by growing concerns over the uneven nature of such economic development (for example, Cole & Morgan, 2010; Harris *et al.*, 2012; Uysal *et al.*, 2012; Fowler *et al.*, 2013;

Hall *et al.*, 2015; Mostafanezhad *et al.*, 2016). The main reason is seen by, for example, Bianchi (2002), Holden (2005) and Mosedale (2011) in the power structure that serves to reproduce and condition different modes of tourism industry development (Bianchi, 2002) and, as a consequence, produces diverse outcomes for the local economy in general and its players specifically. In other words, the balance of power within economic structures influence the economic benefits that arise from tourism and determines how tourism aids the development of a country or region (Holden, 2005).

One of the most influential and fundamental philosophers who has determined the way the tourism studies on power and power relationships have been developed has been Karl Marx through his political economy philosophy (for instance, Bianchi, 2002, 2011; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Sharpley, 2009, 2011; Meyer, 2010; Mosedale, 2011; Erskine & Meyer, 2012). Karl Marx provided an economic interpretation of history by stating that the inequalities in wealth and power are founded in the historical path of development that can be interpreted from an economic stance. This was the basis of his theory of 'Historical Materialism'. Karl Marx' ideas were grounded on the premise of '*unequal distribution of wealth*' inherited in a capitalist economic system based on the rights of capitalists to own not only the means of production, but also all of the products of production (Mosedale, 2011; Choat, 2016). The issue of distribution has become a major concern amongst tourism scholars (for example, Toops, 1992; Hall & Patrinos, 2006; Lunde, 2007; Prachvuthy, 2007; Ypeij & Zorn, 2007; Greiner, 2010; Bennett *et al.*, 2012; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Yang *et al.*, 2013).

#### **2.1.1. The influence of Karl Marx's material construction of power and Georg Hegel's mental construction of power**

Unlike Georg Hegel's belief in '*supremacy of ideas over material space*', Karl Marx stated that it was '*material world*', or space, that '*preceded the world of ideas*' (Marx ac cited in Morrison, 2006: 142-143). As a result, history, as assumed by Karl Marx, is driven by the material or economic conditions because people's lives are organized in such a way that in order to survive and reproduce themselves they must produce the means of their subsistence. Without material production there can be no life and thus no human activity (Ball

*et al.*, 2014). Depending on what is produced, how, by and for whom (the economic factors) people organize their society (Dunn, 2009).

In order to produce something two important components are required: 'material forces of production', for example, land (space) or raw materials and the tools required to extract and process them, and 'social relations of production', the division of labour through which raw materials are extracted and processed (Ball *et al.*, 2014). The capacity of humans to control and exploit the 'forces of production' develops through the inability of workers to become independent due to the absence of capital to buy more advanced tools. As an outcome, the minority seizes the profit produced by the direct producers or workers (Harman, 1998; Bianchi, 2011; Ball *et al.*, 2014). This process, that moves in constant cycle of accumulation and the concentration of capital into fewer hands (Bianchi, 2011), leads to a situation where the workers are not paid fully or fairly for their labour despite the fact that it is the workers who, according to Marx's 'Labour theory of Value', create economic value (Bianchi, 2011). As a result, it is argued that the bourgeois owners of the means of production amass enormous wealth, while the proletariat workers fall further into poverty (Campbell, 2009).

Capital accumulation is thus, sustained by the competition between workers that maintains a constant suppression of wages. It is argued that this results in a surplus of unemployed workers (Marx, 1974) who, without the means to maintain themselves, are involuntarily exposed to labour market forces (Bianchi, 2011; Lovelock & Leopold, 2011). In this sense, the working class loses its independence and becomes part of the means of production (Ball *et al.*, 2014) used and discarded as required (Slattery, 2003).

This process involving the exploitation of one class by another, according to Marx, remains hidden to the subjugated workers. It is concealed by a set of ideas that Marx termed 'ideology'. In the text 'The German Ideology' (1845) he wrote that "*The ruling ideas of every epoch are the ideas of the ruling class*" (Arthur, 1974; Aronowitz, 1992: 146). By this it was implied that in capitalist societies the free market is portrayed as operating efficiently, fairly, and for the benefit of all, whilst alternative economic arrangements such as Socialism are derided or dismissed as false or fanciful. These ideas, it is purported, serve to

justify or legitimize the unequal distribution of economic and political power. Even oppressed workers may fail to understand their true interests and accept the dominant ideology as normal (Campbell, 2009). Later this condition Marxists called '*false consciousness*', first mentioned by Friedrich Engels in his private letter to Franz Mehring written in 1893 and then used in the publication of Georg Lukács's '*History and Class Consciousness*' in 1920 (Anderson & Herr, 2007) and enriched by Lukes (1974) to define one of the 'faces of power' (see section 2.2.8).

It is within this distinctive logics of surplus extraction and class conflict that the essence of Marx' explanation of the workings of capitalist development and capitalist form of societal organization lies, and through which human history in general, from early slave society through Feudalism to Capitalism, is developed (Holden, 2005; Campbell, 2009). At each stage, it is claimed, a dominant elite used its control of the means of production to exploit the labour of a larger class of workers to receive a disproportionate share of wealth, power, privileges and status (Ball *et al.*, 2014).

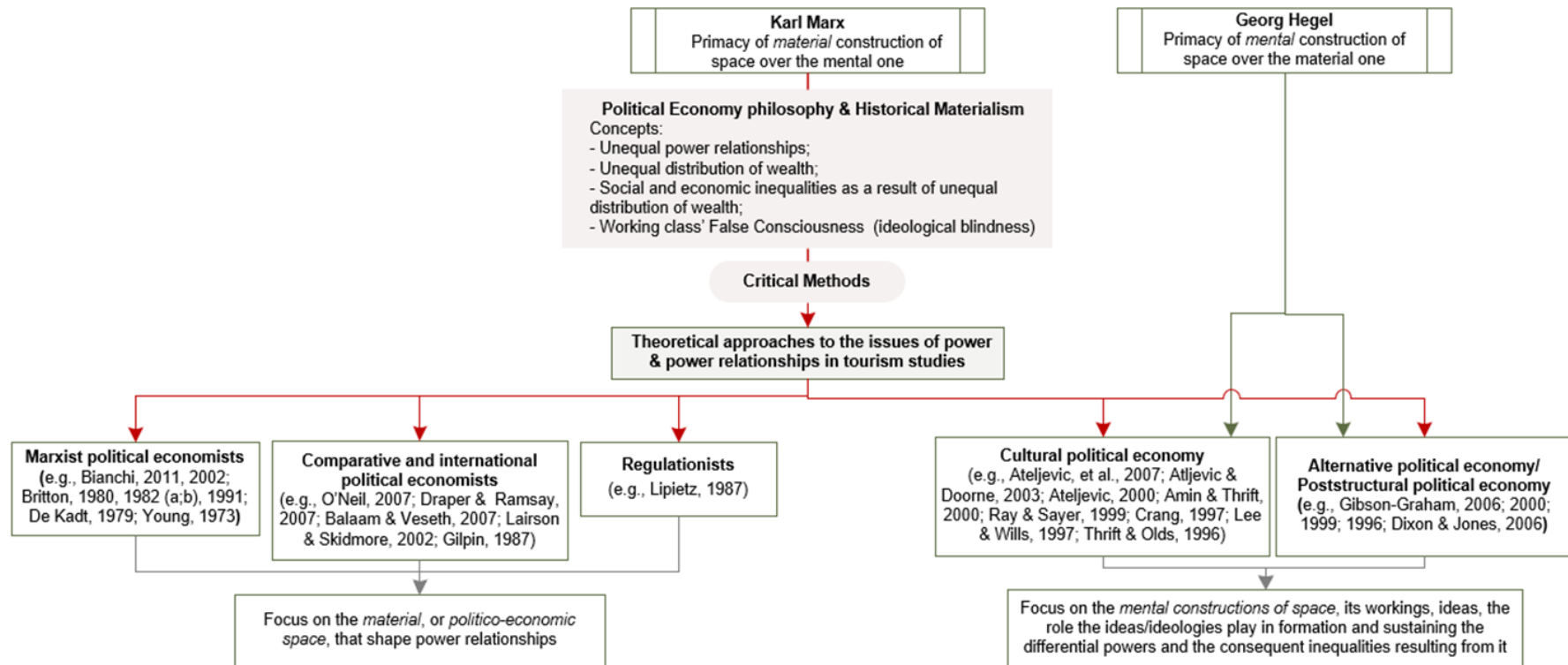
These understandings and explanations of the workings of Capitalism have been adopted and applied by tourism scholars in their research on the influence of Capitalism on tourism industry development in general and power relationships in particular.

Key Marxist concepts such as 'unequal power relationships', 'unequal distribution of wealth', 'social and economic inequalities' and 'false consciousness' (in the shape of ideological blindness) as well as Marx' critical methods have been adopted and developed in tourism literature. For instance, the concept of 'unequal distribution of wealth' is traced in the research of Cole & Morgan (2010), Harris *et al.* (2012), Uysal *et al.* (2012), Fowler *et al.* (2013), Hall *et al.* (2015) and Mostafanezhad *et al.* (2016). 'Unequal power relationships' concept is observed in the research of Sheller (2012), Saarinen *et al.* (2013), Manwa & Moswete (2015), Zhou (2015), Mostafanezhad *et al.* (2016) and Nepal & Saarinen (2016). 'False consciousness' concept is marked out in the research of Pike & Beames (2013), Taylor & Thrift (2013), Cohen (2014), Jordhus-Lier & Underthun (2014), Metro-Roland *et al.* (2014) and Feifan Xie (2015). Going into the historical excursus, Marxist ideas have been employed

by, for example: regulationists (Lipietz, 1987), comparative and international political economists (Gilpin, 1987; Pearce, 1996; Desforges, 2000; Vail & Heldt, 2000; Lairson & Skidmore, 2002; Balaam & Veseth, 2007; Draper & Ramsay, 2007; O'Neil, 2007), Marxist political economists (Young, 1973; De Kadt, 1979; Britton, 1980, 1982 (a;b), 1991; Bianchi, 2011, 2002) cultural political economists (Thrift & Olds, 1996; Crang, 1997; Lee & Wills, 1997; Ray & Sayer, 1999; Amin & Thrift, 2000; Ateljevic, 2000; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Ateljevic *et al.*, 2007) and alternative/post-structural political economists (Gibson-Graham, 1996; 1999; 2000; 2006; Dixon & Jones, 2006). Figure 2.1 illustrates the impact of Karl Marx's (as well as Hegel's) ideas on tourism scholars and the theoretical approaches utilised to researching issues of power in tourism studies.

The influence of Karl Marx's and Georg Hegel's ideas on the theoretical approaches employed in relation to studying issues of power in tourism studies is observable in terms of framing the key focus of study and determining the ways in which the issue of power is analyzed. For example, regulationists, comparative and Marxist political economists follow the ideas of Marx and stress the significance of concentration on the material, or politico-economic space, that shape power relationships (Morrison, 2006). In contrast, advocates of cultural political economy and alternative/post-structural political economy (underpinning the notion of 'Critical Turn') in line with Hegel emphasise the importance of paying attention to the mental constructions of space, its workings, ideas, the role the ideas play in the formation of and sustainability of differential powers and the inequalities resulting in consequence (see Figure 2.1). A more detailed review of each of these approaches applied in tourism research is made in the next sections, starting with a review of 'Critical Turn' approaches to tourism and power in (see section 2.2.2).

**Figure 2.1: The influence of Karl Marx' and Georg Hegel's ideas on the theoretical approaches employed in relation to studying issues of power in tourism studies**



Source: The Author, based on literature review

## 2.2. 'Critical turn' approaches to tourism and power

Horkheimer (1937) may be identified as having an initial influence on the emergence of the 'Critical Turn' as a research paradigm. The status of 'Critical Turn' as paradigm has become evident at the beginning of the millennium in the publications of, for example, Aitchison (2000), Aitchison *et al.* (2000), Ateljevic (2000), Rojek (2000), Fullagar (2002), Ateljevic *et al.* (2007), the advocates of cultural and alternative political economy approaches. Although these approaches trace their intellectual roots to Marxian analysis of political economy and accept the significance of political economy in the formation of late modern societies in general and tourism studies in particular, they still reject Marxism-Leninism for its economic determinism (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2003). A critical turn is promoted with a predominant emphasis on mental constructions of the world (or space) and: its workings, ideas, how they come into being; the roles that they play in creating and maintaining differential powers; consequent inequalities and issues of control. In particular, in relation to the latter element, there is interest in how ideas, organization and use of space are controlled by dominant groups and ruling powers as a means of preserving domination through the manipulating of thought (Wolf, 1999; Yengoyan, 2001). It is believed that by focusing on ideas and ideology linked to historical and physical context, it is possible to understand the issue of power (Wolf, 1999). The main reason is that these are the ideas and ideologies that direct the policies and activities of adherents through the provision of a system of beliefs and they are often monopolized by power groups as emblems and instruments to bring people together, or divide them (Wolf, 1999; Ateljevic *et al.*, 2007).

However, as noted by researchers following Marxist theory (for example, Apple, 1990; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2003) ideologies (and likewise inequalities) are so entrenched, so taken for granted (because of 'false consciousness') that it is difficult for people to think and to act outside of structurally-based rules: *"Individuals are acculturated to feel comfortable in relations of domination and subordination rather than equality and independence"* (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2003: 436). Thus, the aim of critical theorists is to reveal ideological influences and to identify whose interests are being served by a particular ideology (Ateljevic *et al.*, 2007).

Yet, this approach meets a direct critique from the advocates of Marxist political economy

### **2.3. Marxist political economy approaches to tourism and power**

Supporters of Marxist political economy such as Amin & Thrift (2004), Bianchi (2009), Best & Paterson (2010) and Mosedale (2011), argue that by concentrating on ideology, advocates of the 'critical turn' shift focus away from the material configurations of power. In turning away from the interrogation of the economic and political relations of power that shape tourism industry development it is argued that understandings of power may be restricted or limited. It becomes arguably difficult or even impossible to understand the relationship between discourses and the diverse forms of capitalist development and territorial logics of state power of which tourism constitutes a key part.

Moreover, as Bianchi (2009) and Mosedale (2011) point out, it is entirely impossible to de-couple ideology from the workings of capitalist economies and wider configurations of institutional power. This is because, following Marxist thought, it is actually the economic situation that dictates what kind of ideology should be promoted in society by the ruling powers (Morrison, 2006) and economic relations permeate all aspects of people's lives, in as much as markets are also embedded in multiplex social relations and shaped by cultural meanings (Narotzky, 1997). Thus, it is purported that simple change in ideas cannot produce changes in society/world (Karl Marx in West, 1991). This viewpoint is expressed through the following statements:

*"Even the question of personal transformation, the "reforging of ourselves as individuals", and our preoccupation with our identities stem from the upheavals occasioned by the economic revolution of our times" (Sivanandan, 1990: 28).*

*"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence that determines their consciousness" (Marx as cited in Miller, 1982: 53).*

*"The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men, appear at this stage as the direct afflux from their material behaviour. The same applies to mental production as expressed in the language of the politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics of a*

*people. Men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas, etc. -real, active men, as they are conditioned by the definite development of their productive forces and of the intercourse corresponding to these, up to its furthest forms. Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence of men in their actual life process” (Marx & Engels, 1970: 47).*

Thus, although accepting the importance of the inclusion of ideologies in the analysis of factors that might also play role in sustaining the inequalities of capitalist economics (Worsley, 2002; Bianchi, 2009; 2011), Bianchi (2009) emphasises the importance of not losing sight of structural injustices when addressing the inequalities of tourism. These structural injustices appear to be relatively underplayed by advocates of ‘Critical Turn’ approaches, despite argued evidence of exploitative working conditions and poor living conditions in a wide range of destinations and resorts (Akama 2002; Belau 2003; Beddoe 2004; Hawley 2006; Navarro 2006; Bianchi, 2009). In this sense, Marxist political economy proponents differ from Karl Marx himself who did not completely ignore but may be argued to have under-estimated the role of ideas and non-economic forces in society (Mosedale, 2011).

The opinions of Taylor (2002) and Bianchi (2002; 2009) on the role of ideologies, or mental constructions of space, suggest that there is a need to connect these with analyses of wider economic and political relations of power in general and the structural analysis of power specifically (Bianchi, 2009). A prime focus here is on the identification of power locality to appreciate who gains from capitalist production and who is disadvantaged (Harvey, 1973; Bianchi, 2002, 2009; Bramwell & Meyer 2007; Church & Coles, 2007; Macleod & Carrier, 2010; Mosedale, 2011). Thus, the concept of power becomes central to the analysis.

In this context, supporters of a Marxist political economy such as Bianchi (2002; 2009; 2011), Church & Coles (2007) and Mosedale (2011) insist on the appropriateness of the application of Karl Marx’s ideas to understanding the workings and influence of Capitalism on tourism industry development. They stress the importance of the utilization of Marxist political economy and historical materialist methods of enquiry to analyze the social relations of power which condition processes of tourism development, reinforced through particular configurations of ideologies and institutions (Bianchi, 2002, 2011; Mosedale,

2011). Employed as a critical theory, based on the incorporation of Karl Marx's critical methods, political economy approaches are intended to help to uncover capitalist structures that drive tourism development and to enable the identification of inequalities engrained in the system of uneven development with a view to assisting the evocation of social change towards more equitable conditions (Church & Coles, 2007; Mosedale, 2011).

In this context, power has been considered not as something fluid, that can 'travel' or flow through the multiple networks, or space, that comprise society with no locatable 'reserve', as in the case of the proponents of 'critical turn'. Instead, power has been conceived as something solid that can be held, possessed, located, stored, delegated or distributed, a so called 'centred' conception of power (Latour, 1986). Accordingly, space has been conceptualised as based on centres, distributions, extensions and delegated capabilities as if a 'store' of centralized power is marshalled and transmitted intact through space and time.

In line with this thinking, power relationships have been considered to operate as 'top-down' and analysis has drawn extensively on Britton's 'dependency theory' (1982) (for example, Zhao & Li (2006), Lepp (2008), Awang *et al.* (2009), Lacher & Nepal (2010), Spenceley & Meyer (2012), Chaperon & Bramwell (2013). The next section explores the utilisation of dependency theory within political economy approaches to the study of power in tourism research.

### **2.3.1. The utilisation of Dependency Theory to research power and power relationships in tourism research**

Britton (1980; 1982a; 1982b; 1991) was amongst several tourism development analysts (for example, Bryden, 1973; Turner & Ash, 1975; Turner, 1976; Husbands, 1981; Weaver, 1988; Shaw & Williams, 1994, 2002, 2004; Ioannides, 1995; Ioannides & Debbage, 1998; Dieke, 2000; Williams, 2004; Ioannides, 2006) to draw on different strands of underdevelopment and dependency theories under the influence of political economy. He argued that patterns of (neo)colonial domination were based on the inherent unequal exchange of relationships between 'dominant' and 'subordinate' countries, for example, in the case of Fiji (Britton, 1980). These relationships, he claimed,

resulted in structural relations of inequality across the international tourist industry, monopolistic control of metropolitan-based tourism enterprises over economic space, and underpinned tourism industry development in developing countries. In a dependency scenario of international tourism, the Marxist-influenced idea of colonial governments working with local elites was replaced by the idea of multinational companies working with local elites. Thus, in this manner only the privileged commercial and political groups in the periphery, along with foreign interests, were in a position to co-ordinate, construct, operate and profit from the development of an industry such as tourism. Local indigenous populations were, by nature of the system, left disadvantaged (Britton, 1982).

Still, tourism industry development and power relationships surrounding it have an uneven and often contested character. The main reason is in the existence of diverse types of political economy regimes in different countries, developed historically under very different conditions across different social formations, and distinctive orientations of the state to capital (Massey, 1995; Bianchi, 2003, 2011).

In these terms, Williams (2004) sheds light on the role of the state in the regulation of tourism and formation of power relationships whilst O'Neil (2007) takes a broader approach and examines how different types of political economy regimes influence the utilisation of space for tourism industry development and power relationships between the market and the state (Webster *et al.*, 2011).

### **2.3.2. Regulation Theory approaches to tourism and power**

Regulation theory, as one of the critical approaches to analysing political economy, is concerned with the examination of the relationships between states, institutions, and society (Williams, 2004). As Holloway (1998) states, a growing feature of the tourism industry is the extent to which businesses and governments work together either to manage the impacts of tourism or to promote or develop tourism in particular destinations. Governments are the focus of power relations in that they can enact legislation on tourism issues but

more generally they also act to regulate the wider economic, political and socio-cultural life, or space (Clark & Dear, 1984; Clegg, 1989; Kerr, 2003).

The role of government institutions and public policy on tourism industry development has been the focus of a number of tourism research studies (for example, most notably the work of, Hall & Jenkins, 1995; Hall, 1997; Church, 2004). Other researchers, including Jeffries (2001), Hall (2004) and Page (2007), have focused on comparing the ways in which tourism is regulated. Palmer and Bejou (1995) compared the regulation of tourism in the United States and the United Kingdom. Vail and Heldt (2000) compared approaches towards regulation at a regional level in the context of the United States of America and Sweden. Additionally, Pearce (1996), Desforges (2000), Chheang (2008), Hazbun (2008), Richter & Steiner (2008) and Scherle (2011) have considered the role of the government in terms of regulation and state responses to tourism in individual country contexts, for example, in Cambodia (Chheang, 2008), in Egypt (Richter & Steiner, 2008), in the Middle East (Hazbun, 2008) and in Morocco (Scherle, 2011).

However, as Webster *et al.* (2011) affirm, although these researchers do offer insights into different paradigms of political economy, their main focus is on the issues within a country or cross nation-state borders (i.e., international political economy) rather than comparing political economies which shape the space of tourism industry development and considering the power relationships surrounding this, in other words the relationships between the market and the state.

### **2.3.3. Comparative political economy approaches to tourism and power**

A comparative political economy approach offers insights into how political systems shape economic interactions within states. The approach is characterised by the notion that there is a philosophical foundation to political choices that are made and that these political choices create institutions that regulate economic and social interactions. According to O'Neil (2007), four main types of political economy may be identified: liberal; communist; mercantilist; and social democratic. Each of these is based upon a different assumption of the relationship between the market and the state, although countries often

have policies and programmes that may not be entirely consistent with the basic philosophical approach of the paradigm. O'Neil (2007) notes that one general, common understanding of how states may design their political economies surrounds the ideal of making the market paramount and, thus, is a liberal economy.

It is useful to provide a brief overview of O'Neil's (2007) four types of political economy in order to understand more clearly the focus of political economy research in tourism. By far the most studied of the four types has been the liberal political economy, with relatively less attention paid to political economy in communist, primarily post-communist, mercantilist and social democratic context.

#### **2.3.3.1. Liberal political economy**

According to O'Neil (2007), liberal political economies reflect limited welfare and minimal state involvement in the economy and permit high levels of social and economic inequality. The liberal model is based upon the notion that the free market is the best way of organizing the production and distribution of wealth in a society. Thus, liberal regimes put a premium on market forces, allowing market forces the greatest freedom possible, in order to produce and distribute wealth. This is in line with the thinking of Hannam & Knox (2010), who, although do not link their research to a liberal regime, put forward the view that many states are relatively ambivalent about their role in regulating and promoting tourism, preferring to allow the market to have a greater say or to devolve decision making to specialist agencies and local layers of governance. An example of liberal political systems can be identified in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and former British colonies (Webster *et al.*, 2011) (for instance, Cali *et al.*, 2008; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012; Light, 2013; Jamal & Camargo, 2014; Reese, 2014; Lacey & Ilcan, 2015).

The downside of a liberal approach or perspective is that economic outcomes will enable certain individuals to attain more wealth than others, meaning that in terms of outcome there will not be an equal distribution of wealth. The philosophical defence of such a system is that it is the best means of producing overall wealth at a national level, despite the inequalities in wealth distribution,

and that all members of society have an equal opportunity to compete in the market. Thus, this argument posits that the productive capacity of free markets more than makes up for its shortcomings in terms of distributing wealth (O'Neil, 2007; Webster *et al.*, 2011).

As in relation to tourism industry development, it may be expected, as stated by Webster *et al.* (2011), that liberal regimes will have weak institutions to deal with the tourism sector. In such regimes a state determines that the market will take care of tourism-related issues.

In stark contrast to the liberal model are the communist and mercantilist models or perspectives of political economy.

#### **2.3.3.2. Communist and mercantilist models of political economy**

A communist model of political economy was adopted in such countries as, for instance, Cuba, China and Soviet Union while mercantilist model was implemented in for example, Japan, South Korea and India (O'Neil, 2007). These approaches involve a state that plays a key role in setting economic policy for the country.

However, there are major differences. The communist model is based on Marxist principles that lead to the marginalization of market and minimization of private ownership to allow for greater equality (O'Neil, 2007) (research undertaken by, for example, Sofield & Li, 1998; Behringer & Kiss, 2004; Horakova, 2010; Matei *et al.*, 2014; Desilver, 2015; Rosenbaum, 2015; Wilson & Latkova, 2016). Mercantilist political economies allow for private ownership, but with a great deal of state intervention in the markets. In such political economies, the state manages and directs markets in ways that are desired by the political leadership. It frequently does this through a mixture of co-operative arrangements and planning with the leadership of major industries and, in some cases, via outright ownership of the means of production in industries. As mercantilists tend to focus on the long-term economic and military strength of a country it has been claimed that they are willing to overlook some aspects of the population's welfare (O'Neil, 2007). As far as tourism industry development is concerned, mercantilist states may build strong public agencies to deal with the

challenges of tourism, as this political economy regime places the state in a central role in the economy.

#### **2.3.3.3. Social democratic political economy**

The social democratic model (represented in, for example, Western Europe – Germany, Sweden, Finland, Norway) is a mixture of liberal and more statist approaches. In social democratic political economies, the state plays an important role in regulating the economy and is actively involved in the economy as an owner of some industries. However, the state retains control over markets and permits market forces to function in order to supply many goods and services. Similar to the communist model, it uses regulation of the economy as a means of attempting to ensure more equitable economic outcomes in the society. Thus, in common with communist philosophy, it minimises inequalities through strong welfare state institutions.

In relation to tourism industry development, like in case of mercantilist state, a social democratic state may build strong public agencies to deal with the tourism challenge, as this political economy model also places the state in a central role in the economy (for example, the research undertaken by Huber & Stephens, 1998; Burns, 2004; Hall *et al.*, 2008; Minnaert *et al.*, 2011; Light, 2013; Jordhus-Lier & Underthun, 2014).

The ideas of O'Neil (2007) are not without challenge. These four different ways of organizing a political economy, are archetypes and few political economies would fit completely into any one category (Webster *et al.*, 2011). There can be much more nuanced differences that need to be acknowledged, including, for instance, whether the state is a federal one or not and whether the state is in transition from one political economy regime to another one.

#### **2.4. Community-based approaches to tourism and power**

Based on an analysis of the approaches used by tourism researchers to the problem of power and power relationships (for example, 'Historical Materialism' (section 2.2.1), Marxist political economy (section 2.4), Dependency theory (section 2.4.1), Regulation theory (section 2.5), Comparative political economy (section 2.6), it can be said that the advocates of these approaches were

primarily concentrated on 'top-down' (or 'power over') power relationships, favouring governmental goals and business interests (Murphy, 1985). The role of indigenous locals being able to negotiate and contest the directions of tourism development (MacDonald, 1997) as actors able to be proactive and resistant towards State policies has been comparatively neglected vis-à-vis dependency theory approaches. The exercising of resistance and proactivity, representing 'power to' (Hannam & Knox, 2010) has received relatively little attention. Exceptions here include the work of, for example, Zhou (2004), Hall & Brown (2006), Humphreys (2007), van Ham (2010), Evans (2015) and Dissart & Dehez (2016).

It is notable that back in 1985 Murphy identified a need to concentrate on the alternative paradigm that is centred upon people and democratic participatory approaches to development and planning known as 'bottom-up' or 'Community-based' approach. Yet relatively few studies of tourism that adopt a community-based approach acknowledge the agency of community actors (see for example, Mbaiwa (2005), research on enclave tourism and its socio-economic impact in the Okavango Delta, Botswana) and there is a tendency to focus on the marginalisation, exploitation and subjugation of indigenous communities, focusing on 'power over'.

The proponents of a community-based approach (for example, Murphy, 1985; Haywood, 1988; Amitai Etzioni, 1995, 1997; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Taylor, 1995; Brohman, 1996; Bingham *et al.*, 2008; Okazaki, 2008; AbouAssi *et al.*, 2013) claim that since 1990s new, more 'democratic' (or 'invited') spaces (Gaventa, 2006) have emerged and, with them, opportunities for citizen engagement in tourism planning and development processes, from local to global levels. It has been acknowledged that different groups of people (often referred to as 'stakeholders' or 'actors'), including minority groups, although not always equal in influence, still have a particular degree of access to and influence on tourism industry planning and development and on decision-making aligned to it (for example, Murphy, 1988; Keogh, 1990; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Margerum, 1999; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002; Pellissery & Bergh, 2007; O'Faircheallaigh, 2010; Wells-Dang, 2010). Through participation it has been claimed that minority groups might influence: the way that the tourism industry is being developed

and sustained (for example, Murphy, 1983; Ashley & Roe, 1998; Scheyvens, 2002); the protection of resources such as traditional customs, values and the natural environment (for example, Holden, 2005; Okazaki, 2008); and how community well-being is fostered (for example, Cook, 1982; Murphy, 1985; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Ashley & Roe, 1998; Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 1999; Bertolin, 2002; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002; Scheyvens, 2002; European Anti-Poverty Network, Ireland, 2005; Trau & Bushell, 2008). Yet overall there has been an under-exploration of the extent to which agency and free will is able to be exercised through these forms of participation.

Arnstein (1969) states that the purpose of participation is power redistribution, thereby, enabling society to fairly redistribute benefits and costs. In the context of tourism planning, Haywood (1988: 106) defines community participation as:

*“A process of involving all stakeholders (local government officials, local citizens, architects, developers, business people, and planners) in such way that decision-making is shared”.*

However, many researchers including Getz & Jamal (1994), Taylor (1995), Addison (1996) and Jamal & Getz (1999) have questioned the possibility of implementing community participation. The right and the means to get involved are also necessary (Gray, 1985; Jamal & Getz, 1999). This, in turn, represents a challenge because the power to obtain the right and means is often held by governments or other stakeholders who do not regard local residents as equal partners (Gray, 1985).

As Kiely (1995) states, the nature of tourism and capitalist development and the variations in the local political and socio-economic conditions of tourism development is geographically uneven and dependent on place, culture (Bianchi, 2002) and the power relationships that are in themselves a reflection of economic, social and political histories (Wilson, 1999; Tosun, 2000; Fung, 2004; Cornwall & Coelho, 2006; Barnes *et al.*, 2007; Sandbrook, 2008; Yasarata *et al.*, 2010; Ahebwa *et al.*, 2012). These power relations challenge the effectiveness of the tourism industry as a tool for development, the allocation of costs and benefits (Sandbrook, 2008; Yasarata *et al.*, 2010; Ahebwa *et al.*, 2012) and determine whether community participation in tourism development will work or not (Tosun, 2000; Yasarata *et al.*, 2010). This is

influenced by shaping the borders of participatory spaces, what is possible within them, who may enter, with which identities, issues and interests (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2006). Thus, forms of power and space should be taken into account.

## **2.5. Importance of 'forms of power' and 'space' concepts**

The community-based approach may be criticised by virtue of a consideration of power in only one of its expressions, its visible form, - observable decision-making processes, formal rules, structures, authorities, institutions and procedures of decision-making, public debate and negotiation with public representatives, and explicit exclusion or marginalization of certain social groups (Mahapatra, 2012). In terms of space, a focus on 'open' or 'invited space' (Gaventa, 2006) is apparent.

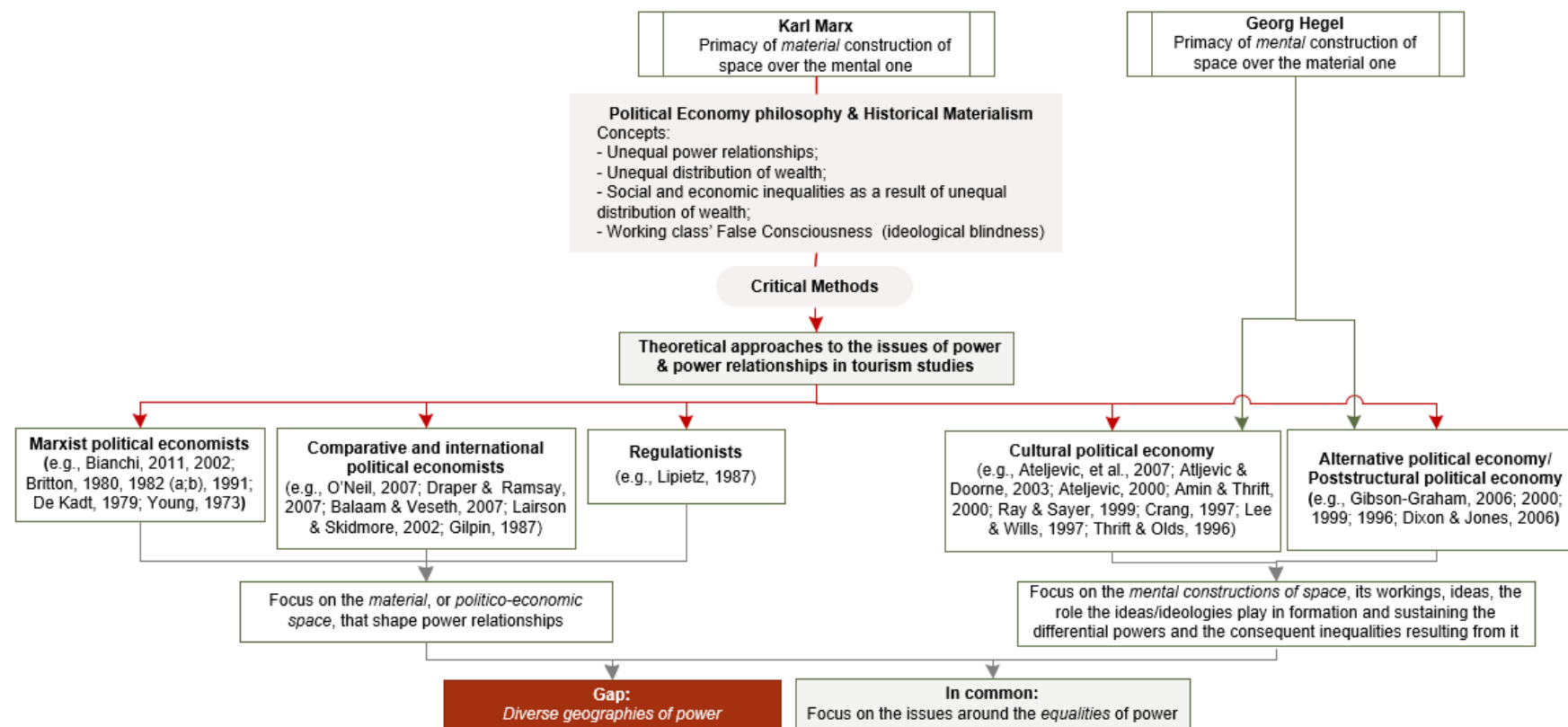
'Hidden' (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962) and 'invisible' (Lukes, 1974) forms of power have been largely overlooked despite their ability to limit the degree of indigenous peoples' involvement through creation of 'closed space' (Gaventa, 2006) and the impact that these forms of power, for example, the setting of agendas, non-decision making and 'a mobilization of bias' (Schattschneider, 1960) certain powerful people or institutions might exclude less powerful people and their concerns from decision-making through 'closed space' creation (Gaventa, 2006). Alternatively, or additionally, they might limit the availability of alternative choices by controlling who gets to the 'decision-making table' and what gets on the agenda (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970). In their research study of Baltimore City in the United States of America, Bachrach & Baratz (1970) identified that certain issues were never expressed or pursued in political arenas with decision makers and, as a result, they came to a conclusion that power also exists covertly. They argue that the goal of any researcher should be to identify who non-decision makers are and consider how the process of decision-making functions to eliminate some issues from decision-making arenas (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970; McCalla-Chen, 2000). These less visible forms of power are often difficult to detect and reveal, but it may be argued that it is still possible for them to be observed and analyzed (Bachrach & Baratz, 1963).

Through invisible forms of power (Lukes, 1974) following Karl Marx in it (see section 2.2.1), it is recognized that powerful people might shape people's beliefs, senses of self, acceptance of their own superiority or dependency and the psychological and ideological limits of participation and the chances of having a voice (Hébert, 2010). The consciousness of less powerful people and awareness to their conditions, in this context, can be limited (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). People may be unaware of their rights, their ability to speak out, and may come to see various forms of power or domination over them as 'natural', or unchangeable, and therefore unquestioned. Processes of socialisation, culture and ideology might maintain exclusion ('closed space' creation – Gaventa, 2006) and inequality by defining what is 'normal', 'acceptable' and 'safe'. This may explain why certain issues are not publicly addressed, or when they are addressed why they can easily be put aside or ignored by those in power. This form of power is the most difficult type of power to challenge as social actors in subordinate positions tend to believe that this behaviour by those in power is legitimate by virtue of designated authority.

## **2.6. The identification of gaps in tourism academic knowledge on power**

Based on an analysis of the conceptions of power that currently exist in tourism studies, it may be argued here that, under the influence of Karl Marx, theorists using critical approaches to research power have tended to focus on issues around the equality of power relationships between actors or stakeholders (see Figure 2.2). In doing so, it may be reasoned that they have neglected to acknowledge the diverse geographies of power and, in particular, overlooked the inherently spatial nature of power, and the involvement of social relations in both space and power (Lefebvre, 1976; 1991) (see Figure 2.2). In order to fulfil these gaps, the present study identifies a need to focus on the exploration of the spatiality of power that surrounds tourism industry development.

**Figure 2.2: Gaps in tourism academic knowledge on power**



Source: The Author

The most influential contributor to discussions on the spatiality of power has become Henry Lefebvre (1991). He, first of all, brought the notion of space to the fore. Secondly, he argued that space and power are ‘*social relations*’, and, most importantly, he insisted on the importance of the fusion of mental and material constructions of space together when exploring the social space production, of which spatiality of power is a key part of, thus, accommodating the ideas of both Marx and Hegel. In the present research Lefebvre’s (1991) concepts will be supplemented by Gaventa’s (2006) ‘power cube’ to facilitate analysis of the spatiality of power. The main reason of such supplementation is the fact that Lefebvre (1991) in his ‘spatial triad’ concentrated only on ‘visible’ power and ‘invisible’ power of ideologies, ‘invited’, ‘closed’ and ‘smothered’ spaces that these forms of power create, and ‘power proximity and reach’. Utilisation of Gaventa’s (2006) ‘power cube’ helps to add, absent from Lefebvre (1991), such concepts as ‘hidden’ power, ‘created’ spaces and levels at which interrelations between spaces and forms of power occur. Being employed in a cohort with Lefebvre’s (1991) concepts (as ‘sensitising concepts’), Gaventa’s (2006) ‘power cube’ will help to give a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances (Charmaz, 2003; Bowen, 2006; Buizer, 2008) and to “*draw attention to important features of social interaction and provide guidelines for research in specific settings*” (Gilgun, 2002: 4).

Moreover, the decision to employ these theories has also been triggered by the fact that these theories have been rarely employed in relation to the issues of power in the tourism studies. For example, Lefebvre’s (1991) theory ‘The Production of Space’ has been mainly used in relation to specific legal and political context (for instance, Clout, 2007; Butler, 2012; Konzen, 2013), in the context of technology and media (for example, Ingersoll, 2011) or in the field of urban studies and architecture (for example, Stanek *et al.*, 2014; Stanek, 2011). As in the case with Lefebvre’s (1991) ‘spatial triad’, Gaventa’s (2006) ‘power cube’ has rarely been applied by tourism scholars. Amongst researchers who have used the model are: Giva & Sriskandarajah (2014) who explored the possibility to improve the engagement between management of the National Park in Mozambique and local communities; Myhrvold (2014) who investigated the problem of local participation in conservation management of Kangchenjunga in Nepal; Braunholtz-Speight (2015) who examined how the

Scottish community land movement has used various forms and sources of power in pursuit of local development, including tourism; Gebert (2015) who focused on the identification of the ways a local economic development project in tourism area can be evaluated. In the present research, these theories will be utilised to fill in the existing gap and to navigate the study on spatiality of power surrounding local tourism industry development and the relationships between the main stakeholders at the local level.

Yet, the application of Lefebvre's (1991) theory 'The Production of Space' supplemented by Gaventa's (2004) 'power cube' on their own is considered to be insufficient. These theories are absent of such important concept as, for example, the role of the history. History should not be obscured because historical conditions are directly linked to the production of space. The history of space is inscribed in its present. Thus, to study the spatiality of power at a particular locality will require a combination of history and political economy to explain phenomena, for example, actors' motivations for decision-making and actions (Reed, 1999; Lieven & Goossens, 2011) because context determines peoples' viewpoints, interests, motivations, shapes the power relations and conflicts that occur (Clancy, 1999). In these terms, these theories will be placed in the broader context of Marx' political economy and 'Historical Materialism' and complemented by other concepts developed from David Harvey (1982; 2003; 2006; 2012) and other political economy approaches such as regulation theory and comparative political economy discussed in this chapter. The inclusion of the concepts developed from David Harvey (1982; 2003; 2006; 2012), regulation theory and comparative political economy will help to take into account all the possible factors that frame spatiality of power.

David Harvey is well-known for drawing upon Karl Marx' political economy and 'Historical Materialism' and Lefebvre's (1991) theory 'The Production of Space'. Likewise Karl Marx and Lefebvre (1991), he criticises Capitalism and, following Lefebvre (1991), focuses on the political economy of space. He believes that transformation of space for state capitalism expansion leads to socio-economic and spatial inequalities. Thus, in order to understand urban processes under Capitalism development, he stresses the importance of exploration of the nature of space. According to Harvey (1982; 2003; 2006; 2012), this can be done

through investigation of such concepts as transformation of space for state capitalism expansion, of which tourism industry development is a part of, the role of the state in a market-based system and the ability of the communities to resist to state capitalism development (or to exercise 'power with') to eliminate the inequalities inherited in a capitalist economic system (section 2.1). The latter concept goes back to nineteenth century when, in 1887, Töennies in his work 'Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft' stated that modernization or urbanization brought the loss of human community and, as a result, the loss of the collective strength, while Durkheim (1893) claimed that modernization led to interdependency of the members of community and as a consequence, their ability to exercise the collective strength. By contrast, Meyer (2001) and Hannam *et al.* (2006) stated that the collective strength of community to exercise power depends not on modernization or urbanization but on the existence or absence of conflict of interests and power relationship imbalances. This, in turn, in their point of view, can be investigated through appreciation of historical and contemporary socio-economic, political and environmental context as peoples' relationships, interests and decisions are shaped by it, and a social infrastructure of indigenous community. Still, Harvey (1982; 2003; 2006; 2012) is of the same opinion as Töennies (1887) and states that state capitalism development ruptures the existing culturally embedded relationships within a community. However, unlike Meyer (2001) and Hannam *et al.* (2006), he claims that the ability of the community to exercise the collective strength depends on cultural history and cultural traditions. His opinion is in line with the findings made by for example, Park *et al.* (2012), Liu *et al.* (2014) and Li and Lawton (2015) on rural tourism industry development in a collectivistic culture. According to them, indigenous people have a history of community-based action independent of marginalization.

Thus, in the present PhD study, the concepts offered by Harvey (1982; 2003; 2006; 2012) in relation to the political economy of space will be employed and further explored. Regarding the ability of the indigenous community to exercise 'power with' ('a social movements perspective'), this concept represents only one of the possible forms of power while the aim of the present research study is to appreciate the spatiality of power, of which 'power with' is only one of the elements.

Concerning the concept of the role of the state in a market-based system, this concept will be linked to the concepts developed from regulation theory and comparative political economy.

Regulation theory will assist in supplementing Harvey's (1982; 2003; 2006; 2012) conceptualization of the role of the state through appreciation of the role of the state and of the local government in a wider political, economic, social and environmental context with an emphasis on the context-specific tendencies of historical capitalist development (Marxist political economy). The findings will be linked to the level of economic framework analysis ('the comparative political economy') to investigate and demonstrate the influence of the type of economic framework that exists in a particular locality on tourism industry development in general and spatiality of power specifically. With respect to this it is intended that the study will make a contribution through its adoption of the comparative political economy to a local level within a particular country.

The present study will also challenge the notion of 'dependency' between international (the multinational corporations) and local (local indigenous communities) levels, by considering the relationships at the local level, between local tour operators and indigenous community.

The type of country in which to situate the study was chosen based on the observations of Webster *et al.* (2011) that there has been a lack of focus in tourism studies on countries that have a federal type of governance, with a non-colonial past, being in transition from one political economy regime to another, and with the tourism industry at an early stage of its development. Yamal in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO) of the Russian Federation was identified as a suitable destination area to be studied. The context of this geographical region is provided in Chapter 4. Not only was the YNAO determined to meet the aforementioned characteristics but the Russian nationality of the researcher provided a practical reason for choice of geographical location.

In this context, the aim is to explore spatiality of power surrounding the indigenous reindeer herders, "the Nenets'" involvement in the local inbound tourism industry development. The focus is on spatiality of power, its influence

on the relationships between “the Nenets”, local indigenous travel agencies, non-indigenous tour operators and local government, and the resulted contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare. The perceptions of the respondents are of a core interest. The latter focus offers an additional potential contribution of the present research. Unlike theorists using critical approach to enquiry, the researcher of the present study positions herself in neo-empiricism (sometime referred to as ‘neo-positivism’ or ‘epistemological realism’) and stresses the importance of being able to access the respondents’ subjective comprehension of reality and report their perceptions and experiences of reality in an objective manner.

In order to accomplish the main aim of the present PhD study and to navigate or direct the research, the following set of tentative propositions were identified for exploration, based on the researcher’s literature review and theoretical considerations:

1. The way that social space is produced and theorised in line with Lefebvre’s (1991) theory ‘The Production of Space’;
2. Formed under historical conditions, the political economy regime influences ‘The Production of Space’ (Lefebvre, 1991), of which spatiality of power is a key part of;
3. Decentralised power facilitates a move towards a more participatory tourism industry development policy;
4. The possibility of indigenous people to benefit from participation in inbound tourism industry development depends on the ‘spatiality of power’ surrounding them;
5. There is a dependency relationship between local tour operators and indigenous community;
6. Indigenous people have collective strength to exercise power.

It is anticipated that these tentative propositions might help to generate possible relationships that can be made between theories employed and what may emerge through data collection and analysis.

### **2.6.1. Research aim and objectives**

The main aim of the present research is to explore spatiality of power and its influence on inbound tourism industry development. This will be explored by examining the relationships between “the Nenets”, local indigenous travel agencies, non-indigenous tour operators and local government in Yamal in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous okrug (YNAO) of the Russian Federation, and the consequent contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare.

## **Research Objectives**

In order to reach the main aim, the following objectives will be fulfilled:

1. To present a literature review on how the issue of power and power relationships was approached by tourism scholars. This will contribute to setting the context for the research and to identify gaps in academic knowledge;
2. To create a conceptual framework to guide the research and to justify the case study chosen, having drawn upon the literature review and identified potential research gaps;
3. To investigate the ‘representations of space’ of the stakeholder group and ‘spatial practice’, of which spatiality of power is a key part;
4. To explore the role and influence of the historical context on the contemporary politico-economic situation in the YNAO, on the ‘representations of space’ of the stakeholder group and their ‘spatial practice’;
5. To examine the ‘representational space’ of the representatives from “the Nenets”, local indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators and their ‘spatial practice’, of which spatiality of power is a key part;
6. To identify the outcome of the interrelations between the ‘representations of space’, ‘representational space’ and “spatial practice” of the representatives from the stakeholder group for inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO, in Yamal specifically; for contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare.

In order to accomplish the main aim and objectives of the present research, a conceptual framework is developed to assist in giving a general sense of reference in approaching empirical instances. The conceptual framework is drawn upon the literature review and gaps recognized, and is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 Conceptual Thinking.

## **2.7. Summary**

In this chapter the main debates between tourism scholars on power and power relationships were critically presented. The chapter started from an appreciation of the influence of one of the most fundamental philosophers who has determined the way that tourism studies on power and power relationships have been developed, Karl Marx with his political economy philosophy and theory of 'Historical Materialism'. The discussion followed by the recognition of the main philosophical disagreement between Karl Marx and Georg Hegel. It was stated that unlike Georg Hegel's belief in mental construction of space, Karl Marx emphasized on material construction of space when the social space is produced, of which the spatiality of power is a key part of. As a result, he provided an economic interpretation of history by stating that the inequalities in wealth and power are founded in the historical path of development that can be interpreted from an economic stance. This disagreement between Karl Marx and Georg Hegel impacted the split between theorists in tourism studies on the ways in which issues of power should be approached. It was discovered that despite the influence of Karl Marx, the advocates of such approaches as, for example, cultural political economy and alternative/post-structural political economy, followed Georg Hegel, whilst the proponents of, for instance, Marxist political economy, 'dependency theory', regulation theory, and comparative political economy, followed Karl Marx. Still, using critical approaches to research on power the supporters of all of these approaches have tended to focus on issues around the equality of power relationships between actors or stakeholders. In doing so, it may be argued that they failed to acknowledge the diverse geographies of power and, in particular, overlooked the inherently spatial nature of power, and involvement of social relations in both space and power. In this, the main gap in the current tourism academic knowledge on issues of power was identified and its fulfilment became the main aim and one

of the contributions of the present PhD study. In order to accomplish this aim, the application of Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' supplemented by Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' has been justified. Moreover, it has been reasoned that the concepts developed from these theories will be placed in the broader context of Marx's political economy and 'Historical Materialism' and complemented by other concepts developed from regulation theory and comparative political economy. The next chapter builds on the concepts developed and presents the researcher's conceptual thinking in line with key theoretical ideas that specifically relate to space and power, with a view to articulating how the researcher conceptualises these two concepts/ideas in the context of this research study.

### **Chapter 3: Conceptual Thinking**

### **3. Introduction**

The chapter will start from an appreciation of and justification for the theoretical approaches that have influenced the development of a conceptual framework by the researcher. It is intended that the chapter will assist in providing a general sense of reference to the researcher's approaching of the study of spatiality of power (section 3.2). Each of the theoretical approaches that have influenced the researcher's conceptual thinking will be discussed separately, in turn (sections 3.3-3.5). This discussion begins with Lefebvre's (1991) theory 'The Production of Space' and is followed by a consideration of Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube', used to supplement Lefebvre's (1991) theory 'The Production of Space'. The chapter then goes on to present the author's conceptual framework, developed as a result of the literature review (Chapter 2) and the theoretical approaches presented within this conceptual thinking chapter. This is followed by the proposal of a conceptual framework to be applied to the study context of investigating spatiality of power in relation to tourism industry development in Yamal in the YNAO of the Russian Federation (the context is presented in Chapter 4). A summary of the key arguments and issues presented in this chapter and the implications for the research methodology (presented in Chapter 5) is provided at the end of the chapter.

#### **3.1. The usage of theoretical approaches in the development of a conceptual framework**

As stated in Chapter 2, under the influence of Karl Marx, theorists using critical approaches to research on power in tourism studies have tended to focus on issues around the equality of power relationships between actors or stakeholders (see section 2.3, Figure 2.2). In doing so, it may be argued that they missed the diverse geographies of power and, in particular, overlooked the inherently spatial nature of power, and involvement of social relations in both space and power (Lefebvre, 1976; 1991) (Figure 2.2). In order to fulfil this identified existing research gap, the present study focuses on the exploration of the spatiality of power that surrounds inbound tourism industry development.

One of the great contributors to exploring the spatiality of power is Henry Lefebvre (1991). He, first of all, brought the notion of space to the fore.

Secondly, he argued that space and power are social relations, and most importantly, unlike the advocates of the approaches (discussed in Chapter 2) conceived and applied predominantly as mutually exclusive, he insisted on the importance of the fusion of mental and material constructions of space when exploring the production of space, the spatiality of power is a key part of. In the present PhD research study, the author has considered the supplementation of Lefebvre's (1991) concepts (utilised by for example, Halfacree, 2007; Schmid, 2008; Frisvoll, 2012) with Gaventa's (2006) conceptual thinking underpinning the 'power cube' model to analyze the spatiality of power. The main reason of such supplementation is seen in the fact that Lefebvre (1991) in his 'spatial triad' concentrated only on 'visible' power and 'invisible' power of ideologies, 'invited', 'closed' and 'smothered' spaces that these forms of power create, and 'power proximity and reach'. Utilisation of Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' helps to add, absent from Lefebvre (1991), such concepts as 'hidden' power, 'created' spaces and levels at which interrelations between spaces and forms of power occur. It is intended that the concepts developed from Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' and Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' will help to provide 'sensitising concepts' for the research. This will help to provide a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances (Charmaz, 2003; Bowen, 2006; Buizer, 2008) and to *"draw attention to important features of social interaction and provide guidelines for research in specific settings"* (Gilgun, 2002: 4).

However, alone the application of Lefebvre's (1991) concepts supplemented by Gaventa's (2004) 'power cube' is considered to be insufficient. These theories are absent of such important concept as, for example, the role of the history. History should not be obscured because historical conditions are directly linked to the production of space. The history of space is inscribed in its present. Thus, to study the spatiality of power at a particular locality will require a combination of history and political economy to explain phenomena, for example, actors' motivations for decision-making and actions (Reed, 1999; Lieven & Goossens, 2011), because context determines peoples' viewpoints, interests, motivations, shapes the power relations and conflicts that occur (Clancy, 1999). In these terms, these theories will be placed in the broader context of Marx's political economy and 'Historical Materialism' and complemented by other concepts

developed from other political economy approaches such as regulation theory and comparative political economy. The inclusion of the concepts developed from regulation theory and comparative political economy will help to take into account all the possible factors that frame spatiality of power.

Regulation theory will assist in appreciation of the role of the state and local government in it placed in a wider political, economic, social and environmental context with an emphasis on the context-specific tendencies of historical capitalist development (Marxist political economy). The findings will be abstracted to the level of economic framework analysis to investigate and demonstrate the influence of the type of the economic framework that exist in a particular locality on the tourism industry development in general and spatiality of power specifically. In this another gap on adopting the comparative political economy to a local level within a particular country will be fulfilled.

The theoretical approaches that have influenced the researcher's conceptual thinking are now discussed, in turn, and their application to the current PhD study is examined. The following theoretical approaches are considered: Lefebvre's (1991) theory of 'The Production of Space' with reference to Lefebvre's (1991) associated 'unitary theory of space' and the concept of a 'spatial triad'; and Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube'.

### **3.2. Lefebvre's theory of 'The Production of Space'**

According to Lefebvre (1991), in order to understand the relationships between power and space within the context of a particular case study as this PhD study aims to do, primarily, there needs to be an appreciation of how space is conceptualised to be produced. Space, as it is conceptualised by Lefebvre (1991), is not only a material thing, for example, geographical location as defined by Cartesian co-ordinates that locate an object in space (Zieleniec, 2007), it is also a fundamental element in the operation and organisation of society within historical modes of production. It is one of the forces of production for example, land, and also the medium through which social relations occur and, simultaneously, can be the outcome of this process. In other words, we have social space in which people live and create relationship with other people, societies and surroundings. Yet, at the same time space itself is a

(social) product. All kinds of different spaces can and therefore do exist which may or may not relate to each other. Space is a multifarious concept.

Through the analysis of the production of space Lefebvre (1991) attempts to understand and explain the role of space in the perpetuation and expansion of the capitalist mode of production, which is, in turn, itself viewed as a social creation:

*“What has happened is that Capitalism has found itself able to attenuate its internal contradictions for a century, and consequently, in the hundred years since the writing of Das Capital, it has succeeded in achieving “growth”. We cannot calculate at what price, but we know the means: by occupying space, by producing a space” (Lefebvre, 1976: 21).*

It is in this ability of Capitalism to be flexible in constructing and reconstructing the relations of space and the global economy and Lefebvre (1991) argues this to be one of the reasons for why Capitalism has survived into the twentieth century. It has, he believes, colonized not only its location, social space, but also people’s everyday life. At present, space is argued to dominate the cultural (culture has become a commodity: *“everything is for sale”* (Swanson, 2012: 91), social as well as the economic world (Elden, 2004). In this context, the production of space is a theme that has explicit political aspects, and is related to developing systems of production within Capitalism. Thus, issues of space and the spatial organisation of society, from Lefebvre’s (1991) point of view, should become central to a material analysis. This idea differs from Karl Marx’s notion of ‘Historical Materialism’ in which space was marginalized and time and history were privileged. Lefebvre (1991) insists that this is within ‘social space’ where the relations of production are reproduced and that dialectical contradictions are spatial rather than temporal (Soja, 1985; Elden, 2004).

In order to explore the spatial organization of society, it is necessary to firstly understand how space is produced.

### **3.2.1. Space as a product of both mental and material constructions**

Unlike advocates of the approaches to power discussed in Chapter 2 who privileged mental construction of space (for example, cultural, alternative political economists) or physical constructions of space (in the case of Marxist

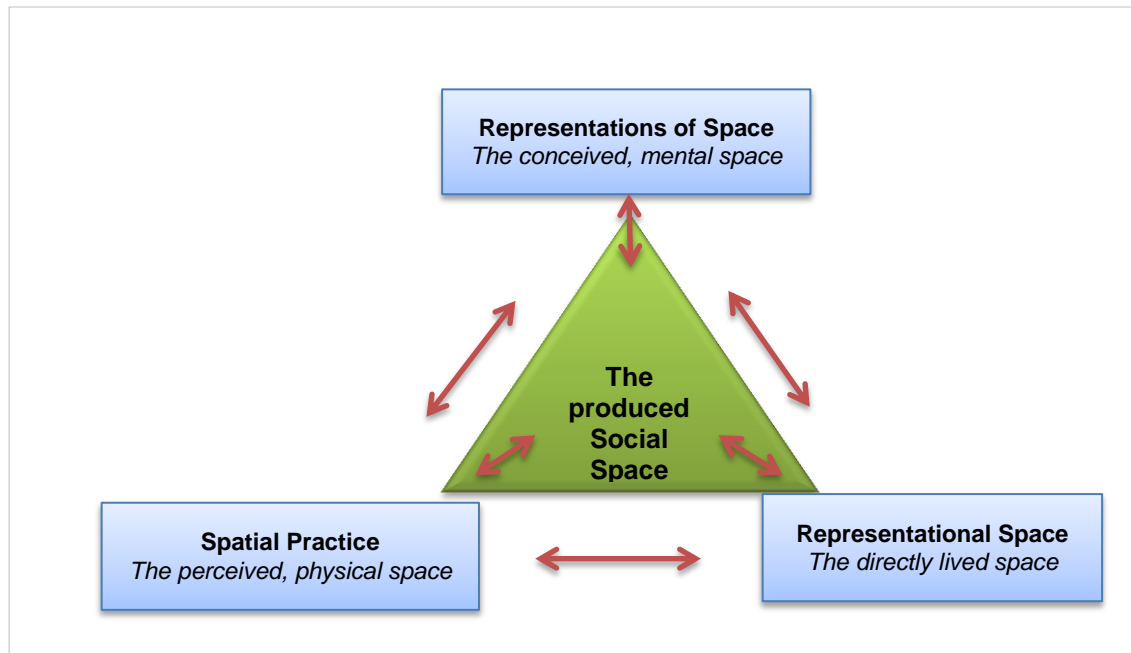
political economists, regulationists, comparative and international political economists), Lefebvre (1991) fuses both mental and physical constructions of space together. In his point of view, space is a product of both conceived, mental, abstract thought of space (ideological space) and perceived, concrete, material reality of space (Zieleniec, 2007). As Lefebvre (1991) states:

*“There is not the material production of objects and the mental production of ideas. Instead, our mental interaction with the world, our ordering, generalizing, abstracting produces the world that we encounter, as much as the physical objects we create. This does not simply mean that we produce reality, but that we produce how we perceive reality”* (Elden, 2004: 44).

In other words, the process of space production is conceived to begin from the representation of an empty space, quasi geometric, occupied only by concepts, by logics and strategies at the highest rational level which then are filled and occupied by the results of these logics and strategies. This representation, in turn, is projected back onto the lived, social space. In his notion of ‘the lived’ Lefebvre (1991) identifies a third way of space appreciation which lies between the poles of conception and perception. In his view, human space and human time lie half in nature and half in abstraction. Socially lived space and time, socially produced, depends on physical and mental constructs.

These three different types of spaces are dialectically interrelated (Elden, 2004). These spaces are merged into one when social space is produced (Lefebvre, 1991). With respect to this Lefebvre’s (1991) ‘unitary’ theory of space, represented in the shape of the conceptual triad, is important (Figure 3.1). This triad provides a visual framework for understanding social spaces in the context of their production within particular societies and historical periods. Thus, it accommodates a contextualised focus on space.

**Figure 3.1: Lefebvre's (1991) 'Spatial Triad'**



Source: The Author (adopted from Jeppe (2011) based on Lefebvre (1991))

Each of three spaces has its own set of definitions and can be described as the following (Lefebvre, 1991):

- 'Representations of space' (the conceived, mental space);
- 'Spatial practice' (the perceived physical, space within which is incorporated the notion of material space);
- 'Representational space' or 'spaces of representation' ('the directly lived space')

To apply these ideas to the present research, the analysis, as suggested by Lefebvre (1991), should start from a consideration of how space is produced (i.e. its mental and physical construction), and then moved onto an examination of how that space is lived in.

### **3.3. Application of Lefebvre's (1991) theory 'The Production of Space' to the current research**

In order to explore how space is produced and, subsequently, how it is lived in, there is a need to appreciate intent, power relations and context (Lefebvre, 1991). Here, the notions of temporality and history should not be obscured

because historical conditions are directly linked to the mode of production and hence, the production of space. The history of space is inscribed in its present. Thus, to study the spatiality of power at a particular locality (Yamal in this case - see Chapter 1), will require a combination of history, geography, culture and political economy within sociology to explain phenomena (Lefebvre, 1991). For example, actors' motivations for decision-making and actions (Reed, 1999; Goossens, 2011), are important to understand as part of the context that determines peoples' viewpoints, interests, motivations, shapes power relations and conflicts that occur (Clancy, 1999). It is understood by the researcher that space mediates different forms of social interaction which occurs within it. Hence, the spatial configurations of tourism destination areas should be viewed in the context of the uneven geographical distribution of relations of production and a struggle to control or gain access to land, territory and resources (Lanfant *et al.*, 1995; O'Brien & Li 2006; Wells-Dang, 2010).

This thinking is in line with Butler (1980) who, in his Tourist Area Life Cycle model (TALC), states that in the early stages of a destination's development, negotiation, involvement and development are based upon belief and value systems, power and resources and that power struggles might happen over the use of resources (as in the case of Yamal - Yasarata *et al.*, 2010). Space might become not only the place where political struggles happen, but the very object of that struggle. Space therefore is recognized to be highly politicized, "*there is a politics of space because space is political*" (Lefebvre, 2009: 168).

These ideas are not 'at odds' with or in contrast to the thinking of Karl Marx who acknowledged that the key to understanding a society at any point in history is to focus first on the mode of production. In capitalist society, as in feudal society, land is a crucial productive factor and hence, it may be argued that it is appropriate to locate land at the heart of the focus of this study given that it is interested in spatiality of power and the relationships that surround this. The political economy of space is recognized to be a key underpinning perspective in this PhD study.

Lefebvre stressed the importance of the consideration of the dialectic of three terms: between rich bourgeoisie or capitalist (the state, local government), the middle peasants or the rural petty bourgeoisie ("the Nenets") and land. In

the context of this study of spatiality of power surrounding tourism development in the Yamal, the relevance of a range of capitalist groups must be recognized in addition to the state and local government namely: entrepreneurs; non-indigenous tour operators; and indigenous travel companies. These groups arguably assist the state and local government in the reproduction of Capitalism.

#### **3.4. The influence of Lefebvre's (1991) 'Spatial Triad' on the researcher's conceptual thinking**

This section considers the researcher's thinking around and practical application of three central ideas of Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' to the current study of spatiality of power surrounding tourism development in the Yamal. It considers these ideas in turn, starting with 'representations of space' (conceived, mental space) identified as being the dominant space in society which is *"tied to the relations of production and to the order which those relations impose"* (Lefebvre, 1991: 38).

According to Lefebvre (1991), those who control how space is represented control how it is produced, organised and used. The central role in the mental processes of production of space belongs, from Lefebvre's (1991) point of view, to the state which through the creation of a social space serves the economic goals of Capitalism. It ensures Capitalism is reproduced and that, in turn, enables the continuation of the relations of domination:

*"The state and each of its constitutions call for spaces, but spaces which they can then organize according to their specific requirements"*  
(Lefebvre, 1991: 85)

Space for the state is a political element of primary importance. The state uses space in such a way that it ensures its control of places, homogeneity of the whole and the segregation of parts. It is thus an administratively controlled and even policed space. In essence, the control of space is central to the state mode of production (Lefebvre, 1978).

The hegemony of Capitalism then is carried out both in and through space to ensure the segregation and the ordering of society by the intervention and control of the structure and design of urban and rural spaces. State controls the

development of regions and changes to metropolitan space because state Capitalism needs the town as a centre, a centre of decision-making, wealth, information, and of the organisation of space.

*“Capitalism seizes the whole space. Without appropriating it to its use, it dominates it and modifies it for exchange; it produces its space, that of domination, around centres of decision, of wealth, of knowledge and information” (Lefebvre, 1991: 247)*

The needs of Capitalism are thus, seen to be paramount. Communication and transport networks – rivers, maritime, and terrestrial – enable the circuits of exchange via which Capitalism is mobilised. Circuits and spatial connections develop into spatial networks. The growth of the state and the economy is therefore linked to the idea of ‘transformation of space’. The building of airports and motorways, the location or relocation of heavy industry in strategic places or near convenient transport hubs, are all part of the reorganization of space, the state organization of space, and the political production of space, controlled by the central state power.

The main aim of the state’s control is the commodification and bureaucratisation of people’s everyday life, namely making space mathematical and ordered in such a way as to govern it most efficiently (Sharp, 2009). It is in these skewed relationships where abstract perceptions of space are prioritised over the practices and spaces of representations that the space of everyday might become constrained, regulated, framed, ordered and thus dominated by the economy and the authority and power of the state. The representations of space here function as technologies of control, discipline and power.

Control of representations of space is expressed by the state in the development of planning as a professional discipline with an inherent ideology of space which at the same time represents the application of spatial practices that impinge upon everyday life. Space, as Lefebvre (1976) states, is political and ideological, *“it is a product literally filled with ideologies”* (Lefebvre, 1976 as cited in Soja, 1989: 80). There is an ideology of space because space is a social product (Lefebvre, 1976). Ideologies have a practical effect. They maintain the dominance of the state’s interests (Lefebvre, 1968). In fact, it may

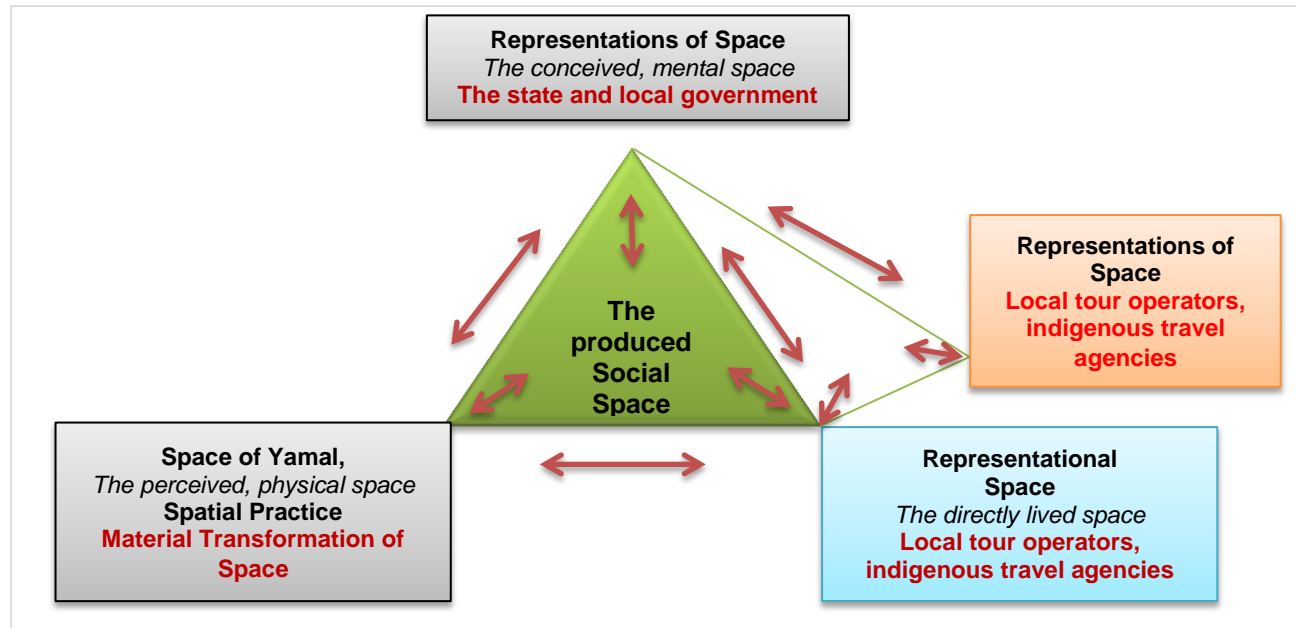
be argued that any lack of acknowledgement of the role of ideology denies the politics inherent in space.

In this vein, planning therefore represents a profession in which ideologies are acted out, explicitly or implicitly, in representations of space. It is a designed intervention in the physical, social and spatial infrastructure. The material representation of space is represented by the appointed people such as planners, architects, engineers, developers, with the mandate to dominate space by physically shaping the space that people live in. In effect, planning is the abstract presentations of experience in space reduced to quantified movements along with historical and present planning ideals executed by leaders. Lefebvre (1991: 39) observes that, “*space becomes the instrumental space of social engineers. Their conceptualization tends towards a system of verbal signs*” and takes on a physical form in the shape of the maps, plans and designs that allow the better control and manage of space (Sharp, 2009). It is through these material representations of space that the dominant social order is inscribed and, by implications, legitimised (Gregory, 1994).

However, it may be challenged that Lefebvre overestimated the role of the state and, in doing so, under-estimated the agency of enterprises or businesses who are arguably as important as the state for analysis of spatiality of power because they help to sustain market Capitalism through assistance in functioning economies (Miller, 2012). For example, in the context of tourism industry development they play a role alongside the state in constructing different types of facilities such as hotels, shops, restaurants and amusements.

It may be proposed that in the context of this study the physical representations of the state and local governments’, tour operators’ and indigenous travel agencies’ representatives’ conceived thoughts of space can be seen in the realm of ‘spatial practices’ (Figure 3.2).

**Figure 3.2: Application of Lefebvre's (1991) 'Spatial Triad' applied to the current research**



Source: The Author (adopted from Jeppe (2011) based on Lefebvre (1991))

### **3.4.1. 'Spatial practice' (material, physical, perceived space)**

'Spatial practice' refers to 'empirically observable', 'readable' and 'visible' practices of material transformation of space (in this study in the space of Yamal) that mobilizes productive forces and the social system (Stanek, 2011). It is proposed that within the spatial practices there is an inherent exercising of power through the operation of procedures that seek to limit, regulate and control movements, choices, behaviours, through their design and ornamentation. The aim of 'spatial practice' is thus, understood here as being to imbue space with symbols of power so that those who use that space come to internalise the values of those who designed the space.

Lefebvre seems to be adamant about the ability to represent space in a particular way, to code it in a manner that suggests that only certain groups are present through the ability to smother difference, to suggest who should be seen and heard and who should not. Above all, it is the vast array of spatial practices, from the routine walks and rhythms which endow a place with meaning to the coded gestures, styles and mannerisms which prescribe a certain use for space that puts both people and power in place.

A particular space involves social and physical barriers that deny access to those deemed 'inappropriate' and, more importantly, who is recognized as present. On this understanding, the prohibitive aspect of space reveals itself through practices of discrimination between the comings and goings of those who work alongside one another. Only certain groups are seen and heard on a regular basis.

The construction of space by the powerful in their own likeness through a series of rituals, gestures and mannerisms serves to empty out the spaces of people other than their own. Through a constant succession of movements and activities, the manner and style in which they are executed, certain social groups are able to dominate space in their own image.

Excluded from the 'membership' of such a place, then, are those whose behaviours do not accord with the dominant representation and use of such

places. But it is important to stress that these groups are not physically excluded; rather their presence is 'smothered' by a dominant coding of space.

Domination is usually considered as pervasive based on the notion of 'closed spaces'; spaces constructed by groups akin to building 'walls', sometimes to exclude those who are not perceived to be 'the same'. If, up to this point, we have been thinking about the cross-cutting nature of people's lives as they go about their daily business, the idea of spatial enclosure suggests a fixed separation, a boundary line that produces a clear limit to the movement of 'others'. 'Closed spaces' are about groups 'walling themselves in', erecting social and physical barriers to the comings and goings of others.

'Closed' spaces as spaces of domination are those where the strict control is exercised over entry based on the formal rules that constrain the behaviours of all concerned. The closing down of possibilities, the restrictions that residents have to abide by in order to be part of 'the community', for example, leave them with little choice but to submit to the formal order of things.

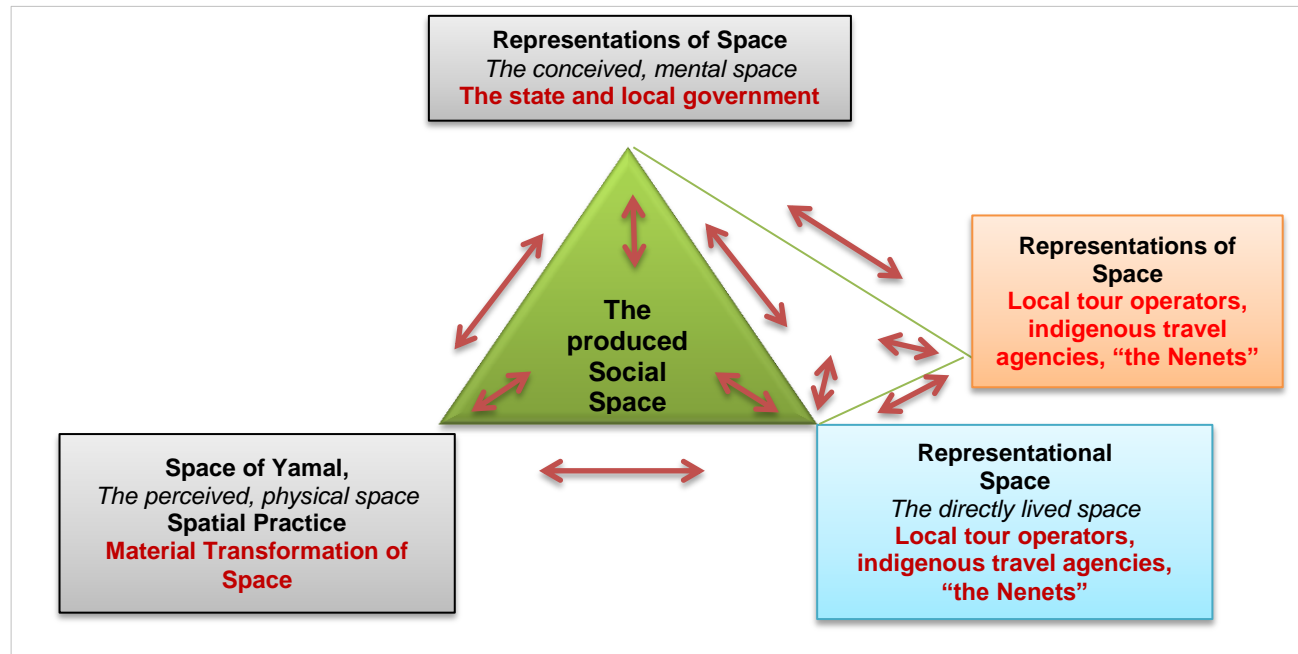
However, Lefebvre (1991) argues that within this domination of space those 'out of place', those who pass unrecognized, are none the less able to inhabit the space. Or rather, they are able to appropriate spaces for themselves within the dominant coding and use of space, either by subverting the codes of the dominant space or by representing an alternative way of inhabiting it.

#### **3.4.2. 'Representational space' or 'Spaces of Representation' ('directly lived space')**

'Representational space' is a directly lived space expressed through sensation, action of inhabitants and users (Watkins, 2005). Through routine actions or practices, people may undermine or challenge the dominant 'representations of space'. They may contradict the formal 'representations of space' through a spatial code which is neither simply read or imposed, but used as a means of living within that space (Lefebvre, 1991). In other words, the power of abstract space to erase the traces of others, to reduce difference, is never entirely effective. The very attempts to achieve homogeneity do themselves produce spaces which "*escape the system's rule*" (Lefebvre, 1991: 382).

As applied to the present research, legal boundaries, set up by the representatives from the state or/and local government, might not match with the mental maps that “the Nenets” or the representatives of the local tour operators, or indigenous travel agencies construct in their heads (Wells-Dang, 2010) (Figure 3.3). Through everyday activities (‘spatial practice’) they can potentially conflict with the designed intentions of urban and city planners, representing the interest of the state or/and local government, and between each other. Through the possibility of other aspects of the experience of space they have the potential to undermine or subvert the planned and dominating picture. This may happen as a result of competing meanings and values as well as uses and practices invested in the use and appropriation of space.

**Figure 3.3: Possible differences in Representations of space of the stakeholders under the current study**



Source: The Author (adopted from Jeppe (2011) based on Lefebvre (1991))

### **3.5. The influence of Gaventa's (1991) 'Power Cube' on the researcher's conceptual thinking**

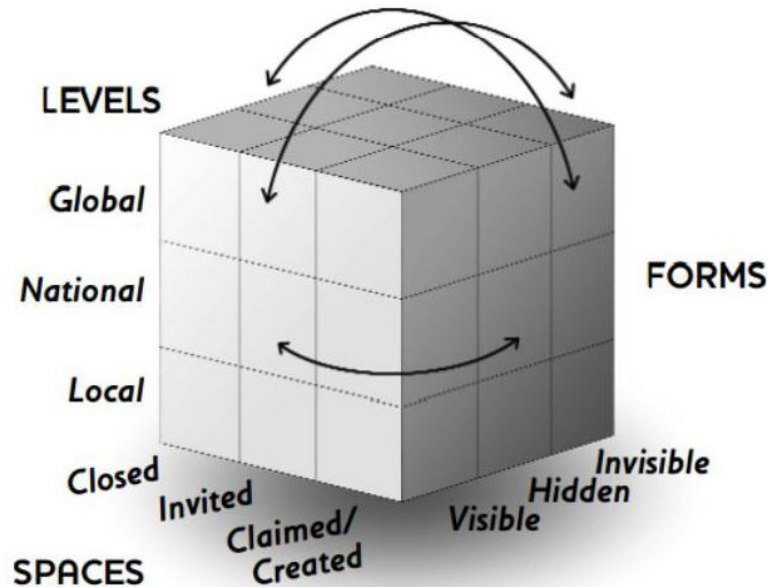
To supplement the researcher's conceptual thinking that was shaped by Lefebvre (1991) it was recognized that there was value in exploring the conceptual ideas in Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube'. Gaventa's ideas largely coincide with the notions of space as promoted by Lefebvre (1991), especially with respect to the existence of 'visible power' and 'invisible power' related to the existence of ideologies, and 'closed spaces', but additionally the ideas of Gaventa concentrate on the concept of 'created spaces', particular 'forms of power', 'spaces' and the existence of levels at which interrelations between spaces and forms of power occur (Figure 3.4).

Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' (Figure 3.4) visually resembles a 'Rubik's cube'<sup>1</sup> which allows for the rotation of 'blocks' or 'sides'. Gaventa (2006) uses the cube shape to illustrate his analytical framework for analysing three dimensions of power: spaces; levels; and forms. Any one of these three facets may be used as the first point of analysis, but implicitly each dimension is linked to another. This means that any successful change in power relations requires each of the pieces on each dimension of the cube to align with each other simultaneously (Gaventa, 2006). Hence, transformative, fundamental change happens when social actors are able to link the demands for opening previously 'closed spaces' with people's action in their own spaces (i.e. by creating horizontal alliances); to span across local and global action (vertical alliances), and to challenge 'visible', 'hidden' and 'invisible' forms of power simultaneously. In addition, however, these three dimensions are synchronously interacting to affect each other: strategies for alignment along one axis may contribute to misalignment on another axis. The 'power cube' thus, illustrates the complexity of the permutations that power can take across space, place and form in any given context (Pellissery & Bergh, 2007).

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<sup>1</sup> A 3- dimensional combination puzzle designed by Ernő Rubik and licensed for sale by Ideal Toy Corp. in 1980

**Figure 3.4: Gaventa's 'Power Cube'**



Source: Gaventa, 2005, 2006, 2009.

As is the case with Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad', Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' has rarely been applied by tourism scholars. Amongst researchers who have used the model are: Giva & Sriskandarajah (2014) who explored the possibility to improve the engagement between management of the National Park in Mozambique and local communities; Myhrvold (2014) who investigated the problem of local participation in conservation management of Kangchenjunga in Nepal; Braunholtz-Speight (2015) who examined how the Scottish community land movement has used various forms and sources of power in pursuit of local development, including tourism; Gebert (2015) who focused on the identification of the ways a local economic development project in tourism area can be evaluated.

In the current research, in accordance with the main research aim (articulated in Chapter 1, section 1.1) the application of Gaventa's 'power cube' will include consideration of all of its sides and the inter-relations between them, i.e., 'space', 'forms of power' and 'level'. However, in relation to 'level', the focus will

be reduced to the local level, Yamal in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO). It is intended that by using the ideas underpinning Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' alongside Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad', the researcher will be able to develop a deeper appreciation of the spatialities of power that surround the relationships between the state, local government, tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and "the Nenets". In addition, there will be an opportunity to consider the influence of spatiality of power on inbound tourism industry development, associated local economic contribution and "the Nenets" welfare.

Used as 'sensitising concepts' (Charmaz, 2003; Bowen, 2006; Buizer, 2008) it is intended that both of these models (Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' and Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube', will help to guide the empirical research.

Gaventa (2006), like Lefebvre (1991), is convinced that space is a social product. He argues that space is dynamic and humanly constructed for the purpose of control and domination. The boundaries of spaces are posited to be shaped by power relations, but power relations themselves are also argued to shape "*what is possible within them, and who may enter, with which identities, discourses and interests*" (Gaventa, 2006: 11). Although 'power' sets the parameters of action, another element in the equation is 'freedom' in that it provides, "*the capacity to participate effectively in shaping social limits that define what is possible*" (Hayward 2000: 2) including the right to define and shape a given space.

Gaventa (2006) distinguishes between three main types of space and 'forms of power' (Figure 3.4). 'Invited spaces' are those into which people are invited to participate by various kinds of authorities. 'Closed spaces' are those where decisions are made by a set of authorities and closed to broader publics. 'Claimed/Created spaces' (reflecting the concept of Lefebvre's (1991) 'Representational space') are those that are created by people, who share a set of common concerns, for themselves. As an example can be formal or informal gatherings, actions or events people create to hold the authorities to account.

It is argued that the inclusiveness of participation within each space is shaped by 'forms or dynamics of power'. Here, it is possible to distinguish between

'visible', 'hidden' and 'invisible' forms of power (Gaventa, 2006). 'Visible power' refers to observable decision-making, through for example design of plans, maps, laws as in the case of Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' (see section 3.5). Through 'hidden' forms of power, setting the agenda, non-decision making, or 'a mobilization of bias' (Schattschneider, 1960) certain powerful people or institutions might exclude less powerful people and their concerns from decision-making or limit the availability of alternative choices by controlling who gets to the 'decision-making table' and what gets on the agenda (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970). 'Invisible power' is arguably the most insidious form of power, as it shapes the psychological and ideological boundaries of participation. This is again in line with the thinking of Lefebvre (1991) (section 3.5) and Lukes (1974) (see Chapter 2 section 2.2.1, 2.6 and Chapter 3, section 3.5). Significant problems and issues are not only kept from the 'decision-making table', but also from the minds and consciousness of the different players involved. By influencing how individuals think about their place in the world, this form of power shapes people's beliefs, sense of self, and acceptance of the status quo, even their own superiority or inferiority. Even voices in 'invited spaces' can be mere echoes of what the power holders who shaped those places want to hear.

A recognition of the existence of 'forms of power' does not replace or detract from notions of political, economic, social, cultural and other types of power, but instead is complementary. For example, state power can represent both 'visible power' and political power, whilst the power of tour operators and indigenous travel agencies might represent another form of 'visible power' as well as economic power. However, there are also occasions and issues in which state, local government and tour operators structures might represent political and economic power as 'hidden power' behind the scenes' or out of public view.

It must be acknowledged, that the format of Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' slightly limits the consideration of power due to the strict lines that are denoted between the three dimensions that are presented ('spaces', 'forms' and 'levels' of power). Lefebvre's (1991) notion of 'smothered spaces' can help to mitigate these limitations. The main point is a rather different one from simply drawing attention to the fact that power is exercised in both subtle and not so subtle ways. It is that much of what can be taken as 'closed space' is usually less

closed than it seems, and much of what appears 'open' and 'accessible' is not always so.

### **3.6. Lefebvre's 'Smothered Spaces'**

The varied spacing and timing of people's interactions implies that for power to have a presence it does not always have to take the form of a physical or social barrier. Some arrangements are obvious to discern, whereas in other, more open spaces access is concealed rather than denied. The mutability of power differs in line with the differences between places, in terms of their uses, attachments, codes and relationships.

A space might seem to be 'open' but in reality it may be less accessible for, at least, some if not many people. Most open spaces can be closed down by degree. The ways in which this happens is not always due to explicit restrictions over access or entry using formal restrictions. Rather power may be exercised in far less marked, indirect or even shallow ways to achieve the desired form of closure.

There also can be a possibility of the absence of power. In other words, as stated by Lefebvre (1991), not each and every place is marked by the presence of power. In this, Lefebvre (1991) is different from Foucault (1977) who stated that power is more or less everywhere, it is always present.

If power is present, then one of the main questions is its 'proximity and reach' (or geography of power). Elden (2004) argues that this question has often been lost or neglected by contemporary tourism scholars.

### **3.7. Lefebvre's 'Power Proximity and Reach'**

According to a conventional topography, power has both location and extension. It supposes physical distances which consist of measurable spans of the globe which inform about what is far and is near, who, in the context of power-geometries, is able to control such distances to gain advantages. In contrast, in a topological frame, power relationships are not located in space or extended across it. As stated by Allen (2011: 284): *"Distanciated ties and real-time connections are not perceived as lines on a map which cut across*

*territories, but rather as intensive relationship which create the distances between powerful and not so powerful actors*". Power-topologies take place when the reach of actors makes them capable of making their presence felt in more or less powerful ways that link proximity and distance (for example, Law, 1999; Latour, 1987, 2005). This is in line with Lefebvre (1991), according to whom, the exercising of power in particular places may well originate beyond those places, at some other location, yet remain part of power's active presence. For example, the state and local governments' ability to stretch into people's lives through various 'spaces' and 'spatial practice' using various 'forms of power' to make their presence felt through melting the gap between 'here' and 'there'. This can be illustrated quite clearly through the example of the existence of both federal (state) and local laws ('visible' form of political power). Still, while some practices might be effective at a distance, others might require close proximity to have any impact. Thus, the exploration of the ways in which power proximity and reach play across one another will assist in opening up an understanding of spatiality of power. In the appreciation of this aspect and its inclusion into the research is another contribution of the present study.

To sum up, applied together Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual triad and Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' will add to each other and will help in exploring spatiality of power surrounding the relationships between the state, local government, tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and "the Nenets", and the influence of spatiality of power on inbound tourism industry development, associated local economic contribution and "the Nenets'" welfare. These theories will be placed in the broader context of Marx's political economy and 'Historical Materialism', and complemented by the concepts developed from other political economy approaches such as regulation theory and comparative political economy. Regulation theory will assist in appreciation of the role of the state and local government in it placed in a wider political, economic, social and environmental context with an emphasis on the context-specific tendencies of historical capitalist development (Marxist political economy). The findings will be abstracted to the level of economic framework analysis (comparative political economy) to investigate and demonstrate the influence of the type of the economic framework that exist in a particular locality on tourism industry

development in general and spatiality of power specifically (see Chapter 2, section 2.7). The resulted conceptual framework will be discussed in the next, 3.9 section.

### **3.8. Conceptual Framework**

The purpose of the conceptual framework is to explain the main concepts to be researched and the presumed relationship between them (Miles & Huberman, 1994). It informs the design of the research – helps to assess and refine goals, develop relevant research questions and select appropriate methods of data collection and analysis.

Under the influence of Lefebvre's 'spatial triad', Gaventa's 'power cube', Karl Marx' political economy and 'Historical Materialism', regulation theory and comparative political economy on the researcher's conceptual thinking, a visual conceptual framework has been developed (Figure 3.5).

This framework has been developed to help to reach the main aim of the present PhD study, to explore spatiality of power surrounding inbound tourism industry development in the Yamal, YNAO, and the relationships between the main stakeholders: the state government, local government, indigenous travel agencies, non-indigenous tour operators and "the Nenets". In order to reach this aim, the researcher follows Lefebvre's (1991) theory 'The Production of Space' according to which spatiality of power can only be explored when mental and material constructions of space are fused together. Thus, the researcher concentrates on the dialectically interrelated 'representations of space' (mental constructions of space) of the stakeholders under the focus; their 'spatial practice' (material constructions/transformations of space); and 'representational space' (or directly lived space) of the representatives from the local non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and "the Nenets". These three types of spaces and the relationships between them are demonstrated on the diagram as a triangle where the dialectical relationships between these concepts are illustrated using the two-way arrows (Figure 3.5).

Now the detailed explanation of the relationships between these three spaces, merged in one when the social space is produced, is provided.

At the heart of the diagram (Figure 3.5), the researcher located the concept 'land' (or space of the Yamal). The main reason is in the fact that, following Lefebvre's (1991) belief, the key to understanding a society at any point in history is to focus first on the mode of production, that is to say, on land, and spatiality of power and the relationships that surround this (Lefebvre, 1991). This thinking is in line with Butler (1980). In his Tourist Area Life Cycle model (TALC), he states that in the early stages of a destination's development, negotiation, involvement and development are based upon belief and value systems, power and resources and that power struggles might happen over the use of resources (as in the case of the Yamal - Yasarata *et al.*, 2010). Space might become not only the place where political struggles happen, but the very object of that struggle. This may happen as a result of competing meanings and values (mental constructions of space) as well as uses and practices (material constructions of space or 'spatial practice' and 'representational space') invested in the use and appropriation of space by the stakeholders. In the present research, these are the state and local government, the representatives from the local non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and "the Nenets". In this context, the dialectical interrelations between the 'representations of space' of these stakeholders, their 'spatial practice', 'representational space' and 'space of Yamal' are demonstrated as the two-way arrows (Figure 3.5). Based on the fact that there might be competing meanings and values (mental constructions of space) invested in the use and appropriation of space of Yamal by the stakeholders, Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' has been extended through the inclusion of 'representations of space' of the representatives from the local non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and "the Nenets" (Figure 3.5).

The central role in the mental processes of production of space (or 'representations of space'), on which the space of Yamal has an influence on, belongs to the state and local government (Lefebvre, 1991) (see the two-way arrow connecting them – Figure 3.5).

The main purpose of the state and local government is to use space of Yamal in such a way that to ensure the control of place. Through the creation of a social space, the state serves the economic goals of Capitalism, ensures Capitalism is

reproduced and that, in turn, enables the continuation of the relations of domination. In order to ensure their control, the state and local government use 'spatial practice'. 'Spatial practice' is expressed through 'transformations of space' of Yamal and utilisation of various 'forms of power' (for example, 'visible', 'hidden', 'invisible') to create varied 'spaces' (for instance, 'invited' or 'closed') to limit, regulate and control movements, choices, behaviours of others, through their design and ornamentation. In these terms, Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' is utilised and linked to Lefebvre's (1991) triad with a line on the diagram that connects together Lefebvre's (1991) notion of 'spatial practice' and Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' (Figure 3.5). Because the present PhD study is interested in the phenomena at the local level, 'power cube' is presented in its truncated to a local level form.

The fact that exercising of power in particular place such as Yamal may originate beyond this place, at some other location (for example, at the level of state government), yet remain part of power's active presence, Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' has been complemented with Lefebvre's (1991) concept 'power proximity and reach' (Figure 3.5). Moreover, Gaventa's (2006) notion of 'space' has also been supplemented by Lefebvre's (1991) concept of 'smothered space' (Figure 3.5) because the varied spacing and timing of people's interactions implies that for power to have a presence it does not always have to take the form of a physical or social barrier. Some arrangements are obvious to discern, whereas in other, more open spaces access is concealed rather than denied. A space might seem to be 'open' but in reality it may be less accessible for, at least, some if not many people. Most open spaces can be closed down by degree. The ways in which this happens is not always due to explicit restrictions over access or entry using formal restrictions. Rather power may be exercised in far less marked, indirect or even shallow ways to achieve the desired form of closure.

Yet, those who are 'out of place', who pass unrecognized, are none the less able to inhabit the space through the notion of 'representational' or directly lived space (for example, the representatives from the local non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and "the Nenets"). Or rather, they are able to appropriate spaces for themselves within the dominant coding and use

of space through their 'spatial practices', either by subverting the codes of the dominant space or by representing an alternative way of inhabiting it (space creation or 'created space'). In this context, the notion of 'representational space' is connected to Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube', 'space' specifically, through the notion of 'spatial practice'. The dialectical interrelations between 'representational space', 'representations of space', 'spatial practice' and space of Yamal are again demonstrated through the two-way arrows connecting them together (Figure 3.5).

Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' complemented by 'power cube' are placed within the wider historical and present political, socio-economic, cultural and environmental context that shapes the spatiality of power surrounding the relationships between the state, local government, local non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and "the Nenets" (Clancy, 1999; Reed, 1999; Lieven & Goossens, 2011). This decision has been made under the influence of Karl Marx's political economy and 'Historical Materialism'. According to him, historical conditions are directly linked to the production of space. The history of space is inscribed in its present. Thus, to study the spatiality of power at a particular locality requires a combination of history and political economy to explain phenomena, for example, actors' motivations for decision-making and actions (Reed, 1999; Lieven & Goossens, 2011) because context determines peoples' viewpoints, interests, motivations, shapes the power relations and conflicts that occur (Clancy, 1999). This is how the social space in the Yamal, YNAO, is constructed and conceptualised for the purposes of the present study.

Based on the conceptual framework established, the following research questions have been developed to help to reach the objectives and, as a result, the main aim of the present study:

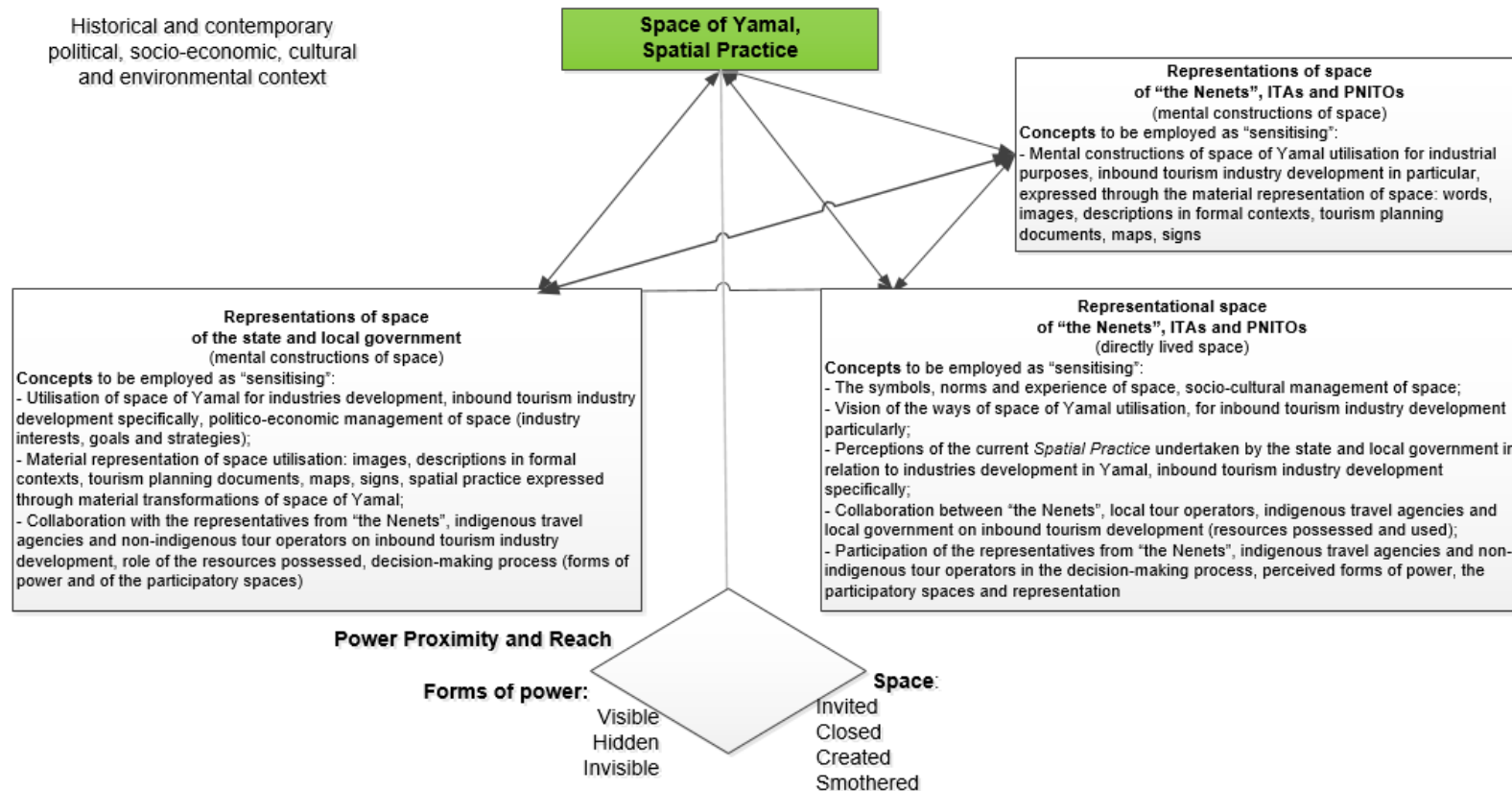
1. How do the representatives from the stakeholder group conceive the space of Yamal and its utilisation for the development of the industries, the inbound tourism industry in particular?
2. What is the 'spatial practice' of the state and local government in relation to the usage of the space of Yamal?

3. How does the historical context impact the contemporary politico-economic situation in the YNAO, the 'representations of space' of the stakeholder group and their 'spatial practice'?
4. How do the representatives from "the Nenets" and private business enterprises perceive the current socio-economic, political and environmental situation?
5. What are their actions (or 'spatial practice')?
6. What is the outcome of the similarities and/or differences in the 'representations of space' of the representatives from the stakeholder group, the 'spatial practice' involved for inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO, in Yamal specifically; for contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and "the Nenets'" welfare?

In order to answer the developed research questions, the conceptual framework developed will assist in giving a general sense of reference in approaching empirical instances. It will also help in the selection of the appropriate methods of data collection and analysis (see Chapter 5 and 6 respectively) and will be applied to a locality specially chosen to fulfil the main aim and objectives of the present research. Justification of the case study chosen for the current research will be made in Chapter 4.

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**Figure 3.5: Conceptual Framework: Social space production at the local level of Yamal, YNAO, Russian Federation**



**Source:** adopted from Gaventa (2006) and Lefebvre (1991), and embraced by the Author, 2013

### **3.9. Summary**

In this chapter the appreciation and justification of the theoretical approaches used and concepts derived to develop the conceptual framework was made. Each of the theoretical approaches, Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' and Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube', was discussed separately. The limitations identified in each of these approaches contributed to the usage of these theoretical approaches as complementing each other. It was stated that Henry Lefebvre (1991) and his theory 'The Production of Space' was utilised based on the fact that he was one of the contributors to the spatiality of power. Unlike the advocates of the approaches discussed in the literature review, for example, cultural political economy, alternative/post-structural political economy, Marxist political economy, 'dependency theory', regulation theory, and comparative political economy, Lefebvre (1991) insisted on the importance of fusion of mental and material constructions of space together when exploring the social space production, of which the spatiality of power is a key part of. Still, it was recognized that Lefebvre's 'spatial triad', consisted of such concepts as 'visible' and 'invisible' power, 'invited', 'closed' and 'smothered' spaces, 'power proximity and reach', was lack of the concepts: 'hidden' power, 'created' spaces and levels at which interrelations between spaces and forms of power occur. In this context, the application of Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' as supplementing was justified. Moreover, the complementation of these theories with the concepts taken from Karl Marx political economy and 'Historical Materialism', regulation theory and comparative political economy was also justified. Based on the concepts developed from the literature review and the theoretical approaches discussed, the conceptual framework was developed. This framework assisted in giving a general sense of reference in approaching the problem of spatiality of power explored in a particular locality specially chosen to fulfil the main aim and objectives of the present research. The detailed discussion of the conceptual framework was presented in the last section of this chapter where the pathway to the next Chapter 4, Context, was also given.

## **Chapter 4: Research Context**

#### 4. Introduction

The research objectives presented in Chapter 2 introduced the researcher's identification of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO) in the Russian Federation as providing a suitable case context for the study of spatiality of power in tourism industry development. To recap, it was recognized that the YNAO would offer analysis of a context with a federal type of governance, with a non-colonial past, being in transition from one political economic regime to another, and with the tourism industry at an early stage of its development. Type of country is in line with research gaps identified by Webster *et al.* (2011).

This chapter provides a fuller justification of the case study area chosen (section 4.2). Detailed characteristics of the Yamal in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug of the Russian Federation are presented including, acknowledgement of the historical path of the country's development and the role of that development in the current political, socio-economic situation in the Russian Federation in general and Yamal in particular (section 4.3). A specific focus is given to the spatiality of power surrounding relationships between the state and local government and society, examining the position of “the Nenets” (the indigenous community of the YNAO) predominantly. “The Nenets” are of a prime interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, with a population of around 40 000, this is one of the largest of the indigenous groups in Northern Siberia. Secondly, their traditional economic activity, reindeer herding, is the third Yamal's industry after oil and gas. Thirdly, oil and gas industry development in the Yamal Peninsula threatens “the Nenets” reindeer herds, as more and more pasture territories are being allocated for the gas and oil industry purposes (Cherry, 2009). The latter, in turn, endangers the preservation of “the Nenets” traditional way of life, traditions and customs. In other words, space of Yamal has become not only the place where political struggles happen, but the very object of that struggle. In this context, the spatiality of power will be explored through investigation of: the state government's ‘representations of space’; space utilisation for industries’ development (looking at oil and gas, reindeer herding and tourism specifically); ‘spatial practice’ used to sustain the government's control and domination; “the Nenets” ‘representational space’ (or directly lived space) and “the Nenets” ‘representations of space’ expressed

through their 'spatial practice' in response to the state's 'spatial practice'. In this, the researcher follows Lefebvre (1991) who stressed the importance of the fusion of mental and material constructions of space when exploring the spatiality of power (see Chapter 3, section 3.3). The historical period of analysis under consideration starts from the 1917 Russian Revolution up until '*Perestroika*' (restructuring of the Soviet political and economic system) in 1991. This historical excursus is made under the influence of Karl Marx's political economy and 'Historical Materialism', according to which historical conditions are directly linked to the production of space. The history of space is inscribed in its present. Thus, to study the spatiality of power at a particular locality requires a combination of history and political economy to explain phenomena, for example, actors' motivations for decision-making and actions (Reed, 1999; Lieven & Goossens, 2011) because context determines peoples' viewpoints, interests, motivations, shapes the power relations and conflicts that occur (Clancy, 1999) (Chapter 2, section 2.7). Subsequently, the chapter offers an appreciation of the current political and socio-economic situation and spatiality of power surrounding the relationships between the state, the local government, the private tourism industry sector and "the Nenets" indigenous community. This is offered through an analysis of the 'representations of space' of the state and local government, their 'spatial practice' and space usage for oil and gas, reindeer herding and inbound tourism industries' development (section 4.4). The chapter concludes with a consideration of the implications of the case context for the design and execution of the research (as discussed in Chapter 5) and the operationalisation of the research objectives (presented in Chapter 2).

#### **4.1. Justification of the case study**

It was stated in the Literature review chapter that in order to explore the spatiality of power, the context for the research should be provided. Yamal in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO) of the Russian Federation presents an interesting geographical area on which to base data collection because unlike previous tourism studies of power that have been carried out mainly in countries with a colonial past (for example, Britton, 1980; Shaw & Williams, 1994, 2002, 2004; Ioannides & Debbage, 1998; Williams, 2004;

Ioannides, 2006), YNAO is a country with a different, non-colonial past, of a federal type, being in transition from one political economy regime to another one. Studies of this type of geographical area are relatively rare in tourism studies. One notable exception here is Burns (1998) who conducted research on tourism industry development in Russia during transition from command economy to free markets in 1998. However, his work was focused purely on the restructuring of official arrangements for the organization and planning of tourism. Thus, the case context for the study may be recognized to offer potential for the extension of tourism knowledge in terms of its geographical focus.

In order to comprehend the current politico-economic situation in the Russian Federation in general and Yamal in particular, an excursus into the historical path of the country's development will be made. In this, the researcher follows Karl Marx' political economy philosophy and adopts his ideas on 'Historical Materialism' (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.1), and its follower, Lefebvre (1991), namely in terms of his theory 'The Production of Space' (see Chapter 3, section 3.3). To make such an excursus is very important because the historical path of development of the locality determines peoples' viewpoints, interests and motivations, shapes the development of industries, and the spatiality of power that surrounds it along with the relationships between the main stakeholders (Clancy, 1999).

#### **4.2. Historical paths of development in the Russian Federation**

The decision to expand and begin this Context chapter from the transitional period of Russia from Feudalism to state capitalism was influenced by observations made during the interviews undertaken during field work in the Yamal in 2013 (see Chapter 5). The representatives of the indigenous people in Yamal, known locally as "the Nenets", while appreciating the current situation in the region, constantly referred back to the influence of events that happened during Soviet times (particularly between 1917 and 1991). These reference points were used in their explanations of the problems they currently faced in relation to space and power and tourism industry development. A constant theme was the idea of transformation of the space that they live in. It is useful for the reader to understand that historical context prior to a full discussion of

study findings in this thesis (Chapter 7). The next section will concentrate on the events that happened after the Russian Revolution of 1917 when a centralized economy was first established in Russia. This is followed by discussion of the period of time when Josef Stalin came to power and made decisions that had a strong influence on the way in which the country was developed, producing significant economic and socio-political outcomes for the people under study. The historical excursus proceeds to consider the period of '*Perestroika*' a time internationally-recognized as signifying the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and Russia's experience once again of transition from one political regime to another one. Finally, consideration is given to the present day situation.

The discussion throughout will be linked to Yamal in the YNAO and "the Nenets" in particular as a means of starting to explore the spatiality of power that frames inbound tourism industry development in the case context. In addition, the power relationships between "the Nenets" and other stakeholders such as local government, local (indigenous) travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators will be considered. Analysis of the context for the current research will be made through the application of Lefebvre's (1991) and Gaventa's (2006) concepts developed in Chapter 3, reflecting the conceptual thinking of the researcher.

#### **4.2.1. 'Representations of space': transition from Feudalism to state capitalism.**

After the revolution in 1917 that put an end to the Tsarist state and to the feudal regime dominated by nobility and landlords, the Russian economy suffered a cutback of economic activity. The nation's industrial sector was paralysed by strikes, the transport network was on the brink of total collapse and cities were short of food and fuel. These material or economic conditions, in line with Karl Marx' 'Historical Materialism', triggered facilitation of the recovery of economy and the provision of the necessary technical conditions for the advancement to a new economic system, Socialism, and later on to Communism. These forms of existence of society without any private property were argued to be what the Russian working class dreamt of (Aristocles Plato on communism in Ball *et al.*, 2015; Karl Marx in Morrison, 2006; Morrison, 2006). State capitalism was introduced by Vladimir Lenin (Lefebvre, 1991). He stated that for Russia the

transition to full Socialism, characterised by social ownership and democratic control of the means of production, would be easier because state capitalism is something centralized, calculated, controlled and socialized, and that it was exactly what Russia lacked. In Lenin's words:

*"Only the development of state capitalism, only the painstaking establishment of accounting and control, only the strictest organization and labour discipline, will lead us to socialism. Without this there is no socialism"* (Lenin, 1965: 297).

Following Karl Marx' earliest views on the state that bore a Hegelian imprint, state capitalism was seen by Vladimir Lenin to be under the guidance and control of an imperfect 'proletarian state' made to serve the interests of the whole people (Miliband, 1965). With workers' control of production and control of the proletarian state by the party of the working class, Socialism was considered as a reality. Society was seen as a social system based on the equality of all members in terms of wealth and power where the main ideological principle became *"from each according to his ability, to each according to his need"* (XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1961: 366).

The belief that the state should be controlled by the party of the working class was based on Vladimir Lenin's conviction, following Karl Marx, that masses suffer from 'false conscious' (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.1). According to him, the working class were unable to discern their true interests and thus, they could not be trusted to govern and, as a result, it was believed that they should be led by an elite 'vanguard' party composed of radicalized middle-class intellectuals like Lenin himself (Ball *et al.*, 2015). This belief consequently resulted in the dictatorship of the communist party in the name of the proletariat.

This is how a new political economy regime which retained many elements of Capitalism was established in Russia. The central role in the mental processes of production of space (or 'representations of space') started to belong to the state which, through the creation of social space, served the economic goals of state capitalism. It ensured state capitalism reproduction that, in turn, allowed for the continuation of the relations of domination. Space for the state was a political element of primary importance. It was used in such a way that it

ensured the state's control of places, homogeneity of the whole and the segregation of parts. It was thus, an administratively controlled and even policed space (Lefebvre, 1978; 1991).

*'In the name of the people'* as one of the main ideologies, the State ('representations of space') acquired control of land, nationalized major sectors of the economy, particularly agriculture, heavy industry, mining, banking and finance, and, as a result, became the main capitalist actor with the state planning economy becoming the foundation of a socialist system of society. The workers were turned into wage-earners under the employment of the State or of semi-State concerns. Production took place as a system of exchange involving the circulation of capital. Capital was self-expanding at the point of production consequent on the exploitation of wage labour and articles of wealth were still being produced for sale on the market with a view to the realization of surplus value. Private enterprises such as shops, restaurants, small-scale manufacturing units and peasantry were also retained but their existence was seen by Vladimir Lenin as temporal because it contradicted the ideas of Socialism. The peasants could work their farms but use only family labour (Miliband, 1965).

The situation changed when Vladimir Lenin died in 1924 and Josef Stalin came to power. He, likewise Vladimir Lenin, considered private peasants as a departure from Socialism and, as a result, changed the political-economic course of Russia's development.

#### **4.2.2. Josef Stalin's 'Representations of space': Collectivization of agriculture and industrialization**

Josef Stalin's 'representations of space' were established through further transformations of space for the purposes of state capitalism expansion (Lefebvre, 1978). He began the collectivization of Soviet agriculture and concentrated on the rapid industrialization of the country. As Ball *et al.* (2015) indicate, from Josef Stalin's point of view the Soviet Union was supposed to quickly and, if need be, brutally transform itself from an agricultural nation to an advanced industrial power. As a result, during the collectivization (a process of consolidation of individual peasant households into collective farms called

'kolkhozes'), millions of 'kulaks', or prosperous peasants, were deprived of their farms and forced to labour on large collective farms, as was the case of the rich Nenets in the Yamal, YNAO, who were dispossessed of their reindeer (discussed further in section 4.3.4.1). If they tried to subvert the codes of the dominant space through resistance, due to the mismatch with their 'representations of space', the state ascertained control, by implementing ordering and exerting discipline (or 'power over') through 'spatial practice'. At its most extreme this control was played out through shooting peasants or sending them to forced labour camps (Lefebvre, 1978; Ball *et al.*, 2015).

The main argument (or ideology) used in favour of the creation of the large 'kolkhozes' (or collective farms) was their ability to use the means of production (for example, heavy machinery or reindeer) more efficiently than could numerous small, individual farmers, accompanied by a further argument that also they could be controlled by the state more effectively. As a consequence, these people could be forced to sell a large proportion of their output to the state at low government prices thereby, enabling the state to acquire the capital necessary for the development of heavy industry. This is how through collectivization agriculture was integrated with the rest of the state-controlled economy and, in synchrony, the state was supplied with the capital it required to transform the Soviet Union into a major industrial power (Ball *et al.*, 2015). This confirms Lefebvre's (1968; 1991) belief that the development of regions was and is crucial for (state) capitalism which uses space and resources, including ideologies, for its expansion (see Chapter 3).

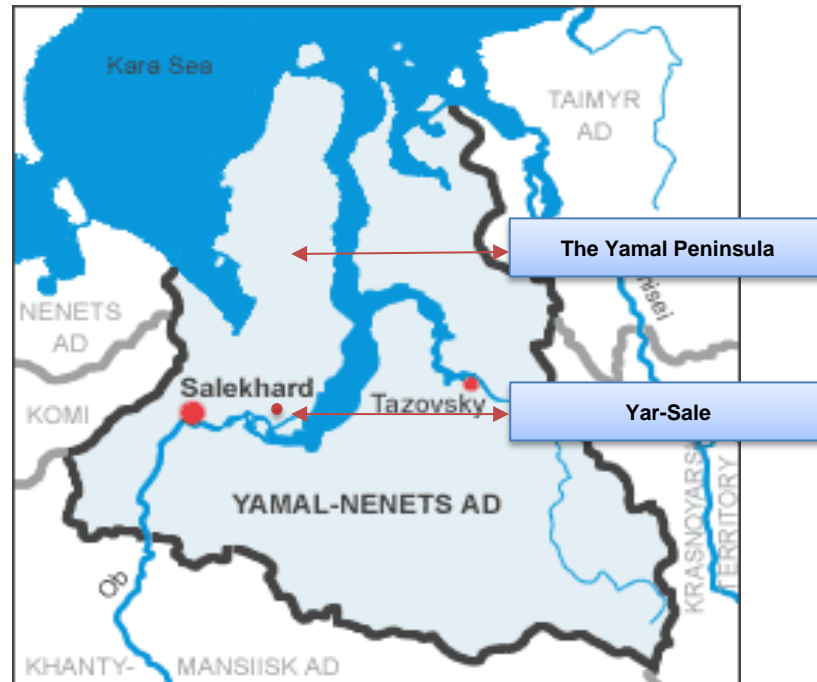
A vivid example of what kind of impact these processes (or 'spatial practice') had on the peasants may be seen through the example of "the Nenets", an indigenous group of people living in the Yamal, YNAO, Russia, who saw space utilisation ('representations of space') they lived in differently from the state (section 4.3.5). They considered their living space as a place which they occupied and where they independently led their main, private activity, reindeer breeding and herding for centuries (Golovnev, 1995; Golovnev & Osherenko, 1999). The following discussion is intended to provide further details about the geographical location of "the Nenets", Yamal, "the Nenets" themselves and the impacts the transformation of space (or 'spatial practice') in the form of

collectivization and industrialization (the state's 'representations of space') for the purposes of the Capitalism growth had and has on them up until the present day.

#### 4.2.3. Geographic location of the Yamal, Russia

"Yamal", in the language of "the Nenets" means the 'Edge of the Land'. With its district centre, Yar-Sale, it is located in the West Siberian north, just northeast of the geographical border between Europe and Asia above the Arctic Circle. It is bordered by the Kara Sea, Baydaratskaya Bay on the west and by the Gulf of Ob on the east. At present, it is part of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO), a district which has its borders with the Nenets Autonomous District of Arkhangelsk and the Komi Republic in the west, with the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug of Tyumen region in the south and with the Krasnoyarsk Territory in the east (Figure 4.1).

**Figure 4.1: The location of the Yamal within the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Russian Federation**



Source: Russia Profile, 2011

The territory of the district is mainly located in three climatic zones: arctic; subarctic; and northern zone ('taiga') belt of the West Siberian Plain. The

climate here is characterized by especially abrupt changes during the year: the long, cold and harsh winter with strong storms and frequent blizzards with the lowest temperature of -56 C; and the short summer lasting on average for about 50 days (The Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Ural branch, 1965; Galigin, 1998).

#### **4.2.4. “The Nenets”**

The ethnic name ‘Nenets’ simply means ‘people’ (Golovnev & Osherenko, 1999). They belong to the Samoyed group of the Uralic language family which is different from Russian language, but is of the same family as Estonian or Finish.

It has been reported that “the Nenets” instigated as a people as a result of the intermingling of the aborigines and Samoyeds who had moved and settled in the Russian North during the second millennium A.D. (Golovnev, 1995; Golovnev & Osherenko, 1999). The Russian people originally referred to “the Nenets” as ‘inorodsy’ – ‘others’ or ‘Samoyedy’ during centuries. Their original, indigenous name, “Nenets” was returned to them locally only after the Russian Revolution of 1917 (Golovnev & Osherenko, 1999).

Traditionally “the Nenets” are reindeer herders and breeders who, like the Saami, developed reindeer breeding at a large-scale about three to four centuries ago. It is believed that their ancestors were skilful in taming and breeding reindeer since at least the early Iron Age, according to archaeological data (Golovnev & Osherenko, 1999). Up until the present day reindeer herding has been based around family groups with the herders and their families leading a semi-nomadic lifestyle, staying and following their reindeer the whole year around (as shown in Figure 4.2) (Golovnev, 1995; Stammer, 2005). Since, “the Nenets” lives were inextricably connected to reindeer, reindeer became the source of their daily food, clothes (Figure 4.3), transport, cover for their beds, tepee’ or yurt-style tents called ‘Chum’ where they live (Figure 4.4), and the main source of their income as they sell not only reindeer meat but also trade bones, skins and antlers (Golovnev, 1995; Golovnev & Osherenko, 1999; Beach & Stammer, 2006; Vitebsky, 2006). Fishing, gathering, and hunting for fur and sea animals, for example, polar fox, waterfowl, and sea mammals, were

and are important secondary branches of their traditional economy (Beach & Stammer, 2006).

Based on the form of their traditional, economic activity and their possession of the means of production – reindeer - “the Nenets” could be classified as ‘peasants’ rather than ‘proletariat’ in Marxist terms.

**Figure 4.2: “The Nenets” and their reindeer**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets”. It is reproduced with permission (see Appendix III; IV)

**Figure 4.3: “The Nenets” and their traditional clothes made of reindeer**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets”. It is reproduced with permission (see Appendix III; IV)

**Figure 4.4: An example of “The Nenets” chum (camp)**



Source: The Author, 2013

#### **4.2.4.1. “The Nenets” as peasants**

‘Peasants’ is a social group that *“stands midway between the primitive tribe and industrial society”* (Wolf (1966) ac cited in Ellis, 1993: 5). It may be argued that peasants do not invest capital in order to make profits from enterprises in which they have no other stake so they are not really part of the capitalist class. Still, Vladimir Lenin (1944) distinguished between three different classes of peasantry consists of – *‘the rich, the middle and the poor peasants’* (Lenin, 1944) - and he classified the first two of these as capitalists or bourgeoisie. According to him, the ‘rich peasants’ or ‘rural capitalists’, or so called ‘the bourgeoisie’ are those who employ labour, that is, who exploit poorer peasants. As he defines:

*“Rich peasants are able to engage in “expanded reproduction that is to expand the land and/or other means of production at their disposal beyond the capacity of family labour. They then start to employ the labour of others”* (Lenin (1944) ac cited in Bernstein et al., 1992: 33)

The 'middle peasants' or the 'rural petty bourgeoisie', in Lenin's (1944) point of view, are those who own or rent "*small means of production which it operates largely without employing wage labour, but often with the assistance of members of their families*" (Lenin, 1944: 254; Giddens & Held, 1982). As a worker, the petty bourgeois shares a similar position with the proletariat's owner of means of production however, s/he also has interests in common with the bourgeoisie. In other words, the petty bourgeoisie has a divided allegiance towards the two decisive classes in capitalist society (Giddens & Held, 1982). That is to say, the 'independent' petty bourgeois producer "... *is for ever vacillating between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie*" (Stalin, 1953: 143) because "*he is cut up into two persons. As owner of the means of production he is a capitalist; as a labourer he is his own wage-labourer*" (Marx in McLellan, 2000: 433). The poor peasant or rural proletariat lives "... *not by the land, not by his farm, but by working for wages.... He... has ceased to be an independent farmer and has become a hireling, a proletarian*" (Lenin, 1961: 265-67).

As applied to "the Nenets", Golovnev and Osherenko (1999), in line with the definitions given above, classified the community to be comprised of 'rich', 'middle peasants' and 'poor' Nenets. The rich Nenets owned so many reindeer that they could not maintain them without the assistance from the middle class ('petty bourgeois') and poor reindeer herders who, in turn, were interested in jobs provided by the rich Nenets based on the small number of reindeer possessed by the poor or the complete absence of reindeer ownership. The situation and the relationships between them cardinally changed once the process of collectivization (or state's 'spatial practice') began in 1930-s which transformed the space that they lived in.

#### **4.2.5. State's 'Spatial Practice': transformation of space of the Yamal through the process of collectivization**

The process of collectivization, triggered by state capitalism development constantly seeking to open up new and profitable avenues of investment to insure its perpetuation and expansion (Harvey, 2005), resulted in space being transformed in accordance with the state's interests or 'representations of space'. For example, using its political 'power over' through implementation of the new legislation, "*Decree on land*", adopted at the second All-Russian

Congress of Soviets in October 26, 1917 (CY PCΦCP, 1917), land that belonged to “the Nenets” for centuries was nationalized (Golovnev & Osherenko, 1999). The property of some rich reindeer herders, for whom reindeer numbered between 2000-3000, was expropriated and became the basis for state-owned reindeer breeding collective farms, known as ‘kolkhozes’ (Golovnev & Osherenko, 1999). The rich Nenets tried to resist due to a clash between their mental constructions of space (or ‘representations of space’) and conceived space of the representatives from the state through ‘spatial practice’ and this resulted in organization of rebellion utilising ‘power with’. However, their attempts were not successful against the army used by the state (‘spatial practice’) as a remote form of power of control. As a result, the rich Nenets were turned into either petty bourgeoisie or poor peasants. They were enforced, along with the middle class and poor reindeer herders, to work for the reindeer breeding state enterprises or to settle down and start living in the villages holding jobs mainly related to fishing and fishing processing industry or were forced to seek work in other spheres (Golovnev & Osherenko, 1999). Reindeer herding, thus, became part of the state economy. The space of tundra was transformed into an ‘open-air meat factory’ where “the Nenets” became workers of the soviet agricultural system with fixed salaries. This allowed the state to acquire the capital required for Capitalism growth.

These historical events confirm Lefebvre’s (1968; 1991) belief that the state used space in such a way that it ensured its control of place, homogeneity of the whole and the segregation of parts. It was thus, an administratively controlled and even policed space (Lefebvre, 1978; 1991). The events also illustrate that the development of regions was crucial for (state) capitalism which used space and resources for its expansion (Lefebvre, 1991) (see Chapter 3).

Apart from using the expropriated land for state-owned reindeer breeding, Soviet authorities began to open the North to industrial-scale development for the extraction of natural resources thus, again further altering the space for its capitalistic purposes.

#### **4.2.6. State's 'Spatial Practice': transformation of space of the Yamal through the process of industrialization**

In 1960s, the exploration of oil and gas as strategic resources for state capitalism expansion in Yamal was launched (state's 'spatial practice'). Huge deposits of oil and gas, almost a quarter of these resources worldwide, made this place one of the most important, strategic regions in Russia (Stammler & Beach, 2006; Stammler, 2005; Vitebsky, 2005). Today, the oil and gas sector plays a vital role in the political and economic development of the country because it accounts for almost 68% of export revenues, 30% of Russia's GDP and 50% of federal budget revenues (Huck, 2011; Gromov, 2011; Sharples, 2012; Beta, 2015).

The profit obtained from various industries, including the oil and gas sector during the Soviet period was used to provide free education, housing, healthcare services and infrastructure creation and development.

However, the situation changed dramatically with the appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev as the General Secretary of the Soviet Union in 1985. He expressed his dissatisfaction with the speed of the socio-economic development of the country and based on his 'representations of space', encouraged by the United States and financially supported by the International Monetary Fund (Kotz, 2001), he declared the need to accelerate it through 'spatial practice', a transition of the country from the state-planned economy to a mixed (or liberal) one (Draper & Ramsay, 2007; O'Neil, 2007). From Gorbachev's point of view that would allow more freedom to the market that, in turn, would permit production and better distribution of wealth in society.

In his belief Gorbachev probably followed Adam Smith who in 1776 in the "*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*" said that the free-market economy is the best allocator of resources because through intentionally serving one's own interests, one unintentionally serves the interests of society as a whole (Holden, 2005). Alternatively, it might be considered that Gorbachev, consciously or unconsciously, followed Leon Trotsky's ideas (prohibited by Josef Stalin as being opposed to the ideas of Vladimir Lenin and, by virtue, in opposition to Socialism). Leon Trotsky was one of the leaders and collaborators

of Vladimir Lenin of 1917, who unlike Lenin thought that the completion of the democratic tasks in Russia (the dissolution of the monarchy and the implementation of agricultural reform), was only possible if the proletariat would be supported by the peasantry together with whom under the leadership of a revolutionary party they would seize power (Volkov, 2000).

Whatever the case was, having artificially created and using 'power over' the working class to address the need for private ownership in the means of production, Mikhail Gorbachev triggered a departure of the country from Socialism and its return to Capitalism through restoration of private property (Blunden, 1993). This turn of events realized one of the predictions made by Leon Trotsky: that the bureaucracy developed during Josef Stalin's time would lead to a collapse of the Soviet Union and revival of many of the phenomena from tsarist times, the notion of ownership of private property specifically (Volkov, 2000).

Thus, in the Russian constitution a new article that modified the space through a guarantee of the freedom of economic activity appeared (state's 'spatial practice'):

*"In the Russian Federation guarantees shall be provided for the integrity of economic space, a free flow of goods, services and financial resources, support for competition, and the freedom of economic activity"* (Article 8.1, The Constitution of the Russian Federation, 1993).

#### **4.2.7. 'Spatial Practice': transformation of space through transition from state capitalism to a mixed model of political economy**

'*Perestroika*' or shift from state capitalism to a mixed model of political economy, launched by Mikhail Gorbachev, lasted from 1985 to 1991 and resulted in space modifications ('spatial practice') using political 'power over' of the law, the Constitution of the Russian Federation. As an outcome, the economic and political control was decentralized to local governments in line with the Articles 5.2, 5.3, 130. 2 and 132.2 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993). State property such as industries (for example, oil and gas industry, reindeer herding), spheres of education, healthcare, housing, and land were redistributed

to private ownership (Articles 130.1, 132.1 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993) in relation to the industries' distribution; Article 43.3, 41.2, 40.3 in relation to education, healthcare and housing respectively; Article 9.2 in relation to land).

Still, *"the implementation of the delegated powers"* was kept being *"controlled by the State"* (Article 132.2 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993) as well as *"the terms and rules for the use of land"* that were supposed to be *"fixed by a federal law"* (Article 36.3, The Constitution of the Russian Federation, 1993). All of these 'spatial practices' made *"in the interests of people"* (ideology), however, did not bring the expected improvements in the socio-economic situation of the country. On the contrary, they resulted in the severe distortions in Russia's socio-economic system, including economic and infrastructure collapse, depression, widespread criminality and corruption, the rise of a financial oligarchy, and the population sinking into poverty (Kotz, 2001). Capitalism expansion took a new oligarchic form (Kotz, 2001) that was caused by the neoliberal strategy aligned to the transition to a liberal model of political economy regime which, in turn, minimized the role of the state in the life of the country (Holden, 2005). The state was not withdrawn from the market but its power was reconfigured along the lines of a market-based system in order to enhance the conditions of now private capital accumulation (Gill, 1995; Harvey, 2005; O'Neil, 2007).

One of the vivid examples of the resulted oligarchic form of ownership became the oil and gas sector. This sector was privatized and the new owners acquired oil and gas as natural resources, oil and gas wells, pipelines for free or for a small fraction of their real value (Kotz, 2001).

The political and socio-economic situation began to change with the coming to power of Vladimir Putin in 2000 who began to strengthen the role of the state by increasing the state's involvement in the economy, in the industrial development of the country specifically. How the newly altered 'representations of space' reflected on the oil and gas and reindeer herding industries in Yamal and the consequences for "the Nenets" is discussed in the following section.

### 4.3. 'Representations of space': transformation of space in the Yamal nowadays

In order to increase the involvement of the state in the development of industries, the principle of public-private ownership was applied (state government's 'representations of space'). For example, a current monopoly on natural gas exports from the Yamal Peninsula began, belonging to the largest joint-stock company in Russia, Gazprom, over 50 per cent of which shares are owned by Russian Government (Gazprom, 2015). The Company's share in the global and Russian gas reserves makes up 18 and 72 per cent respectively (Gazprom, 2015). It accounts for 14 and 74 per cent of the global and Russian gas output accordingly. This is the world's thirteenth largest company in terms of market capitalization with its profits declared in 2013 at more than USD 100.4 billion (Gazprom, 2015).

At present, this company has discovered about 11 gas and 15 oil and gas condensate fields on the Yamal Peninsula and built up the pipelines to transport these products to Europe (Figure 4.5).

**Figure 4.5: Gazprom's construction of Oil and Gas Pipelines from Russian Federation to Europe**



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), 2010

In 2008, extraction of oil and gas in Yamal brought total revenues to the state's budget about 3.5 trillion roubles which are equal to 35 milliard British Pounds Sterling (Syugney, 2009). Being the leading industry in the economic sector, with a 93% share in total industrial production, oil and gas industry represents the leading industry in Yamal, followed by reindeer herding in the third place. As the main economic interest lies in oil and gas industry development, more and more space (pastures) is being taken away from "the Nenets" as a result (state government's 'spatial practice'). This right of the government to take away land for the industrial purposes is fixed by the Law of YNAO (Land Law № 39, 1997). It again demonstrates the political power of the state or remote 'power over' in pursuing its capitalistic aims:

*"Withdrawal of land plots for public use on the territory of traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples and ethnic communities shall be permitted only in exceptional cases relating to the implementation of international commitments, the construction of highways, main oil (gas) wire, communication lines, electricity and other linear structures in the absence of other options for the placement of these objects, as well as for the development of valuable minerals" (Law № 39, Chapter IV, Article 16).*

However, it does not mean that the interests of "the Nenets" are ignored or not taken into account. Based on the importance of reindeer herding as the industry that also brings profit to the local economy and thus, contributes to state capitalism expansion, the interests of "the Nenets" are also protected. According to *"The State programme for the development of economy and culture of the indigenous peoples of the North in 1991-1995"*, approved by the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR of March 11, 1991, and the *"Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation from March 30, 1992"* intended to streamline the use of the land occupied under the ancestral, community and family lands of the small-numbered peoples of the North, "the Nenets" have a right to use land free of payment to lead their traditional economic activities (Land Law № 39, Article 3). If land is taken away for the industrial purposes (Land Law № 39, Chapter IV, Article 16) the government will compensate them their loss by allocating different territories for pastures or by giving the financial compensation. Moreover, withdrawal of land for state or municipal needs from the indigenous peoples can be carried out in agreements with the *"Association of Indigenous Peoples of YNAO"* (Law № 39,

Chapter V, Article 19). The consent of the indigenous peoples should be obtained and ethnic communities should be identified through local referendum in accordance with Part 4 of Article 9 of this Act (Law № 39, Chapter IV, Article 16). Withdrawal of the commercially valuable territory for reindeer herding is not allowed. The list of such land is set by the State Duma of the Autonomous Okrug (Law № 39, Chapter IV, Article 16).

Despite these laws it may still be argued that the development of the oil and gas industry conducted by Gazprom negatively impacts on reindeer herding.

#### **4.3.1. Negative impact of oil and gas extraction on the development of reindeer herding industry in the Yamal**

As aforementioned, reindeer herding and meat production at present is the Yamal's third biggest industry after oil and gas. The state owned Yamal Reindeer Company received EU certification to export reindeer meat to European countries in 2006. As a result, Yamal became the first largest exporter of reindeer meat in Russia. During 2013, about 2,000 tons of reindeer meat were sold abroad, mainly to Germany, Sweden, Finland, China (IA Sever-Press, 2013). There have also been plans announced to export to Qatar (Bachman & Casciato, 2010).

Yet, the reindeer herding industry has been negatively affected by further transformations of space due to explorations for oil and gas deposits and subsequent constant pasture reductions leading to problems of overgrazing of land (Cherry, 2009). At present, it is reported that the largest stock of reindeer population in Russia consisting of 600,000 reindeer, 80 % of which are privately owned by "the Nenets" (Stammler, 2005; Beach & Stammler, 2006; Vitebsky, 2005), are being grazed on 106 000 km<sup>2</sup> of the Yamal Peninsula and "the Nenets" have to use the same pastures twice per season (Golovatin *et al.*, 2012). This situation, according to Golovatin *et al.* (2012), has already led to the degradation of vegetation and desertification of tundra and might lead further to the collapse of reindeer herding, as a result destroying the natural basis of "the Nenets'" traditional lifestyle.

In order to support “the Nenets” by providing them with an additional source of income and job opportunities and in an attempt to diversify the local economy (for example, Briedenhman & Wickens, 2004; Hall & Müller, 2004; Morais *et al.*, 2006; Rogerson & Kiambo, 2007; Halseth & Meiklejohn, 2009) and decrease dependency on local natural resources, the region’s governor, Dmitry Kobylkin, (following Vladimir Putin), has expressed an interest in inbound tourism industry development (Mazharova, 2009). If properly developed, it is believed that tourism might become one of the largest economic sectors of the region serving well the purposes of Capitalism.

#### **4.3.2. A brief excursus into the past of tourism industry development in Russia**

Historically, during the Soviet period of time, the tourism industry was conceived of as a non-productive industry, based on the ideology and political economy regime promoted during that time, the main focus of which was on recuperating the workforce (Burns, 1998). As a result, the history of tourism in the region was mainly domestic in nature. There were only two significant travel agents dealing with tourism during Soviet times, "Intourist" and "Sputnik", with an additional market player being the Trade Union's Central Council for Tourist Excursions (Burns, 1998). Trade Unions were mainly involved with social tourism such as spas and medical treatments. They were given a priority and were dealt with by the Ministries of Health and Social Welfare. The cost of tourism was heavily subsidized, up to 80%, by the various trade unions, enterprises or the State (Burns, 1998).

International tourism also existed, but it had two functions. Inbound tourism was used to allow foreigners to explore particular parts of the Soviet Union (primarily Moscow, St. Petersburg). In a political sense, it was used to promote the Soviet Union's image abroad and arguably tourism was an integral part of socialist ideology under the USSR (Palmer, 2009). During ‘*Perestroika*’ this system collapsed and a new one, serving the interests of Capitalism, appeared based on a transition of the country from state capitalism to a liberal model of Capitalism.

#### **4.3.3. 'Representations of space': importance of tourism industry development at a country level nowadays**

In 1996, the tourism industry was recognized as one of the main branches of the economy of the Russian Federation. Its development was considered as one of the priorities (for example, Federal law "About the bases of tourist activity in the Russian Federation "dated October 4, 1996). Inbound tourism was seen as a source of financial revenue to the budgetary system of the Russian Federation, a means of increasing employment and improving quality of life of the population. The development of the inbound tourism industry was thought to be of great importance for the country as a whole and for the districts and municipalities of the Russian Federation, in particular.

In 2013, the Russian Federation had a 13% increase in arrivals, reaching close to 29 million trips (Euromonitor International, 2015). These results were probably the outcome of the federal target programme "*Development of domestic tourism in the Russian Federation (2011 - 2018's)*" launched and approved by the president of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin in 2011 (Federal Agency for Tourism, 2015; Resolution of the Russian Government, August 2, 2011 N 644, on the federal target programme "*Development of domestic tourism in the Russian Federation (2011 - 2018's)*").

According to this programme, the state took back more responsibility from the market and took on more active roles in regard to the regional development and place promotion as well as providing investment incentives for tourism (Sharpley & Telfer, 2014). The development of the tourism industry was seen as based on the public-private relationships. In other words, it was reliant on the investments made by private enterprises specialized in tourism and subsidies made by the state and/or local governments.

At present, tourism organisation and governance look as the following (Figure 4.6) (The Russian Government, 2015; The Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2015):

At a federal level, the highest authority in the field of tourism belongs to the President of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Russian

Federation, Vladimir Putin. He collaborates with the Ministry of Economic Development and the Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation which are in control of funding for the tourism industry development programme. These Ministries, in turn, cooperate with the Ministry of Sport, Tourism and Youth Policy of the Russian Federation responsible for the implementation of the programme, for the rational use of funds allocated for the implementation of the programme. The Ministry of Sport, Tourism and Youth Policy of the Russian Federation liaises with the Ministry of Regional Development and the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, Federal Tourism Agency (or Russiatourism) in particular. The Ministry of Regional Development is accountable for ensuring of the interrelation between realization of the programme and the strategies and projects of social and economic development of the federal districts of the Russian Federation, for the analysis of the efficiency of the funds use by the subjects of the Russian Federation and municipalities during realization of the programme. The Federal Tourism Agency is in charge of the organization and implementation of a large-scale advertising campaign to promote the Russian tourist product in the domestic and global markets.

The main functions of the Federal Agency for Tourism are (Federal Agency for Tourism, 2015):

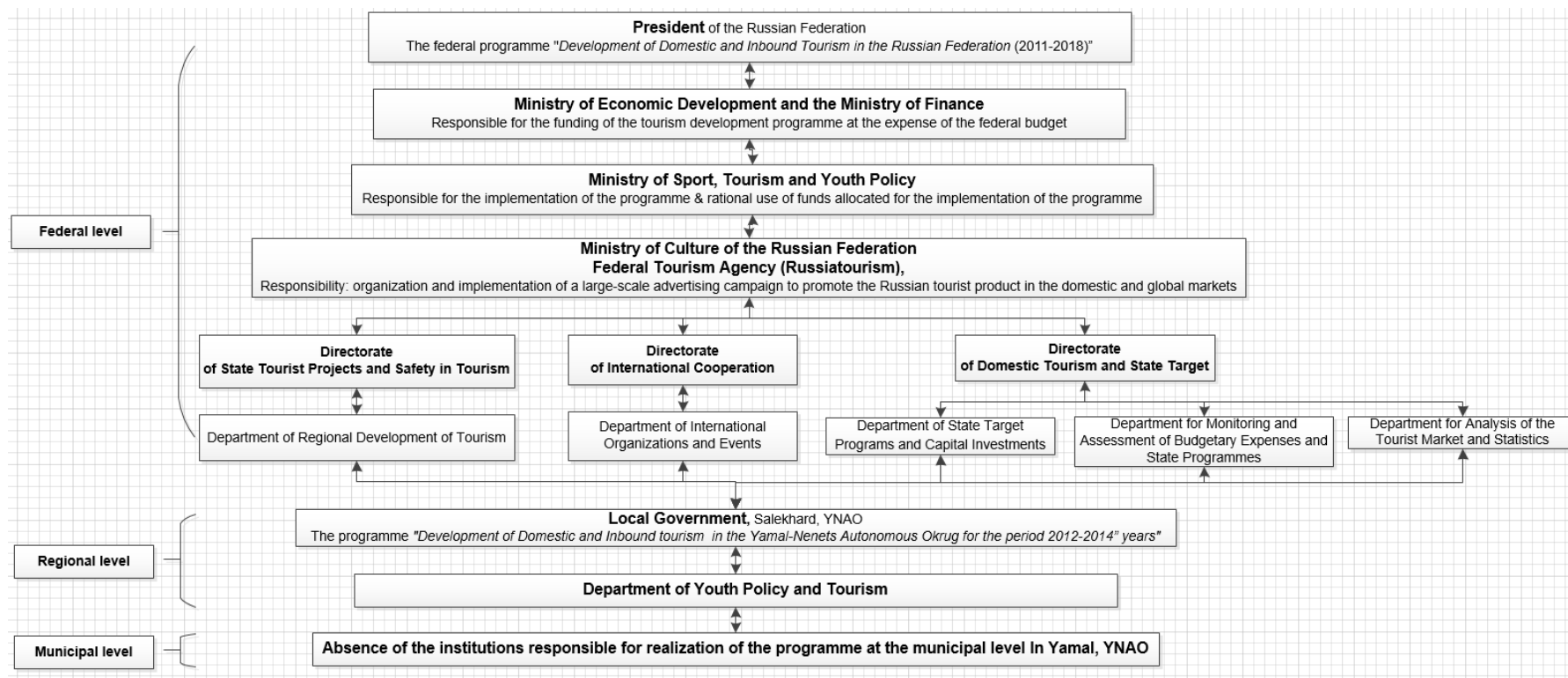
- *To perform public regulation in the priority areas of tourism activities in the Russian Federation;*
- *To exercises law enforcement functions in the sphere of tourism;*
- *To generate and administer the Single Federal Register of Tour operators;*
- *To inform tour operators, tour agents and tourists of security risks for tourists in the country (place) of temporary residence in due course;*
- *To promote tourism products on the domestic and world tourism markets;*
- *To assist Russian Federation constituent entities and municipalities in the development of tourism in the respective territories;*

- *To exercise the functions of the state customer of federal target, scientific-technical and innovative programmes and projects;*
- *To interact with the public authorities of foreign states and international organizations, including representation of the interests of the Russian Federation in international organizations upon the instructions of the Government of the Russian Federation and the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation;*
- *To establish missions outside the Russian Federation in the sphere of tourism;*
- *To organize congresses, conferences, workshops, exhibitions, and other events within the established scope of activities;*
- *To enforce measures of support for small and medium-sized business entities aimed at their development, including the implementation of targeted departmental programmes, within the established scope of activities;*
- *To exercise other functions in public property management and the provision of state services within the established scope of activities, where such functions are established by the appropriate federal laws and regulations of the President of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Russian Federation;*
- *To exercise the functions of chief controller and receiver of federal budgetary funds allocated for maintenance of the Agency and implementation of the functions assigned thereto.*

Based on its main responsibilities, this agency, through various departments, works in partnership with the local governments at the regional level (Figure 4.6). In relation to tourism industry development in the Yamal, YNAO, the Federal Tourism Agency cooperates with the local government in Salekhard, the capital city of YNAO, which, in turn, works together with the Department of

Youth Policy and Tourism of YNAO responsible for the realization of the programme at the regional and municipal level (Figure 4.6). However, as it can be seen from Figure 4.6, there is no up to date department responsible for the realization of the programme at the municipal level in the Yamal (Figure 4.6).

**Figure 4.6: Tourism organisation and governance in the Russian Federation**



Source: The Author, based on the information provided by the Federal Agency for Tourism, Russian Federation (2015)

#### **4.3.4. Local government's 'Representations of space': tourism industry development in YNAO**

Based on a decentralized system of control, the local government in the YNAO developed its own variation of the tourism development programme, *"The development of tourism, improving the efficiency of the implementation of youth politics, recreation and health of children and youth in the 2014 - 2020 years"* (Approved by the Governmental Resolution Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District on December 25, 2013 № 1126-P) (Department of Youth Policy and Tourism, YNAO, 2015). Similar to the Federal programme, its realization is based on the government partnership with private businesses. The main department responsible for the implementation of the programme, as aforementioned, is the Department of Youth Policy and Tourism (see Figure 4.6). This department is also accountable for:

- Development of tourism infrastructure in the YNAO;
- Development of inbound and domestic tourism;
- Advertisement and informational promotion of the tourist products of the Autonomous Okrug in the international and domestic tourist markets;
- Improvement of the quality of tourism services aimed at the development of domestic tourism in the Autonomous Okrug.

The development of the inbound tourism industry is seen to be in line with the development of oil and gas, and reindeer herding industries are an additional source for Capitalism expansion. It is believed that the development of inbound tourism will assist in solving the problem of decreased pastures for reindeer herding by providing "the Nenets" with an additional source of income and job opportunities.

In order to attract more tourists to the region, the local government has announced plans ('spatial practice') to further modify the space and create the Polar Tourism Centre in the capital city of YNAO, Salekhard (Figure 4.7) (Vek, 2013; The Norwegian Barents Secretariat, 2011; Kobilkin, 2011; Administration

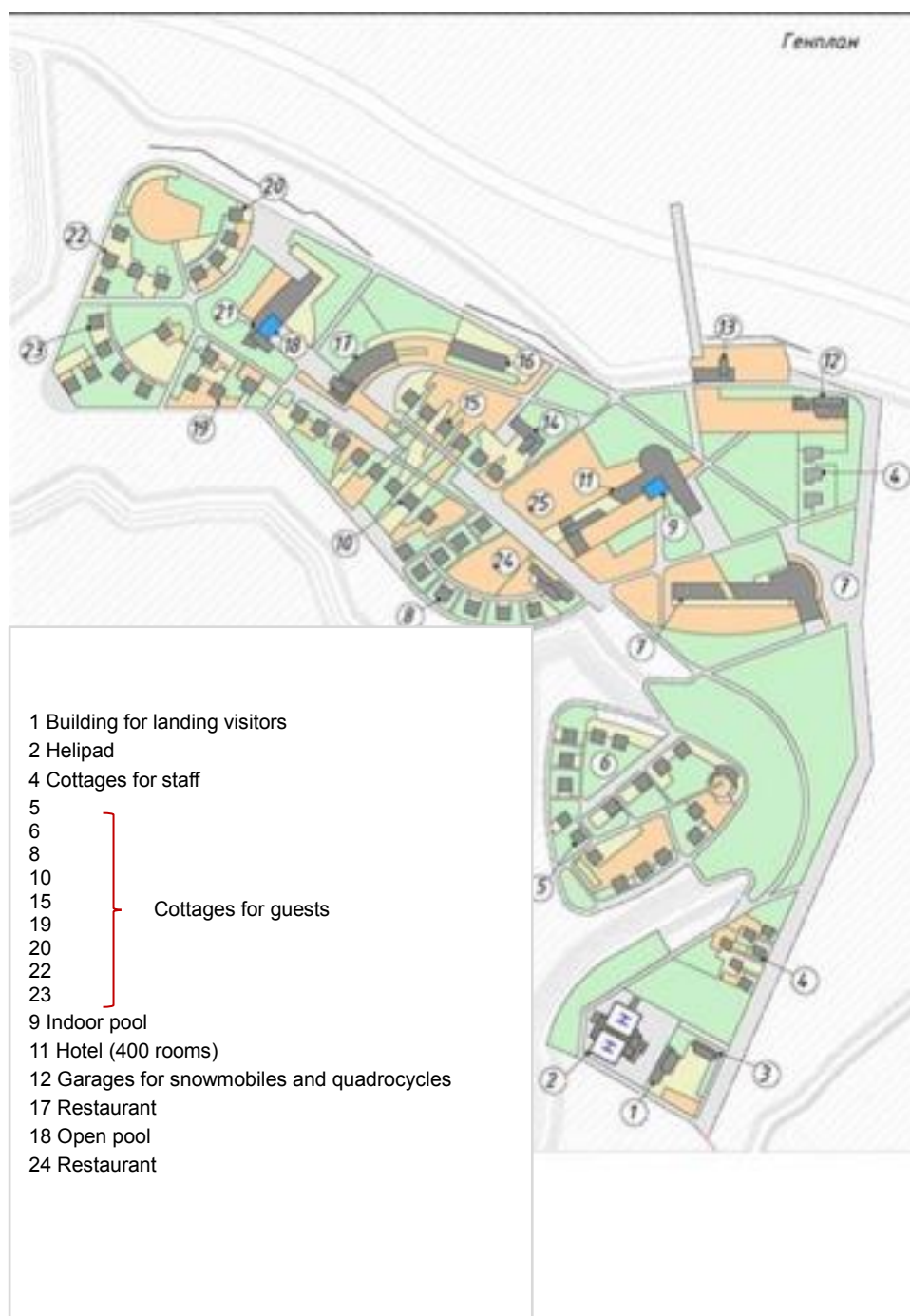
of the Yamal-Nenets AO, 2006). It is conceived that the space will consist of modern hotels, cottages, cafes, restaurants, concert hall, swimming-pool, entertainment centre, and a helipad, and will have a material representation as shown in Figure 4.8.

**Figure 4.7: Material representations of space utilization for creation of the Polar Tourism Centre in Salekhard, YNAO**



Source: website of the branch of YNAO in St. Petersburg, 2009 (YNAO, St Petersburg, 2009)

**Figure 4.8: Material representations of what the Polar Tourism Centre in Salekhard, YNAO, will consist of**



Source: website of the branch of YNAO in St. Petersburg, 2009 (YNAO, St Petersburg, 2009)

The main attractors of tourists to the region are seen to be “the Nenets”, their history, culture, traditions and unique way of life, and the nature of tundra (thus, confirming again that space is a central asset for Capitalism extension). As the governor of the YNAO, Vladimir Kobylkin, states:

*“Here, in the tundra of Yamal with the world's largest herd of reindeer grazing in the wild, Indigenous Peoples live a nomadic life as their ancestors did. Tradition, language and culture are still alive. You can spend a week in a tent under the stars in the tundra grazing the reindeer herds with the Nenets family”* (Kobylkin, 2012)

Form of tourism to be promoted include, extreme tourism (for example, rafting, skiing), trophy hunting, event and family tours and fishing.

At present there are around 40 organizations of the tourism industry, registered in the Federal Register, operating in the field of outbound tourism and only three non-indigenous tour operators such as “Yamaltour” (governmentally owned), “Yamal - Travel” and “Alex Tour” (privately owned) and two indigenous, privately owned, travel agencies, “Numgi” and “Minuruy” that are specializing in inbound tourism industry development. These indigenous travel agencies collaborate with 97 indigenous communities in the Yamal that take part in inbound tourism industry development through accommodation of tourists. In order to support the local tour operators and indigenous travel agencies, and to further stimulate the entrepreneurs’ interest (including representatives from “the Nenets” community), in investing their money in inbound tourism industry development, the local government began to offer a financial support through grants offered on a competitive basis. These grants were intended to support for example, the setting up of new travel companies or the expansion of existing ones. Here we can recognise local government’s ‘representations of space’ expressed through ‘spatial practice’ (Kobylkin, 2011, Target Programme "Development of Domestic Tourism in the Yama-Nenets Autonomous District for the period of 2012-2014).

In addition, in order to create a favourable economic environment for the indigenous population in the tourism sector, the Department of Youth Policy and Tourism, YNAO, on behalf of the local government, started assisting in promotion of the YNAO abroad and locally by taking part in various tourism industry devoted exhibitions and by raising education and awareness through forums and specialist training. To this end, every year in collaboration with the

Department of Indigenous Peoples of the Far North, training seminars are held at which representatives of “the Nenets” communities involved in tourism are able to practice and develop their hospitality skills.

With financial support from government, the number of arrivals from abroad and other regions of the Russian Federation to the YNAO increased from 11,000 in 2011 to around 53,000 in 2012 (Yamal Tour, 2011; Interfax, 2013; Department of Youth Policy and Tourism, YNAO, 2015). However, subsequent profits from inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and to “the Nenets” depends on the configurations of power, or 'spatiality of power' (Lefebvre, 1991) surrounding the relationships between the indigenous community, private sector businesses, tour operators, travel agencies and the local government (Britton, 1981; Joppe, 1996; Shah & Gupta, 2000; Trau & Bushell, 2008).

Thus, the main focus of the present study will be on the exploration of the spatiality of power surrounding inbound tourism industry development, its influence on the relationships between the state government, local government, private sector businesses, tour operators, travel agencies and “the Nenets”. In addition, there will be an opportunity to consider the influence of spatiality of power on inbound tourism industry development, associated local economic contribution and “the Nenets” welfare.

The role and possible influence (direct or indirect) on inbound tourism industry development of the oil and gas company, Gazprom, will also be explored because, according to Wilson & Game (2006), the inclusion of all possible key stakeholders might help to better understand the power dynamics in the region and their outcome for inbound tourism industry development and “the Nenets” specifically.

The main contribution of the study, in this sense, will be the exploration of the spatiality of power at the local level that surrounds inbound tourism industry development, in a country with a non-colonial past, of a federal type, being in the transition from one political economy regime to another one with the inbound tourism industry being at its initial stages of development, based on the figures highlighted in this section, and the role of the historical path of the country development in it.

In order to reach the main aim and objectives of the present PhD study, an appropriate methodology has been developed. The main aim of the study impacted the choice of the research philosophy which, in turn, influenced the design of the research strategy which consequently affected the stage of data collection and analysis and, in the present research, the stage of ensuring epistemological objectivity. A more detailed discussion of the methodology developed will be in the next chapter.

#### **4.4. Summary**

In order to reach the main aim of the present research and to explore the spatiality of power surrounding local inbound tourism industry development, the justification of the case study chosen for the current research was made. Yamal in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug of the Russian Federation was picked out based on the fact that the research on power relationships was rarely conducted in the countries with a non-colonial past, of a federal type, being in transition from one political economy regime to another, with the tourism industry at an early stage of its development. Then, the discussion proceeded with the acknowledgement of the historical path of the country development, its role in the explanation of the current political, socio-economic situation in the Russian Federation in general and Yamal in particular. In this, the researcher followed Karl Marx's political economy philosophy and 'Historical Materialism' (see Chapter 2, sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.9), and its follower, Lefebvre (1991), his theory of 'The Production of Space' discussed in Chapter 3. Evidence for this chapter was based on document analysis. It was identified that space of Yamal is being historically transformed for industrial purposes under the influence of the political regime on the mental constructions of space possessed by the representatives from the state and local government. As an outcome, the space of Yamal was always seen as a space for oil and gas and reindeer herding industries development. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and a resulted change of the political economy regime in the country, the tourism industry became an additional industry to be developed in the region. The main attractors of the tourists to the region are seen by the representatives from the local government to be the local indigenous group of people called "the Nenets", their history, culture, traditions and unique way of life, and the nature of tundra.

However, it is argued here that subsequent profits the inbound tourism industry development might bring to the local economy and “the Nenets” does not simply depend on “the Nenets” involvement, it depends on the spatiality of power surrounding the relationships between the representatives from the local government, private, non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and “the Nenets”. Thus, the importance of the focus of the current research on the spatiality of power was stressed and a pathway to the next Chapter 5, Methodology, where approaches employed to researching this problem are discussed in detail, was made.

## **Chapter 5: Methodology**

## **5. Introduction**

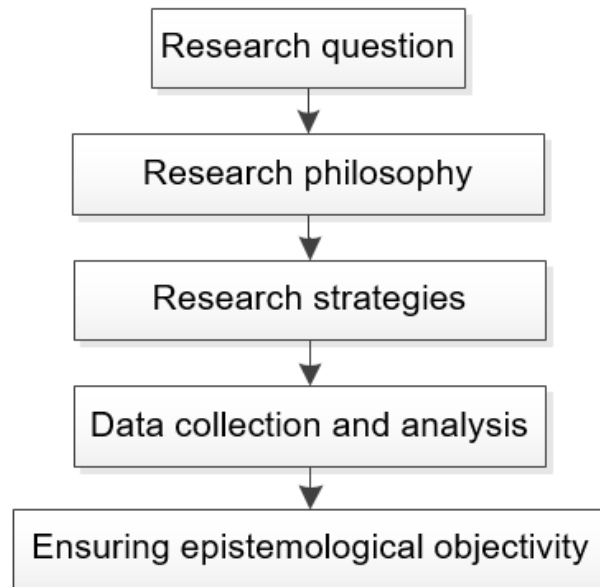
This chapter starts from a discussion of the stages of the research process. The research question impacted the choice of the research philosophy which, in turn, influenced the design of the research strategy which consequently affected the stage of data collection and analysis and the stage of ensuring epistemological objectivity. Each stage of the research process is presented in detail. In section 5.3 the focus is on the research question and its impact on the choice of the research philosophy. The adoption of the research philosophy led to the design of the research strategy which will be discussed in section 5.4. Attention is paid to the deductive and inductive approaches (section 5.4.1), ethnography (section 5.4.2), phenomenology (section 5.4.3) and data collection methods (section 5.5) utilised in the present research to reach the main aim of the study. In the section on the data collection methods, the utilisation of semi-structured interviews and informal conversations (section 5.5.1), observations (section 5.5.2) and sampling strategies (section 5.5.3) are recognized. The chapter proceeds with the acknowledgment of the data collection process that included access to the field (section 5.6.1), field work (section 5.6.2) and ethics in accordance with which the data collection was undertaken (section 5.6.3). The chapter finishes with a discussion of the stages of data analysis (sections 5.7 – 5.7.4) and the way that epistemological objectivity and claims to truth were reached (section 5.8). This is followed by a summary of key issues discussed in the chapter (section 5.9).

### **5.1. Stages in the research process**

The design of the research was based on the philosophical approach, the research paradigm in which the researcher located herself and on what the researcher considered to be the most appropriate ways of reaching the main aim and objectives of the research. The process of research consisted of the research question that impacted on the choice of the research philosophy which, in turn, influenced the design of the research strategy (Buchanan & Bryman, 2007; Merkl-Davies *et al.*, 2011). This consequently affected the stage of data collection and analysis and the stage of ensuring epistemological

objectivity (Figure 5.1) (Neergaard & Uihøi, 2007). Each stage now will be discussed in detail.

**Figure 5.1: Stages in the research process**



Source: adopted by the author from Neergaard & Uihøi (2007) who in turn were inspired by Saunders *et al.* (2003).

## **5.2. Research question and research philosophy**

In contrast to proponents of critical theory, who in their inquiries on power relationships pre-assume the existence of inequality of power, moving from “*what is*” to “*what could be*” (Noblit *et al.*, 2004; Eschle & Manguashca, 2005; Coulthard, 2007; Nicholls, 2009; Smith & Parks, 2010; Madison, 2012) the present research focused on the exploration of spatiality of power and identification whether the power imbalances actually exist. The main aim was to appreciate how spatiality of power impacts inbound tourism industry development, the relationships between “the Nenets”, non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and local government, and the consequent contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” livelihood. The researcher was interested in the respondents’ subjective comprehension and evaluation of the situation and the internal logic of respondents’ actions derived from their interpretations of events, motives, attitudes and beliefs.

In this context, it is argued that it is possible to access the respondents' subjective comprehension and evaluation of the spatiality of power and, distinct from critical theorists, it is reasoned that it is possible to accomplish this in an unbiased manner through the employment of appropriate methodology (Johnson & Duberley, 2003; Johnson & Clark, 2006) (see section 5.8). Thus, the researcher positions herself as a neo-empiricist characterized by having a realist ontology, an objective epistemology, and a subjective ontological stance towards human action and behaviour. She views herself as an 'objectively present' researcher assigning subjectivity to actors (Johnson & Clark, 2006). This paradigm allows the researcher to utilise a palette of the qualitative methods to accomplish the main aim and objectives of the current research, that is to say, to 'unwrap' respondents' subjective opinions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). From this philosophical stance most of the research has been undertaken in organizational management studies (for example, Johnson & Duberley, 2000; Alvesson, 2003; Johnson *et al.*, 2006; Kelemen & Rumens, 2008; Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Gill & Johnson, 2010; Johnson & Duberley, 2015) and never in tourism research. In this, another contribution of the present PhD study is.

Furthermore, the focus of the present research on reality and explorations and explanations of spatiality of power from respondents' perspective has been marginalised by critical theorists (Strydom, 2011) due to the research paradigm in which they position themselves (see Chapter 2, sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). Critical theorists, it may be argued, do not trust the accounts of the researched to give a true reading of the world because of their 'false consciousness' (Tribe, 2008). This has resulted in a focus on the mental constructions of space, or ideologies rather than, as this study attempts, concentration on the problem of power. From the perspective of critical theorists, ideologies frame thought, guide actions and its presence might lead to the suppression and partial exclusion of other world views. However, as this study recognises, the operation of an ideology may remain hidden from view, for the deeply embedded nature of a particular ideology can camouflage its existence (Tribe, 2008). It becomes taken for granted. Thus, critical theorists aim at identification of ideological influences through encouraging self-understanding in relation to the researcher and the researched. This they do through application of discourse analysis (for example,

Parsons, 2008; Santos *et al.*, 2008; Åkerlund & Müller, 2012), and reflexivity on the conditions under which their critical accounts were generated, on the impact of these conditions on the accounts produced (Adler *et al.*, 2007), and on the research methods employed (for instance, Ateljevic *et al.*, 2005, 2007; Botterill, 2007). It is recognized that in critical theory the most frequently methods used during last few years have been participatory and community-based not for the purposes of contribution to the problem of power but with the aim of involving research participants in the design and implementation of the research through which it has been argued they would be able to appreciate their situation and, as a result, become empowered (for example, Louis, 2007; Castleden *et al.*, 2008; Parsons, 2008; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008; Nicholls, 2009; Koster *et al.*, 2012).

With this in mind, it is important once again to state that critical theory was not viewed to be appropriate for this study. Unlike critical theorists, the researcher in this PhD study has the intention to focus on the problem of power and for this purpose a research strategy was developed. The research strategy assisted in the exploration of the spatiality of power from the respondents' viewpoint in a neutral manner.

### **5.3. Research strategies**

Research design assisted in the planning of the stages of the research, approaches to be used, methods utilised for data collection and analysis and framed the ways of ensuring epistemological objectivity and claims to truth. This helped to specify the type of information collected, the sources of data and the procedure of data collection. In other words, it assisted in establishing directions in which to proceed and in clarifying what had to be done and operationalization at every stage of the research (Kumar, 2008). In order to access, define and theoretically use actors' subjective perspectives in an unbiased manner both deductive and inductive approaches were utilised.

#### **5.3.1. Deductive and Inductive approach**

The decision to use both deductive and inductive approaches was made in line with Bechhofer (1974) who stated that "*the research process is not a clear-cut*

*sequence of procedures following a neat pattern but a messy interaction between the conceptual and empirical world, with deduction and induction occurring at the same time” (Gill & Johnson, 2002: 273; Gill et.al., 2010).*

The approach was deductive in a sense that the concepts developed based on the literature analysis and resultant conceptual framework were utilised as ‘sensitizing concepts’ that, unlike ‘definitive’ ones, only guided the ways in which the phenomena under study was empirically investigated (Blumer, 1954). Later, deduction was also used to establish relationships between categories that emerged from the data at the data analysis stage following Corbin and Strauss’s (1998) grounded theory approach (see Chapter 6). This stage took place following the completion of an inductive process of discovering and constructing the concepts that lay within the data (Edwards, 2016).

An inductive approach was open enough to allow the findings to emerge from the data (Patton, 2002; Edwards, 2016) and to generate a theory grounded in the peoples’ actions, attitudes, perceptions and feelings. This enabled the researcher to theoretically explain what constitutes ‘spatiality of power’, its operation and influence on tourism industry development, the relationships between indigenous people, tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and local government, and the outcome of these power relationships for the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare (Bouma & Atkinson, 1995; Connell & Lowe, 1997; Palys, 1997; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Johnson & Clark, 2006). In order to investigate people’s interpretations and visions of the current situation in Yamal with a view towards developing deeper understanding, ethnography was utilised.

### **5.3.2. Ethnography**

The value of incorporation of ethnographic approaches into the political science was stressed by Scott (1998) and Schatz (2013). Scott (1998) argued that if a researcher wants to understand why people behave as they do, then it needs to understand the way people see the world and what their intentions are. Based on the fact that the issues of power have been approached by tourism scholars using critical methods, the ethnographic approach they used has also been critical.

The concept of the 'critical' or 'political' is quite often used in various tourism research on power based on the fact that it evokes important questions, critical theorists are interested in, such as power, inequality, resistance and change (for example, Foucault 1977; Bourdieu, 1977; Scott, 1998; Pachirat, 2008; Wedeen, 2008; Walsh, 2009; Schatz, 2013; Shehata, 2015). Whereas the aim of traditional ethnography is to describe phenomena, the purpose of critical ethnography is to use knowledge from research to challenge the existing power structures, values and/or practices that marginalise or exclude members of the community (Foley & Valenzuela, 2005). In these terms, following Foucault, critical theorists are concentrated on language, discourse, the construction of knowledge and the relationships between language, power, and social change, for instance, the relationships between language use and ideologies, the role of language in changing relationships of power particularly (for example, Mesthrie *et al.*, 2009; Heller, 2011; Pennycook, 2012; Duchene *et al.*, 2013). They do it through critical ethnography and discourse analysis (for instance, Lehtola, 2012; Pietikainen, 2013; Coupland, 2016). The researcher becomes a participant in his/her research with the ability not just to observe the situation under the focus, but to transform it by critically viewing the hold participants' beliefs and values have upon them, as well as the oppressive structure in the society. Moreover, at the writing stage the composition of the text rests upon moving the researcher to the centre of the text and displaying how the researcher comes to know a culture under his/her focus (Kuper, 2003).

However, critical theorists do not concentrate on whether they get closer to truth or not. In this context, the approach of the researcher of the present study is different. The researcher is interested in getting closer to reality. In this sense, she is similar to for instance, Hulan (2002) and Allina-Pisano (2008). She remains committed to a 'correspondence' understanding of truth, in which the respondents' claims about spatiality of power surrounding inbound tourism industry development in Yamal, YNAO, are true based on their correspondence to an objective reality. In this sense, the researcher utilised realist ethnography. Ethnographic realism relies on the idea that *"there is a reality independent of the researcher, and the aim of research is to produce accounts that correspond to that reality"* (Marcus & Cushman ac cited in Hulan, 2002: 80). The aim is to portray things as they are avoiding any interpretation by the researcher

(O'Reilly, 2012) and to ensure that ethnography represents the respondents' point of view, how they see the problem under the focus of the present study (Marcus & Cushman, 1982; Robben & Sluka, 2012).

Thus, for the purposes of the present study, following Johnson & Clark (2006), ethnographic realism was considered as a key methodology of the present neo-empirical study. However, it should be noted that an ethnographic approach was not used in its classical longitudinal form in this study. This was due to a lack of time allocated for the completion of the PhD. Instead, following the recommendations of authors such as Johnson and Clark (2006) and Daymon and Holloway (2011), ethnographic tools were employed in a sense to enable the utilisation of a palette of qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews, informal conversations (or so called 'ethnographic interviews' (Tracy, 2013; Spradely, 1979), observation field notes, photographs and secondary data analysis to collect rich and in-depth data (Patton, 2002; Daymon & Holloway, 2011). Moreover, these tools were utilised to explore a culture ("the Nenets") distinct from the dominant one (Russian) to inductively obtain rich descriptions of the patterns in the meanings that the Nenets' respondents used to make sense of power and the participatory spaces that shaped their relationships with other local stakeholder groups within a broader historical and contemporary, politico-economic, social, cultural and environmental context. The ethnographic tools used, in line with the thinking of Johnson & Clark (2006) and Bryman & Bell (2007), allowed the researcher to observe, listen, ask questions, interrogate data and undertake interviews (Gibson *et al.*, 2011).

In an attempt to get closer to understanding people's experiences, the researcher listened to people' explain in their own words and the nature of their experiences (Palys, 1997; Ponterotto, 2006). In this sense it was a phenomenological study (Schmid, 2008).

### **5.3.3. Phenomenology**

*"Phenomenology is the description of lived experience"* (O'Gorman *et al.*, 2014: 50). The utilisation of a phenomenological approach allowed the involvement of the informants in not only in providing data, but also in some aspect of data interpretation by providing them with an opportunity for them to explain, clarify

or contextualise what something meant to them (Daymon & Holloway, 2011). This was done through the usage of respondents' perceptions, a concept central to both phenomenology and the conceptual framework developed to guide the present research, drawing on Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' and Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' in particular (Chapter 3). It is acknowledged that Lefebvre's attitude towards the phenomenological version of 'perception' was quite sceptical. He combined it with the concepts of 'spatial practice' and 'the lived' (experience). By doing so he was able to show that perception not only takes place in the mind but is based on a concrete, produced materiality. In this, Lefebvre aimed at a materialist version of phenomenology (Schmid, 2008). From Lefebvre's point of view also 'the lived' cannot be understood historically without the conceived (Schmid, 2008).

Viewed from a phenomenological perspective, the production of space was, as a result, grounded in three-dimensionality that was identifiable through every social process. Lefebvre demonstrated this by using the example of 'exchange'. Exchange as the historical origin of commodity society was not limited to the physical exchange of objects. It also required communication, confrontation, comparison and therefore, language, signs and the exchange of signs. This required thus, a mental exchange so that a material exchange could take place at all. The exchange relationship also contained an affective aspect, an exchange of feeling and passions that, at one and the same time, both could unleash and chain the encounter (Schmid, 2008).

In these terms, 'the conceived' was explored through descriptions, definitions, senses, signs, images, plans, maps and what people think, linked to it 'spatial practice' expressed through material transformations of space and spatiality of power involved, and 'the lived', articulated through respondents' practical, everyday experience of the world defined by the respondents (Lefebvre, 1991).

The same, phenomenological approach, was used to the exploration of Gaventa's concepts 'forms of power', 'space' and Lefebvre's (1991) 'smothered space' and 'power proximity and reach' again undertaken through respondents' perceptions (mental constructions of space) linked to their 'spatial practices' and 'the lived' (Lefebvre, 1991).

The respondents' perceptions, in turn, were considered in the contexts of Karl Marx' political economy and 'Historical Materialism', largely absent from existing tourism critical research (see Chapter 2). In other words, there has often been a lack of consideration of the historical and contemporary political, socio-economic and environmental contexts in which the inbound tourism industry is being developed and which shapes peoples' attitudes, motivations for decision-making, actions and power relationships in the locality under study (Clancy, 1999; Reed, 1999; Hannam *et al.*, 2006; Lieven & Goossens, 2011). In this context, it must be acknowledged that a political economy approach was utilised in this PhD study. In order to appreciate respondents' perceptions linked to the concepts of 'spatial practice' and 'the lived', various qualitative methods of data collection were employed.

#### **5.4. Data collection methods**

A palette of qualitative methods including semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, observation field notes, photographs and secondary data analysis were used to collect rich and in-depth data (Patton, 2002; Daymon & Holloway, 2011). Understanding of the case from the perspectives of participants was vital as they were the ones who possessed the knowledge and information needed to study and explain the phenomenon (Moore *et al.*, 2012). In this context, interviews helped to make the respondents' voices heard to reveal spatiality of power (see section 5.5.1). Photographs assisted in demonstrating the characteristic attributes of "the Nenets", their lifestyle, and objects such as those that helped to make some hidden problems visible (Prosser, 1998; Scarles, 2010). For instance, the issues of infrastructure improvement in Yar-Sale (the condition of the newly built roads and houses) brought into light during interviews or informal conversations by the representatives from "the Nenets" were captured visually (see section 5.5.2). Participant observations aided the recording of what was seen and heard to compare it with what was said by the respondents. This facilitated the identification of patterns at the 'open coding' stage of data analysis (Rubin & Rubin, 2011) (see section 5.5.2).

These complementary primary data collection methods, along with the secondary data analysis, assisted in the triangulation of the results to ensure

the epistemological objectivity of the researcher and of the findings made (Fine *et al.*, 2009). The researcher intended that the combination of methods would help to provide a more credible and reliable case study (Houghton *et al.*, 2013). The main sources of data collection were semi-structured and unstructured interviews.

#### **5.4.1. Semi-structured interviews and Informal conversations**

Both the semi-structured and the unstructured types of interviews took place as a scheduled, extended conversation between the researcher and respondents. In the semi-structured interviews, the researcher had a particular topic to learn about, prepared a number of questions in advance and planned to ask follow-up questions. In the unstructured interviews, the researcher had a general topic in mind, but many of the specific questions were formulated as the conversations proceeded, in response to what the respondent said (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). Both approaches encouraged the respondents to answer at length and in detail. The use of probes was identical as were the ways in which follow-up questions were prepared. The main difference lay in the degree of control that the researcher maintained over the interview; in semi-structured interviews, the researcher tried to focus more narrowly on the planned items that spoke to the main research question (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). The questions were worded in a way so as not to narrow the options for answering or restrict how the respondent approached each question. Each interview consisted of the main questions about each part of the research question. Thus, main questions ensured that the research question was answered from the perspective of the respondent. Follow-up questions were used to enable more detailed information on the themes, concepts, or events to which the respondents were introduced. The technique of probing assisted in managing the conversations by keeping them on topic, signalling the desired level of depth, and asking for examples or clarifications.

Although semi-structured interviews provided some structure, there was still freedom to vary the course of the interview based on the respondents' answers and thus, vary the flow of each interview. Following Esterberg (2002) and Schuh and Associates (2011), the aim of the semi-structured interview was to explore the problem under current focus more openly and to allow respondents to

express their opinions, perceptions and ideas in their own words (Appendix V, VI).

Informal conversations, or so called ‘unstructured’ or ‘ethnographic interviews’ (Spradely, 1979; Tracy, 2013) typically took place in a field setting, during field observation. Their usage was particularly valuable because having happened naturally, spontaneously, but instigated by the researcher while sitting at the table and drinking tea at somebody’s house, for example, or while walking, or waiting and being uncontrolled in nature, they allowed the researcher to gather unpredicted findings (Matthews & Ross, 2010). Examples of these findings included, inferences of hidden racism towards “the Nenets” and corruption and concealed dissatisfaction with the current government and current political economy regime in a whole. These were veiled issues faced by the representatives from tourism businesses. In this context, acknowledged disadvantages of unstructured interviews around challenges in analysing large amounts of data (Patton, 2002; Matthews & Ross, 2010) were overcome as a result of researcher management of the conversations in terms of prompts, for example. These techniques allowed for comparison of results across different conversations and interviews at the stage of data analysis (see Chapter 6). Whenever permission to record conversations was obtained, the conversations were recorded using an MP3 recorder and ethical procedures were adopted with respect to consent and anonymity.

Interviews and conversations were undertaken with representatives from “the Nenets”, local non-indigenous tour operators and indigenous travel agencies (Appendix V, VI) to appreciate their vision of the spatiality of power surrounding inbound tourism industry development, the relationships between them, the role and influence of the historical and contemporary context and the impact of the spatiality of power on the consequent contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare.

Historical excursus was made during conversations and interviews through personal biographies, life stories and comparisons with the past (Winston, 2012). This was later linked to the secondary data analysis to explain the reasons for the current situation and spatiality of power in the locality (Lapan *et*

*al.*, 2012). The informal conversations and semi-structured interviews were complemented by the researcher's observations.

#### **5.4.2. Observations**

The researcher observed the participants and the situation in the locality in a way to minimize the researcher's possible influence on what was happening in the locality (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). The information obtained, both seen (visually) and heard (aurally), was recoded and later utilised at the 'open coding' stage of data analysis to compare with the information provided by the respondents during the interviews to detect patterns of action, behaviour and perceptions. This proved to be useful. For example, interactions and conversations between the representatives from "the Nenets", the representatives from local tour operators and the indigenous travel agencies assisted in the appreciation of the spatiality of power surrounding their relationships were observed. Observation of the locality, Yar-Sale, its infrastructure and the people who live and work there helped the researcher to compare what she saw and heard with what was said by the respondents during their interviews. This proved to be a valuable means of developing a deeper understanding of the case study area. As an example, there were issues around infrastructure improvement in Yar-Sale, Yamal, including disputes over housing construction or the problem relating to the introduction of migrants into the locality. These were initially brought into light during interviews or informal conversations by the representatives from "the Nenets". The issues were captured further visually using photographs and recorded manually in a written form of the observation field notes. To verify the information provided in relation to the migrants to Yar-Sale, the researcher also undertook brief conversations with the representatives of these groups to find out the localities that they came from. At the stage of ensuring epistemological objectivity and claims to truth (see section 5.8) these sources of data collection assisted in the triangulation of the results obtained.

#### **5.4.3. Sampling strategies**

Sampling was used by the researcher to select a particular part of the population based on their relevance to the study focus and their perceived

ability to contribute to the understanding of the phenomenon under the current focus. As the aim of the research was to explore rather than to generalise the findings to a broader population, the sample chosen was relatively small.

There are two main categories of sampling methods that the researcher acknowledged: 'probability sampling', used for quantitative research, and 'non-probability sampling', employed for qualitative research. In probability sampling the members of the population are chosen randomly. Thus, all members have an equal chance of selection (Marshall, 1996; Altinay *et al.*, 2015). Non-probability sampling represents a technique that helps the researcher to select units from a population that s/he is interested in researching. In this, qualitative, research non-probability techniques were used. They provided the researcher with the opportunity to select samples purposively (Mason, 2002; Altinay *et al.*, 2015). People were selected based on a judgement as to their relevance to the research (Tripathi *et al.*, 2010; Schensul, 2012). The process entailed sampling initial key informants or 'gatekeepers', for example, representatives from the local non-indigenous tour operators and indigenous travel agencies. Then, using these initial contacts, the researcher broadened out her contacts using a 'snowballing' method (Bryman, 2016). The initial participants were chosen based on their direct relevance to the research question and case study in general and on their roles in their companies. They, in turn, helped to get in touch with the representatives of other potential respondents, relevant to the research, for instance, representatives from other tour operators and from indigenous and non-indigenous populations. The diversity of the respondents in terms of age, gender, indigenous/non-indigenous, settled/nomadic, was ensured. This helped to encompass differences and similarities viewpoints of the situation in the region.

The following representatives were targeted:

- Representatives of the "Nenets" living in Yamal, YNAO (population of "the Nenets": 36 000; 13 000 out of 36 000 are "the Nenets" leading a nomadic lifestyle (Representation of Yamal-Nenets AO in St.Petersburg, 2007);
- Representatives of indigenous travel companies (two indigenous travel agencies concentrated on inbound tourism industry development);

- Representatives of non-indigenous tour operators located in the capital city of YNAO, Salekhard (three non-indigenous tour operators focused on inbound tourism industry development).

Once the research strategy and data collection methods were developed (see sections 5.4. and 5.5), the data collection stage took place.

## **5.5. Data Collection**

Data collection process consisted of getting an access to the field (sub-section 5.6.1) and the actual field work (sub-section 5.6.2). In order to protect respondents' confidentiality and not to cause any harm, the researcher acted in accordance with the code of ethics (Castellano, 2004) (sub-section 5.6.3).

### **5.5.1. Access**

Based on the analysis of the context for the current research (see Chapter 4), the following gatekeepers or initial informants were contacted via telephone and e-mail to obtain official permission to gain access to "the Nenets" community and their agreement to assist to the research study (see Appendix I):

- The president and vice-president of the Association of the Indigenous Peoples, YNAO;
- The director of the tour operator;
- The directors of the indigenous travel agencies.

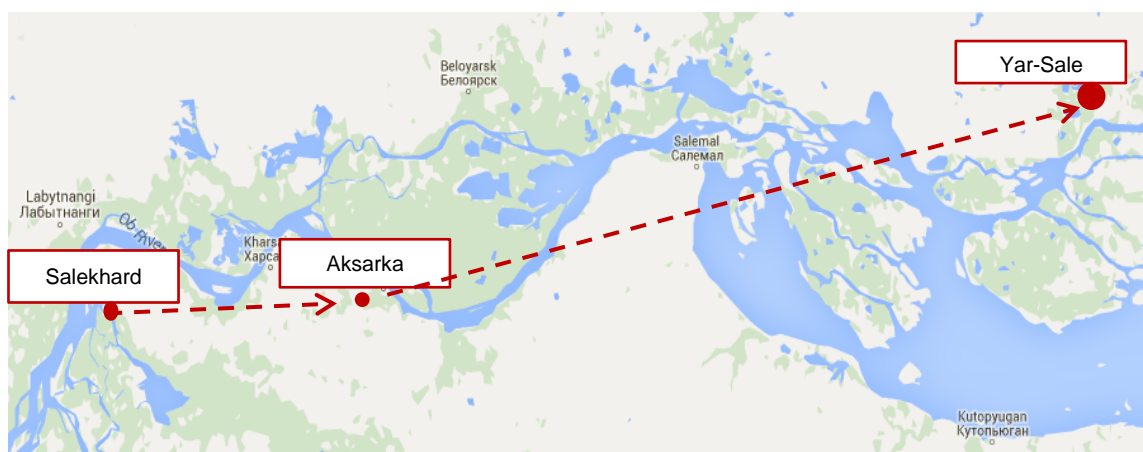
### **5.5.2. Field Work**

Originally, the field work was planned to be undertaken during the period October-November 2013, at a time of the year when "the Nenets" move closer to the cities for reindeer slaughtering purposes. However, after some initial scoping of the field destination, the researcher decided that July-August 2013 would be a more appropriate time; the weather would be much better, access to the tundra would be easier and there would be no risk that technical research devices such as the voice recorder, mobile phone and laptop would not work because of the cold. This decision was corroborated after having had periodical

conversations over the Skype with representatives from the local indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators in the case study area.

Once the researcher arrived to Salekhard in July 2013, she had to stay at the local hotel for one night because there were no boats going to Yar-Sale on that and the following day. The following morning, she set off to Yar-Sale from the place called Aksarka located at a distance of 63 km from Salekhard. In the early morning the researcher, accompanied by a representative from “the Nenets”, set off to Aksarka by car. It took about more than one hour to get there. Then the journey from Aksarka to Yar-Sale continued by boat. The destination, eventually, was reached after another eight hours (Figure 5.2). This highlighted the remote and peripheral nature of the field location.

**Figure 5.2: Journey from Salekhard to Yar-Sale**



Source: The Author

To ensure personal safety during the trip, a risk assessment was carried out pre-travel. The researcher supplied her relatives, supervisor and friends living in the area with information regarding the day, time and place of her arrival to Salekhard. The information included details of the number of the car she was brought by to Aksarka then, subsequently, the time of her arrival in Yar-Sale and contact details for the hotel where she stayed.

In relation to the trip on the river, it was interesting and surprising for the researcher to discover under-developed river infrastructure. The boats were not frequent, just a few times per day with possible delays. Their capacity was also

quite small, just around 20 people. Those who did not manage to get on board had to stay overnight in Aksarka or return back to Salekhard from which the journey by boat to Yar-Sale would take even longer, around twenty hours if not more.

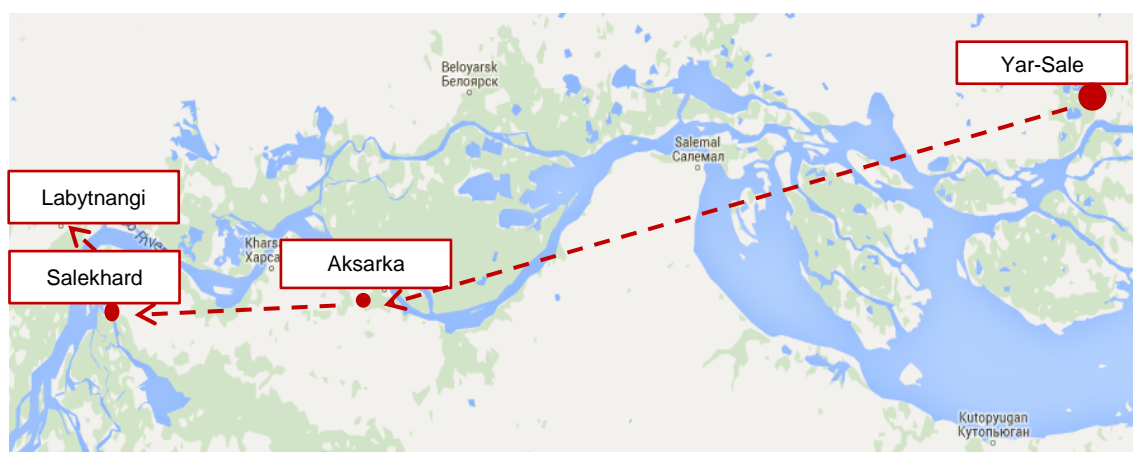
During the whole journey from Ekaterinburg, the capital city of the Ural District part of which YNAO is, to Yar-Sale and then later to the reindeer herders' camp, the researcher used the opportunity to undertake informal conversations with people she met on the way. People were chosen following the purposive sampling techniques discussed in section 5.5.3. In other words, the researcher spoke with people who had a direct relevance to the location under the focus and thus, could provide the information needed. The first conversation happened at the airport while expecting the flight and sitting next to passengers who were from Salekhard and were on their way back.

Through these conversations, the researcher gained brief information about "the Nenets", the situation in the region (economic, political and social) and local government actions and support towards "the Nenets". During her flight to Salekhard the researcher was sitting next to a traveller of "the Nenets" origin and, as a result, she was able to gain some insights into the "the Nenets" culture, customs and traditions. On the way from Salekhard to Aksarka, the researcher's driver, who was recommended using snowballing technique by the representative from the local indigenous travel company, shared his opinions on the political, socio-economic situation in the region. Subsequently, one of the passengers waiting for the boat to get to Yar-Sale reported that they had lived and worked there for a few years and could provide information relating to the political, socio-economic situation there. Living in Yar-Sale for two months of field work, when there was free time from the planned conversations and interviews with the targeted respondents, the researcher had a chance to chat with a wide range of people. These included those not belonging to "the Nenets" community, those not living in Yar-Sale or being there only temporally for various purposes. Ethical procedures were adopted with respect to consent and anonymity when informal conversations were undertaken.

Apart from visiting Yar-Sale and its surrounding area for the research purposes, the reindeer herders' camp located in a different part of the YNAO was also

called at. For this reason, the researcher returned back to Salekhard. In Salekhard, the researcher stayed for three days to undertake interviews with the representatives from the local non-indigenous tour operators. When the researcher had free time from the planned conversations and interviews she met with different people living and working in Salekhard, who could provide information relating to the political, socio-economic situation in the region. These people were recommended using snowballing technique by the representative from the local indigenous travel company. Once the planned interviews were completed, the researcher set off to a place called Labytnangi by ferry and after that by the train belonging to “Gazprom” arrived at the reindeer herders’ camp (Figure 5.3).

**Figure 5.3: Journey from Yar-Sale to Labytnangi**



Source: The Author

All the information provided during unrecorded conversations along with the observations and photographs became the basis for the field notes used during the process of data analysis to enrich and facilitate triangulation of the results (see Chapter 6).

The informal conversations and interviews with the representatives of “the Nenets” reindeer herders were carried out at “the Nenets” homes in Yar-Sale and ‘chums’ at the reindeer herders’ camp, with representatives of the indigenous travel agencies at their homes and with representatives of the private non-indigenous tour operators at their offices in Salekhard. Risk assessment procedures were followed to ensure the personal safety of the

researcher. In most of the cases while visiting “the Nenets” at their houses or chums and undertaking interviews the researcher was always accompanied by an official representative from “the Nenets” to ensure personal safety and to facilitate access to the respondents. A separate translator was not required because as it was expected “the Nenets” (around 90%, (BBC, 2008) spoke the Russian language, the mother tongue of the researcher.

In order to protect respondents’ confidentiality and not to cause any harm, the researcher acted in accordance with the code of ethics (Castellano, 2004). Reciprocity (sharing of findings and ensuring the correct interpretation of the respondent’s opinion), protocol, informed consent, confidentiality, data access and ownership were negotiated with the respondents prior to interviews or informal conversations. These aspects were considered as very important based on the problems faced by other researchers when studying indigenous communities (for example, Stewart & Draper, 2009; Banks, 2012; Banks *et al.*, 2013; Burnette *et al.*, 2014; Kilty *et al.*, 2014). The detailed discussion of the ethical procedure is provided in the next section.

### **5.5.3. Ethics**

All of the research respondents were informed of the purpose of the study and their written agreement to participate, be observed and interviewed was obtained along with permission to use the information provided by them in the future publications at the beginning of each interview and informal conversation (Bernard, 1994). A participant consent form along with an official participant information sheet from Sheffield Hallam University explaining the purpose of the researcher’s study, translated into the Russian language, was given to them. A copy of the consent form signed by each respondent was given to the researcher (Appendix III; IV). The participants were made aware of their right to withdraw from the research at any point in the study and to withhold information if they decided to.

All of the respondents were ensured of the anonymity and confidentiality of their responses in field notes and in the final write-up of the thesis to prevent their identification. They were provided with details of how the data would be stored, how the results would be presented and what the intended outcomes, impacts

and benefits of the research might be. Moreover, they were ensured that their identities would be described in ways that nobody would be able to identify them. This has been achieved through providing broad descriptions instead of detailed ones, or by reporting the respondents' views through a quasi-fictional character, in other words, through clustering of opinions (Van Maanen, 1988).

To ensure the researcher's personal safety when travelling to and from the data collection venues, a risk assessment was carried out. The researcher supplied supervisors, relatives and friends living in the area with information regarding where, when and at what time data collection would take place (without breaching the confidentiality of the participants), how the researcher would get there and back, the time of the expected return from the venue, and what to do should the researcher not return at the specified time. The researcher called her relatives over the telephone every day to keep them in line with the progress of the research and to reassure them of her well-being. She communicated with her supervisor on a regular basis.

In total, 33 informal conversations and interviews were conducted. The decision to stop data collection was made based on the fact that 'saturation' had been reached - respondents started to repeat the same information and no new ideas were being reported. At this point, data collection was stopped and the process of data analysis began (Grady, 1998; Baker & Edwards, 2012).

## **5.6. Data Analysis**

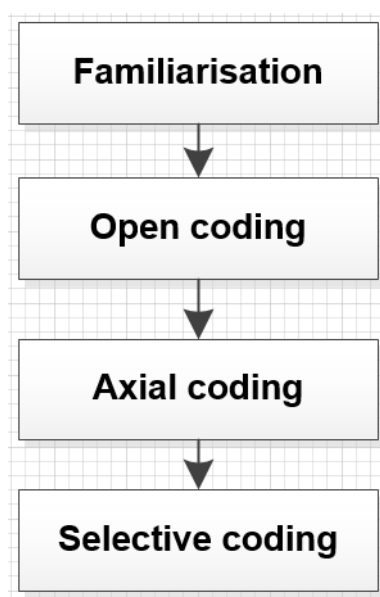
As Johnson and Clark (2006) claim, a comparative method (so called 'constant comparison') offered by Strauss and Corbin (1967; 1990; 2015) can be employed in neo-empirical studies in order to collect and analyze data so as to inductively produce theory that would explain phenomena. Theory here refers to a set of categories (themes, concepts) that are systematically developed in terms of their properties and dimensions and interrelated through statements of relationship to form a theoretical framework that explains something about a phenomena (Hage, 1972). The cohesiveness of the theory occurs when the core concept that stands above other concepts is extracted. The core abstract concept summarizes what the theory is all about and provides a means for integrating the other concepts around it.

Because data were gathered using both deductive (*etic*) and inductive (*emic*) approaches, the technique was slightly modified. Theoretical sampling that is based on the extraction of concepts from data that then drive the next round of data collection was amended. The conceptual framework deductively established in advance of this research (see Chapter 3, section 3.9 ) drove the data collection process. Unlike Glaser's (1978) recommendation to transcribe the interviews straight after they took place to identify evolving themes, patterns, similarities and differences, the data analysis in this research was undertaken once the full set of data was collected. This tactic was triggered by a lack of time and the fact that the reindeer herders' camps were located a distance away from any settlements making it difficult to charge the devices needed for the transcription process. The only possibility was to periodically listen to the recordings (depending on the ability to charge the recording devices nearby) in order to spot any similarities or differences in the responses or to notice new information not covered in the pre-designed interview questions that needed expansion through follow up interviews and to take into account when new interviewees were questioned.

Once the data had been gathered from informal conversations, interviews, observations and field notes, the information was transcribed and translated from Russian into English language. Here, it would be worthwhile to notice a difficulty that the researcher experienced with this approach at the stage of the analysis. The researcher had to keep constantly referring back to the sources in Russian in order to ensure the accuracy of the translation made and to ensure that the meaning was not lost. This was found to be quite time consuming. For future studies it would be highly recommended to analyze the data and perform the results in the origin language used for data collection and only then to undertake the translation into the language required for research reporting.

When the transcriptions had been completed the following steps of data analysis were undertaken: familiarisation, open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Figure 5.4).

**Figure 5.4: Stages of Data Analysis**



Source: Adopted from Glaser (1978) and Buchanan & Bryman (2009).

#### **5.6.1. Familiarisation**

The analysis started from familiarisation with data. The aim was twofold. Firstly, the purpose was to read through all the evidence in order to grasp the lives of the participants, their feelings, perceptions and experiences and to listen to what they were saying through their words and actions. Secondly, it was crucial to remind the researcher of data which had been collected a few months before the analysis (whilst she was situated in the field). Through this stage the researcher gained an overall perception of themes, ideas and arguments. Familiarisation was carried out by reading field notes and transcriptions. This was followed by the application of 'open coding'.

#### **5.6.2. Open coding**

At this stage, to affirm 'confirmability', the concepts developed as a part of the conceptual framework and literature review were put aside in order to be able to derive something new, unexpected from the data using an inductive approach. The process of concepts construction was established in the following way. First of all, each interview, conversation or field note was broken down into manageable pieces. The natural breaks were used as cut-off points to denote a change in topic, but not always. Sometimes the respondents had a lot to say

about a particular problem and this information had to be split up into smaller parts.

The components or pieces of data were explored in depth (line-by-line) for the ideas contained within. The ideas identified were re-assessed by stepping back and looking at the piece of data to reflect upon what the main idea being expressed was. The context was important here to prevent any distortion of meaning. Once this procedure was completed the ideas were given conceptual names. This approach, called 'microanalysis strategy', helped to explore and develop concepts. In other words, it was employed to obtain some sense of the meaning of data and to find concepts that reflect that meaning (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). The concepts were developed and compared with similar ideas in other interviews, conversations and field notes in order to add and expand to them in terms of their properties and dimensions. For example, the importance of the possession of reindeer was expressed by different respondents and each time the researcher had to compare these opinions and situations by returning back to the data in order to expand the descriptions (properties and dimensions) given (see section 6.2.2 'constant comparison' technique utilized here).

In some cases, the conceptualization was provided by the participants (so called 'emic coding' - Corbin & Strauss, 1990) as the terms they used to speak about something were so vivid and descriptive that the researcher simply borrowed them (for example, *"reindeer are money"*, *"reindeer are bank"*, *"reindeer calves are dividends"*, *"reindeer are mode of transport"*, *"reindeer are food"*, *"reindeer are cloths"*, *"reindeer skin is house"*) (see Chapter 6). In this case 'language analysis' method was employed. At this stage lower-level concepts, that differed from the higher level concepts in terms of the level of abstraction, were extracted.

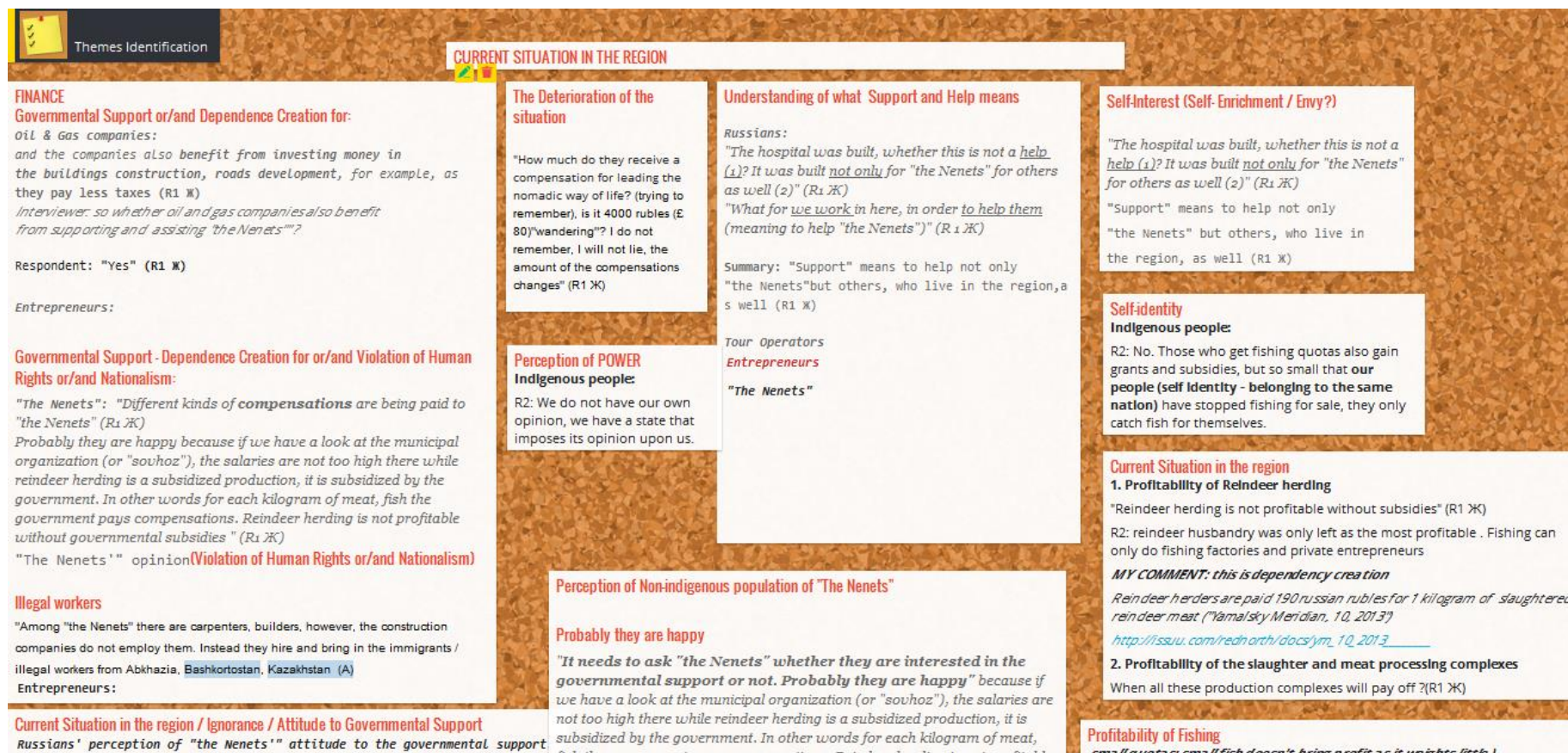
Once conceptual labels were assigned, they were compared for similarities and differences across other interviews, conversations and field notes. A 'constant comparison' technique was used here. Data that were similar in nature (referring to something conceptually similar but not necessarily a repeat of the same action or incident) were grouped together under the same conceptual heading (for instance, *"resources"*, *"visible power"*, *"hidden power"*, *"invited*

*space*", "*closed space*") thus, reducing the amount of data that the researcher worked with (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

The developed concepts were constantly updated and revised. Some new concepts with new properties and dimensions were added and relationships with other concepts were established. The concepts that did not relate to the purposes of the study were discarded (examples here were discussions of burial customs and traditions of tailoring).

A scrupulous analysis of data was considered essential because it was expected that it would enable a rich and dense description which at a later stage would lead to a well-developed theory. In order not to overlook any detail the data were analyzed manually, although at this stage computer software was used for coding purposes to help the researcher to visualize the concepts identified and identify possible links between them. This assisted in shifting concepts around, retrieving memo.s, notes, summary notes and in providing easy access to what already was done. It was an excellent, additional analytic tool. Initially, the researcher planned to employ NVivo software. However, once started, the researcher realized that the software would not adequately enable visualization of the links between the concepts and their content. An app, called 'Padlet' was eventually used because it worked akin to a sheet of paper allowing the researcher to see all the concepts at once, and to attach text (for example, the concept's properties), images, videos, web links and documents utilized as a source of triangulation (for instance, between the interviews and official documents) (Figure 5.5). Padlet, unlike using actual sheets of paper, additionally guaranteed that a copy of all the notes created and updated would be sent to the user's email on a constant basis.

Figure 5.5: Padlet, concepts extraction and visualization



Source: The Author

However, having utilised Padlet for a few days, the researcher faced lots of issues. Amongst the common ones were: the inability to see all of the concepts at once; the notes created were not always saved by the app; the words in the notes could turn into hieroglyphs; double clicking on the note could lead to the visual disappearance of the text in the note; it was possible to attach only one document or a web link, or a picture, or a photograph to one note; the size of the note was also limited; and the notes were not saved properly the Excel and PDF format.

Having experienced all the problems described above, the decision was made to swap to a different piece of software called Evernote. The main advantages of using this piece of software may be summarized:

- The process of notes creation was very convenient and similar to the word document. Each note did not have a limit. It was possible to attach a few documents to one note, to create tables in the note, to import the documents and pictures, to copy the important information found in the documents, web sites to the notes. The notes created could be exported and easily printed out;
- This app allowed to synchronize the data among all the devices, and, thus, saving the data/notes created on the multiple devices (e.g., PC and IPad);
- It was possible to place a conceptual heading at the top of each note along with the tags attached that contained the main properties and dimensions of the concept, and to see all the conceptual headings at once while working on a particular note/concept (Figure 5.6);
- At later stages of analysis, it was possible to group, re-group and merge the concepts in a meaningful way based on the ability to form a table of content with all the concepts included and a list of tags given to each note/concept that would inform about the properties of the particular concept (Figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6: Evernote, visualization of the concepts and their content

★ Shortcuts

Drag notes, notebooks or tags

No... (100)

Notebooks

Tags

Absence of ... (1)

Attitude Ne... (1)

Attitude to ... (1)

Attitude to ... (1)

Attitude to ... (1)

bank

Business rel... (1)


Capitalism (1)

Climate (1)

Climate/To... (1)

Mastering Evernote

Completed 3 of 5 steps



Connect Evernote

All Notes ▾

Created	Updated	Title	Notebook	Tags	Sync	Size
22/05/2014 12:48	11/08/2014 14:20	Resources/Weaknesses	First Notebook	Lack of motivation, Lack...		27.3KB
20/05/2014 10:35	11/08/2014 15:39	Resources/Power	First Notebook	Power of Resource poss...		50.9KB
10/06/2014 13:49	02/08/2014 14:34	Relationships state-owned TO n "the Nenets"	First Notebook	state-ownedTO n ITC		15.7KB
10/06/2014 14:08	11/06/2014 13:02	Relationships NGOs n "the Nenets"	First Notebook	Relationship NGO n Nen...		2.7KB
21/07/2014 14:03	12/08/2014 12:19	Relationships NGOs and ITC	First Notebook	Relationships NGOs and...		904B
21/07/2014 13:56	21/07/2014 14:02	Relationships between ITC n Oil&Gas com...	First Notebook	Relationships between I...		1.1KB
23/05/2014 10:44	12/08/2014 12:18	Relationships between Generations/Motiva...	First Notebook	Motivations, Relationshi...		7.6KB
10/06/2014 14:06	11/08/2014 15:36	Relationships between Gazprom and "the N...	First Notebook	Relationships between G...		5.5KB
23/05/2014 10:17	09/08/2014 14:34	Reindeer Herding vs Tourism	First Notebook	Reindeer Herding vs To...		11.1KB
12/05/2014 12:05	11/08/2014 15:33	Reindeer Breeding	First Notebook	Reindeer breeding		8.4KB

First Notebook ▾

Power of Resource possession

Click to add tag...

Created: 20/05/2014 10:35 Updated: 11/08/2014 15:39 file:/// ▾

Resources/Power

- It would be great to have a home-grown translators
- It would be great to have a basis for "the Nenets" children to learn foreign languages
- big number of reindeer is a power, ability to purchase a house..... and not to be involved in tourism as the big number of reindeer bring a lot of money
- money earned on tourism
- personal contacts and area knowledge
- Hunting as a source of food
- Gazprom poaches (illegal hunting and fishing), useless to fight with them as Gazprom is in power
- ITC has its own promotional activities and can bring tourists on its own

Source: The Author

Still the best way of the concepts comparison across interviews, informal conversations and field notes was found to be through the usage of Microsoft Excel which also allowed at the stage of axial coding to add more features such as 'conditions', 'action and interaction', and 'outcome' to frame the whole story.

Although a computer was used for coding, the researcher kept reflecting on data, sometimes wrote memos and frequently a summary of the information collected on each concept in order to be able to find the links between concepts, to merge them if it was a case, and to get a sense of how major concepts might fit together. In the last case an additional technique, 'Wall Mapping', was employed. The major concepts with their main properties and dimensions were put on the wall to identify the possible links between them. These approaches helped with final integration at 'selective coding' stage because the summary notes contained all the major ideas of the research while wall mapping assisted in finding the links between the notes/concepts, categories and sub-categories that made it easier to identify the core category, to link all the categories around it and write the Results chapter.

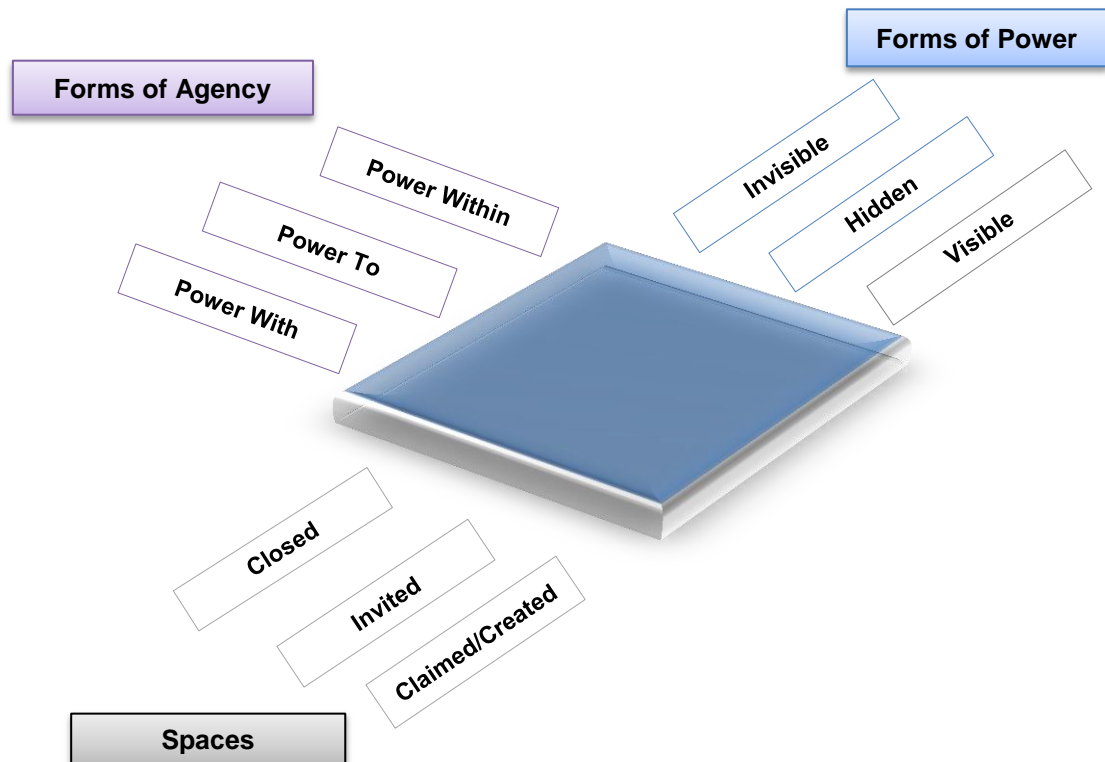
Once the concepts were developed, they were grouped into sub-categories that, in turn, formed more abstract categories. The exploration of the process of relating sub-categories to their categories took place at the stage of axial coding.

### **5.6.3. Axial coding**

At this stage the concepts derived from the literature review and conceptual framework were compared to the concepts developed during open coding (similar to the approach used by Miles and Huberman (1994). So called 'deductive coding' or the 'etic, outsider approach' was used here (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2015). They provided a source for spotting sub-categories and categories and ensured that the researcher did not impose the concepts on the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). In other words, they gave *“a general sense of reference”* and provided *“directions along which to look”* (Blumer, 1969: 148). In this context, the understanding of such concepts as, for example, 'hidden' and 'invisible' power were corrected in accordance with the data obtained, and new concepts – 'power within', 'power to', 'power with' – were added (Figure

5.7). The identification of the concepts in data used as sensitising to navigate the research demonstrated their significance (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

**Figure 5.7: Slightly modified Conceptual Framework**



Source: The Author

Then, concepts were moved towards greater levels of abstraction to gain greater explanatory power at the same time accommodating more detail under them. Concepts were grouped together to form sub-categories that subsequently formed a part of a broader category. For example, 'forms of power', 'space', 'realms of power', 'forms of agency' (that included 'hidden resistance') were grouped around such a category as 'spatiality of power' borrowed from Lefebvre (1991) (see Chapter 6).

All of the connections made between the concepts, sub-categories and categories were the result of the analytical work and came from the data. In other words, the connections were provided by the interviewees (the emic perspective (respondent's view as insider), see above (Corbin & Strauss, 1990)). The researcher constantly checked the possible links between categories against data. 'Constant comparison' continued to be one of the major analytic

strategies here for elaborating the analysis. When all of the sub-categories and categories were established, and the connections between them, the analysis was brought up to a theoretical level. The 'conditional/consequential matrix' offered by Schatzman (1991) and later by Corbin and Strauss (2015; 2008) as a means of framing the story was used. This matrix helped to stimulate thought regarding the wide range of possible conditions in which tourism industry development takes place, how the respondents define them (for example, problems, challenges, obstacles, goals), the actions and interactions they take to manage or achieve desired outcomes and the actual consequences that result from their actions. The matrix helped to select items from the data for the story, to create their relative salience and to sequence them because the concepts, sub-categories and categories taken on their own do not make theory. They *"have to be woven or linked back together to tell the story ... but in conceptual terms"* (Corbin & Strauss, 2015: 157). In this case, the paradigm that consisted of three main features – conditions, actions-interactions and outcomes - as an analytical tool was utilised here.

The analysis of conditions helped to identify the perceived reasons that the participants gave for why things happen and the explanations that they gave for why they respond in the manner that they do through action-interaction. These explanations became explicit through the words that the respondents used such as *'because'*, *'since'*, *'due to'*, and *'when'*. The investigation of actions-interactions assisted in identification of the actual responses that respondents make to events or problematic situations that occur in their lives. The study of consequences identified the outcomes of the respondents' action and interaction. The analysis revealed that there are micro conditions that represent the immediate set of conditions faced by the representatives of the local non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel companies and "the Nenets" on a day-to-day basis. In addition, macro socio, political, economic, and historical conditions influence and shape the micro conditions. The task in these terms was, based on the respondents' perceptions, to connect macro- and micro conditions with the respondents' actions, interactions and emotions and the outcomes to pull the whole story together in order to develop a theory.

In order to look for process and context all the memo.s, notes and summary notes from the previous stages of data analysis were re-read along with the transcriptions of the interviews, conversations and field notes in general. Comparisons were made, further memo.s and notes were written and a spreadsheet was created using Microsoft Excel (Figure 5.8).

**Figure 5.8: A spreadsheet created in Microsoft Excel to compare the concepts across different sources**

Space	Macro Factor	Micro Factor	Action- interaction	Outcome
<b>Tourism industry</b>				
<b>Representational space</b>				
For example, perception of local government's support				
"The Nenets":				
Respondent 1				
Respondent 2				
Indigenous travel agency 1				

Source: The Author

The context was linked to action-interaction to provide meaning and to enable explanation of what kind of power relationships occur between the local government, non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and "the Nenets", the reasons why and what the consequences are as a result.

The process of data analysis continued by linking categories developed around a core category and refining and trimming the resulting theoretical construction that would explain the spatiality of power existing in the locality. This process was challenging because a core category was supposed to represent a phenomenon, the main theme of the research that would be abstract enough to be representative of all respondents in the study, that would have the greatest

explanatory power and the ability to link other categories to it and to each other (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, 2015).

#### **5.6.4. Selective coding**

In order to identify the core category, several techniques were employed. First of all, a descriptive summary note was written based on the revision of interviews, observations and field notes to answer questions such as *“What seems to be going on in the locality under study?”*, *“What themes come out over and over?”*

Once the main theme, a core category, running through the research was identified, the conceptual summary note, representing a synopsis of the research findings, was written. The main ideas were expressed using the categories derived during data analysis including statements of the relationships between the categories to each other and to the core category. It was an abstract story without all of the details included but it did contain sufficient information to draw a final diagram using Microsoft Visio software that would help to explain all of the findings made. For the researcher, using a visual diagram helped to sort out the logical relationships between categories and to write the conceptual story in Chapter 7.

Finally, reviewing and sorting through notes and summary notes assisted in integrating all of the concepts, categories and sub-categories with the core category. When the all-encompassing theoretical scheme was outlined, the theory was finalized through its revision for internal consistency and logic, its trimming (removing the concepts that contributed little to theory understanding) and validation (looking at how well abstraction fitted the raw data – 'confirmability', see section 5.8 ).

#### **5.7. Ensuring epistemological objectivity and claims to truth**

Epistemological objectivity and claims to truth were reached through correspondence (one of the proponents: Russell, 1967) and coherence (developed by Hegel and Spinoza) theories of truth. Such complementation was triggered by the fact that correspondence theory of truth helped to offset one of the main drawbacks of coherence theory of truth, inability to provide objective

reasoning. Correspondence theory offered the external evidence to support the truth of any of the claims coherently made by the respondent/-s (Russell, 1967; Davidson, 1983, 1991; Walker, 1985; Spinoza in De Dijn, 1996; Honderich, 2005; Cowan and Spiegel, 2009; Friedrichs & Kratochwil, 2009; Mosier, 2009).

Correspondence and coherence were established through triangulation which, in turn, was ascertained through 'credibility', 'dependability', 'transferability' and 'confirmability' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These criteria replaced positivists' internal validity, reliability, external validity, and objectivity (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004; Bitsch, 2005; Johnson *et al.*, 2006; Scott & Usher, 2011).

In order to validate the results obtained ('credibility') the researcher, first of all, constantly kept in touch with the respondents to ensure the correctness of the recordings, interpretations of the statements' meanings and secondly, sent to a few of them the final results of the analysis for their comments. The respondents chosen had an access to the internet, and the mobile phone. The interaction happened over Skype, via email and over the phone. There were not a lot of comments and corrections made. The interviewees agreed with the findings made and the way they were formulated. As a result, 'credibility' was obtained (Punch, 2002; Shenton, 2004).

'Transferability' was derived not from sampling but from rich description of the research context that now might enable other researchers to make such a transfer and comparisons possible (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

'Confirmability' was affirmed through demonstration that research outcomes emerged from the data and not the researcher's predispositions. This was done through reflection on the effectiveness of the techniques and methods employed (Shenton, 2004).

'Dependability' will be ensured in the Chapter 6 where data sources - informal conversations, interviews, observation field notes, photographs, local journals and newspapers obtained at the locality (Yar-Sale and Salekhard), official documents available online - will be triangulated (Lowe *et al.*, 2000). In the next chapter stages of data analysis will be presented in detail.

## **5.8. Summary**

The aim of the methodology was to explain and justify the methodological choices made and applied to the present research. In this chapter it was stated that the research question, the intention to explore the spatiality of power surrounding local inbound tourism industry development, determined the choice of the research philosophy which, in turn, influenced the design of the research strategy which consequently affected the stage of data collection and analysis, and the stage of ensuring epistemological objectivity. Then the stages of the research process comprised of were discussed in detail. Based on the fact that the main purpose of the present research was to access the respondents' subjective comprehension and evaluation of the situation, and the internal logic of respondents' actions derived from their interpretations of events, motives, attitudes and beliefs, the researcher positioned herself in neo-empiricism. Unlike positivists and critical theorists, it was argued that it is possible to accomplish in an unbiased manner through the correct methodology employed. Neo-empiricism allowed the researcher to utilise a palette of the qualitative methods to accomplish the main aim and objectives of the current research, that is to say, to unwrap respondents' subjective opinions. Research design assisted in the planning of the stages of the research, approaches to be used, methods utilised for data collection and analysis and the ways of ensuring the epistemological objectivity. The chapter proceeded with the detailed discussion of the approaches employed, data collection methods and sampling strategies used. The discussion continued with the appreciation of the process of data collection and analysis. Here is a 'comparative method' offered by Strauss and Corbin (1990; 2015) was discussed. The chapter finished with the acknowledgement of the ways the epistemological objectivity was ensured. 'Correspondence' and 'coherence' theories of truth were talked about as well as their establishment through employment of 'credibility', 'dependability', 'transferability' and 'confirmability' criteria. A pathway to the next Chapter 6, 'Stages of Data Analysis', was made.

## **Chapter 6: Stages of Data Analysis**

## **6. Introduction**

This chapter starts from an appreciation of the way that data analysis was established. Attention is paid to the process of data transcription and translation from one language to another (Russian language to English language), followed by an explanation of familiarisation with data and coding. The purpose of the latter part of the process was to develop a set of inter-related categories that would form a theoretical framework to enable representation of the spatiality of power surrounding the relationships between the local government, indigenous travel agencies, non-indigenous tour operators and “the Nenets” in Yamal, YNAO. Each stage of the analysis process, including familiarisation, open coding, axial coding and selective coding is established in detail. In the last stage, the selective coding stage, the cohesiveness of the theory or a story that explains the phenomenon under study is offered. A final diagram is presented to provide a pathway to Chapter 7, Results and Findings.

### **6.1. Data Analysis**

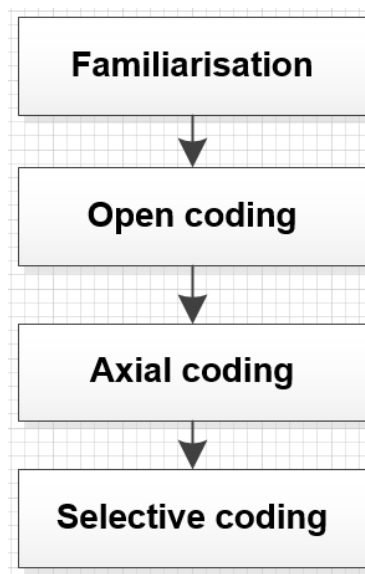
As stated in Chapter 5, unlike Glaser’s (1978) recommendation to transcribe the interviews straight after they took place, the data analysis was carried out at the end of the entire data collection process, in September 2013. This modification was made due to the circumstances of the fieldwork namely, lack of time and the remoteness of the reindeer camps from the settlements. These made it problematic to charge the recording devices needed for the transcriptions. The only possibility was to periodically listen to the recordings whilst in the field in order to spot any similarities or differences in the responses as well as to notice new information not covered in the pre-designed interview questions. If new information was detected, it was used as the basis for a follow-up interview or was taken into account when new interviewees were questioned.

Once the data had been gathered (from informal conversations, semi-structured interviews, observation field notes) and the researcher returned home from the field work, the information was translated from Russian language into English language and then transcribed. The researcher thought that this approach will make the process of data analysis easier. However, as highlighted in Chapter 5, this tactic proved time-consuming because the researcher had to constantly

refer back to the sources in Russian in order to ensure the accuracy of the translation made and that meaning was not lost. For future studies it is recommended to analyze the data and present the results in the origin language of the data and only then to undertake any translation into the language required for research reporting purposes. This is in line with the ideas of Mackey and Gass (2016), who focus specifically on second language research.

When the transcription of the data was completed the data analysis process was undertaken using a 'grounded theory' approach. This is a comparative method (so called 'constant comparison') offered by Strauss and Corbin (1990; 2015) (see Chapter 5). This method offered a form of inductive theory building whereby a theory was generated from data. Grounded theory is frequently used in research circumstances where a researcher knows relatively little about a particular issue and is interested in discovery of a theory grounded in empirical observations or data (Martin & Turner, 1986; Jones & Alony, 2011). For this research, this approach helped to systematically develop a set of inter-related themes through constant comparison and clustering of concepts which indicated relationships. This, thus, assisted in building a theoretical framework to represent the spatiality of power surrounding the relationships between the local government, indigenous travel agencies, non-indigenous tour operators and "the Nenets" in Yamal, YNAO. In order to achieve this aim the analysis began at the point of familiarisation with data. This was followed by the process of data coding - open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Figure 6.1). During the familiarisation stage of data analysis, the rich material collected was used to gain a level of sensitivity to the lives of participants, their feelings, perceptions, motivations and experiences. Moving beyond this stage, the cohesiveness of the proposed theory emerged from grouping concepts at 'free', 'axial' and 'selective' stages of coding.

**Figure 6.1: Main stages of Data Analysis**



Source: Adopted from Glaser (1978) and Buchanan & Bryman (2009).

Each step of the data analysis will now be explained in sequence in sections 6.2.1 – 6.2.4.

### **6.1.1. Familiarisation**

As it was stated in Chapter 5 and recounted in section 6.2, the process of data analysis started from familiarisation with the data. The purpose was, on the one hand, to remind the researcher of data which were gathered a few months before the analysis, on another hand, having read through all the evidence, the process allowed the researcher to grasp the social reality of participants, their feelings, perceptions and experience, and what they say through their words and actions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This stage enabled the researcher to gain an overall view of themes, ideas and arguments as well as coherence between respondents' opinions.

Over a period of two months the researcher met with thirty-three people who were representatives from indigenous and non-indigenous populations of the YNAO. Among them were representatives from “the Nenets” social group (eighteen respondents), indigenous travel agencies (two respondents), non-indigenous tour operators (four respondents) and people of other than “the

Nenets” nationality (nine respondents). In total 74,695 words were collected and transcribed. These comprised:

- 39,904 words from semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with the representatives from “the Nenets”;
- 5,042 words from personal observations and informal conversations with the representatives of the indigenous and non-indigenous population of the region met incidentally;
- 15,124 words from semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with the representatives of two indigenous travel agencies;
- 14,625 words from semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with the representatives of two non-indigenous tour operators and one state-owned tour operator.

The indigenous ‘community’ and other respondents were informed of the purpose of the study and their written agreement to participate, be observed and interviewed was obtained at the beginning of each interview. A consent form along with the official letter from Sheffield Hallam University explaining the purpose of the researcher’s study, a participant information sheet, translated into Russian language, was given to them (see Appendices I, II, III and IV). A copy of the participant information sheet, signed by respondents, was given to the researcher and retained. The participants were made aware of their right to withdraw from the research and to withhold information if they decide to in line with University guidelines on research ethics.

All of the respondents were ensured anonymity of their names and confidentiality of their responses in field notes and in the final thesis write-up to prevent their identification. They were provided with details of how data would be stored, how results would be presented and what the outcomes, impacts and benefits of the research might be. Moreover, they were ensured that their identities would be described in ways that nobody would be able to identify them as specific individuals. This would be done through random allocation of a number to each respondent (for example, R1, where ‘R’ stands for ‘Respondent’), through providing broad descriptions instead of detailed ones, in other words, through clustering of the opinions (Van Maanen, 1988) or by reporting the respondents’ views through a quasi-fictional character. The

participants were ensured that without their consent the information provided by them would not be published (section 5.6.3).

Apart from the interviews, image-based material, such as photographs, was also gathered. One hundred and two photographs were taken by the researcher and around one hundred additional photos were supplied by one of the respondents, a representative from “the Nenets” whose written permission on their usage was obtained (see Appendix IV). The photographs were made to demonstrate characteristic attributes of “the Nenets”, their lifestyle, and objects such as those that helped to make some hidden problems visible (Prosser, 1998; Scarles, 2010). For instance, the issues of infrastructure improvement in Yar-Sale brought into light during interviews or informal conversations by the representatives from “the Nenets” were captured visually. Particularly there were local concerns surrounding the inappropriate construction of the pathways in Yar-Sale, Yamal, due to the corruption and the absence of the remote control from the state government. As one of the respondents stated:

*“Look at the pathways. They are built not in accordance with the requirements for a locality with the harsh climate and unstable ground. They [meaning the workers, the construction companies and the local government] steal the material and build the pathways just to show that the money were spent and the work was done. However, just after the winter this is what happens to the pathways” (R9).*

This view was coherently supported by R1, R2, R23 and the researcher’s observation field notes (Figure 6.2 a; b).

**Figure 6.2 (a): Hidden issues, inappropriate construction of the pathways in Yar-Sale, Yamal, YNAO**



Source: The Author (2013)

**Figure 6.2 (b): Hidden issues, improper construction of the alleyways in Yar-Sale, Yamal, YNAO**



Source: The Author (2013)

The same problems faced by the respondents were, for example, voiced in relation to the houses' construction:

*"Instead of building a house gradually, one storey at a time then to wait for a while and only after that to build another storey, the construction companies build all the storeys at once and, as a result, after the winter there appear lots of huge cracks across the walls. However, this problem is ignored and the work is submitted as done" (R23).*

This view was coherently supported by R2, R9 and the researcher's observation field notes. (Figure 6.3).

**Figure 6.3: Hidden issues, inappropriate methods of buildings' construction in the harsh climatic conditions of Yamal**



Source: The Author (2013)

These and many other problems were identified thanks to the utilisation of 'a palette' of qualitative methods (acknowledged in Chapter 5). The utilisation of semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, observation field notes and image-based material proved to be important because it allowed the collection of very rich and detailed data (or 'thick descriptions' - Denzin, 1989; Creswell & Miller, 2000). This was deemed important for reaching the main aim and objectives of the research and validating the results through triangulation of the data sources at the results and findings stages (Fine *et al.*, 2009) (see Chapter 7).

The usage of informal conversations or so called 'ethnographic interviews' (Spradely, 1979; Tracy, 2013) was particularly valuable because having happened naturally - spontaneously, but instigated by the researcher while sitting at the table and drinking tea at somebody's house or while walking, or waiting, and being uncontrolled in nature - they allowed for the gathering of unpredicted findings (Matthews & Ross, 2010). For example, hidden racism and corruption, concealed dissatisfaction with the current government and the current political economy regime as a whole, and veiled issues faced by the representatives from the tourism business were revealed. In this context, so called 'disadvantages' around collecting large amounts of data (for example, difficulties in analysis and identification of patterns - Patton, 2002; Matthews & Ross, 2010) were overcome thanks to the prompts and questions kept in mind and asked naturally by the researcher during the conversations. This allowed for comparison of the results across different conversations and interviews.

Based on the preliminary overview of the themes and ideas, it was identified that the main Nenets' concern was the current situation with reindeer herding industry development, the negative impact oil and gas industry development had on it. According to one of the representatives from indigenous travel agency (ITA), the main industries that are currently being developed in Yamal, YNAO, are oil and gas, reindeer herding and tourism industries:

*"The oil and gas industry is of a prime interest to the state and local government because oil and gas industry development is important to the country to solve its problems" (ITA1).*

Based on this fact, as coherently noticed by "the Nenets" respondents, R2, R9, R14, R15, R17 and representatives from indigenous travel agencies, ITA1 and ITA2: *"If gas already found, so it will be impossible to stop them now" (R2)*. As an outcome: *"all the changes started to happen" (R6)*. *"More and more land is being allocated by the local government for the industrial purposes" (R2 supported by R17; ITA1 and ITA2)*. This resulted in the fact that *"railway and roads, constructed by Gazprom, reduce pastures (R6 supported by R7 and R17) ... affect the territorial integrity of nomads" (ITA1 supported by ITA2)*. *"Reindeer herders are enforced to move" (R4 supported by R11 and R17)*. *"They already leave the territory where they used to herd their reindeer...They*

*already move closer to places where other reindeer herders herd their reindeer”* (R17). The assistance of the representatives from the Association of the Indigenous Peoples of the North in this context is considered by the respondents as ineffective because of *“the financial dependence of this organisation on the local government”* (ITA1) This view is coherently supported by ITA2, R2, R3, R6, R9 and R12.

Apart from the problem of pasture reductions caused by oil and gas industry development, the representatives from “the Nenets” also highlight the negative impact of oil and gas industry development on the environment which, in turn, adversely influences reindeer herding. As the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies state:

*“Our oil and gas companies work at the expense of the nature”* (ITA1).

*“Oil and gas industry development negatively influences on the earth, on the nature, even on the reindeer and people”* (R13).

*“Nowadays the reindeer became very weak”* (R14).

The situation gets worse due to the harsh climate which harmfully impacts reindeer herding as well. *“The weather is very changeable in Yamal, YNAO. If there is ice, or a hot weather, most of the reindeer will die”* (R2 supported by R17; ITA1 and ITA2).

*All these factors were perceived to impact on “the Nenets” livelihoods:*

*“construction of the roads and railway across the tundra that reduce the pastures, industrial spills that pollute the environment...along with the harsh climate cause the reduction in the number of reindeer and, as a consequence, endanger the existence of the reindeer herding (R6 supported by R9) ... which, in turn, might lead to the fact that about 300 Nenets families will have to settle down and find a job in the settlement... This means that “the Nenets” traditional lifestyle will start to deteriorate. Although, it already started to break down”* (R6 supported by R11).

Regarding reindeer herding industry development, the respondents also highlight such issues as: reduction of pastures due to the construction of the state-owned reindeer meat processing complexes; ban on reindeer slaughter in the tundra; obligations to register as entrepreneurs or members of a community

in order to be able to slaughter reindeer at the state-owned reindeer processing complexes; and closed direct access to the market. As the representatives from “the Nenets” state:

*“The construction of the reindeer processing complexes reduces our pastures”* (R9 supported by R17);

*“Now we have to slaughter our reindeer at the state-owned processing complexes while before we could slaughter them in the tundra”* (R17 supported by R24; ITA1 and ITA2);

*“We lost out direct access to the market due to the new law”* (ITA1 supported by ITA2 and R14);

*“In order to slaughter our reindeer, we should be registered as members of a community or as entrepreneurs...If we are not registered then we will be unable to slaughter our reindeer at the state-owned processing complex”* (ITA1 supported by ITA2 and R14).

As a result, *“today, the private herders’ hand and foot are bind”* (ITA1 supported by ITA2). This situation causes “the Nenets” dissatisfaction with the current socio-economic, political and environmental situation and triggers their agreement to participate in inbound tourism industry development. As one of the representatives from indigenous travel agency states: *“I wouldn’t say that the private reindeer herders are satisfied with the current socio-economic, political and environmental situation”* (ITA1). That is why, inbound tourism industry development is considered as *“the only sphere in the region that can bring “the Nenets” an additional income and employment”* (R2 supported by R3; R4; R13; R17; R24; ITA1; ITA2; private non-indigenous tour operators (PNITO1; PNITO2).

Still, *“not all of “the Nenets” in Yamal agree to participate in inbound tourism industry development”* (R17 supported by R25 and state-owned tour operator (STO). Moreover, *“if tourism becomes a mass one then tourists will only distract “the Nenets” from their main economic activity, reindeer herding”* (R10 supported by R17; R13; R14). *“This will result in rejection by “the Nenets” [who currently participate in inbound tourism industry development] to host tourists”* (R13 supported by R14; R17; PNITO1; PNITO2; ITA1; ITA2).

As far as inbound tourism industry development is concerned in general, here the representatives from the local private indigenous travel agencies (ITAs) and non-indigenous tour operators (PNITOs) highlight such issues as the lack of governmental interest in inbound tourism industry development and the discrepancy between what it is claimed by the local government in the mass media and reality. As one of the representatives from the local tour operator states:

*“There is a programme developed in relation to inbound tourism industry development, but the present leaders in our local government do not know yet where we should move. In other words, they do not understand what to do and how”* (PNITO1 supported by ITA1; ITA2).

As a result,

*“there is lots of written in the newspapers that the current governor of the Yamal-Nenets AO, Kobylkin, does a lot to develop the tourism industry in the region in order to supply “the Nenets” with an additional source of income to improve their welfare, but do not believe it”* (ITA1 supported by ITA2).

Interestingly, this finding is in direct contrast with what has been reported previously in the mass media and official documents available online (see Chapter 4). These secondary sources have suggested that the local government was interested in inbound tourism industry development and in the attraction of “the Nenets” into that industry to improve their welfare.

The situation gets complicated, from the perspective of respondents, by the influence of the *“remoteness of Yamal and harsh climatic conditions”* that *“put under the risk tourists’ safety and security”* (PNITO1 supported by PNITO2; ITA1; ITA2). In this context, the respondents highlight the development of the tourism industry currently taking place in other localities of the YNAO than in Yamal, particularly at locations which *“are closer to Salekhard where the transport infrastructure is well developed”* (PNITO1 supported by PNITO2; ITA1; ITA2; R17).

These issues, as a consequence, *“make it hard* [for the representatives from the local private non-indigenous tour operators and indigenous travel companies] *to*

*develop inbound tourism industry in Yamal”* (PNITO2 supported by PNITO1; ITA1; ITA2).

Based on the themes and ideas revealed, it was concluded that the stage of familiarisation with the data proved to be valuable because it allowed for the grasping of the social reality of respondents through respondents’ words and actions. This relates to ‘credibility’ or reliable representation, and the researcher’s detachment (Punch, 2002; Shenton, 2004; see Chapter 5 - Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Now it was time to ‘open up’ the data further to all possible meanings and connections contained within them. A free-associating approach to the analysis, called ‘open coding’, was applied. This approach was important in attributing interpreted meaning to each individual datum to enable pattern detection, categorization and theory building that would explain the phenomenon under study, in other words to capture a datum’s primary content and essence (Saldana, 2015).

### **6.1.2. Open Coding**

At this stage, as it was highlighted in the Methodology chapter (Chapter 5), the concepts developed as a part of the conceptual framework and literature review were put aside in order to be able to discover something new, unexpected from the data, using an inductive approach. The process of coding started from breaking down into manageable pieces all text-based qualitative data to enable connections and themes to be formed. This process allowed the researcher to place concepts into specific groups (called ‘conceptualisation’ - Strauss & Corbin, 1998) which, in turn, gave rise to early concept development for the emerging theory. Based on the main aim of the present study to explore the spatiality of power surrounding “the Nenets”, the process of conceptualisation was undertaken around this aim. The text was separated into short paragraphs with a line break between them whenever the topic or subtopic appeared to change (Saldana, 2015). If the respondents had a lot to say about a particular issue, then this information was split up further into the smaller parts. The paragraphs then were explored line-by-line for the ideas contained within (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). The software “Evernote” (discussed in Chapter 5)

was used at this stage to help to visualize the concepts identified and possible links between them (Figure 5.6). This software also assisted in shifting concepts around, retrieving memos, notes and summary notes. It was an excellent, additional analytic tool to other tools employed (see Chapter 5).

In order to identify the ideas contained in the paragraph, 'pre-coding' (Layder, 1998) was utilised in parallel with coding. Participants' quotes or passages were underlined or coloured, thanks to the tools offered by Evernote, then coded and put into a separate note. To ensure that the identified idea was correctly coded it was re-assessed by stepping back and looking at the piece of data to reflect upon what the main idea being expressed in the section was. The context was important here to prevent any distortion of the meaning. This approach, called 'microanalysis strategy', helped to explore and develop concepts, in other words to get some sense of the meaning of data and to find concepts that reflect that meaning (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

An example of the open coding undertaken can be seen through concerns of "the Nenets" respondents in relation to the oil and gas industry development in Yamal and its impact on their traditional economic activity - reindeer herding. One of the representatives from "the Nenets" expressed his perception of it in the following way:

*"Nowadays, there is a **money and gas flow**<sup>1</sup>. Every year the **pastures** are being **reduced**<sup>2</sup>. **Land** becomes **weak**<sup>3</sup>. This might mean the **end of reindeer herding**. It will gradually die out<sup>4</sup> like in the **Purovsky district**<sup>5</sup>. Some people say that there were big herds of reindeer. They [meaning the representatives from the oil and gas company] just thoughtlessly approached the oil and gas development there. **Probably they** [meaning "the Nenets"] **did not have a proper, well-educated representative who would protect their interests**<sup>6</sup>. Reindeer herding will probably survive<sup>7</sup> if a correct approach is used by the **oil and gas company**, by our **local administration**, our **Association of Indigenous people**<sup>8,9</sup>. **They already collaborate**<sup>10</sup> to find the solutions to this problem."(R17)*

From this passage the following codes or subconcepts were derived (Table 6.1):

**Table 6.1: An example of the codes or subconcepts derived from the passage**

1	<b><i>Money and gas flow</i></b> as part of the oil and gas industry development
2	<b><i>Reduction of pastures</i></b> as a negative result of the oil and gas industry development
3	<b><i>Weak Land</i></b> as a result of the negative impact of the oil and gas industry development on land
4	<b><i>Fear of reindeer herding industry collapse in Yamal</i></b> – personal concern
5	<b><i>Collapse of the reindeer herding industry in a different locality</i></b> as a result of the negative impact of the oil and gas industry development on the reindeer herding industry in a different locality
6	<b><i>Possible absence of the representative (well-educated) from “the Nenets” in that locality who would be able to protect “the Nenets” interests</i></b>
7	<b><i>Hope that the reindeer herding industry might survive in Yamal</i></b>
8	<b><i>Dependence of preservation of reindeer herding industry in Yamal on the collaboration between the oil and gas company, local administration and the Association of Indigenous people</i></b>
9	<b><i>Belief in the ability of the Association of Indigenous people to influence the decision-making process</i></b>
10	<b><i>Current collaboration between the oil and gas company, local administration and the Association of Indigenous people to find solutions</i></b> to the problem highlighted

Source: The Author

As can be seen from Table 6.1, the conceptualisation was mainly provided by the participants (so called ‘emic coding’ - Corbin & Strauss, 1990) because the terms they used to speak about the problem were so vivid and descriptive that the researcher simply ‘borrowed’ them.

Then these codes or subconcepts were compared with similar ideas in other interviews, conversations and field notes. Data ‘constant comparison’ technique (see Chapter 5) was used here. Data similar in nature (referring to something

conceptually similar but not necessarily a repeat of the same action or incident) were grouped together under the same conceptual heading. For example, the code or subconcept 'possession by "the Nenets" of the knowledge of tundra, of reindeer herding, of experience, of reindeer' was grouped under the conceptual heading 'resources possessed by "the Nenets"'. The code or subconcept 'possession by the representatives of the local private non-indigenous tour operators of knowledge, experience and education' was located under the conceptual heading 'resources possessed by the representatives from the local private non-indigenous tour operators'. In the same way the remaining data were analyzed and split into clusters with appropriate conceptual headings such as for instance, 'unsustainable impact of oil and gas industry development', 'issues of reindeer herding industry development', 'issues of inbound tourism industry development'. The process of clustering assisted in reducing the amount of data the researcher worked with (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

The concepts developed were constantly updated and revised. Some new concepts with new properties and dimensions were added and relationships with other concepts established (see Appendix VII). The concepts that did not relate to the purposes of the study were discarded (for example, burial customs, traditions of tailoring). A pattern, or a repetitive occurrence of action or data, that appeared more than twice, suggested saturation of data and the existence of stable indicators, consistencies of respondents' ways of living, reaction and action. They became more trustworthy evidence for findings since patterns demonstrated habits, salience, and importance in people's daily lives (Saldana, 2015).

In the same way, using 'constant comparison technique' (see Chapter 5), all the interviews, conversations and observation field notes were analyzed and subconcepts and concepts were developed. The major subconcepts and concepts, based on the frequency different respondents mentioned them, are presented in the Appendices VIII, IX, X, XI. To make the analysis easier, the subconcepts and concepts were split in accordance with the industry they belonged to. Twenty-seven subconcepts/concepts were derived in relation to oil and gas industry development; thirty-one linked to reindeer herding industry development; fifteen connected to fishing industry development and forty-five

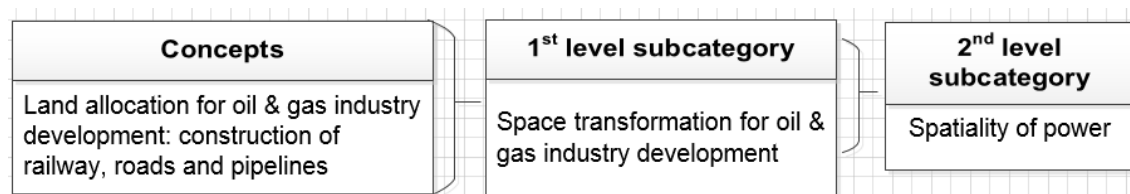
allied to inbound tourism industry development. One hundred and eighteen subconcepts/concepts arose in total. Still, the subconcepts/concepts related to fishing industry development (Appendix X) were put aside based on the focus of the present research on “the Nenets” reindeer herders rather than on “the Nenets” mainly involved in the fishing industry.

The researcher kept summarizing the data further. The abstraction of the concepts at this stage was considered possible in accordance with the opinion of Corbin and Strauss (2015). They stated that the process of data analysis is not a linear one, the concepts can be abstracted even at the earlier stages of data analysis. The use of a ‘wall mapping’ technique provided a particular means to help to group concepts into sub-categories, based on some shared characteristics (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Examples that illustrate what was achieved from the analysis and the process of further abstraction of the subconcepts and concepts at this stage are established in sections 6.2.2.1 – 6.2.2.3.

#### **6.1.2.1. Open coded conceptualisation relating to oil and gas industry development**

As it was stated in section 6.2.2, based on the main aim of the present study to explore the spatiality of power surrounding “the Nenets”, the process of conceptualisation was made around ‘spatiality of power’. Based on the perceptions of the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies (see section 6.2.1), it was identified that one of the main issues currently faced by “the Nenets” in relation to oil and gas industry development in Yamal, YNAO, is ‘allocation of land for oil and gas industry development’. This issue was labelled as a concept and placed under the more general label, first-level data-based subcategory, ‘space transformation for oil and gas industry development’. This subcategory, in turn, made up a higher second-level data-based subcategory, ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.4, box 1).

**Figure 6.4 (Box 1): Open coded conceptualisation relating to oil and gas industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

It was also recognized that the concept ‘allocation of land for oil and gas industry development’ is linked to such issues as:

- ‘Pasture reduction’;
- ‘Decrease in the number of reindeer’;
- The fact that “‘the Nenets’” traditional lifestyle started collapsing’;
- ‘Pollution of the environment’;
- and the fact that ‘land does not belong to “the Nenets”’; it is owned by the federal government’.

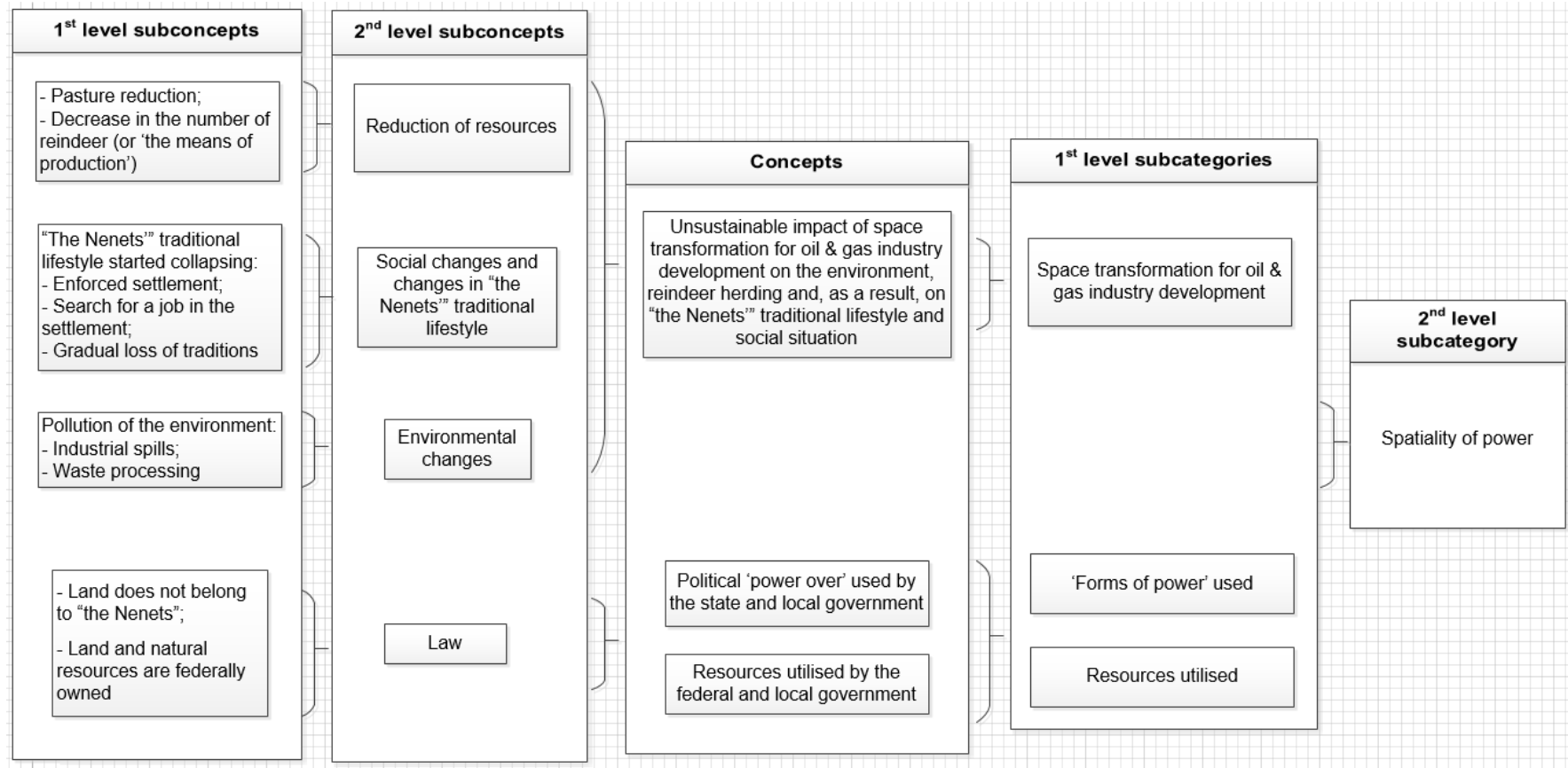
These issues were conceptualised as the first-level data-based subconcepts (Figure 6.4, box 2). These first-level data-based concepts, in turn, were placed under the second-level subconcepts. ‘Pasture reduction’ and ‘decrease in the number of reindeer’ were grouped together and made up the second-level data-based subconcept, ‘reduction of resources’. The fact that “‘the Nenets’” traditional lifestyle started collapsing’ made up a second-level data-based subconcept ‘social changes relating to “the Nenets’” traditional lifestyle’. ‘Pollution of the environment’ was located under a second-level data-based subconcept ‘environmental changes’ (Figure 6.4, box 2). The first-level data based subconcept ‘land does not belong to “the Nenets”’; it is owned by the federal government’ was placed under the second-level data-based subconcept ‘Law’ (Figure 6.4, box 2).

These second-level data-based subconcepts were abstracted further. The second-level subconcepts ‘reduction of resources’, ‘social changes relating to “the Nenets’” traditional lifestyle’ and ‘environmental changes’ were summarized into a concept ‘unsustainable impact of space transformation on the

environment, reindeer herding and, as a result, on “the Nenets” traditional lifestyle’. This concept, in turn, made up a first-level data-based subcategory ‘space transformation for oil and gas industry development’ which, sequentially, made up a higher level subcategory, labelled as a second-level data-based subcategory, ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.4, box 2).

The second-level data-based subconcept ‘law’ was placed under two concepts: ‘political ‘power over’ of law used by the state and local government’ and ‘resources utilised by the state/federal and local government’. These concepts, in turn, made up the first-level data-based subcategories: ‘forms of power’ and ‘resources utilised’ respectively. Together with the first-level data-based subcategory ‘space transformation for oil and gas industry development’, they formed a higher second-level data-based subcategory ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.4, box 2).

**Figure 6.4 (Box 2): Open coded conceptualisation relating to oil and gas industry development in Yamal**



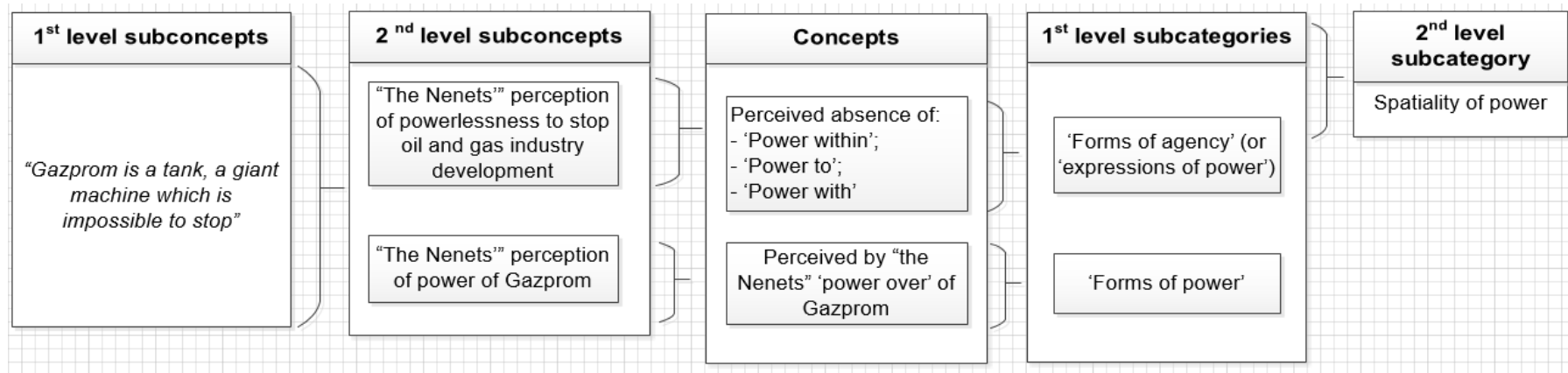
Source: The Author

Regarding 'Gazprom', this company was perceived by the representatives from "the Nenets" and indigenous travel agencies as 'a tank, a giant machine which is impossible to stop' (see section 6.2.1). This code was renamed as a first-level data-based subconcept and placed under the second-level data-based subconcepts:

- "The Nenets" perception of powerlessness to stop oil and gas industry development';
- "The Nenets" perception of the power of Gazprom'.

The first, second-level data-based, subconcept made up the concept: 'perceived absence of 'power within', 'power to' and 'power with''. The second, second-level data-based, subconcept formed a concept 'perceived by "the Nenets" 'power over' of Gazprom' (Figure 6.4, box 3). These concepts were abstracted further to the level of the first-level data-based subcategories. The concept 'perceived absence of 'power within', 'power to' and 'power with'' made up the first-level data-based subcategory 'forms of agency (or 'expressions of power')'. The concept 'perceived by "the Nenets" 'power over' of Gazprom' was placed under the first-level data-based subcategory 'forms of power' (Figure 6.4, box 3). These first-level data-based subcategories ('forms of agency' and 'forms of power') were grouped together under the second-level subcategory 'spatiality of power' (Figure 6.4, box 3).

**Figure 6.4 (Box 3): Open coded conceptualisation relating to oil and gas industry development in Yamal**



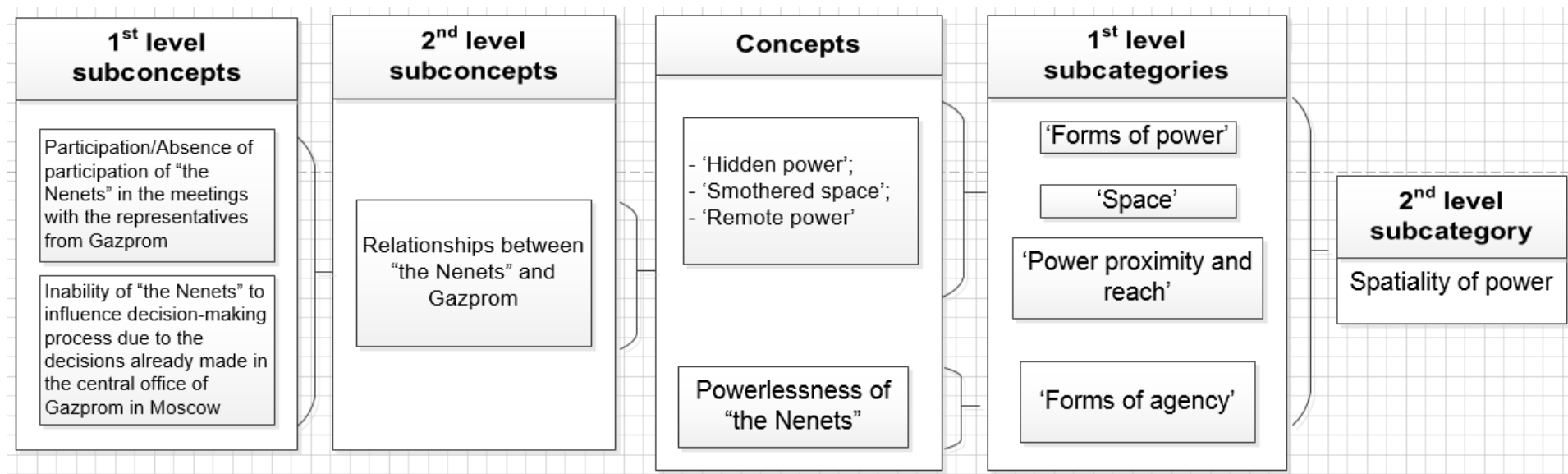
Source: The Author

Concerning the issue of the relationships between “the Nenets” and ‘Gazprom’, two codes were developed: ‘the ability or inability of the representatives from “the Nenets” to participate in the meetings organised by the representatives from Gazprom’ and ‘inability of “the Nenets” to influence the decision-making process due to the decisions already made in the central office of Gazprom in Moscow’. These two codes were labelled as two first-level data-based subconcepts (Figure 6.4, box 4). These subconcepts, in turn, were grouped together and placed under the second-level data-based subconcept ‘relationships between “the Nenets” and Gazprom’ (Figure 6.4, box 4). This second-level data-based subconcept was abstracted further and made up the concepts:

- ‘Hidden power of Gazprom’;
- ‘Smothered space created by Gazprom’;
- ‘Remote power of Gazprom’;
- and, ‘Powerlessness of “the Nenets”’ (Figure 6.4, box 4).

These concepts, in turn, formed four first-level data-based subcategories. The concepts ‘hidden power of Gazprom’, ‘smothered space created by Gazprom’ and ‘remote power of Gazprom’ were summarized under the first-level data-based subcategories: ‘forms of power’, ‘space’ and ‘power proximity and reach’ respectively (Figure 6.4, box 4). The concept ‘powerlessness of “the Nenets”’ was placed under the first-level data-based subcategory ‘forms of agency’ (Figure 6.4, box 4). These four first-level data-based subcategories were clustered together and made up the second-level data-based subcategory ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.4, box 4).

**Figure 6.4 (box 4): Open coded conceptualisation relating to oil and gas industry development in Yamal**



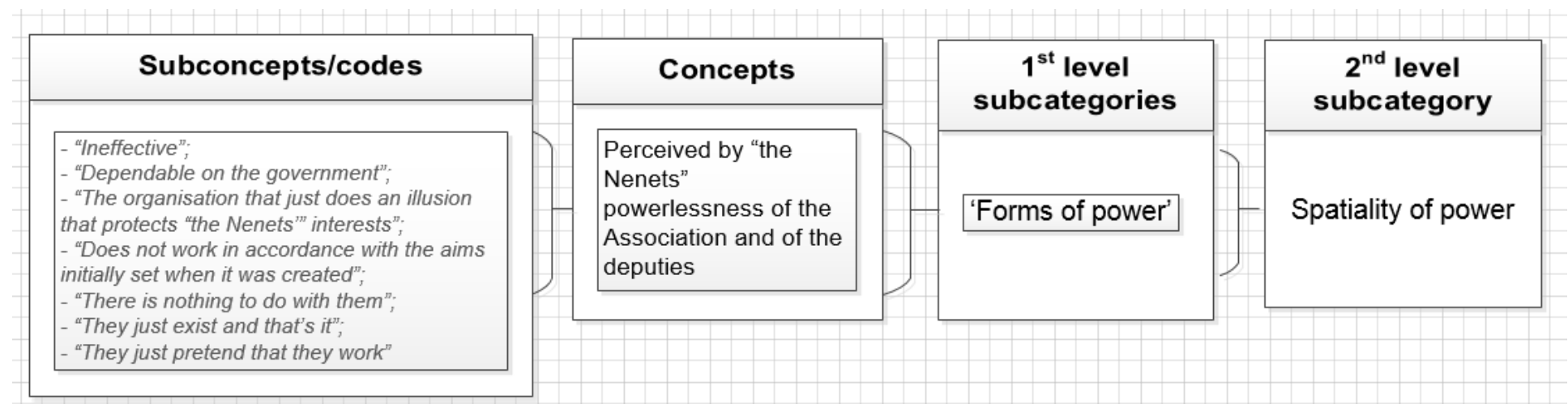
Source: The Author

Taking into account the problems currently faced and highlighted by “the Nenets”, the Association of the Indigenous People of the North and the deputies was perceived by the respondents through such codes or subconcepts as:

- ‘Ineffective’;
- ‘Dependable on the government’;
- ‘The organisation that just does an illusion that protects “the Nenets” interests’;
- ‘Does not work in accordance with the aims initially set when it was created’;
- ‘There is nothing to do with them’;
- ‘They just exist and that’s it’;
- ‘They just pretend that they work’.

These subconcepts were summarized into the concept ‘perceived by “the Nenets” powerlessness of the Association and of the deputies’ (Figure 6.4, box 5). This concept, in turn, made up the first-level data-based subcategory ‘forms of power’ which sequentially was placed under the second-level data-based subcategory ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.4, box 5).

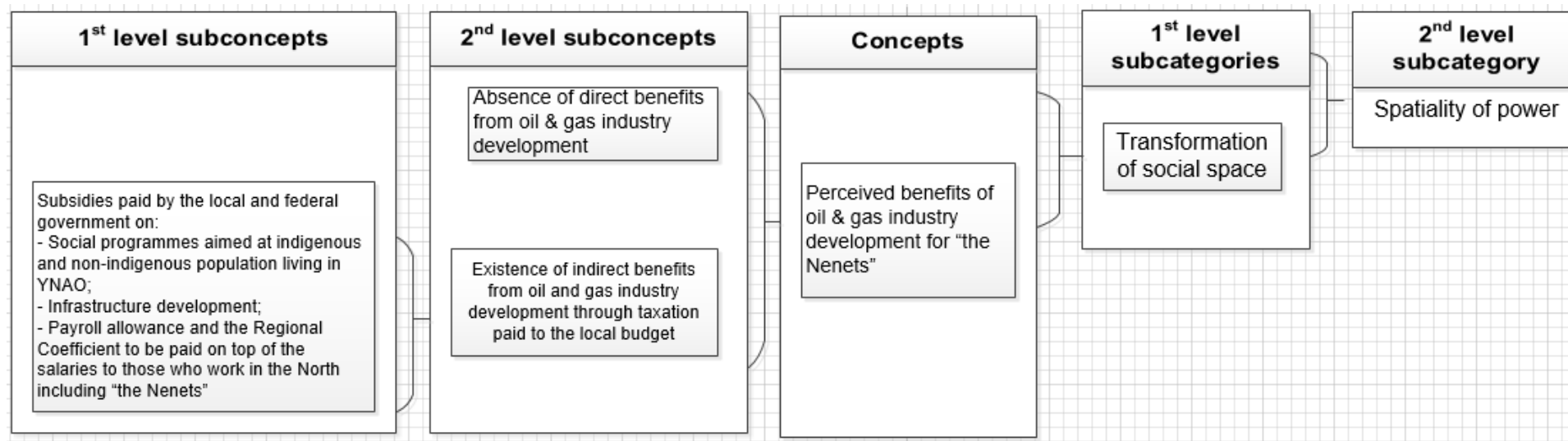
**Figure 6.4 (box 5): Open coded conceptualisation relating to oil and gas industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

Oil and gas industry development in general was perceived by the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies as the industry which does not bring any direct benefits to “the Nenets”. In this context, the ‘absence of direct benefits from oil and gas industry development’ and ‘the availability of indirect (social) benefits from oil and gas industry development’ were conceptualised as the second-level data-based subconcepts (see first-level data-based subconcepts in Figure 6.4, box 6). These subconcepts were bundled into a concept ‘perceived by “the Nenets” benefits of oil and gas industry development’ (Figure 6.4, box 6). This concept, in turn, was placed under the first-level data-based subcategory ‘transformation of social space’ which sequentially was abstracted to the second-level data-based subcategory ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.4, box 6).

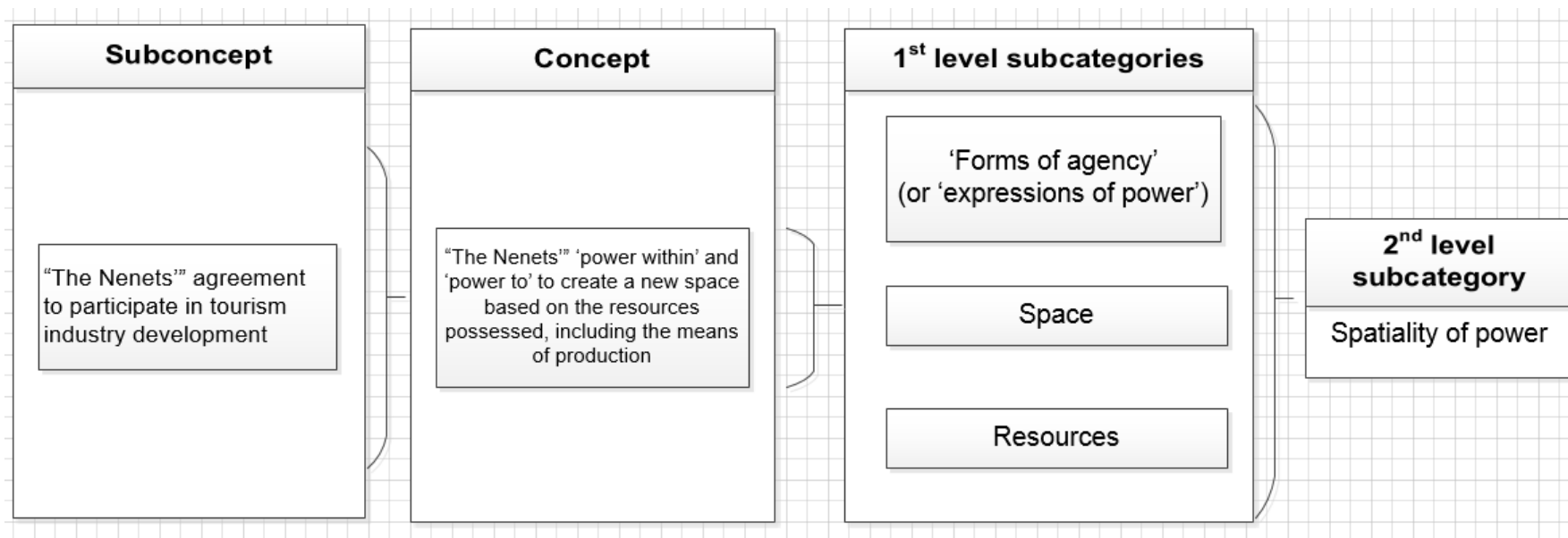
**Figure 6.4 (box 6): Open coded conceptualisation relating to oil and gas industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

Based on the perceptions of the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies (ITAs), the concept ‘unsustainable impact of space transformation for oil and gas industry development on the environment, reindeer herding and, as a result, on “the Nenets” traditional lifestyle’ and the second-level data-based subconcept ‘powerlessness of “the Nenets” to stop oil and gas industry development’ triggered “the Nenets” to participate in inbound tourism industry development (see section 6.2.1). The code “the Nenets” agreement to participate in inbound tourism industry development’ was labelled as a subconcept which was placed under a concept “the Nenets” ‘power within’ and ‘power to’ to create a new space based on the resources possessed’ (Figure 6.4, box 7). This concept, in turn, made up three first-level data-based subcategories: ‘forms of agency’, ‘space’ and ‘resources’ (Figure 6.4, box 7). Sequentially, these first-level data-based subcategories were grouped together under the second-level data-based subcategory ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.4, box 7).

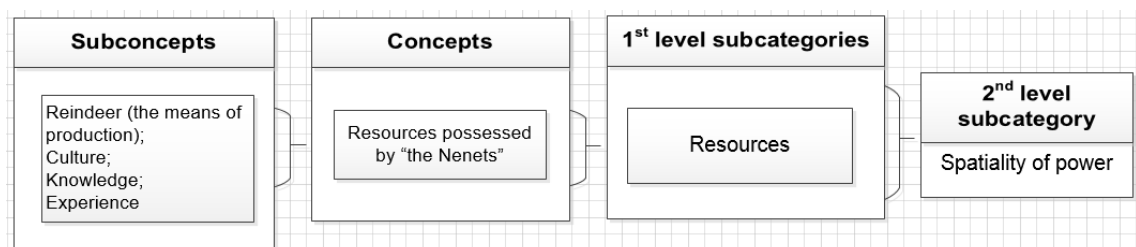
**Figure 6.4 (box 7): Open coded conceptualisation relating to oil and gas industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

Regarding the resources possessed by “the Nenets”, it was identified that these are: ‘reindeer’; “the Nenets” culture’; ‘knowledge of the tundra’; and ‘experience’ (Figure 6.4, box 8). These resources were labelled as the subconcepts which, in turn, made up a concept ‘resources possessed by “the Nenets”’ (Figure 6.4, box 8). This concept was abstracted further and placed under the first-level data-based subcategory ‘resources’ which, in turn, made up the second-level data-based subcategory ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.4, box 8).

**Figure 6.4 (box 8): Open coded conceptualisation relating to oil and gas industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

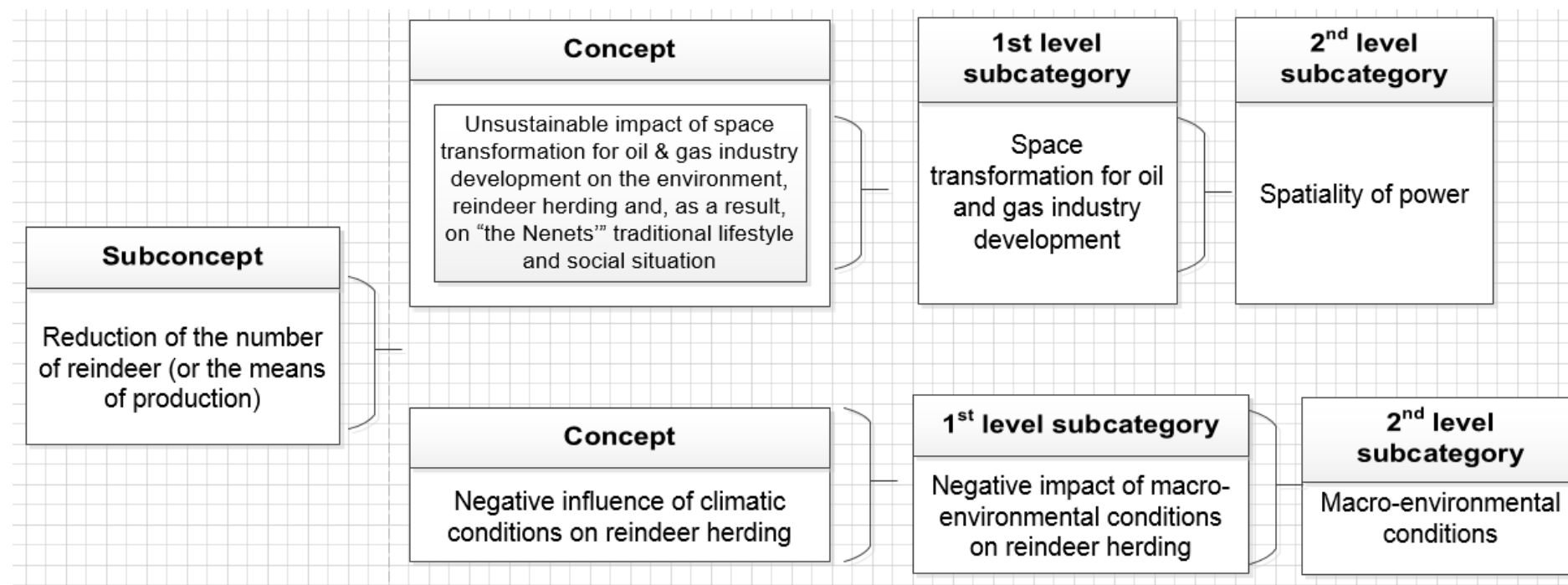
Based on the perceptions of the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies, it was also identified that “the Nenets” decision to participate in inbound tourism industry development was caused by the current situation in the reindeer herding industry as well. The conceptualisation relating to reindeer herding industry development is presented in section 6.2.2.2.

#### **6.1.2.2. Open coded conceptualisation relating to reindeer herding industry development**

According to the perceptions of the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies, one of the issues currently faced by “the Nenets” in relation to their traditional economic activity, reindeer herding, is ‘the reduction of the number of reindeer (or the means of production)’. This issue was labelled as a subconcept and placed under two concepts: ‘unsustainable impact of space transformation for oil and gas industry development’ and ‘negative influence of climatic conditions on reindeer herding’ respectively (Figure 6.5, box 1). These concepts, in turn, were abstracted further. The first one made up

the first-level data-based subcategory 'space transformation for oil and gas industry development' while the second one made up the first-level data-based subcategory 'negative impact of macro-environmental conditions on reindeer herding' (Figure 6.5, box 1). Consecutively, the first-level data-based subcategory 'space transformation for oil and gas industry development' was placed under the second-level data-based subcategory 'spatiality of power' (Figure 6.5, box 1). The first-level data-based subcategory 'negative impact of macro-environmental conditions on reindeer herding' was located under the second-level data-based subcategory 'macro-environmental conditions' (Figure 6.5, box 1).

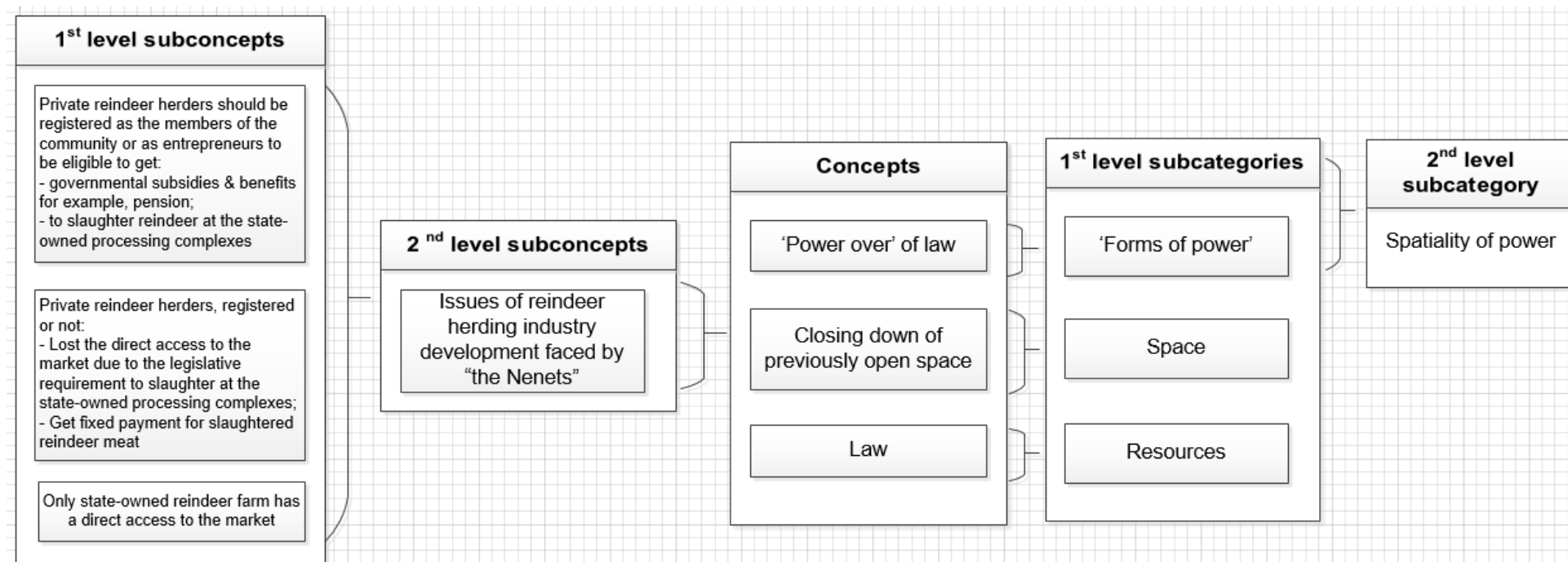
**Figure 6.5 (box 1): Open coded conceptualisation relating to reindeer herding industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

Another issue highlighted by the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies was an approval by the local government of a new law according to which “the Nenets” are prohibited from slaughtering their reindeer in the tundra. They are required to slaughter reindeer at the state-owned reindeer meat processing complexes. In this context, “the Nenets” lost a direct access to the market and the possibility to get a higher profit for the slaughtered reindeer. Only the state-owned reindeer farm has a direct access to the market. Moreover, in order to be able to slaughter reindeer at the state-owned reindeer meat processing complexes, “the Nenets” are required to register as the members of a community or as entrepreneurs. If “the Nenets” are not registered then they are not eligible to get the governmental subsidies and benefits such as for example, pension. These issues were conceptualised as the first-level data-based subconcepts (Figure 6.5, box 2) and clustered under the second-level data-based subconcept ‘issues of reindeer herding industry development’ (Figure 6.5, box 2). This second-level data-based subconcept, in turn, was placed under three concepts: ‘power over’ of law’; ‘closing down of previously open space’; and ‘law’ (Figure 6.5, box 2). These concepts were abstracted further and made up the first-level data-based subcategories: ‘forms of power’; ‘space’; and ‘resources’ (possessed and used by the federal and local government) respectively (Figure 6.5, box 2). These three first-level data-based subcategories were bundled into the second-level data-based subcategory ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.5, box 2).

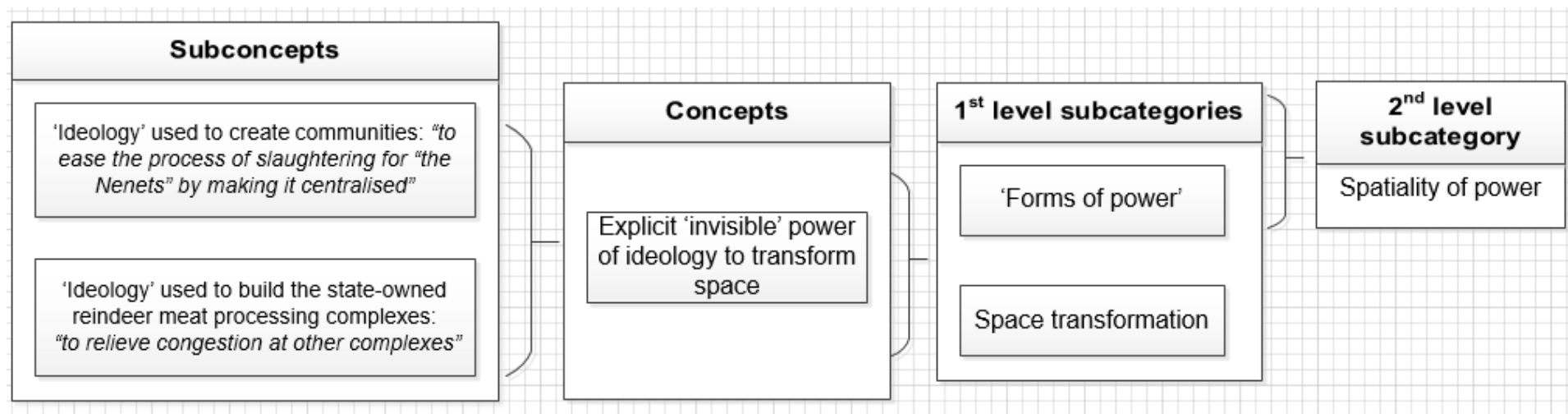
**Figure 6.5 (box 2): Open coded conceptualisation relating to reindeer herding industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

In order to ensure the compliance with the law, the local government uses ideology. Ideology is utilised 'to justify the creation of the communities' and 'construction of reindeer meat processing complexes in Yamal' (Figure 6.5, box 3). These two types of usage of ideology were labelled as subconcepts and placed under a concept 'explicit 'invisible' power of ideology to transform space' (Figure 6.5, box 3). This concept, in turn, made up the first-level data-based subcategories: 'forms of power' and 'space transformation'. Sequentially, these first-level data-based subcategories were grouped together under the second-level data-based subcategory 'spatiality of power' (Figure 6.5, box 3).

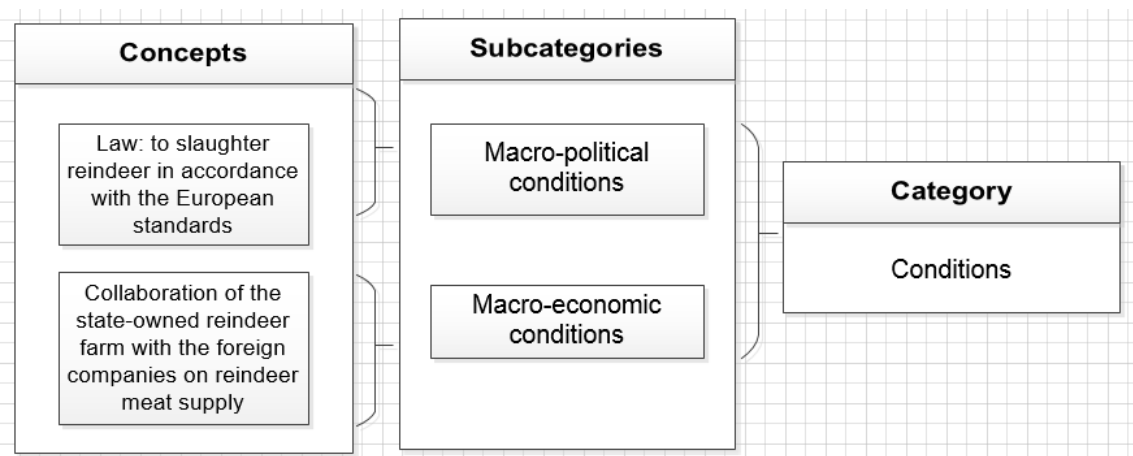
**Figure 6.5 (box 3): Open coded conceptualisation relating to reindeer herding industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

The main cause of the law created and approved by the local government, as perceived by the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies, is the ‘the obligations the local state-owned farm has on reindeer meat supply to the foreign business partners’. These obligations resulted in the ‘requirement to slaughter reindeer in line with the European standards’. These two reasons were labelled as concepts and placed under two subcategories: ‘macro-political conditions’ and ‘macro-economic conditions’ respectively (Figure 6.5, box 4). These subcategories, in turn, made up a category ‘conditions’ (Figure 6.5, box 4).

**Figure 6.5 (box 4): Open coded conceptualisation relating to reindeer herding industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

Still, the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies highlight two clusters of issues relating to communities’ creation and the law approved (Figure 6.5, box 5). The first cluster of issues in relation to communities’ creation consists of:

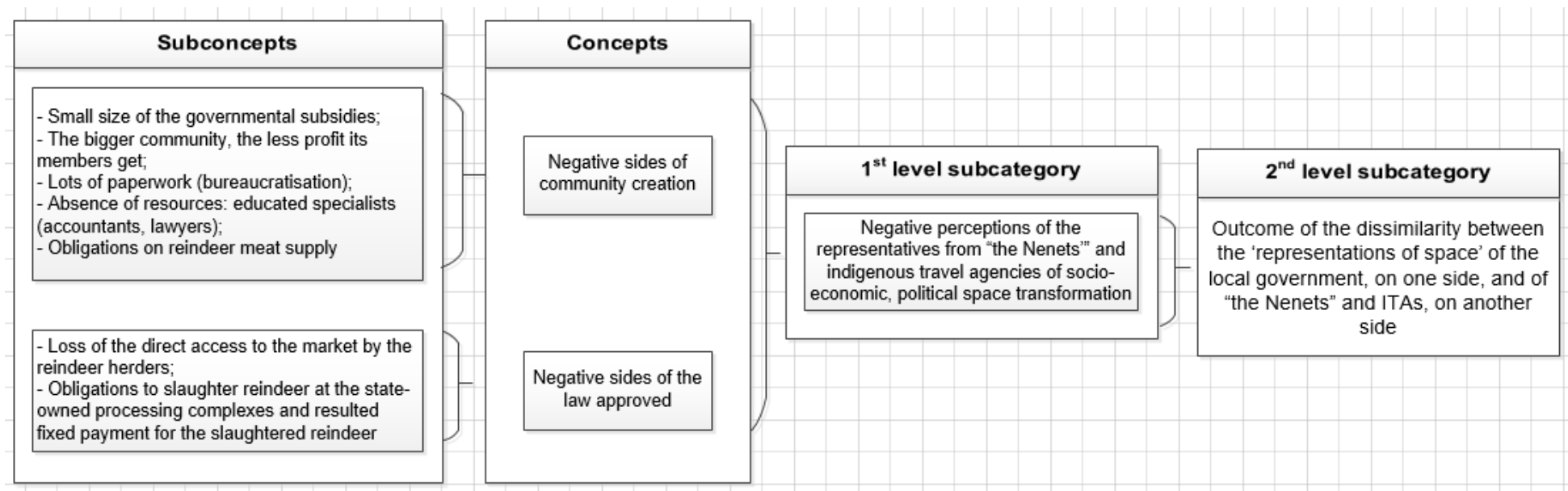
- ‘Small size of the governmental subsidies’;
- ‘The bigger community, the less profit its members get’;
- ‘Lots of paperwork (bureaucratisation) to run the community’;
- ‘Absence of resources: educated specialists (for example, accountants, lawyers)’;
- ‘Obligations on reindeer meat supply’.

The second cluster of issues regarding the law approved is comprised of:

- 'Loss of a direct access to the market';
- 'Obligations to slaughter reindeer at the state-owned reindeer meat processing complexes and resulted fixed payment for the slaughtered reindeer'.

These issues were labelled as subconcepts and grouped under two concepts respectively: 'negative sides of community creation' and 'negatives sides of the law approved' (Figure 6.5, box 5). These concepts, in turn, made up the first-level data-based subcategory 'negative perceptions of the representatives from "the Nenets" and indigenous travel agencies of socio-economic and political space transformation' (Figure 6.5, box 5). Consecutively, this first-level data-based subcategory was placed under the second-level data-based subcategory 'outcome of the dissimilarity between the 'representations of space' of the local government, on one side, and of "the Nenets" and indigenous travel agencies, on another side' (Figure 6.5, box 5).

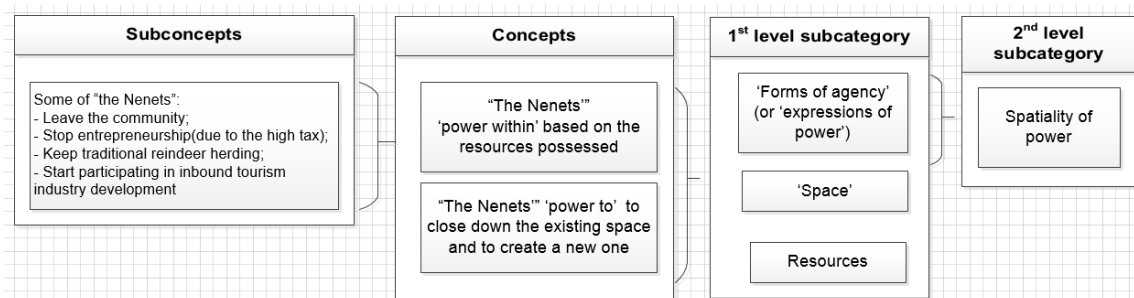
**Figure 6.5 (box 5): Open coded conceptualisation relating to reindeer herding industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

Based on the ‘negative sides of community creation’ and ‘negatives sides of the law approved’, some of “the Nenets” ‘leave the community’, ‘stop entrepreneurship’, ‘keep traditional reindeer herding’ and ‘start participating in inbound tourism industry development’ (Figure 6.5, box 6). These actions were labelled as subconcepts and clustered under two concepts: “the Nenets” ‘power within’ based on the resources possessed’ and “the Nenets” ‘power to’ to close down the existing space and to create a new one” (Figure 6.5, box 6). These two concepts, in turn, made up three first-level data-based subcategories: ‘forms of agency (or ‘expressions of power’), ‘space’ and ‘resources’ (Figure 6.5, box 6). Sequentially, these three first-level data-based subcategories made up the second-level data-based subcategory ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.5, box 6).

**Figure 6.5 (box 6): Open coded conceptualisation relating to reindeer herding industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

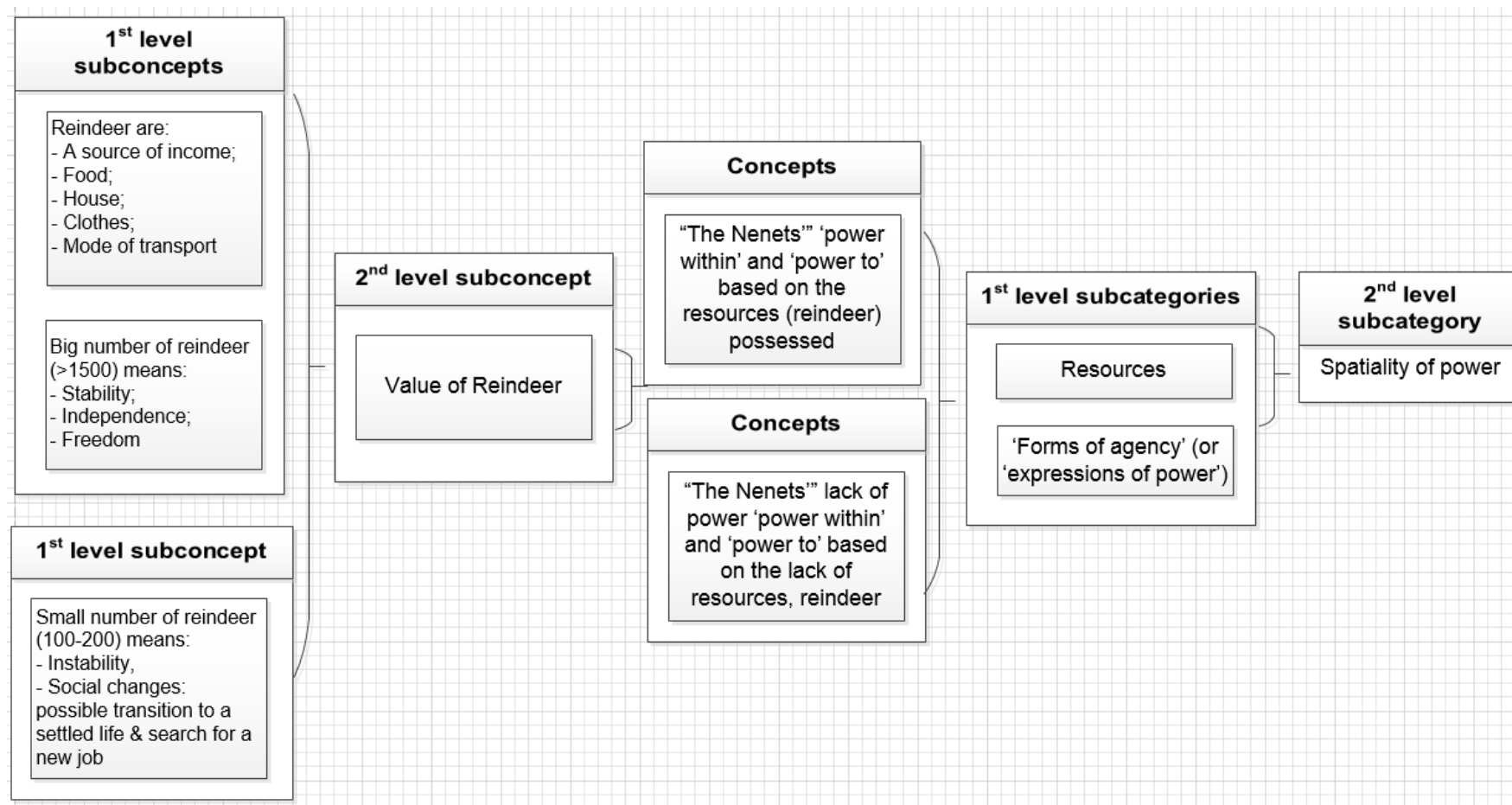
According to the representatives from “the Nenets”, indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, “the Nenets” ‘power within’ is grounded on the possession of the main resource, reindeer (or the means of production). In these terms two clusters of the first-level data-based subconcepts were formed. The first cluster consists of such subconcepts as:

- Reindeer as ‘a source of income’;
- Reindeer as a source of ‘food’;
- Reindeer as a source of a ‘house’;
- Reindeer as a source of ‘clothes’.

The second group is comprised of the subconcept 'big number of reindeer (more than 1500) means stability, independence and freedom' (Figure 6.5, box 7). However, it was also revealed that "the Nenets" might be lack of 'power within' and resulted 'power to' based on the possession of a small number of reindeer. In this context, 'small number of reindeer (100-200) means instability and social changes (for example, transition to a settled life and a search for a new job)' was also labelled as the first-level data-based subconcept (Figure 6.5, box 7).

These three groups of the first-level data-based subconcepts were summarized into the second-level data-based subconcept 'value of reindeer' which, in turn, made up two concepts: "the Nenets" 'power within' and 'power to' based on the resources (reindeer) possessed' and "the Nenets" lack of 'power within' and 'power to' based on the lack of resources (reindeer)' (Figure 6.5, box 7). Consecutively, these two concepts were placed under the first-level data-based subcategories: 'resources' and 'forms of agency (or 'expressions of power')' which, in turn, made up the second-level data-based subcategory 'spatiality of power' (Figure 6.5, box 7).

**Figure 6.5 (box 7): Open coded conceptualisation relating to reindeer herding industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

To sum up, the issues that are currently faced by “the Nenets” in relation to reindeer herding industry development, including the negative impact of oil and gas industry development on it, triggers “the Nenets” to create a new space through participation in other economic activities such as inbound tourism industry development. The conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development is presented in section 6.2.2.3.

#### **6.1.2.3. Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development**

As it was stated in sections 6.2.2.1 and 6.2.2.2, the issues that are currently faced by “the Nenets” in relation to their traditional economic activity, reindeer herding, trigger them to participate in inbound tourism industry development. Amongst the main issues highlighted by the respondents are:

- ‘Unsustainable impact of space transformation for oil and gas industry development on the environment, reindeer herding and, as a result, on “the Nenets” traditional lifestyle and social situation (for example, enforced settlement, lack of job opportunities in the settlements)’ (concept, Figure 6.4, box 2);
- ‘Negative impact of macro-environmental conditions on reindeer herding industry development’ (concept, Figure 6.5, box 1);
- ‘Issues of reindeer herding industry development’ (the second-level data-based subconcept, Figure 6.5, box 2);

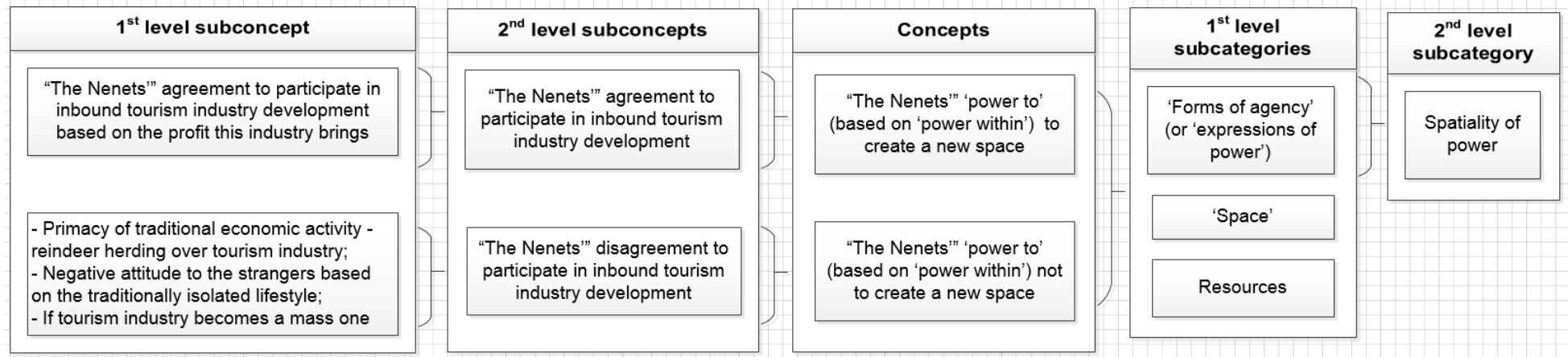
In these terms, the tourism industry is perceived by the representatives from “the Nenets”, indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators as a source of income; the industry which brings good profit to “the Nenets”. Thus, “the Nenets” agreement to participate in inbound tourism industry development based on the profit this industry brings to them’ made up the first-level subconcept (Figure 6.6, box 1).

Still, not all of “the Nenets” living in Yamal agree to participate in inbound tourism industry development’ (see section 6.2.1). The main reasons given by the representatives from “the Nenets”, indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators include:

- 'primacy of the traditional economic activity, reindeer herding, over tourism industry';
- 'negative attitude of "the Nenets" to the strangers based on their traditionally isolated lifestyle';
- and 'if inbound tourism becomes a mass one'.

These reasons were grouped together and made up the first-level data-based subconcept as well (Figure 6.6, box 1). Then these two groups of the first-level data-based subconcepts were abstracted further. The first one was placed under the second-level data-based subconcept "'the Nenets"' agreement to participate in inbound tourism industry development'. The second group was located under the second-level data-based subconcept "'the Nenets"' disagreement to participate in inbound tourism industry development' (Figure 6.6, box 1). After that, the second-level data-based subconcept "'the Nenets"' agreement to participate in inbound tourism industry development' made up a concept ' "the Nenets"' 'power to' to create a new space' (based on the resources possessed). The second-level data-based subconcept "'the Nenets"' disagreement to participate in inbound tourism industry development' made up a concept ' "the Nenets"' 'power to' not to create a new space' (based on the resources possessed) (Figure 6.6, box 1). Together these two concepts were summarized into the first-level data-based subcategories: 'forms of agency (or 'expressions of power')', 'space' and 'resources' which, in turn, were clustered under the second-level data-based subcategory 'spatiality of power' (Figure 6.6, box 1).

**Figure 6.6 (box 1): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**

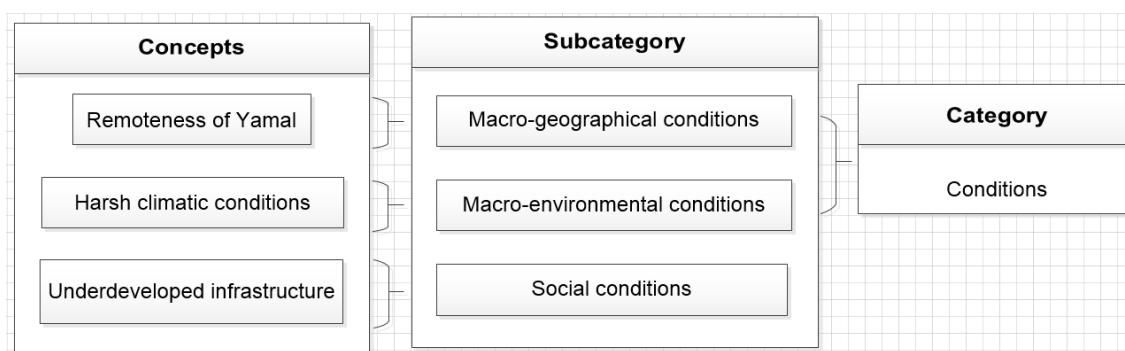


Source: The Author

Still, “the Nenets” who take part in inbound tourism industry development face a lot of issues. Based on the perceptions of the representatives from “the Nenets”, indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, ‘harsh climate’, ‘remoteness of Yamal’ and ‘underdeveloped infrastructure’ (labelled as concepts) negatively impact inbound tourism industry development in Yamal in general and the relationships between “the Nenets”, indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators particularly.

In these terms, ‘remoteness of Yamal’, ‘harsh climatic conditions’ and ‘underdeveloped infrastructure’ were labelled as concepts and clustered under three subcategories: ‘macro-geographical conditions’; ‘macro-environmental conditions’; and ‘social conditions’ respectively (Figure 6.6, box 2). These subcategories, in turn, made up a category ‘conditions’ (Figure 6.6, box 2).

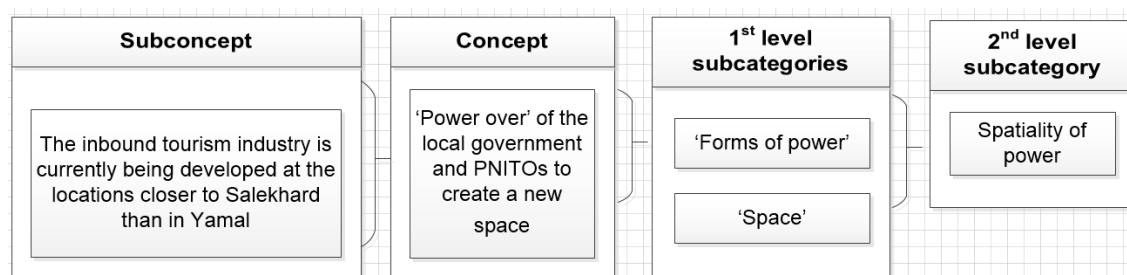
**Figure 6.6 (box 2): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

Due to the impact of these conditions, ‘the inbound tourism industry is being currently developed at the locations located closer to Salekhard than in Yamal’ (Figure 6.6, box 3). This issue was labelled as a subconcept and placed under a concept “power over’ of the local government and non-indigenous tour operators to create a new space’ (Figure 6.6, box 3). This concept, in turn, made up two first-level data-based subcategories: ‘forms of power’ and ‘space’ (Figure 6.6, box 3). These first-level data-based subcategories were abstracted further and clustered under the second-level data-based subcategory ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.6, box 3).

**Figure 6.6 (box 3): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**

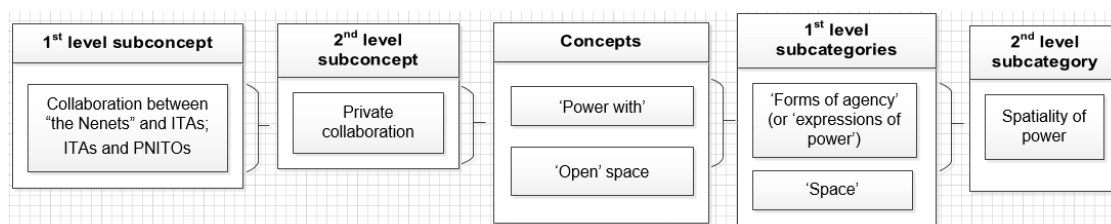


Source: The Author

The macro-geographical, macro-environmental and social conditions ('underdeveloped infrastructure') also impacted the relationships between "the Nenets", indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators. The respondents state that there is a collaboration between "the Nenets" and indigenous travel agencies, between indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, but there is no collaboration between "the Nenets" and non-indigenous tour operators.

Regarding the existence of 'collaboration between "the Nenets" and indigenous travel agencies (ITAs) and between indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators (PNITOs where 'P' stands for 'private')', this code was labelled as the first-level data-based subconcept (Figure 6.6, box 4). This subconcept, in turn, was placed under the second-level data-based subconcept 'private collaboration' (Figure 6.6, box 4). Based on the perceptions of the representatives from "the Nenets", indigenous travel agencies and tour operators, such collaboration represents their 'power with' and 'open space' for collaboration. In this context, the second-level data-based subconcept 'private collaboration' made up two concepts: 'power with' and 'open space' which, in turn, were grouped under the first-level data-based subcategories: 'forms of agency (or 'expressions of power')' and 'space'. Sequentially, these first-level data-based subcategories were placed under the second-level data-based subcategory 'spatiality of power' (Figure 6.6, box 4).

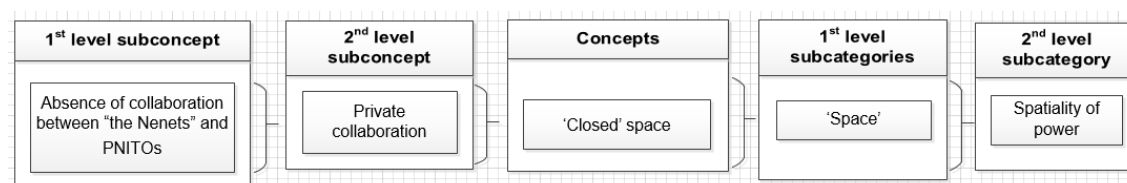
**Figure 6.6 (box 4): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

'The absence of collaboration between "the Nenets" and non-indigenous tour operators' was also labelled as the first-level data-based subconcept and placed under the second-level data-based subconcept 'private collaboration' (Figure 6.6, box 5). This second-level data-based subconcept made up a concept 'closed space'. This concept, in turn, was located under the first-level data-based subcategory 'space' which consecutively made up the second-level data-based subcategory 'spatiality of power' (Figure 6.6, box 5).

**Figure 6.6 (box 5): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**

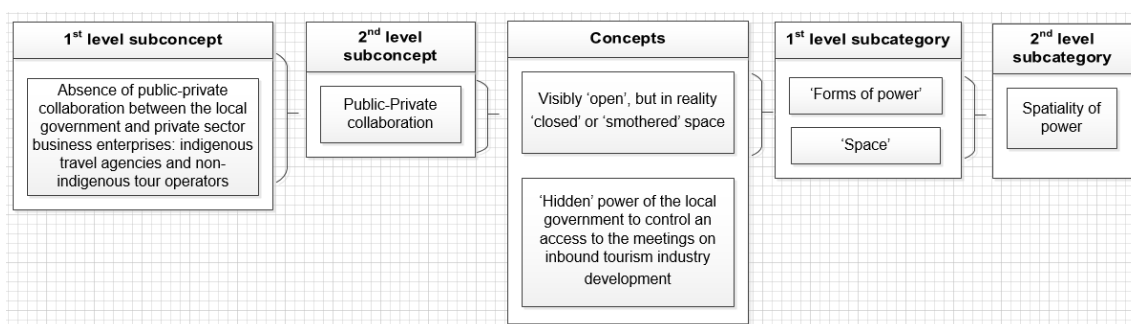


Source: The Author

Inbound tourism industry development gets complicated due to the 'absence of collaboration between the local government and private sector enterprises: indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators'. This issue was labelled as the first-level data-based subconcept and placed under the second-level data-based subconcept 'private-public collaboration' (Figure 6.6, box 6). The second-level data-based subconcept, in turn, made up two concepts: 'visibly 'open' but in reality 'closed' or 'smothered' space' and 'hidden power of the local government to control an access to the meetings on inbound tourism industry development' (Figure 6.6, box 6). These concepts were based on the

respondents' perceptions supported by the secondary data analysis made in Chapter 4. Sequentially, these two concepts were clustered under two first-level data-based subcategories: 'space' and 'forms of power' respectively (Figure 6.6, box 6). These two first-level data-based subcategories were summarized into the second-level data-based subcategory 'spatiality of power' (Figure 6.6, box 6).

**Figure 6.6 (box 6): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

Other issues currently faced by the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies in relation to inbound tourism industry development include:

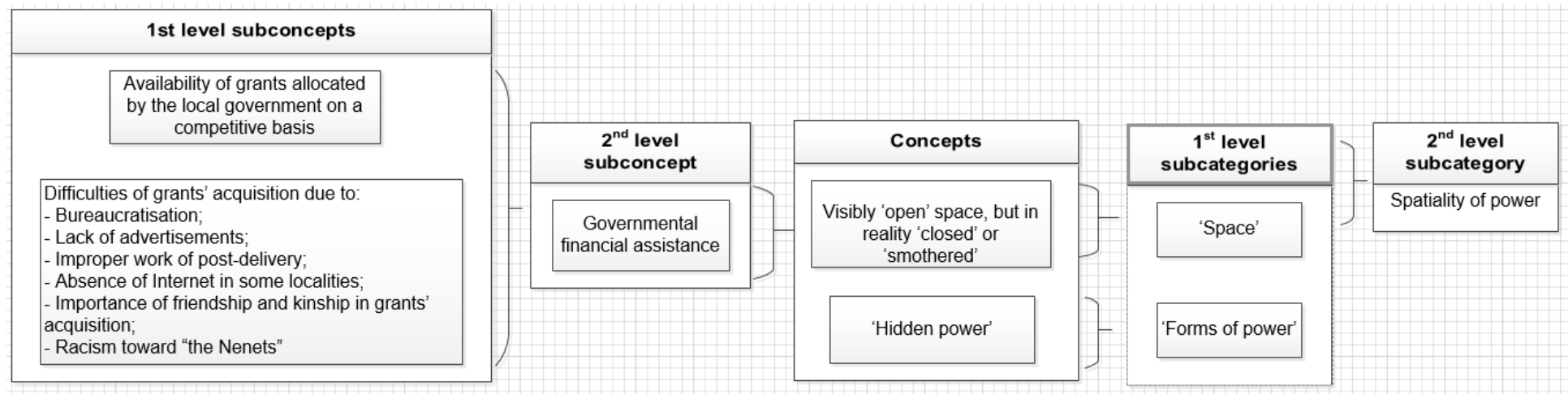
- ‘Visible availability of grants allocated by the local government on a competitive basis’ for inbound tourism industry development;
- but ‘difficulties of grants’ acquisition’

‘Difficulties of grants’ acquisition, in turn, is linked by the respondents to such issues as:

- Bureaucratisation;
- Lack of advertisements;
- Improper work of the post-delivery;
- Absence of Internet in some localities;
- Importance of friendship and kinship in grants’ acquisition;
- Racism towards “the Nenets”

All of these issues were labelled as the first-level data-based subconcepts which, in turn, were clustered under the second-level data-based subconcept 'governmental financial assistance' (Figure 6.6, box 7). This second-level data-based subconcept made up two concepts: 'visibly 'open', but in reality 'closed' or 'smothered space' and 'hidden power of the local government' (Figure 6.6, box 7). These concepts were abstracted further and placed under the first-level data-based subcategories 'space' and 'forms of power' respectively (Figure 6.6, box 7). Consecutively, these two first-level data-based subcategories made up the second-level data-based subcategory 'spatiality of power' (Figure 6.6, box 7).

**Figure 6.6 (box 7): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**



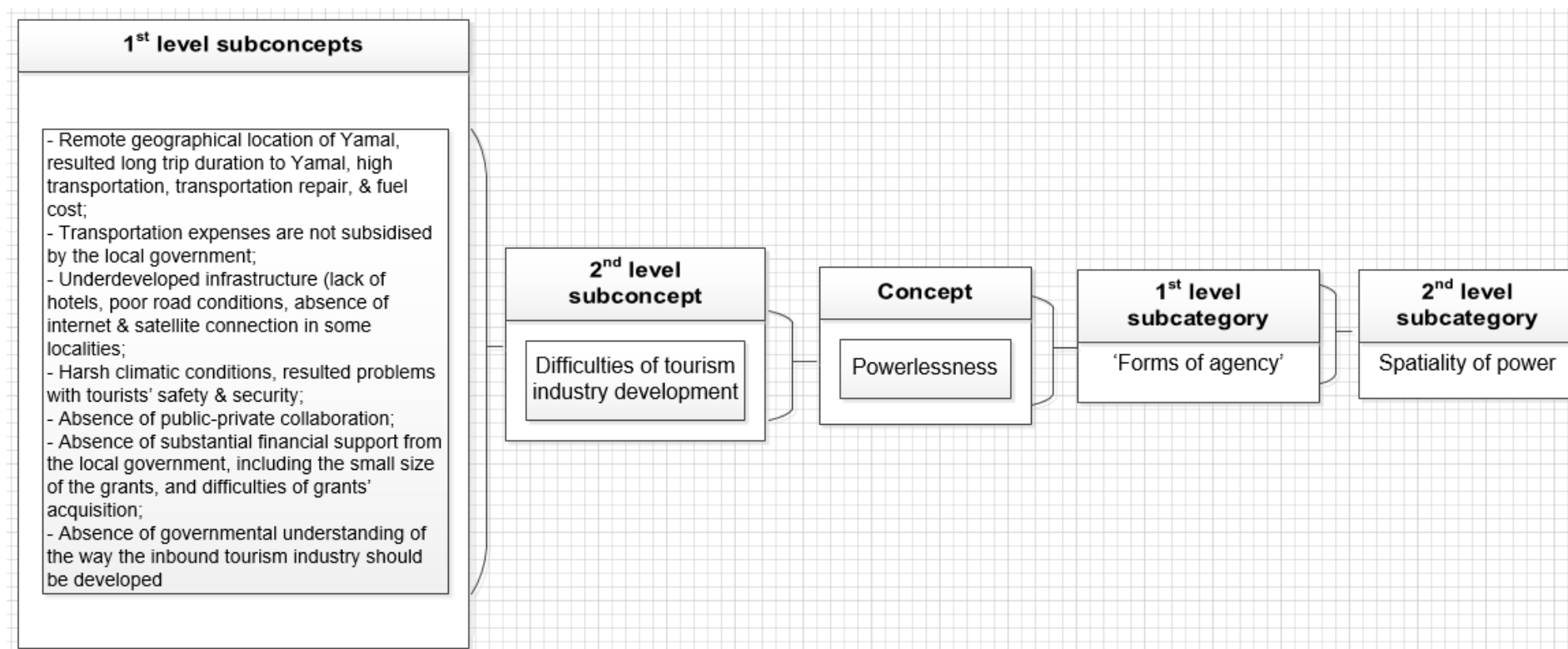
Source: The Author

Based on the issues highlighted and conceptualised in this section, the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies struggle to develop the inbound tourism industry in the YNAO in general and in Yamal specifically. The main issues include:

- ‘Remoteness of Yamal’;
- ‘Transportation expenses are not subsidised by the local government’;
- ‘Underdeveloped infrastructure’;
- ‘Harsh climatic conditions and resulted issues of tourists’ safety and security’;
- ‘Absence of public-private collaboration’;
- ‘Absence of substantial financial support from the local government’;
- ‘Absence of governmental understanding of the way the inbound tourism industry should be developed’.

All these issues were labelled as the first-level data-based subconcepts and clustered under the second-level data-based subconcept ‘difficulties of inbound tourism industry development’ (Figure 6.6, box 8). This second-level data-based subconcept was abstracted further and made up a concept ‘powerlessness’ (Figure 6.6, box 8). Sequentially, this concept was placed under the first-level data-based subcategory ‘forms of agency’ which, in turn, made up the second-level data-based subcategory ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.6, box 8).

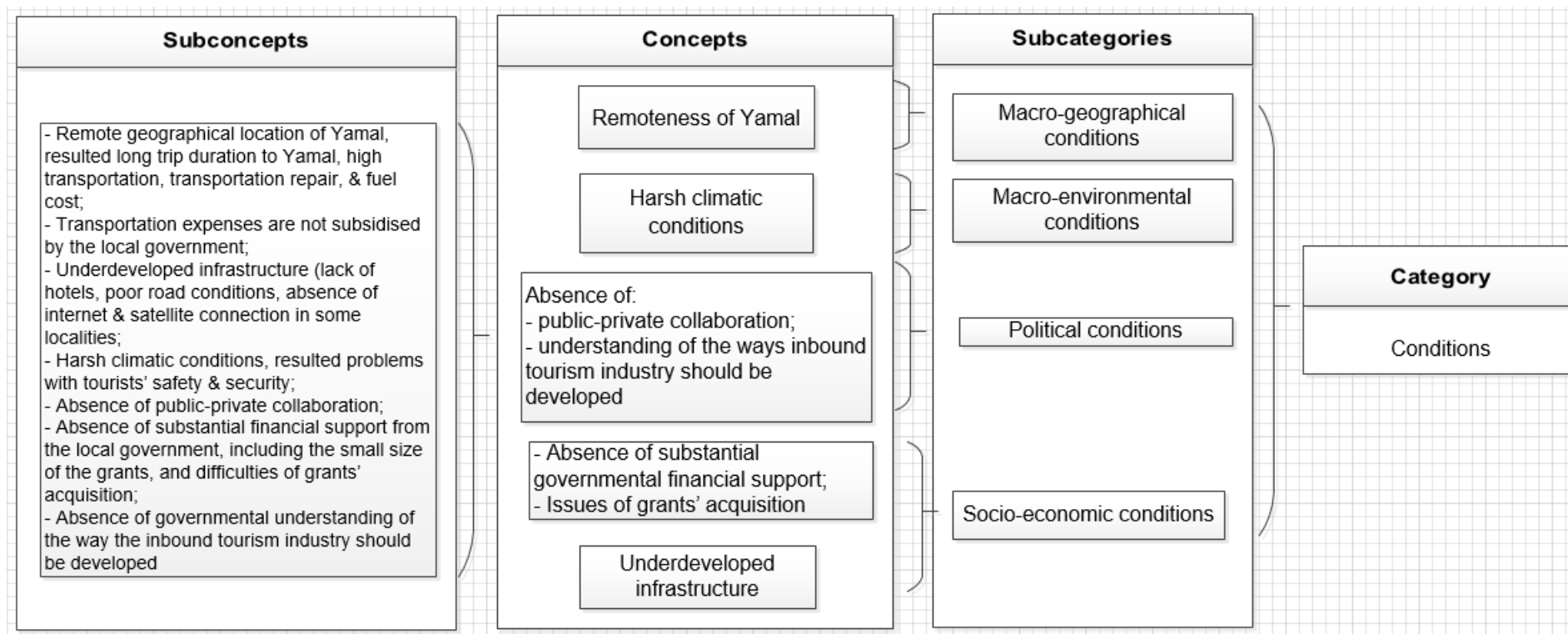
**Figure 6.6 (box 8): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

At the same time, such issues as 'absence of public-private collaboration', 'absence of governmental understanding of the ways of inbound tourism industry development' and 'absence of substantial governmental financial support' were conceptualised as concepts for two subcategories. The concepts 'absence of public-private collaboration' and 'absence of governmental understanding of the ways of inbound tourism industry development' made up a subcategory 'political conditions' (Figure 6.6, box 9). The concept 'absence of substantial governmental financial support' was placed under a subcategory 'socio-economic conditions' Figure 6.6, box 9). These subcategories were grouped together and made up a category 'conditions' Figure 6.6, box 9).

**Figure 6.6 (box 9): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**



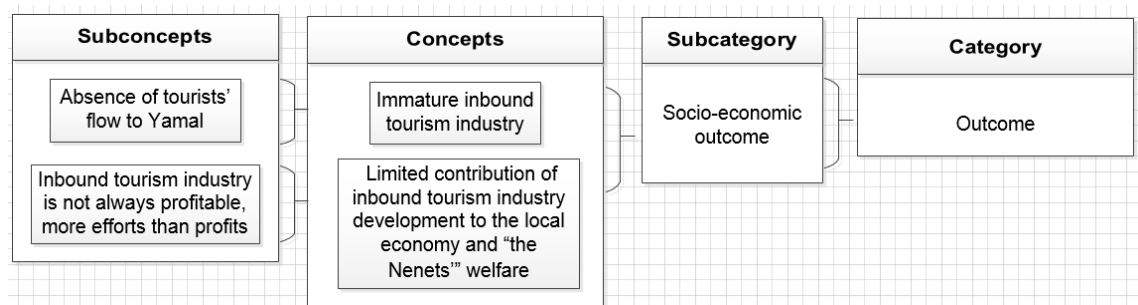
Source: The Author

Based on the perceptions of the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies, macro-geographical, macro-environmental, political and socio-economic conditions led to such issues as:

- ‘Absence of tourists’ flow to Yamal’;
- ‘Inbound tourism industry is not always profitable, more efforts than profits’.

These issues were labelled as subconcepts and grouped under two concepts: ‘immature inbound tourism industry’ and ‘limited contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare’ (Figure 6.6, box 10). These concepts, in turn, made up a subcategory ‘socio-economic outcome’ which sequentially was placed under a category ‘outcome’ (Figure 6.6, box 10).

**Figure 6.6 (box 10): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

As a result of the issues faced in relation to inbound tourism industry development, the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators are ‘ready to stop participating in inbound tourism industry development’ and ‘start participating in more profitable economic activities’, including reindeer herding in the case of the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies. In this context, two subconcepts were created (Figure 6.6, box 11):

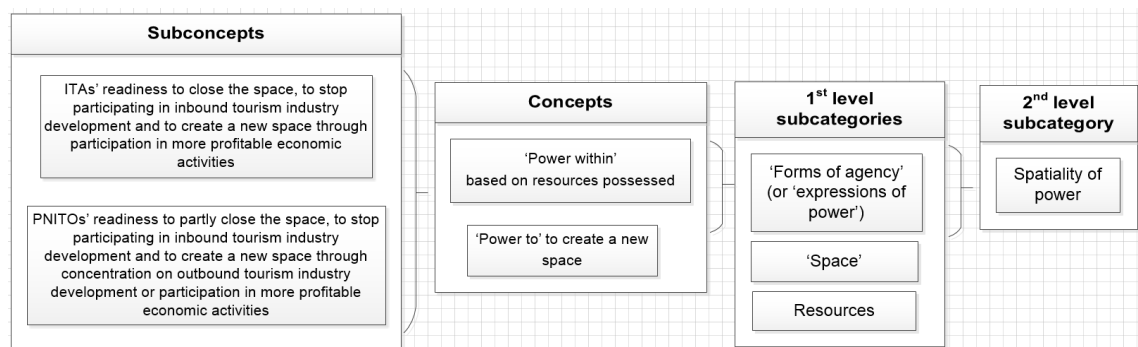
- ‘Readiness of the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies to close the space, to stop participating in inbound tourism industry

development and to start participating in more profitable economic activities’;

- ‘Readiness of the representatives from the non-indigenous tour operators to partly close the space, to stop participating in inbound tourism industry development and to concentrate on outbound tourism industry development or other more profitable economic activities’.

These two subconcepts, in turn, made up two concepts: ‘power within’ and ‘power to’ to create a new space’ (Figure 6.6, box 11). These concepts were abstracted further and placed under the first-level data-based subcategories: ‘forms of agency’, ‘space’ and ‘resources’ (Figure 6.6, box 11). These three first-level data-based subcategories were bundled into the second-level data-based subcategory ‘spatiality of power’ (Figure 6.6, box 11).

**Figure 6.6 (box 11): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

Based on the perceptions of the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, their ‘power within’ and, as a result, ‘power to’ to create a new space is based on the resources they possess. The resources highlighted by them include:

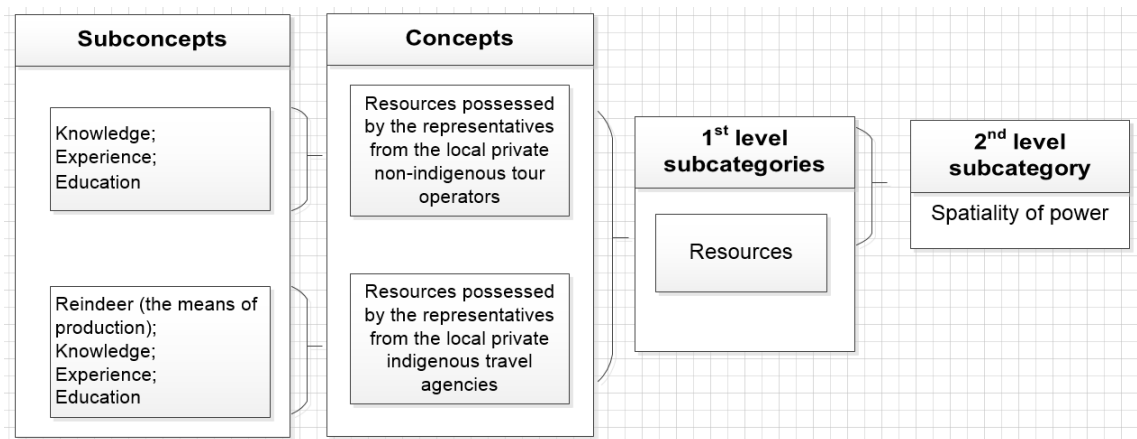
- ‘Knowledge’;
- ‘Experience’;
- ‘Education’;
- and ‘reindeer’ in the case of the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies.

These resources were split into two clusters of subconcepts and placed under two concepts (Figure 6.6, box 12):

- 'Resources possessed by the representatives from the local non-indigenous tour operators';
- 'Resources possessed by the representatives from the local indigenous travel agencies'.

These two concepts, in turn, were grouped together under the first-level data-based subcategory 'resources' (Figure 6.6, box 12). This subcategory made up the second-level data-based subcategory 'spatiality of power' (Figure 6.6, box 12).

**Figure 6.6 (box 12): Open coded conceptualisation relating to inbound tourism industry development in Yamal**



Source: The Author

At this stage the researcher arrived at a situation where the process of conceptualisation resulted in identification of six clusters of the first-level data-based subcategories into which the data were divided (Figure 6.7):

- 'Space transformation';
- 'Forms of power';
- 'Power proximity and reach';
- 'Forms of agency';
- 'Space';

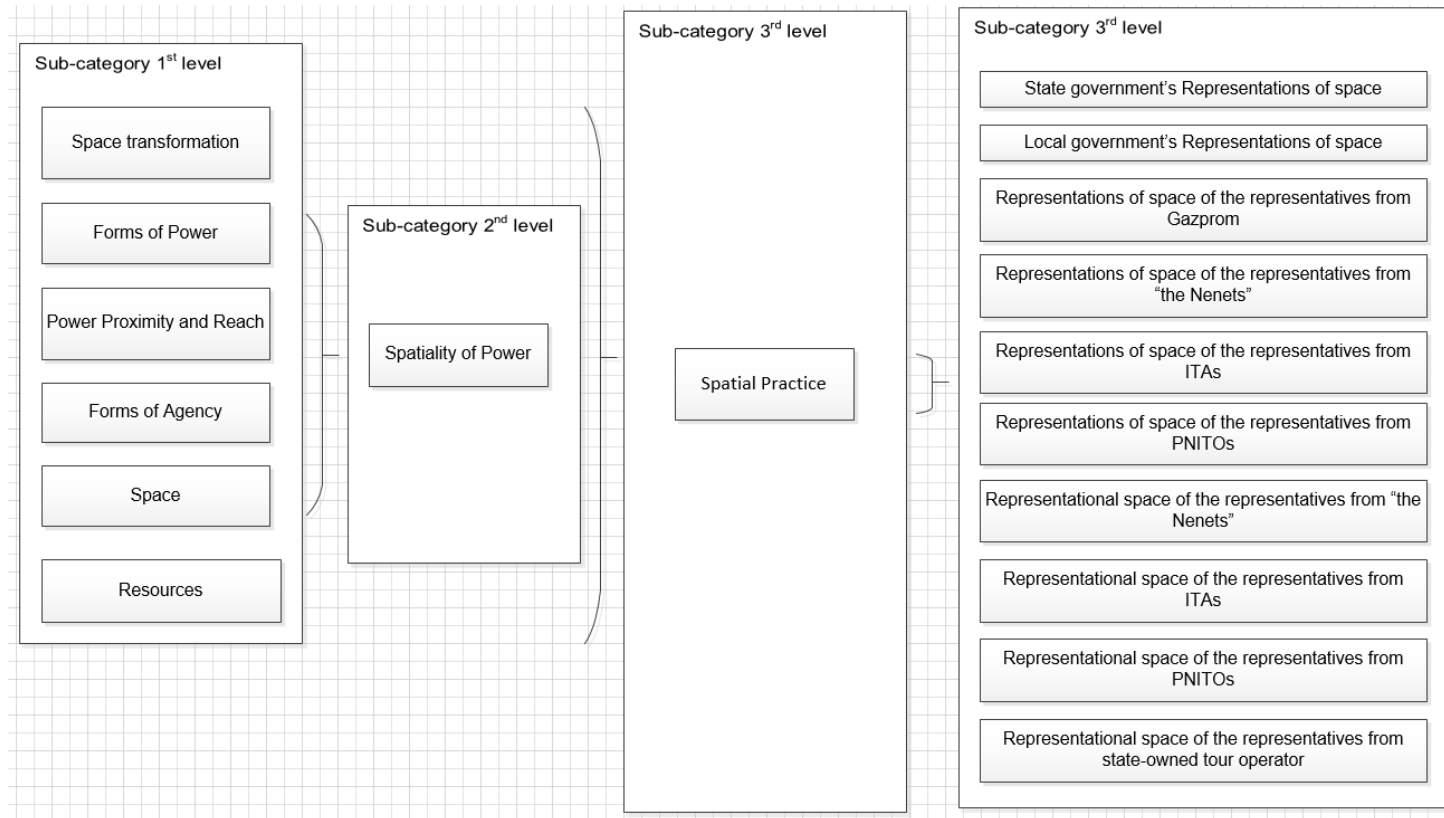
- 'Resources'.

These six clusters of the first-level data-based subcategories were abstracted further and made up the second-level data-based subcategory 'spatiality of power' (Figure 6.7). The process of abstraction continued. The second-level data-based subcategory 'spatiality of power' was, in turn, placed under the third-level data-based subcategory 'spatial practice' which sequentially became part of the same level, third-level data-based, subcategories such as (Figure 6.7):

- 'State's government representations of space';
- 'Local government's representations of space';
- 'Representations of space of the representatives from Gazprom';
- 'Representations of space of the representatives from "the Nenets"';
- 'Representations of space of the representatives from indigenous travel agencies';
- 'Representations of space of the representatives from non-indigenous tour operators';
- 'Representational space of the representatives from "the Nenets"';
- 'Representational space of the representatives from indigenous travel agencies';
- 'Representational space of the representatives from non-indigenous tour operators';
- 'Representational space of the representatives from state-owned tour operator'.

'Spatial practice' was linked to these subcategories based on the fact that the 'representations of space' and 'representational space' of the respondents were revealed through their 'spatial practice'.

**Figure 6.7: The process of further abstraction of subcategories**



Source: The Author

Having completed the grouping of concepts into sub-categories, the process of further abstraction, relating sub-categories to their categories, started and took place at the stage of axial coding.

### **6.1.3. Axial coding**

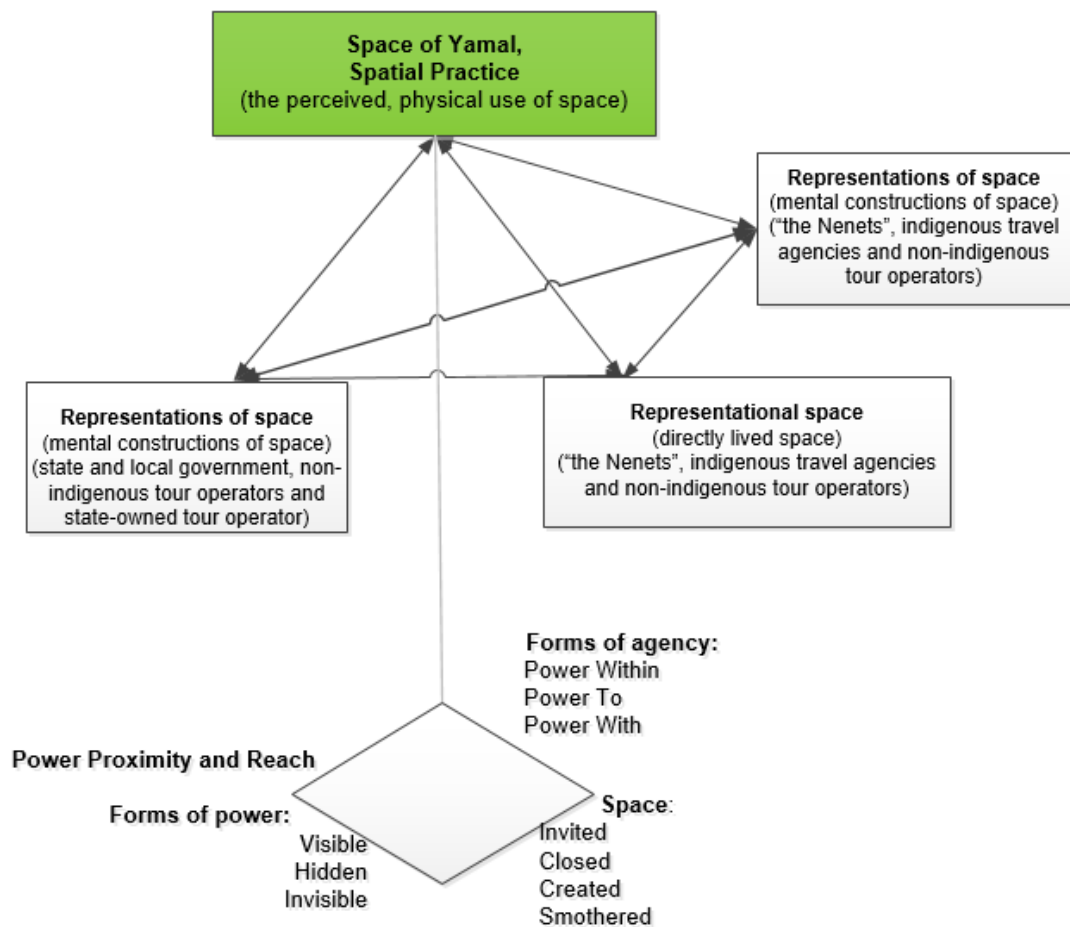
As stated in Chapter 5, at this stage the concepts obtained during open coding were compared to the concepts developed as a result of the literature review and conceptual framework development which provided a source for establishing sub-categories (see section 6.2.2.1-6.2.2.3) and categories and ensured that the researcher did not impose her own concepts on the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). As an outcome, the concepts used as 'sensitising' to guide the research were discovered. Their identification in data demonstrated their significance (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

One example here is the concept of 'invisible power'. This was discovered, along with 'visible' and 'hidden' forms of power (see section 6.2.2), and corrected in accordance with the data obtained. In line with Scott (1990), but unlike Marx (1845), Engels (1893), Lukes (1974), Lefebvre (1991) and Gaventa (2004) (see Chapters 2 and 3), it was found out that the representatives from "the Nenets", indigenous travel agencies, non-indigenous tour operators, state-owned tour operator and non-indigenous population do not have a whole-hearted belief in the system that dominates them. They recognize the ideology promoted by the federal and local government and try to resist it. In other words, they do not possess tacit knowledge, the experiential knowledge which one takes for granted and is unaware that it is possessed. Instead, they retain explicit knowledge, the knowledge they do not take for granted and can articulate (González, 2010).

Apart from 'forms of power', 'spaces' ('invited', 'closed', 'created' and 'smothered') and 'power proximity and reach', the new concepts such as 'power within', 'power to' and 'power with' were also exposed. These concepts were grouped together under the 'forms of agency' offered by VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) and added to the conceptual framework established as the outcome of the literature review (Figure 6.8). 'Power with' was associated with discovering common grounds among dissimilar interests and creation coalitions; 'power to'

denoted to the potential of every person to shape his/her own life; and 'power within' referred to an ability of a person to recognize his/her self-worth and 'power to' and 'power with' to act. When 'power to' was grounded on mutual support, it opened up the potentials of allied action, or 'power with'. These interpretations of the 'forms of agency' were in line with the definition provided by VeneKlasen and Miller (2002).

**Figure 6.8: Conceptual framework modified in accordance with the findings made**



Source: adopted from Gaventa (2006) and Lefebvre (1991), embraced by the Author in 2013 and modified in 2015.

Moreover, having compared the way that the social space is currently being produced in Yamal, the conformity with Lefebvre's (1991) theory "The Production of Space" was identified (see Chapter 3).

It was discovered that the space of Yamal is not only a social space in which people live and create relationships with other people and surroundings, but also a (social) product and an object over the use of which a political struggle currently happens (Figure 6.9). The struggle takes place based on the disparities between the ‘representations of space of Yamal’ (or mental constructions of space) of the representatives from the federal and local government, on one side, and of “the Nenets”, private indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, on another side (Figure 6.9).

The central role in the mental processes of production of space of Yamal belongs to the state/federal government expressed through the respondent’s quotation (or ‘representational space’) *“the development of the industries currently taking place in Yamal, oil and gas industry specifically, is undertaken to solve the country’s problems”* (R2 supported by ITA1). State government’s ‘representations of space’ are based on the resources of Yamal such as: oil, gas, reindeer, “the Nenets” culture and traditions. The mental aim of the state government is to control and transform the space of Yamal in such a way that it would serve the state government’s economic interests. In this context, the main state government’s economic interest is in oil and gas, reindeer herding and inbound tourism industries development. State government protects its economic interests and ensures its control of the space of Yamal through ‘spatial practice’ (Figure 6.9). ‘Spatial practice’, in turn, is revealed through ‘spatiality of power’:

- ‘Material transformations of space’;
- ‘Forms of power’;
- ‘Power proximity and reach’;
- ‘Space’;
- and ‘Resources’

The local government in the YNAO is responsible for the implementation of the state government’s ‘spatial practice’. Moreover, the ‘representations of space’ of the local government in the YNAO are impacted by the ‘representations of space’ of the state government. This influence was revealed through ‘spatial practice’ of the local government and ‘representational space’ of the

representatives from “the Nenets”, indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators (Figure 6.9).

However, it was identified that there are differences between the ‘representations of space of Yamal’ (or mental constructions of space) of the representatives from the federal and local government, on one hand, and of “the Nenets” and local indigenous travel agencies, on another hand (Figure 6.9). The representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies are dissatisfied with the way the oil and gas and reindeer herding industries are being developed. As a result, they try to subvert the planned and dominant picture through ‘spatial practice’. One of the actions taken by them is participation in inbound tourism industry development.

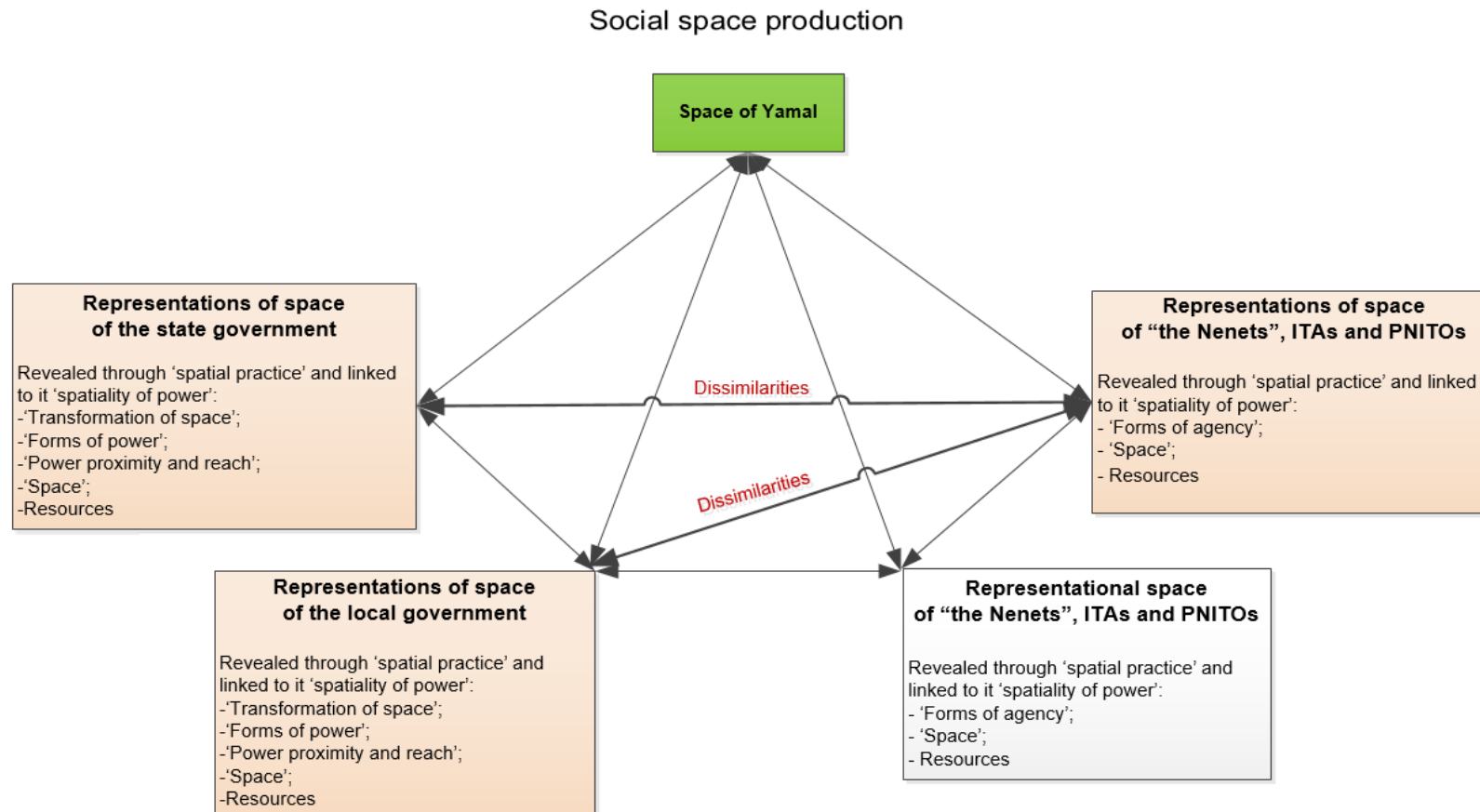
Still, there are a lot of issues, including ‘spatiality of power’, which surround inbound tourism industry development as well. Amongst the main issues highlighted by the respondents are:

- Dissimilarities between the ‘representations of space’ of the local government, on one side, and of the indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, on another side;
- Negative impact of the macro-environmental and macro-geographical conditions

These issues and ‘spatiality of power’ involved result in the immature inbound tourism industry and a limited contribution of the inbound tourism industry to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare.

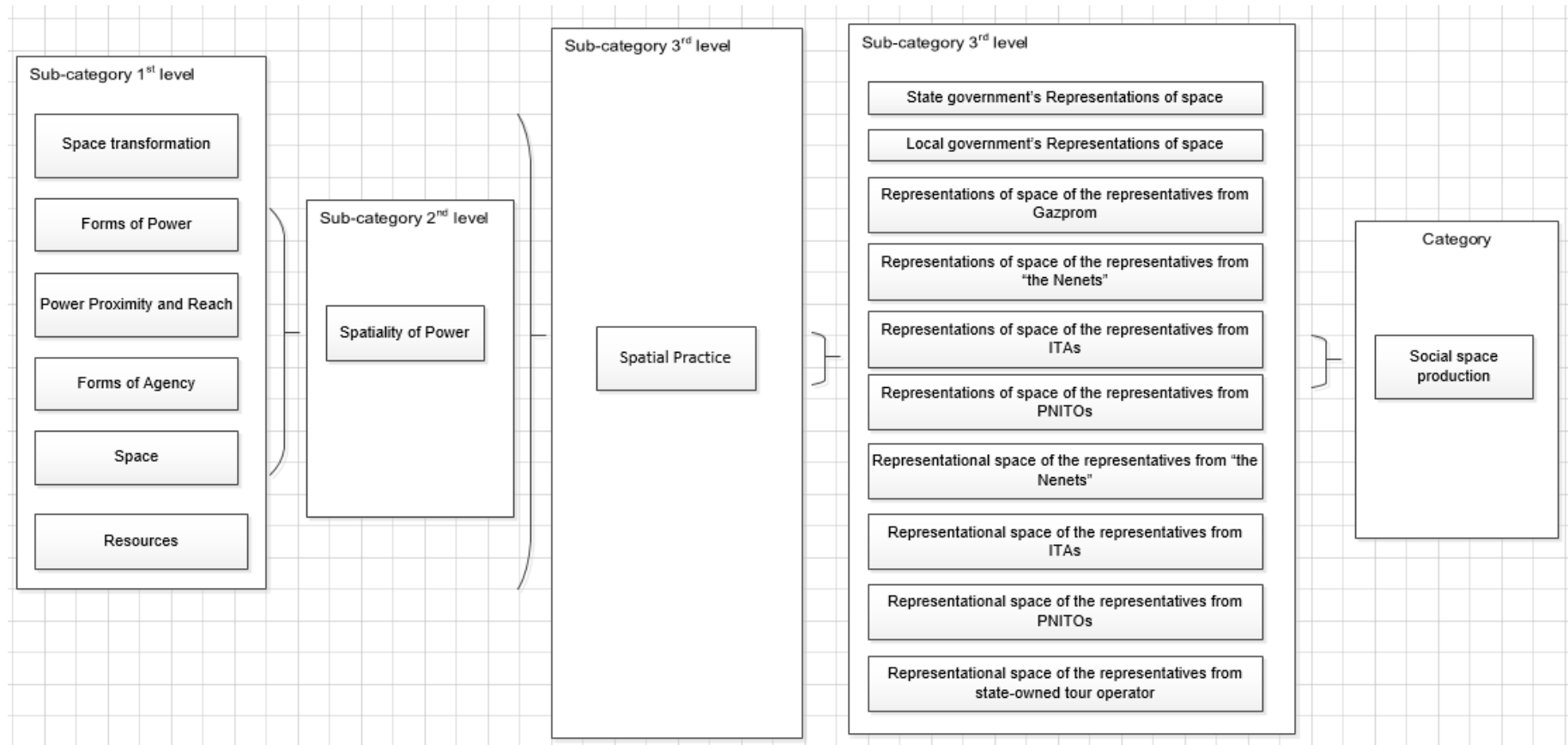
As an outcome, the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators are ready to close down the existing space and to stop participating in inbound tourism industry development. They consider the possibility of creating a new space through ‘spatial practice’, participation in more profitable economic activities, including the reindeer herding industry in case of the indigenous travel agencies (Figure 6.9). This is how the social space of Yamal is produced. In these terms, the third-level data-based subcategories were summarized into a category ‘social space production’ (Figure 6.10).

**Figure 6.9: Inductively developed theory of the production of space in Yamal**



Source: the Author

**Figure 6.10: Abstraction of sub-categories into a category**



Source: The Author

In order to bring the analysis to a theoretical level, the 'conditional/consequential matrix' offered by Schatzman (1991) and later by Corbin and Strauss (2008; 2015) as a means of framing the story was used (see Chapter 5).

#### **6.1.3.1. The 'conditional/consequential matrix'**

The 'conditional/consequential matrix' helped to stimulate thought regarding the wide range of possible conditions in which oil and gas, reindeer herding and inbound tourism industry development takes place, how the respondents define them, the action and interaction they take to manage or achieve desired outcomes, and the actual consequences that result from their actions. In other words, the matrix helped to select items from the data for the story in conceptual terms, to create their relative salience and to sequence them because the subconcepts, concepts, sub-categories and categories taken on their own do not make a theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). The paradigm that consisted of three main features, 'conditions', 'actions-interactions' and 'outcomes', as an analytical tool was utilised here.

The analysis of 'conditions' helped to identify the perceived reasons that the participants gave for why things happen and the explanations that they gave for why they respond in the manner that they do through 'action-interaction'. These explanations became explicit through the words the respondents used such as 'because', 'since', 'due to', and 'when'. The investigation of 'actions-interactions' assisted in identification of the actual responses the respondents make to the events or problematic situations that occur in their lives. The study of 'consequences' spotted the outcomes of the respondents' 'actions-interactions'.

Having connected, based on the respondents' perceptions, 'macro' and 'micro' conditions with the respondents' 'actions-interactions' and the 'outcomes', the whole story was pulled together to develop a theory. In order to look for process and context all the memos, notes and summary notes from the previous analysis were reread along with the transcriptions of the interviews, conversations and field notes in general. The comparisons were made, memos and notes were written and the table made using Microsoft Excel (Figure 6.11). In the 'macro' and 'micro' 'conditions/factors' columns were created based on

the existence of the historical, economic, political and social factors (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). However, they were not pre-named in the table because it was unclear yet which factor was dominant and which one was dependent. The same was the case with respect to the ‘action-interaction’ and ‘outcome’ columns. They were added in sequence based on the interviewees’ responses.

**Figure 6.11: An example of the table created in Microsoft Excel to compare the concepts across different sources**

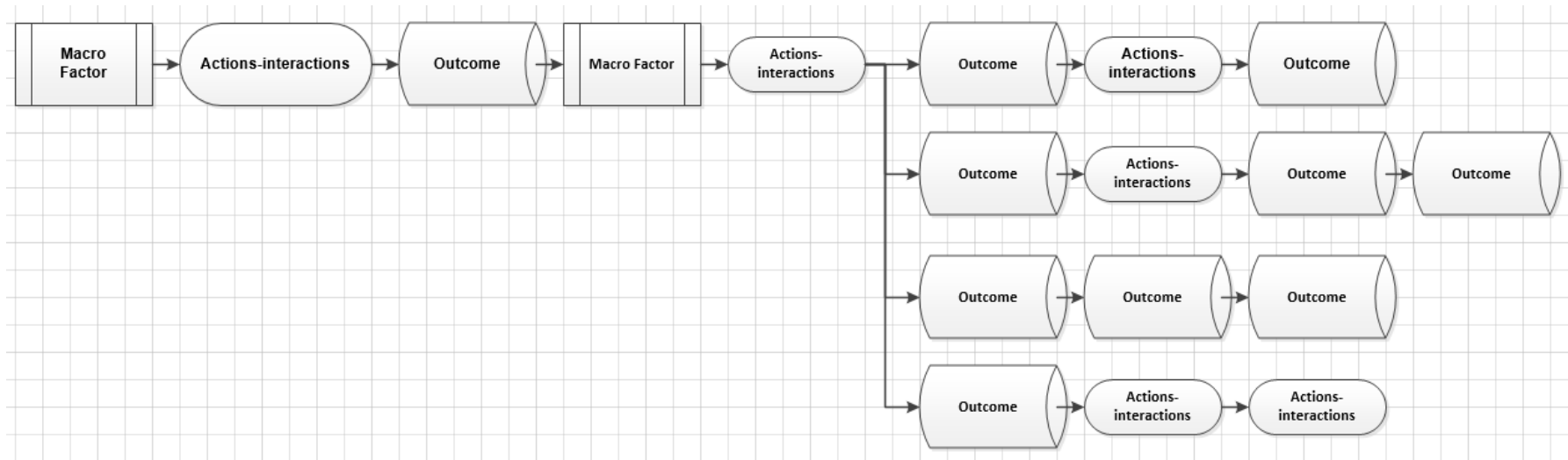
Space	Macro Factor		Micro Factor		Action	Outcome	Action	Outcome
	1	2	1	2				
Representational space								
Tourism Industry								
Theme: e.g. Perception of local government support								
"The Nenets"								
R1								
R2								
ITA1								
ITA2								
PNITO1								
PNITO2								
STO								
Non-indigenous respondents								

(R – Respondent from “the Nenets”; ITA – indigenous travel agency; PNITO – private non-indigenous tour operator; STO – state-owned tour operator)

Source: The Author

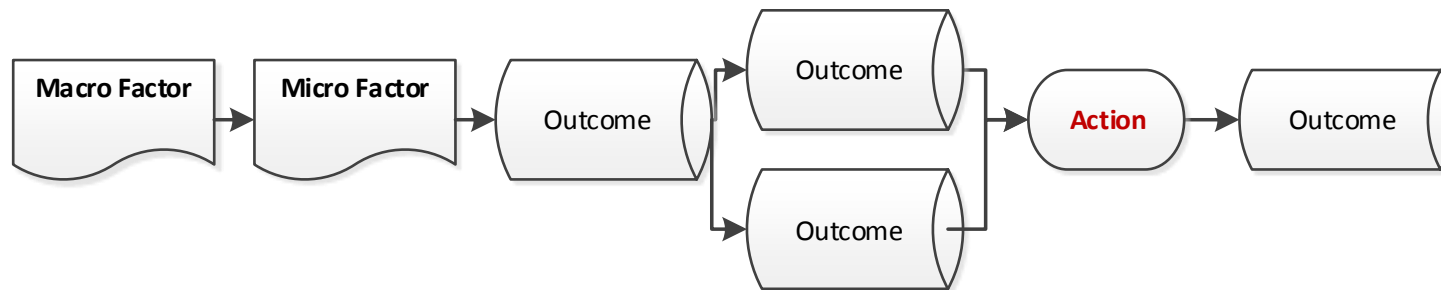
The analysis undertaken during this and the previous, open coding, stage (see section 6.2.2) showed that all of the industries are interconnected and that there are not only the macro social, political and economic conditions as stated by Corbin and Strauss (2008; 2015) (see Chapter 5), but also macro geographical, environmental and traditional/cultural conditions that influence and shape the micro conditions, the immediate set of conditions faced by the respondents on a day-to-day basis (for example, economic, political, social, cultural, personal). Moreover, unlike the simplified paradigm offered by Corbin and Strauss (2008; 2015), ‘conditions, actions-interactions and outcomes’, a more nuanced sequence between ‘macro, micro conditions’, ‘actions-interactions’ and ‘outcomes’ was discovered (see Figures 6.12; 6.13; 6.14).

**Figure 6.12: First example of variations in the sequence between ‘conditions’, ‘actions-interactions’ and ‘outcomes’**



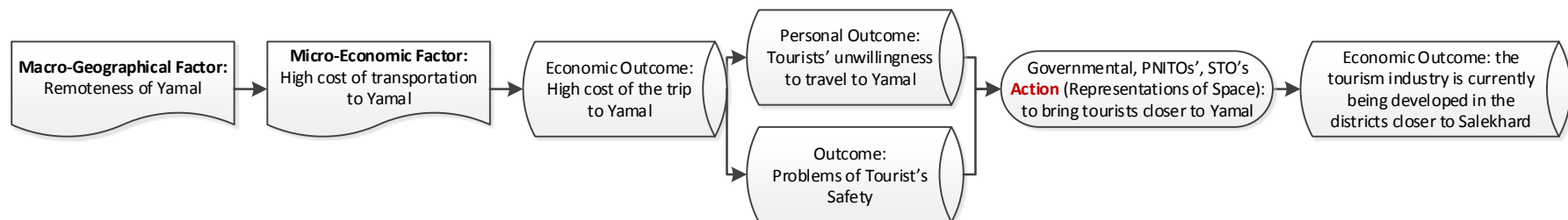
Source: The Author

**Figure 6.13: Second example of variations in the sequence between ‘conditions’, ‘actions-interactions’ and ‘outcomes’**



Source: The Author

**Figure 6.14: Third example of variations in the sequence between ‘conditions’, ‘actions-interactions’ and ‘outcomes’**



Source: The Author

It was also found out that 'conditions' and 'outcomes' were not so pure categories as presented by Corbin and Strauss (2008; 2015) (see Chapter 5). It was identified that a mixture of, for example, socio-economic, historico-economic, traditional conditions and socio-economic outcomes, exists. Thus, it may be argued that different variations in the sequence and combination between 'conditions', 'actions-interactions' and 'outcomes' should be taken into account when the Corbin and Strauss' (2008; 2015) 'conditional/consequential matrix' is employed.

As a result, based on the analysis undertaken, the story developed in conceptual terms at the open coding stage was further expanded and added to through the inclusion of a wide range of possible 'conditions'. These 'conditions' were identified to be those factors that influence the development of industries in Yamal, the way that the respondents define them, the actions-interactions they take to manage or achieve desired outcomes and the actual consequences that result from their actions.

#### **6.1.3.2. A story further expanded in conceptual terms**

Based on the respondents' 'representational space', it was discovered that the 'spatial practice' (or 'actions-interactions') that currently takes place in Yamal, space transformation for industries development, oil and gas industry development specifically, and the spatiality of power that surrounds them, is triggered by the impact of the macro socio-economic condition on the state government's 'representations of space'. The state government is interested in maintaining a competitive export potential, diversification and restructuring of economy based on the natural resources possessed (see Chapter 4 and 7) and in *"solving the country's (social) problems"* (R2 supported by ITA1).

The 'representations of space' of the state government, in turn, influence the 'representations of space' of the local government. The local government is responsible for the implementation of the state government's plans at the local level. This is revealed through the respondents' 'representational space': *"this is all the initiative of our president, Vladimir Putin"* (R2 supported by ITA1 and ITA2), *"all the decisions are made there, in Moscow"* (R12). As an outcome, the local government's 'actions-interactions', or 'spatial practice', are established

through the allocation of resources, land (which is legislatively “state owned” (R2 supported by R17; ITA1; ITA2; PNITO1; PNITO2), for industrial purposes, particularly for roads, railway and pipelines construction. As the respondents state:

*“All the changes [‘transformation of space’ or ‘spatial practice’ for industrial purposes] started to happen” (R6);*

*“More and more land is being allocated by the local government for the industrial purposes” (R 2 supported by R17; ITA1; ITA2).*

This, in turn, according to the ‘representational space’ of “the Nenets”, adversely impacts “the Nenets” traditional economic activity, reindeer herding (category ‘outcome’):

*“Reindeer herders have nowhere to go...They already leave the territory where they used to herd their reindeer...They already move closer to places where other reindeer herders herd their reindeer” (R17);*

*“At this moment the Northern part of Yamal is being explored” (ITA1);*

*“In the North they [meaning Gazprom] already occupied all the territory” (R 2 supported by R14);*

*“Reindeer herders are enforced to move” (R4 supported by R11);*

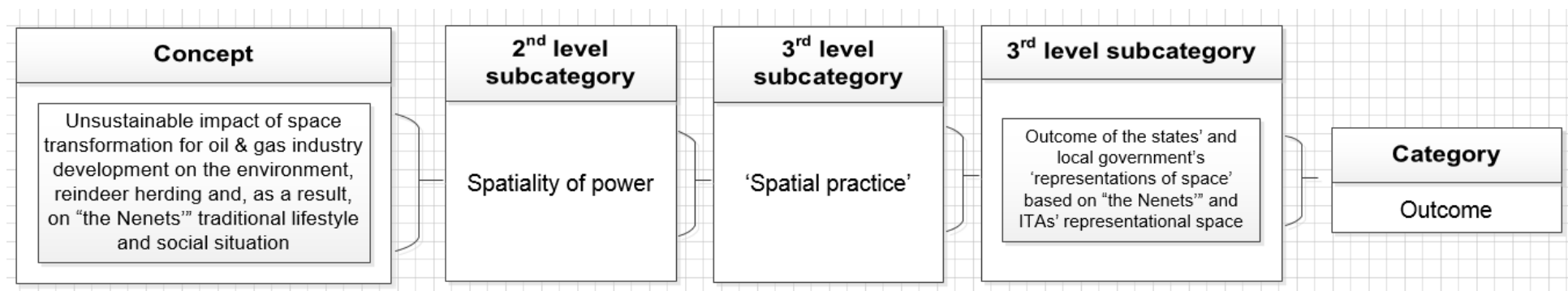
*“Railway and roads, constructed by Gazprom, also reduce pastures and make it difficult for the reindeer to cross them” (R7 supported by R6);*

*“Railway narrows down the territory of pastures” (R6);*

*“Construction of railway of course affects the territorial integrity of nomads” (ITA1 supported by ITA2).*

Moreover, according to the perceptions of the representatives from “the Nenets”, the ‘spatial practice’ of the state and local governments in relation to oil and gas industry development lead to the ‘unsustainable impact of space transformation for oil and gas industry development on the environment, reindeer herding and, as a result, on “the Nenets” traditional lifestyle and social situation’ (category: ‘outcome’) (Figure 6.15).

**Figure 6.15: The outcome of the state and local governments' 'representations of space'**



Source: The Author

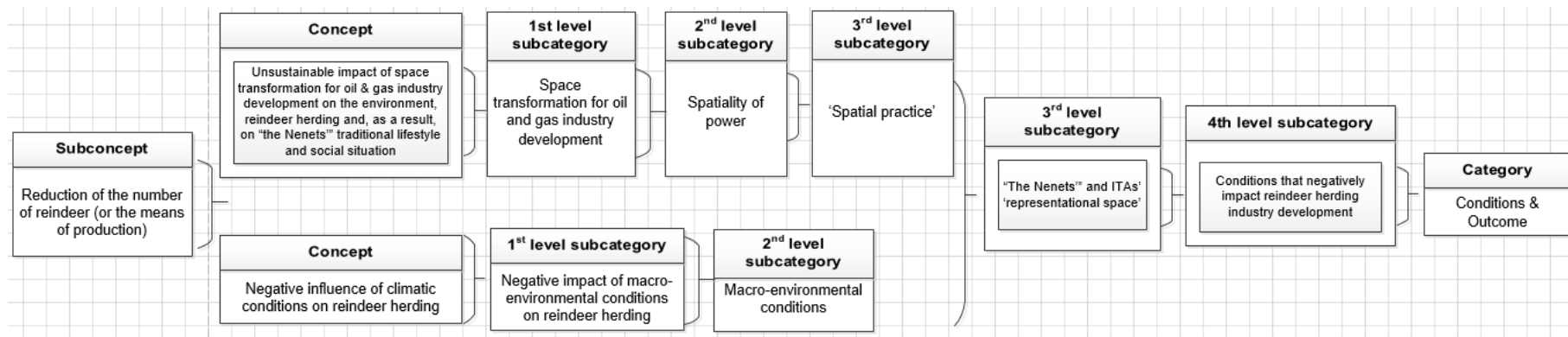
The situation, according to the 'representational space' of the representatives from "the Nenets", is complicated under the influence of the macro-environmental factor such as harsh climate which along with the unsustainable 'spatial practice' of Gazprom harmfully effects reindeer herding (Figure 6.5, box 1). As one of the respondents stated:

*"The weather is very changeable in Yamal, YNAO. If there is ice, or a hot weather, most of the reindeer will die. It was so cold this spring, for example, that lots of calves died. Or when the calves catch a cold and suddenly heat begins, they get a pulmonary disease. It's extremely difficult to grow reindeer. It just seems to be very easy as they run around by themselves, but without care they will die" (R17).*

As an outcome (category), the unsustainable space transformation for oil and gas industry development and the influence of the macro-environmental factor (category: 'conditions') lead to the reduction of the number of reindeer (Figure 6.16):

*"Construction of the railway across the tundra, of the complexes, reduce the pastures. Industrial spills pollute the environment. These factors along with the harsh climate cause the reduction in the number of reindeer and, as a consequence, endanger the existence of the reindeer herding" (R6 supported by R9).*

**Figure 6.16: The impact of the category 'conditions' on the reindeer herding (category: 'outcome')**



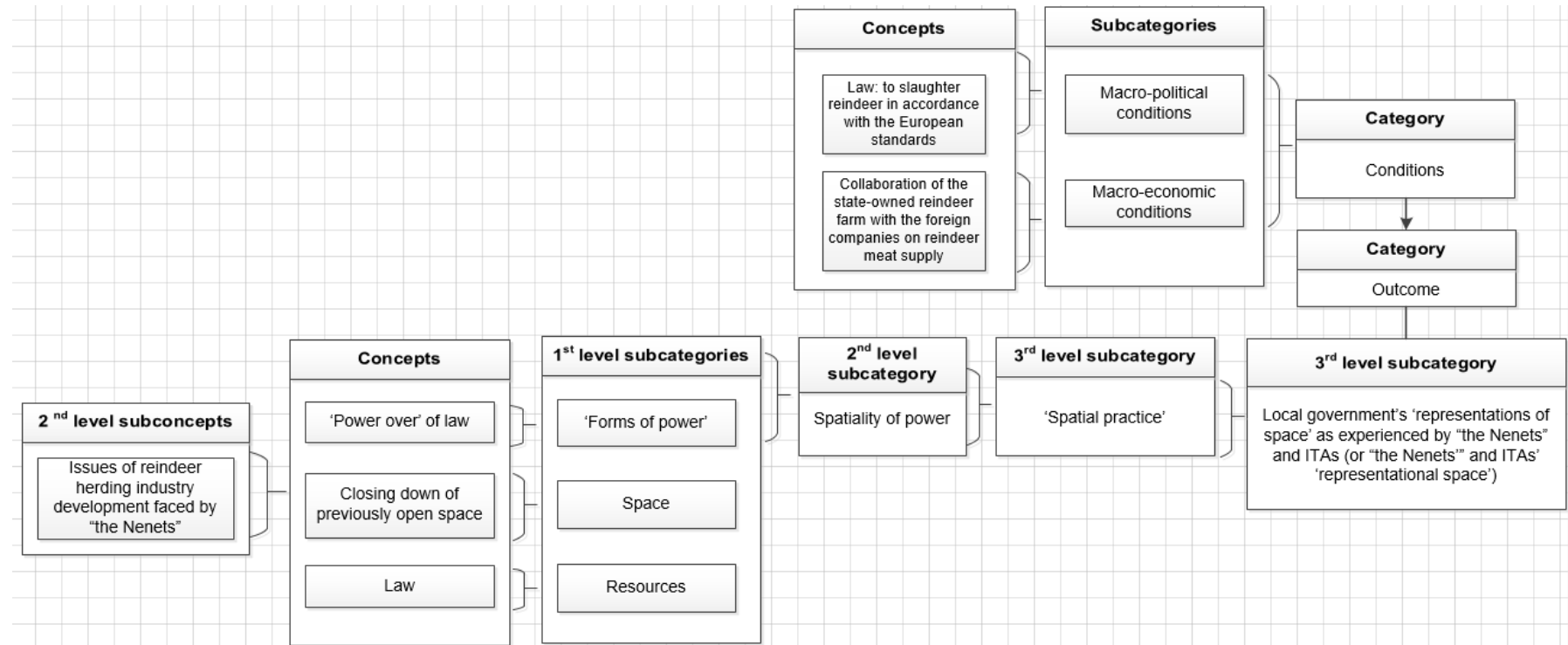
Source: The Author

The reduction of reindeer, in turn, leads to the negative, social 'outcome' (category): decrease in income (reduction of resources) and a search for an additional source of income such as the inbound tourism industry (to use 'forms of agency' to create a new space). Based on the perceptions of the representatives from "the Nenets" and indigenous travel agencies, it was also identified that "the Nenets'" decision to participate in inbound tourism industry development was caused by the current situation in the reindeer herding industry as well.

The 'representations of space' of the local government in relation to reindeer herding industry development are impacted by the macro-political and macro-economic conditions. These conditions were labelled as subcategories (see section 6.2.2.2) and grouped together under the category 'conditions'. These 'conditions', in turn, influence the 'spatial practice' of the local government which results (an 'outcome' labelled as category) in the issues currently face by "the Nenets" in relation to reindeer herding industry development (Figure 6.17).

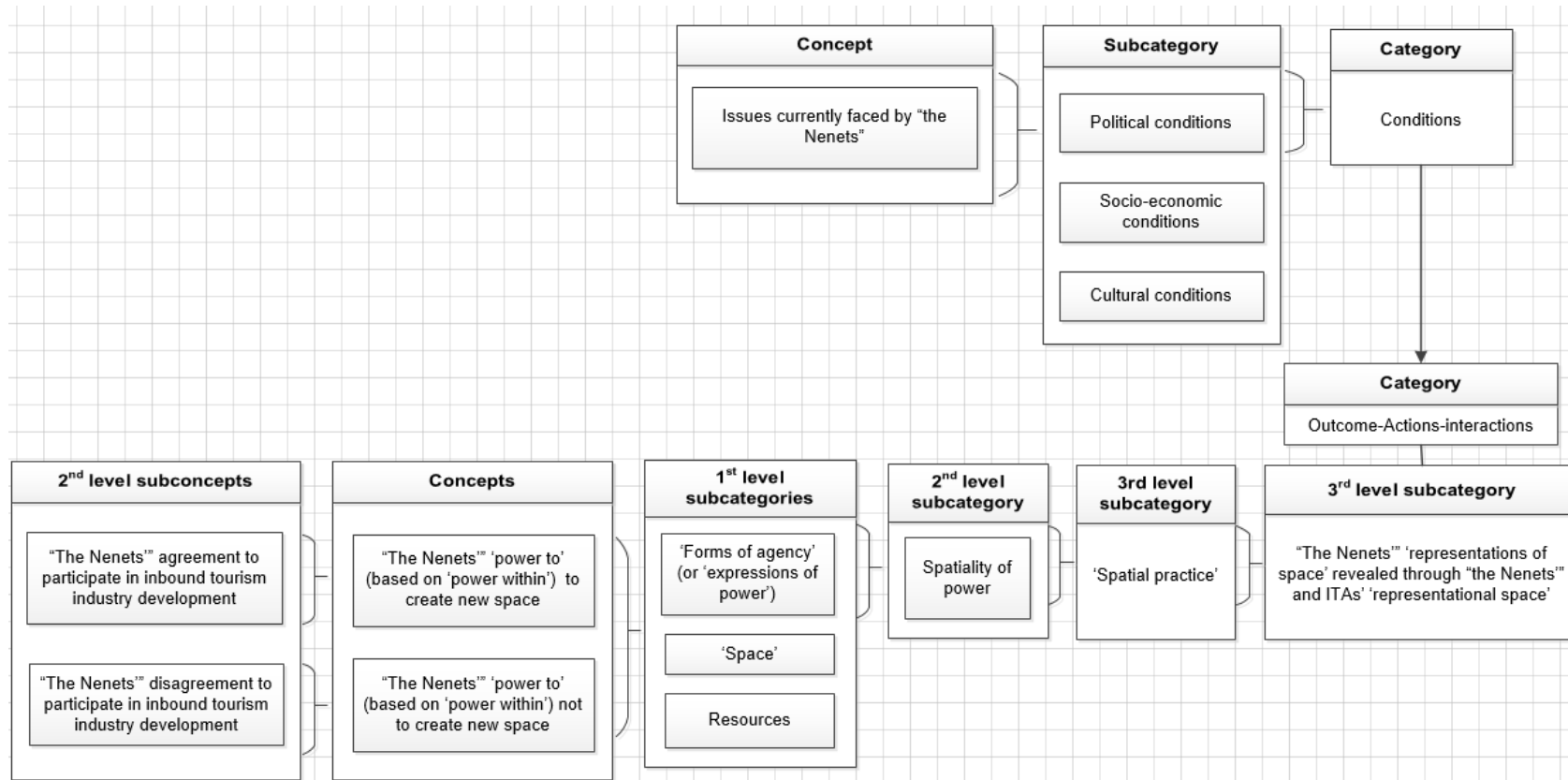
The resulted disparities between the 'representations of space' of the local government, on one side, and of "the Nenets" and indigenous travel agencies, on another side, triggers (category 'outcome') "the Nenets" to act (category 'actions') using the 'forms of agency'. They create a new space through participation in inbound tourism industry development (Figure 6.18).

Figure 6.17: Issues of reindeer herding industry development triggered by the influence of the macro conditions



Source: The Author

**Figure 6.18: Outcome of the influence of the macro conditions on reindeer herding industry development**



Source: The Author

Still, based on the perceptions (or 'representational space') of the representatives from "the Nenets", indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, the inbound tourism industry is currently being developed at the locations located closer to Salekhard than in Yamal. The main 'conditions' (category) highlighted are the impact of the macro-geographical, macro-environmental and social conditions on the 'representations of space' of the local government and non-indigenous tour operators and their 'spatial practice' (including 'spatiality of power') (Figure 6.19).

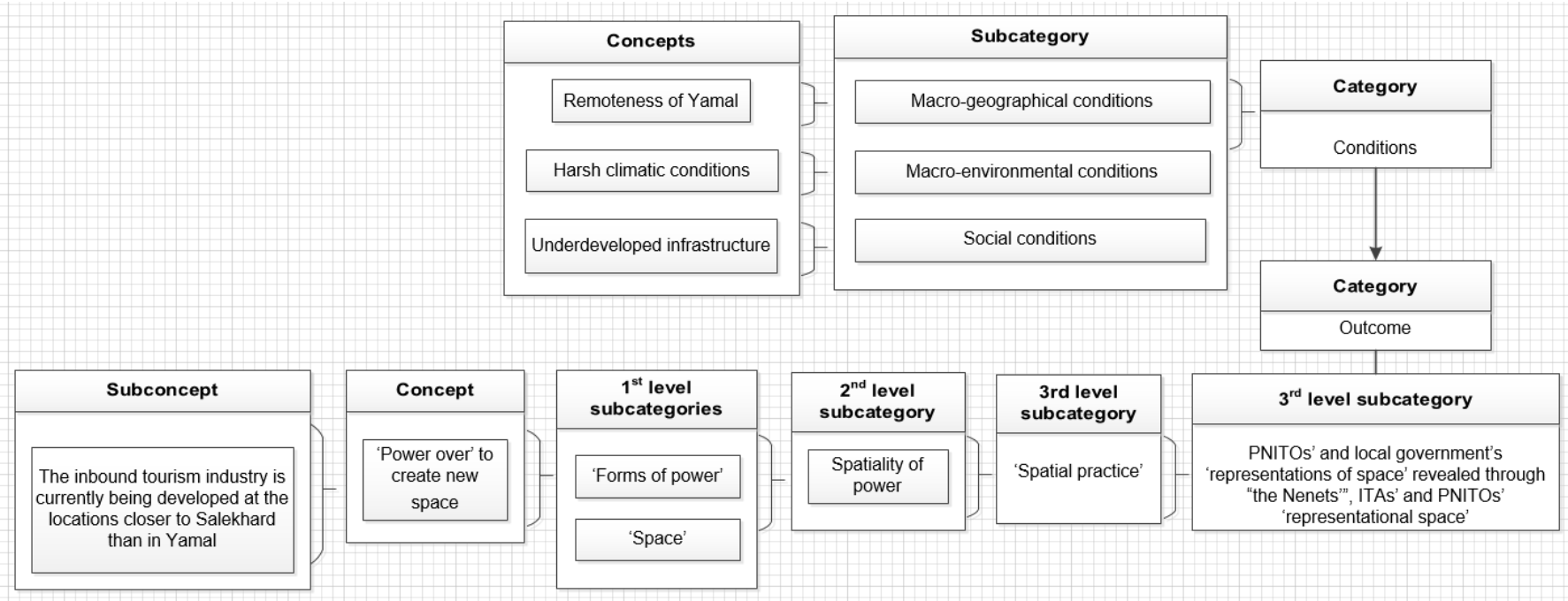
As an 'outcome' (category), the representatives from "the Nenets", indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators face two issues:

- 'Absence of tourists' flow to Yamal';
- 'The inbound tourism industry is not always profitable, more efforts than profits'.

According to the opinions of the respondents, these issues, in turn, mean that the inbound tourism industry in Yamal is immature and its contribution to the local economy is limited (Figure 6.20).

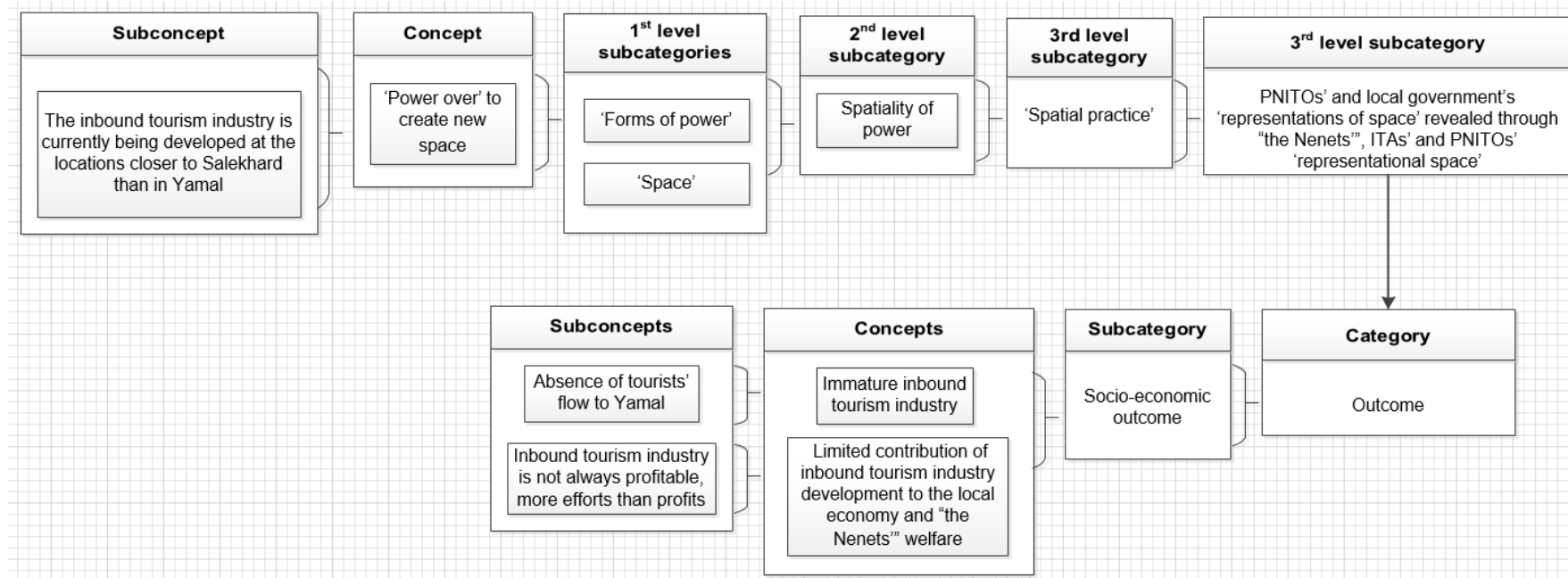
Based on the 'representational space' of the representatives from indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, the situation is complicated by the influence of the micro-political and socio-economic conditions (see section 6.2.2.3; and Figure 6.21). The 'outcome' (category) are the difficulties experienced by the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators in relation to inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO in general and in Yamal specifically (Figure 6.21).

Figure 6.19: Impact of macro conditions on inbound tourism industry development



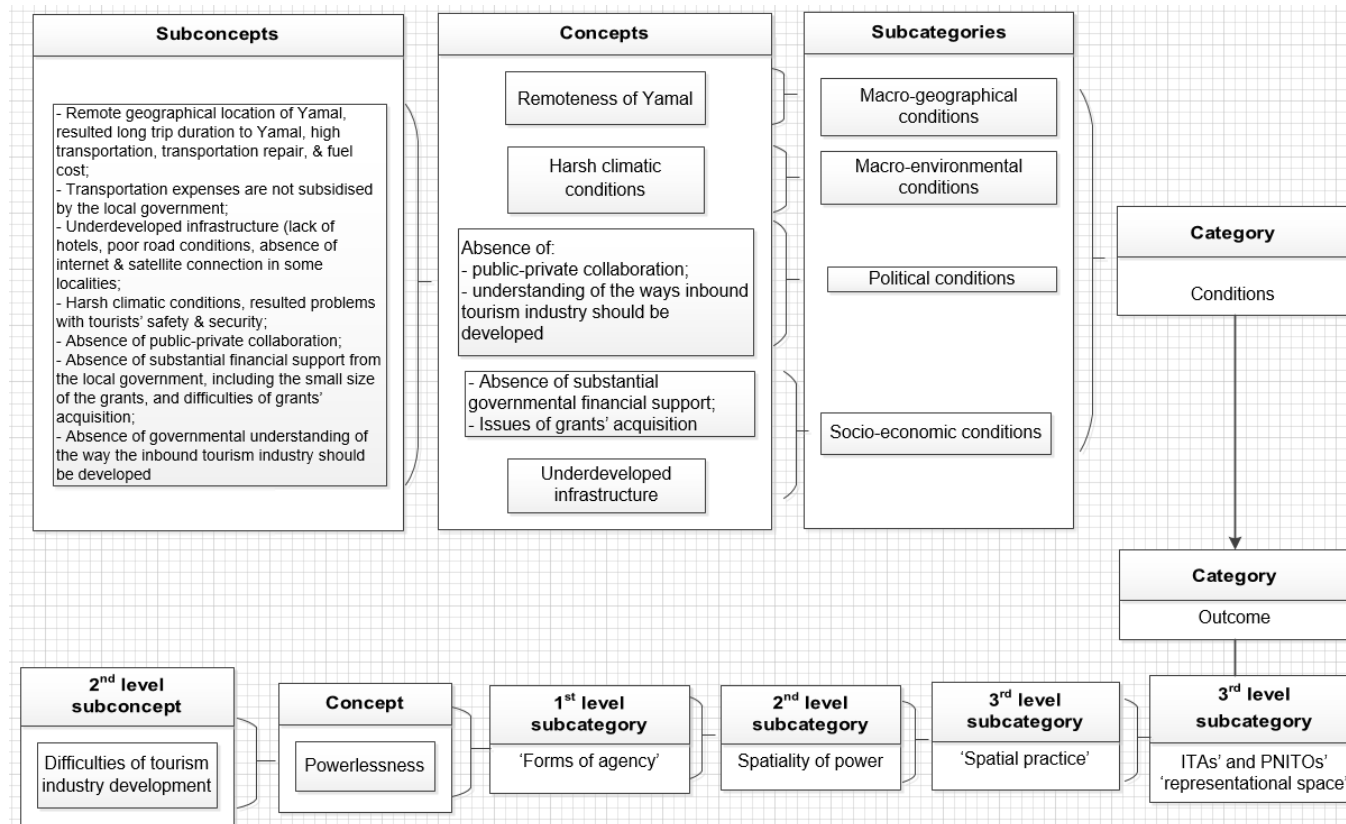
Source: The Author

**Figure 6.20: 'Outcome' of inbound tourism industry development**



Source: The Author

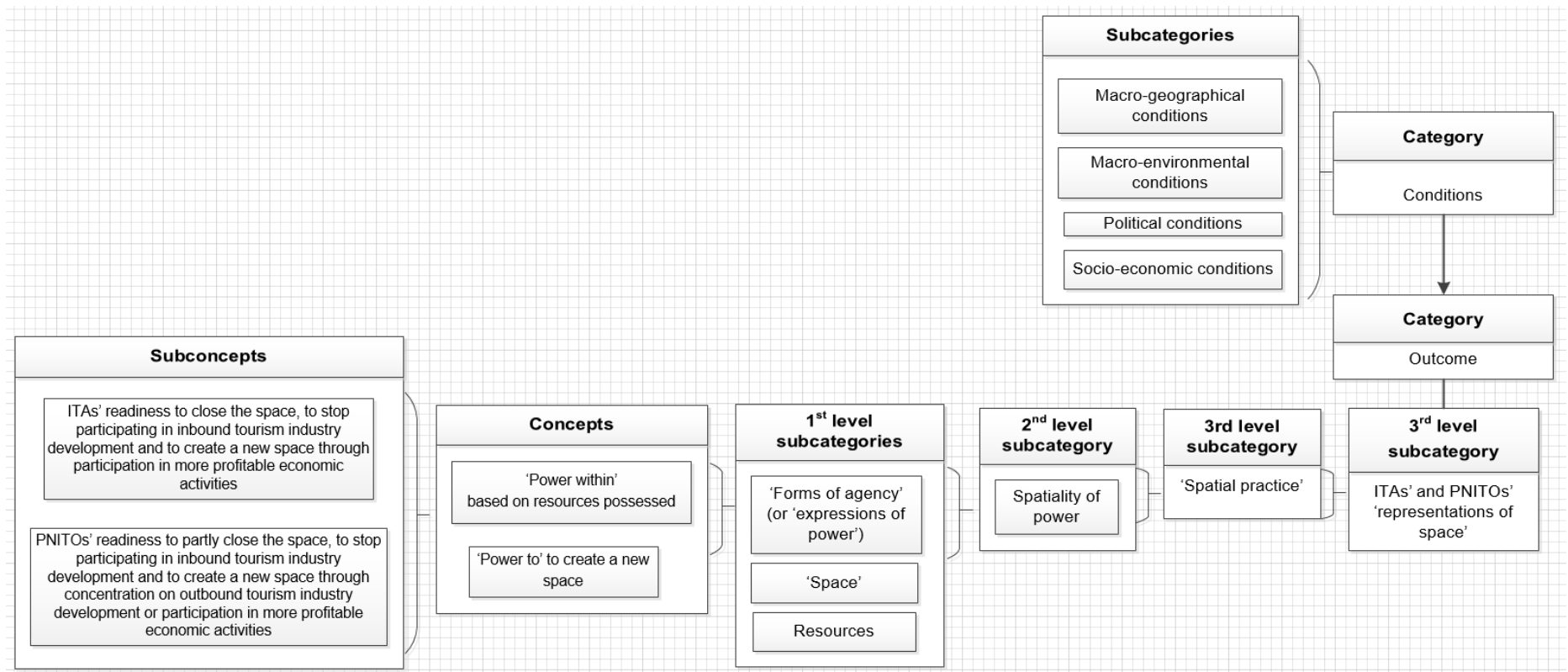
**Figure 6.21: ‘Outcome’: difficulties of inbound tourism industry development experienced by the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators**



Source: The Author

As an outcome, the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators are ready to close down the existing space and to stop participating in inbound tourism industry development. They consider the possibility of creating a new space through 'spatial practice', participation in more profitable economic activities, including the reindeer herding industry in case of the indigenous travel agencies (Figure 6.22). Having established the 'conditional/consequential' matrix, the process of analysis continued by linking category developed, 'social space production', around a core category and refining and trimming the resulting theoretical construction that would explain the spatiality of power surrounding "the Nenets" and their relationships with the stakeholders under the present study. This process is presented in section 6.2.4, 'Selective coding'.

**Figure 6.22: Impacts of the ‘conditions’ on the decision of the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators to stop participating in inbound tourism industry development**



Source: The Author

#### **6.1.4. Selective coding**

In order to identify the core category, several techniques were employed. First of all, the descriptive summary note based on the revision of interviews, observations and field notes to answer the questions such as “What seems to be going on in the locality under study?”, “What theme comes out over and over?” was written.

Once the main theme, a core category, running through the research was identified, the conceptual summary note, a synopsis of the research findings, was written. The main ideas were expressed using the categories derived during the research including statements of the relationships between the categories to each other and to the core category. It was an abstract story without all of the details included but contained sufficient information to draw a final diagram that would explain all the findings made. This visual diagram helped to sort out the logical relationships between categories and to write the conceptual story in Chapter 7.

Finally, reviewing and sorting through notes and summary notes assisted in integrating all of the subconcepts, concepts, sub-categories and categories with the core category. When the all-encompassing theoretical scheme was outlined, the theory was finalized through its revision for internal consistency and logic, ‘trimming’ (ridding off the concepts that contributed little to theory understanding) and validation or ‘confirmability’ (how well abstraction fits the raw data).

As it was discovered at the ‘open coding’ and ‘axial coding’ stages of data analysis, the development of various industries in Yamal surrounded by the spatiality of power is impacted by the local government’s ‘representations of space’. The ‘representations of space’ of the local government are influenced by the ‘representations of space’ of the state government which, in turn, are affected by the influence of macro socio-economic conditions.

Visible ‘power over’ of the ‘representations of space’ of the state government over the ‘representations of space’ of the local government was revealed through the respondents’ ‘representational space’. For example:

1. Oil and gas industry development:

*“Oil and gas industry development is important for the country” (ITA1);*

*“Aquatic, Natural Resources, Land (Factors of Production-building blocks of the economy) are Federally owned (R17) (Article 36, Constitution of the Russian Federation) and can be allocated for industrial purposes” (Articles 12, the Federal Law of 7 May, 2001 N 49-FZ “On Territories of Traditional Nature Use of Indigenous Numerically Small Peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation updated 31.12.14; Articles 56.2, 56.3, 56.4 of the Land Code of the Russian Federation, 25.10.2001 updated 05.10.15)*

2. Reindeer herding industry development:

*“We don’t have the law approved at the federal level yet that would protect the interests of the private, not registered as the private entrepreneurs or as the members of the community, reindeer herders. We are waiting for its approval for around 10 years already” (ITA2);*

*“Various subsidies are allocated from the local and federal budget” (PNITO1 supported by ITA1 and ITA2).*

3. Inbound tourism industry development:

*“This is the initiative of Vladimir Putin to develop inbound tourism industry in the regions of the Russian Federation” (ITA1)*

*“This is under the influence of Vladimir Putin the local, state-owned tour operator was transformed into the Tourist Informational Centre” (ITA1),*

*“This Tourist Informational Centre will be supported by the government. This is what was said by the president. This came down from there” (STO).*

Thus, the sub-category ‘the representations of space of the federal government’ ran through the whole story and was connected to the sub-category ‘the representations of space of the local government’. The link was made through the concept ‘decentralisation of power’ placed under the first-level data-based subcategory ‘power proximity and reach’. This concept was revealed through the ‘representational space’ of the representatives from the non-indigenous tour operators and a state-owned tour operator and it was verified by the official

documents such as the Articles 5.2; 5.3; 130.1; 130.2; 132.1; 132.2 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation (see Chapter 4):

*“If those who are in Moscow decided that the railway should be built across the tundra, it will be built by any means” (R12);*

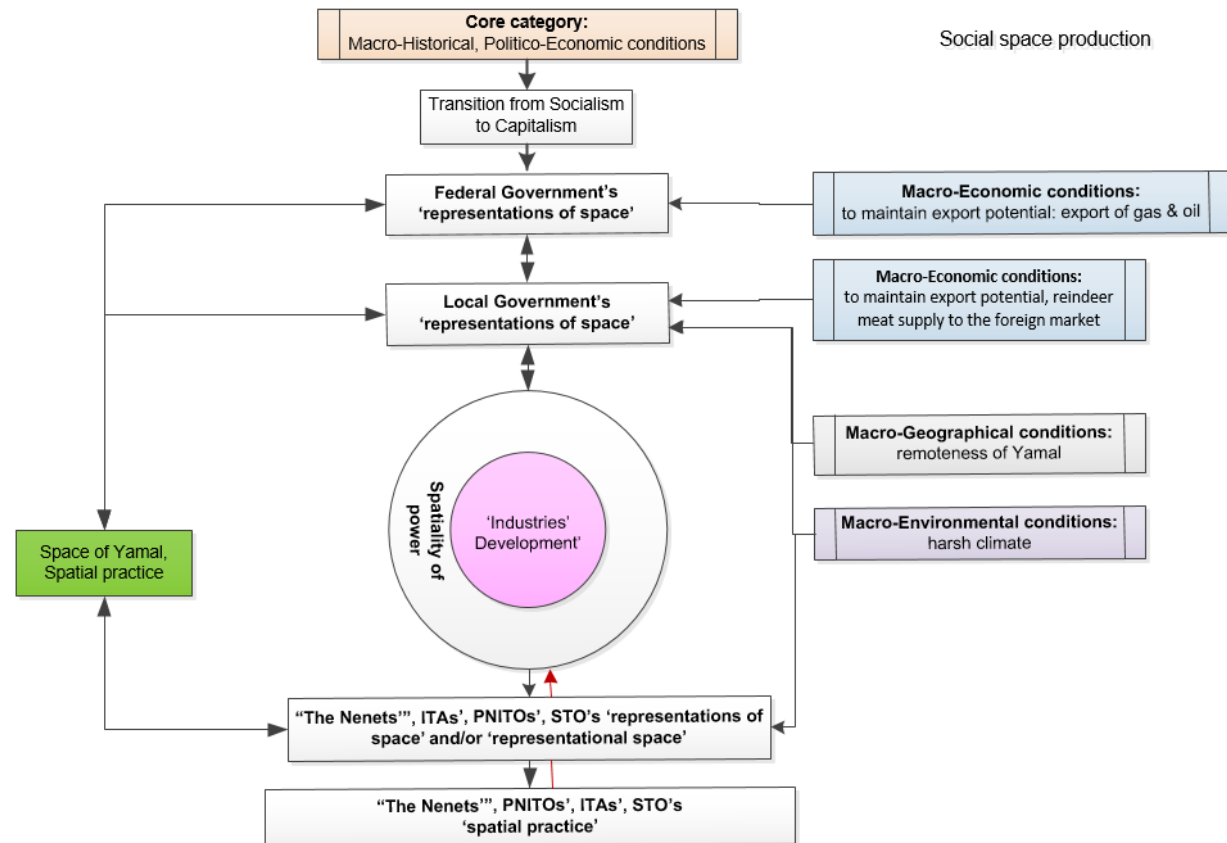
*“The inbound tourism industry is being developed very slowly due to the absence of the ‘remote’ control from the federal government” (PNITO1);*

*“‘Hidden power’ of the local government is to make an illusion of the work done due to the absence of the ‘remote power’ of control exercised by the federal government” (PNITO1 supported by R2 and STO);*

The existence of the concept ‘decentralisation of power’ was, in turn, the ‘outcome’ of the transition of the country from one political economy regime to another one, in other words from the centralized economy (Socialism) to the decentralised one (Capitalism) (‘condition’) (see Chapter 4). This ‘condition’ was labelled as ‘the impact of the macro-historical factor’.

Thus, the core category identified, based on the respondents’ ‘representational space’, became the ‘macro-historical condition’ of the transition of the country from Socialism to Capitalism that explained the current situation in Yamal, the spatiality of power that surrounds industries development, the inbound tourism industry in particular, the relationships between the local government, non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and “the Nenets”, and resulted contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare (Figure 6.23).

Figure 6.23: Core category that influences social space production in Yamal



Source: The Author

In order to present the neat, resulted conceptual story in a written form, the cache of memos, notes, summary of the notes and the 'conditional/consequential matrix' were used as the main basis for writing. The conceptual story developed and presented in Chapter 7 starts from the establishment of the core category, its influence on the spatiality of power surrounding industries development, inbound tourism industry specifically, on the relationships between the stakeholders under the current study in Yamal and the resulted contribution of the inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and "the Nenets'" welfare.

The approximation to the objective truth, or 'dependability', is established through the notion of correspondence and coherence, in other words through triangulation of the informal conversations, semi-structured interviews, observation field notes, photographs, local journals and newspapers obtained at the locality (Yar-Sale and Salekhard) and the official documents available online (Brown, 2014).

## **6.2. Summary**

In this chapter the appreciation of the stages of data analysis was established. The attention was placed, first of all, on the process of data transcription and translation from one language to another and followed by an explanation of stages of data analysis. A comparative method offered by Strauss and Corbin (1990; 2015) and employed in the present research to analyze the data was discussed. Then each of the stages of data analysis was presented in detail. During the familiarisation stage of data analysis, the rich material collected was used to gain a level of sensitivity to the lives of participants, their feelings, perceptions, motivations and experiences through respondents' words and actions.

The cohesiveness of the proposed theory emerged from grouping concepts at 'open', 'axial' and 'selective' stages of coding. 'Open coding' assisted in the classification of concepts into specific groups in order to give rise to early concept development for the emerging theory. Then, the concepts were grouped and re-grouped to find yet higher level subcategories which, in turn, formed even broader categories. This process took place at the axial stage of

data analysis. The data analysis process was completed by linking the categories around a core category and refining and trimming the resulting theoretical construction that would explain the spatiality of power surrounding “the Nenets” and their relationships with the stakeholders under the present study. A pathway to the next chapter where the resulted conceptual story is presented was made.

## **Chapter 7: Results and Findings**

## **7. Introduction**

In this chapter the story that was derived from the data will be developed and the connections between the results of the analysis and existing theory will be made. In section 7.2 the research question presented in Chapter 2 will be considered in line with the research results emerging through the analysis of field work data. The major findings will be summarized and related to the researcher's initial conceptual thinking (Chapter 3) and compared against the work of previous researchers in relation to spatiality of power in tourism research (Chapter 2).

### **7.1. The application of the 'Conditional/Consequential Matrix'**

As stated in Chapter 6, in order to establish the neat, developed conceptual story in a written form, the cache of memos, notes, summary of the notes and the 'conditional/consequential matrix' were used as the main basis for writing. The 'conditional/consequential matrix' offered by Schatzman (1991) and later by Corbin and Strauss (2008; 2015) helped to stimulate thought regarding the wide range of possible conditions in which inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO, Yamal specifically, takes place. It was applied to enable the researcher to consider how the respondents define conditions (for example, in terms of 'problems', 'challenges', 'obstacles' and 'goals'), the actions and interactions they take to manage or achieve desired outcomes and the actual consequences that result from their actions. The matrix also assisted in selecting items from the data to build a conceptual story, mindful that subconcepts, concepts, sub-categories and categories taken on their own do not make theory.

The approximation to the objective truth, or 'dependability' (see Chapter 5), was established through the notions of correspondence and coherence. In other words, it was attained through triangulation of the informal conversations, semi-structured interviews, observation field notes, photographs, local journals and newspapers obtained at the locality (in Yar-Sale and in Salekhard) and the official documents available online (Brown, 2014).

The story started from the establishment of the core category and its influence on the spatiality of power surrounding the development of industries, the

tourism industry in particular, the relationships between stakeholders in the current study context of Yamal and the outcome of these power relations for the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare.

#### **7.1.1. Identification of the core category that determines the spatiality of power surrounding inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO**

As identified in the section that discussed ‘selective coding’ Chapter 6 (Figure 6.23), the core category that would explain the spatiality of power that currently frames inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO, in Yamal in particular, and the relationships between the main stakeholders is the macro-historical, politico-economic factor, namely, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The process of ‘*Perestroika*’ triggered the country’s transition from a Socialist, centralized economy, to a Capitalist, decentralized economy (see Chapters 4 and 6). This resulted in the preserved power of the federal government. The mental aim of the state government (or ‘representations of space’) is to control and transform the space of Yamal in such a way that it would serve the state government’s economic interests. State government protects its economic interests and ensures its control of the space of Yamal through ‘spatial practice’. The local government in the YNAO is responsible for the implementation of the state government’s ‘spatial practice’. Moreover, the ‘representations of space’ of the local government in the YNAO are impacted by the ‘representations of space’ of the state government (see Chapter 6).

These findings are in line with O’Neil’s (2007) belief (see Chapter 2) that the ways in which the local government in Salekhard, YNAO, responds to the development of industries, specifically the tourism industry, is largely influenced by the type of prevailing political economy regime in the country. The findings made in this research correspond with the conclusions made by, for example, Osipenko (2006), Nazranov (2012), Čerkovec (2016), Kušlin (2016), Nosova (2016), Vishnyakova and Rudnev (2016) in that the current political economy regime in the Russian Federation represents a mixture of political economies. This finding is in line with Webster’s *et al.*’s (2011) that there exist multiple ways of organizing a political economy and that few political economies would fit completely into any one category (see Chapter 2). In this context, having started

from a liberal political economy during the period of *'Perestroika'* when the involvement of the federal government's involvement in the economy became minimal or its power was reconfigured to optimize the conditions of now private capital accumulation (Smith, 1776; Gill, 1995; Holden, 2005; Draper & Ramsay, 2007; O'Neil, 2007), market control and intervention were increased when, the socio-economic system experienced severe distortions, depression, widespread corruption and criminality, the rise of a financial oligarchy, and the population sinking into poverty class divisions (Kotz, 2001). This may be recognized to be symptomatic of Capitalism development, along the lines of a liberal model of Capitalism (O'Neil, 2007; Webster's *et al.*, 2011), and as described by Karl Marx in his "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in 1848 (Marx & Engels, 1969). It was confirmed by the respondents through their 'representational space' of that time period:

*"When the 'Perestroika' happened all the industries collapsed" (R1);*

*"Gorbachev is a destroyer. He ruined everything" (R9);*

*"Before the period of 'Perestroika' 'the Nenets' – fishermen used to migrate across the tundra like 'the Nenets' – reindeer herders, but when the Perestroika happened fishing industry slumped, 'the Nenets' - fishermen stopped migrating and settled down. Some of them started working for the state-owned fishing processing complexes" (R8);*

*"Period of 'Perestroika' was a very difficult period of time. Especially serious difficulties people experienced with money" (R8);*

*"Here was a fish processing complex. It was closed down. People lost their jobs" (R28);*

*"In 90-s everything somehow died out, industries collapsed across the whole country" (R1);*

*"Only reindeer herding industry was left as the most profitable in Yamal, all the rest such as fishing and fur were closed down. Now only the state-processing complexes are eligible to fish" (R2);*

*"Fur industry was also shut down as it was not profitable...although this industry was subsidised by the government and people had a job" (R1 supported by R2);*

*"Here it was such a big herd of cows that everybody was supplied with milk. Now look how many of them are left" (R6 supported by the researcher's observation field notes) Our kolkhoz (type of the Russian collective farm) used to be one of the best in the region in terms of milk,*

*meat, fish and fur production. When the Perestroika happened, everything flopped” (R6 supported by R24 and R25).*

In other words, in order to improve the socio-economic situation in the country, the federal government was perceived to have shifted its focus from a pure liberal political economy to a mixture of the liberal, communist and mercantilist types of political economy with elements of social democratic model. In relation to the liberal model (Webster *et al.*, 2011), this is supported through documentary analysis. The federal government liberalized prices (Resolution of the Government of the RSFSR No.55 “About the measures on the liberalization of prices”, 1992), allowed domestic trade (Decree of the President of the Russian Federation from January 29, 1992 No 65 “Freedom of Trade”), entrepreneurship (The law of RSFSR from 25.12.1990 No 445-1 “On enterprises and entrepreneurial activities”), and decentralised the economic control to the local governments as a part of the transition of the country to the market-based economy (Åslund, 1999) (Article 5.2, 5.3, 130.1, 132.1, 132.2, The Constitution of the Russian Federation, 1993, see Chapter 4).

In terms of communist and mercantilist types of political economy (Webster’s *et al.*, 2011), based on the perceptions of stakeholder representatives of all groups under study in Yamal, the federal government was recognized to have increased its involvement in the development of the economy, and in the industrial development of the country specifically. This was perceived to have happened through the setting of economic policy for the country (O’Neil, 2007) using visible, remote, political power of law. Examples can be cited in relation to ‘representational space’ pertaining to: oil and gas industry development; reindeer herding; fishing; and inbound tourism industry development (Table 7.1).

**Table 7.1: Federal government’s involvement in the development of the economy based on the respondents’ perceptions**

Oil and gas industry	<i>“Oil and gas industry development is important <u>for the country</u> to solve its problems” (ITAs).</i>
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	<p><i>In these terms:</i></p> <p><i>“Aquatic, Natural Resources, Land (Factors of Production-building blocks of the economy) are Federally owned (R17) (Article 36, Constitution of the Russian Federation) and can be allocated for industrial purposes” (Articles 12, the Federal Law of 7 May, 2001 N 49-FZ “On Territories of Traditional Nature Use of Indigenous Numerically Small Peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation updated 31.12.14; Articles 56.2, 56.3, 56.4 of the Land Code of the Russian Federation, 25.10.2001 updated 05.10.15).</i></p>
Reindeer herding	<p><i>“We don’t have the law approved at <u>the federal level</u> yet that would protect the interests of the private, not registered as the private entrepreneurs or as the members of the community, reindeer herders. We are waiting for its approval for around 10 years already” (ITA2).</i></p> <p><i>“Various subsidies are allocated from <u>the local and federal budget</u>” (PNITO1 supported by ITA1 and ITA2)</i></p>
Fishing	<p><i>“All rare, endangered species of fish recorded in the Red Book of the Russian Federation are <u>federally owned</u>” (R17; ITA1) (The Federal Law of 24 April 1995, N 52-FZ “On the Animal World”)</i></p> <p><i>“Gulf of Ob is under <u>the Federal government’s control</u>. Allocation of the fishing quotas and territory for fishing purposes is made through Tyumen” (PNITO1).</i></p>
Inbound tourism industry development	<p><i>“This is the initiative of <u>Vladimir Putin</u> to develop tourism industry in the regions of the Russian Federation” (ITA1)</i></p> <p><i>“This is under the influence of <u>Vladimir Putin</u> the local, state-owned tour operator was transformed into the Tourist Informational Centre” (ITA1),</i></p> <p><i>“This Tourist Informational Centre will be supported by the government. This is what was said by <u>the president</u>. <u>This came down from there</u>” (STO).</i></p>

Source: The Author

In this context the respondents’ ‘representational space’ corresponds not only with the law (provided in brackets after the quotations given in Table 7.1), but with a more general directive *“On the strategic planning in the Russian Federation”* (passed by the State Duma on June 20, 2014, approved by the Federation Council on June 25, 2014 and signed by the President of the Russian Federation in June 28, 2014). According to this directive:

*“Strategic planning of the economy development is carried out in the Russian Federation at the federal level, the level of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation and municipal entities” (Article 1.2);*

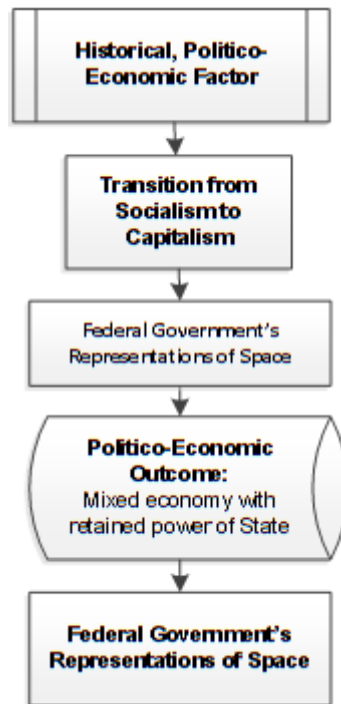
*“President of Russian Federation directs state policy in the sphere of strategic planning” (Article 10.1);*

*“Documents on the industries development in the Russian Federation are approved by decision of the President of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Russian Federation” (Article 19.1).*

Furthermore, these documents (or sectoral strategic planning documents) *“shall be the basis for the development of the state programmes at the regional level”* (Article 19.2) which, in turn, *“shall be developed in accordance with the priorities of socio-economic development strategy for socio-economic development of the Russian Federation”* (Article 37.1) and *“shall be approved by the President of the Russian Federation or the Government of the Russian Federation”* (Article 19.10).

Regarding the social democratic model of political economy (Webster *et al.*, 2011), the state became again involved in the economy through public-private ownership or purely public ownership of some industries. An example related to the locality under the study is “Gazprom”, a joint-stock company in Russia that has over 50 per cent of shares owned by the Russian Government (Gazprom, 2015). The company currently extracts oil and gas in Yamal, YNAO (see Chapter 4). Other examples of state involvement through ownership are the state-owned fish, reindeer meat processing complexes, a state-owned reindeer farm and a state-owned tour operator in the YNAO. Through these examples it can be observed that the Russian federal government recalled visible, remote ‘power over’ economic development. In other words, the decentralized economy started its coexistence with the centralized economy (Figure 7.1) (Porokhovskiy, 2015).

**Figure 7.1. Outcome of country's transition from Socialism to Capitalism**



Source: The Author, based on the respondents' opinions verified by official documents and selective coding of primary data, 2015-2016

These findings suggest that the way the federal government preserved its remote 'power over' the development of the industries in the Russian Federation was determined by the macro-historical, politico-economic conditions, namely the country's transition from a Socialist, centralized economy, to a Capitalist, decentralized economy. This is in line with Karl Marx' political economy and 'Historical Materialism' (see Chapter 2), and Lefebvre (1991) (see Chapter 3). These conditions, in turn, influenced the type of the current political economy regime which sequentially impacted the 'representations of space' of the state government. This confirms Webster *et. al.*'s (2001) and O'Neil's (2007) belief that the political system, formed under the impact of history, shapes industries development and the economic interactions between the state and other stakeholders (see Chapter 2). The mental aim of the state government (or 'representations of space') is to control and transform the space of the regions of the Russian Federation in such a way that they would serve the state government's economic interests (Lefebvre, 1991; Chapter 3). State government protects its economic interests and ensures its control of the space of the regions of the Russian Federation through 'spatial

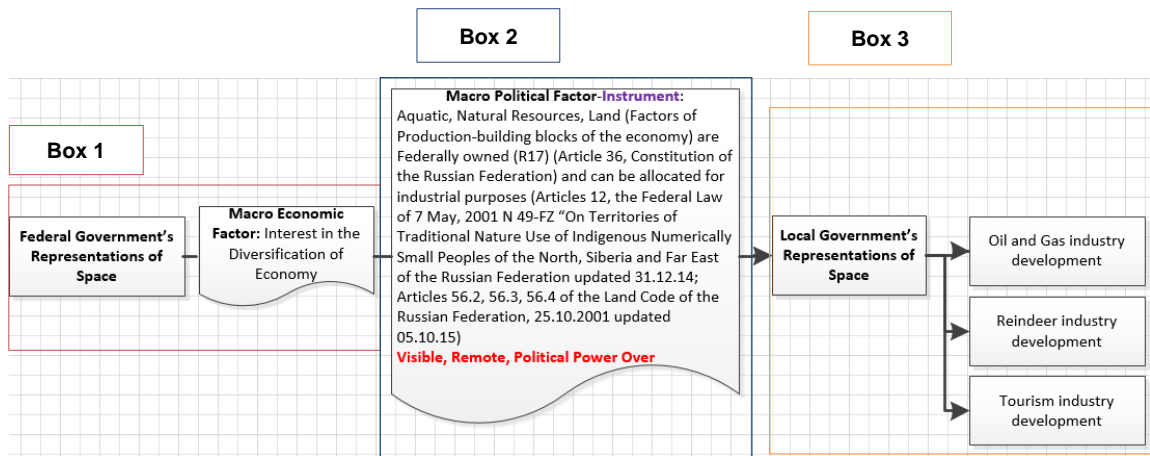
practice' (see Chapter 3). 'Spatial practice', in turn, is expressed through 'forms of power' and resources (Lefebvre, 1991; Chapter 3). As an example provided is the state government's remote political 'power over' of law and directives.

Influence of the state government in this case study was recognized to be achieved through decentralised power of the local government in Salekhard, YNAO.

### **7.1.2. Federal government's 'Representations of space' of Yamal**

According to the coherent 'representational space' of the representatives from "the Nenets" and indigenous travel companies, the space in Yamal is currently being transformed by the local government for industrial purposes – oil and gas, reindeer herding and tourism industry development (Figure 7.3, box 3). This corresponds with the plan approved by the president of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin and the Government of the Russian Federation, in November 17, 2008 (Order N 1662-p "*The Concept of long-term socio-economic development of the Russian Federation for the period until 2020*"). According to which, in the interests of expanding Capitalism, the federal government is interested in the geographic diversification (Figure 7.2, Box 1) and economic restructuring based on the possession of natural resources (Lefebvre, 1991). This is in line with Lefebvre (1991) who stated that the state serves the economic goals of Capitalism through 'spatial practice'. It ensures that Capitalism is reproduced and that, in turn, enables the continuation of the relations of domination. Space for the state is a political element of primary importance. The state uses space in such a way that it ensures its control of places. The hegemony of Capitalism then is carried out both in and through space to ensure the segregation and the ordering of society by the intervention and control of the structure and design of urban and rural spaces (see Chapter 3).

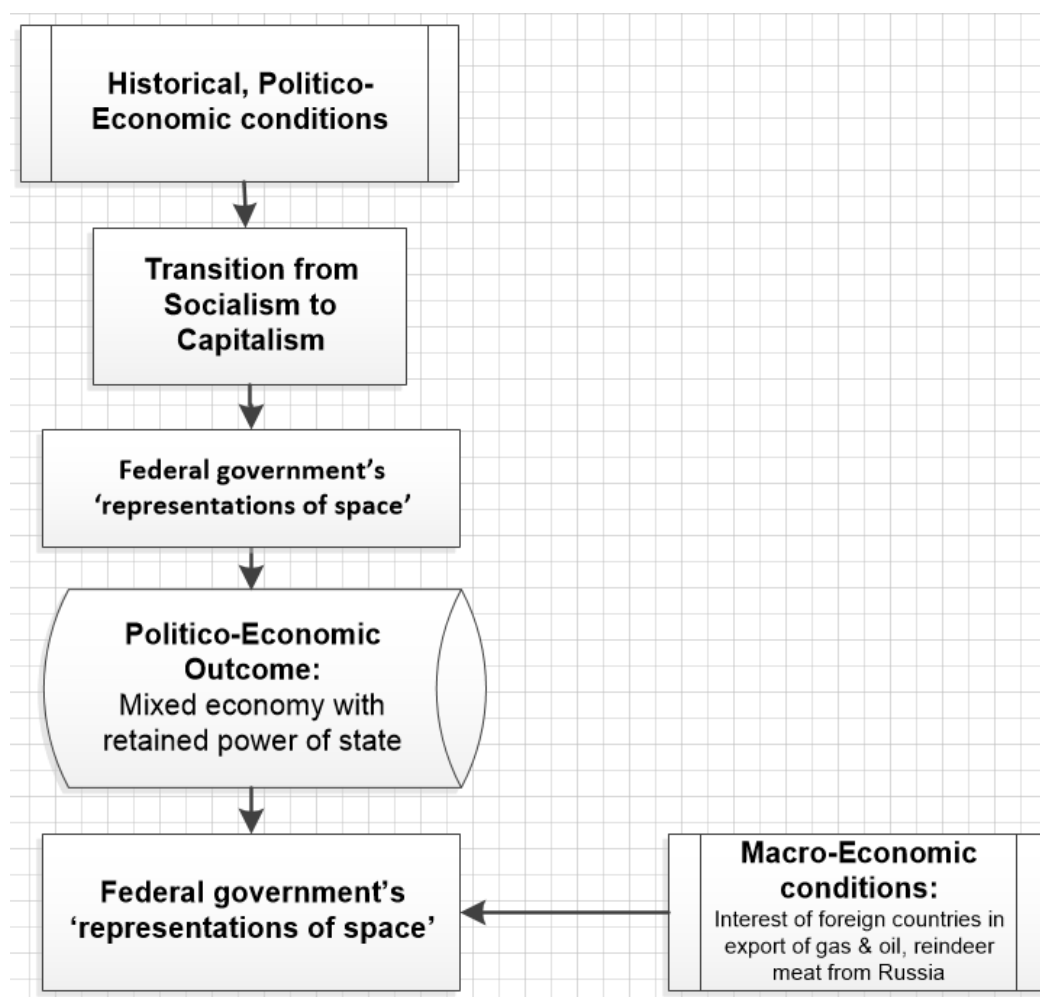
**Figure 7.2: ‘Representations of space’ of the federal government in relation to the development of the industries in Yamal**



Source: The Author, based on the respondents' opinions verified by official documents and selective coding of primary data, 2015-2016

It is hoped that transformation of the space of Yamal will bring positive changes in the social sphere – creation of new areas of employment, and in the economic one – opening up the access to and maintaining a competitive export potential in the global production market (Figure 7.2). These aspirations are in line with the ideas of Harvey, who purported that capital continuously seeks to open up new and profitable avenues of investment (Harvey, 2005).

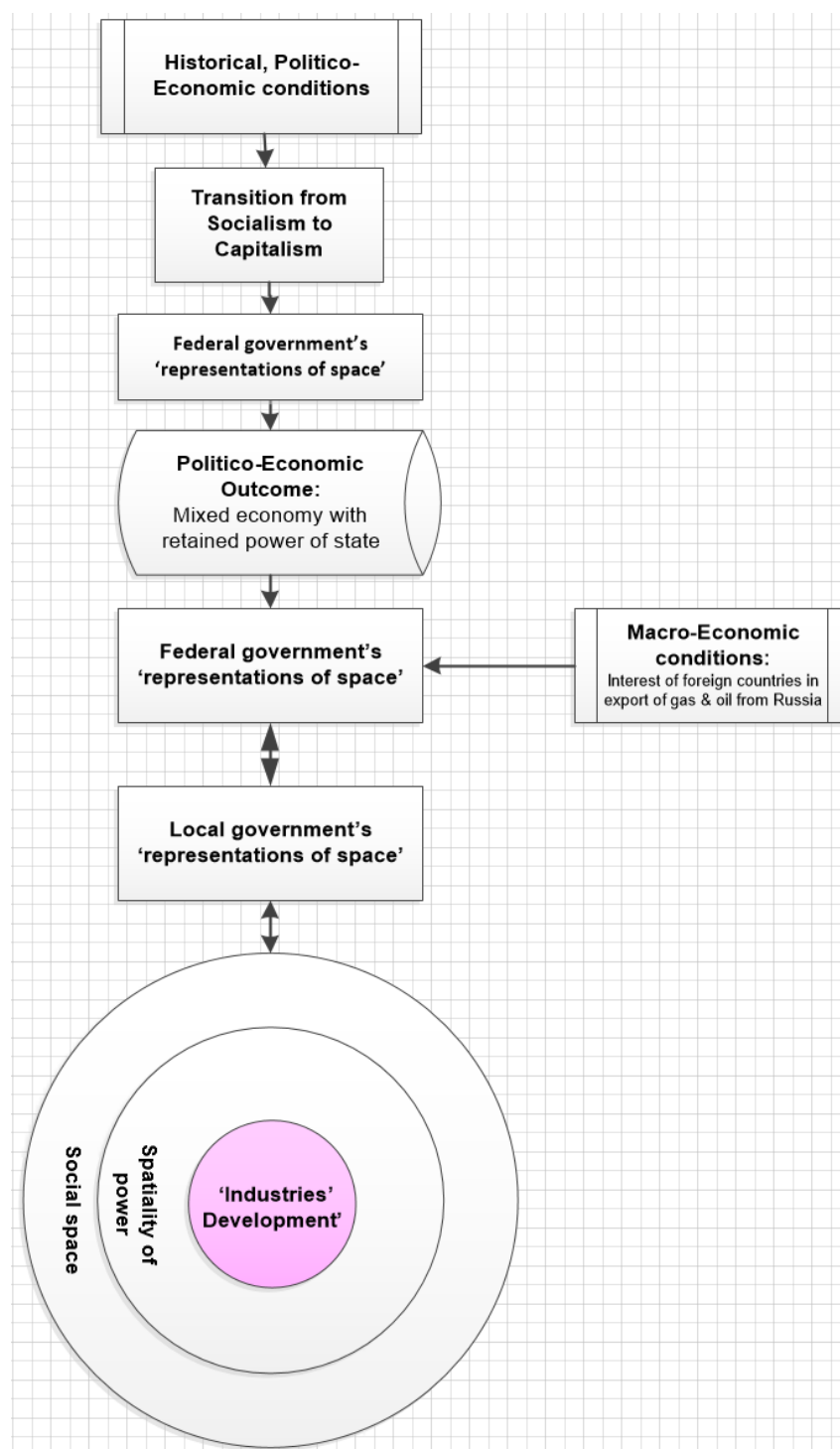
**Figure 7.3: The impact of macro-economic ‘conditions’ on the ‘representations of space’ of the federal government**



Source: The Author, based on the respondents' opinions verified by official documents and selective coding of primary data, 2015-2016

The ‘representations of space’ of the federal government became *“the basis for the development of the state programme at the regional level”* (Articles 19.1 and 19.2 of the directive *“On the strategic planning in the Russian Federation”* passed by the State Duma on June 20, 2014, approved by the Federation Council on June 25, 2014 and signed by the President of the Russian Federation in June 28, 2014). They were implemented at *the level of the YNAO through “The strategy of Socio-Economic Development of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug to 2020”* (Decree of the Legislative Assembly of the YNAO from 21.05.2014 N° 2076 from 17.12.2014) (Figure 7.4).

**Figure 7.4. Influence of the 'representations of space' of the federal government on the 'representations of space' of the local government**



Source: The Author, based on the respondents' opinions verified by official documents and selective coding of primary data, 2015-2016

### **7.1.3. Local government's 'representations' of economy development in the YNAO**

According to *"The strategy of Socio-Economic Development of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug to 2020"*, that reflects the federal government's 'representations of space' and verifies the 'representational space' of the representatives from "the Nenets" and indigenous travel companies, the industries to be developed in the region are oil and gas, reindeer herding and tourism (Article 1) (Figure 7.2, Box 3). In line with the federal government's 'representations of space', it is anticipated that their development will assist in the improvement of the quality of life and the development of a competitive economy (Article 2).

Primacy, as stated by the representatives from "the Nenets" and indigenous travel companies, is given by the local government, following the federal government's directive, to oil and gas industry development. The development of this industry is important because, as specified by one of the representatives from the indigenous travel agency: *"oil and gas industry development helps the country to solve its problems"* (ITA1 supported by ITA2).

#### **7.1.3.1. Local government's 'representations' of oil and gas industry development**

The 'representational space' of the respondents on the primacy of oil and gas industry development for the local and federal government corresponds with the Article 3.2.1 of *"The strategy of Socio-Economic Development of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug to 2020"* according to which:

*"One of the most promising directions for the economy of the autonomous okrug in the long term will remain oil and gas industry development...Yamal will continue to be the main zone of gas extraction" (Article 3.2.1) because Yamal is recognized as "the centre of national and world gas production ...and its location gives an opportunity to develop a logistic of year-round liquefied natural gas supply to markets in Europe, North America and Asia-Pacific Region via the Northern Route."*

As a result, as coherently noticed by the representatives from "the Nenets" (in relation to their 'representational space' of the visible power of Gazprom), the development of oil and gas industry is impossible to stop. Here, the workings of

visible, remote power of the federal government (Lefebvre, 1991) can be observed:

*“If gas already found, so it will be impossible to stop them now”* (R14);

*“Gazprom is a Giant Machine”* (R17);

*“Gazprom is a Tank that is impossible to stop”* (R2);

*“Is it possible to stop oil and gas industry development? No, it’s impossible”* (R15);

*“Who will be able to stop it? Nobody”* (R14 supported by R15);

*“If they already came, they would not leave until everything is extracted”* (ITA1 supported by ITA2; R2; R14; R15 and R9).

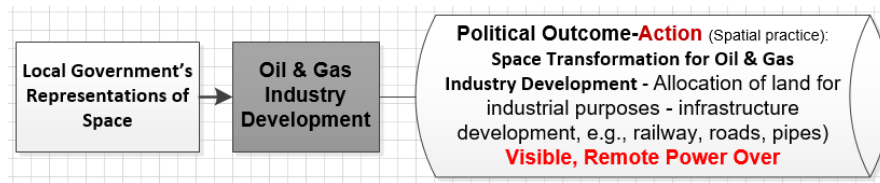
As a consequence, *“all the changes started to happen”* (R6). This may be interpreted to relate to transformation of space or ‘spatial practice’ (Lefebvre, 1991) for industrial purposes (or Capitalism expansion). The main political transformation of space that was mentioned related to the land use:

*“More and more land is being allocated by the local government, for the industrial purposes”* (R2 supported by R17; ITA1 and ITA2) (Figure 7.5).

In this context, the power of the local government to allocate land for oil and gas industry development is based on visible, remote political power of Federal law (‘resource’) (Article 36, Constitution of the Russian Federation, section 1.2.1).

This, in turn, was perceived by the respondents to adversely impact on their traditional economic activity – reindeer herding. It provides an example of the ‘representational space’ of “the Nenets” in line with the negative impact of industrial development on the lives of indigenous people and is comparable to, for example, Vinding’s (2004) findings in the context of Cambodia.

**Figure 7.5: The impact of the ‘representations of space’ of the federal government on the ‘representations of space’ of the local government**



Source: The Author, based on the respondents' opinions verified by official documents, 2016

#### **7.1.4. The ‘representational space’ of “the Nenets” of the unsustainable impact of oil and gas industry development on reindeer herding**

Allocation of land for oil and gas industry development resulted in the shortage of space (or resources) - pastures for reindeer (Figure 7.6). This issue was pertinent to respondents:

*“Reindeer herders have nowhere to go...They already leave the territory where they used to herd their reindeer...They already move closer to places where other reindeer herders herd their reindeer” (R17);*

*“At this moment the Northern part of Yamal is being explored” (ITA1);*

*“In the North they [meaning Gazprom] already occupied all the territory” (R2 supported by R14);*

*“Reindeer herders are enforced to move” (R4 supported by R11);*

*“Railway and roads, constructed by Gazprom, also reduce pastures and make it difficult for the reindeer to cross them” (R7 supported by R6);*

*“Railway narrows down the territory of pastures” (R6);*

*“Construction of railway of course affects the territorial integrity of nomads” (ITA2 supported by ITA1).*

**Figure 7.6. Association with the shortage of space for reindeer**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

“The Nenets”’ ‘representational space’ in this context corresponds with the scheme created by “Gazprom” company on development of Yamal Peninsula field (Gazprom, 2016). On the pictures displayed on the Gazprom website the places where the oil and gas extraction currently happens in Yamal can clearly be seen and this is mainly the Northern part of Yamal where the railroad infrastructure is already constructed or under construction. One of the pictures illustrates how these constructions cross the tundra, the traditional grazing land for the reindeer. The pictures were not reproduced in this thesis because it was not clear whether they are subject to copyright or not.

“The Nenets”’ perceptions are also in line with the findings made, for example, by Golovatin *et al.* (2012), discussed in Chapter 4, according to which oil and gas industry development has been observed to result in constant pasture reductions leading to problems of over-grazing. As he stated, currently about 600 000 reindeer are being grazed on 106 000 km<sup>2</sup> of the Yamal peninsula and “the Nenets” have to use the same pastures twice per season. The findings also

correspond with Marx (Rummel, 1977), Lefebvre (1991), Lanfant, *et al.* (1995), O'Brien & Li's (2006), Wells-Dang's (2010) and Yasarata, *et al.* (2010). According to them, land as a mode of production is in short supply and power struggle might happen over the access to and use of it. Land becomes not only the place where political struggles happen, but the very object of that struggle (Lefebvre, 1991). In these terms, the concept of the political economy of space as utilised in this PhD research study (see Chapter 3) was helpful because it assisted the researcher in her identification of the problem of space scarcity and resulting struggles faced by "the Nenets".

The findings are in contrast to those made by previous researchers, (for example, Westin, *et al.*, 2010; Coates and Poelzer, 2015; Wilson, 2015; Zellen, 2015; Allard and Skogvang, 2016) on the indigenous Sami people in the Nordic context, on indigenous peoples living in Canada, on Maori people in New Zealand and on Inuit tribes of North America, where ongoing battles with the state have been reported over access to land rights. In the case of the Yamal, "the Nenets", due to their specific traditional economic activity, reindeer herding, do not want the land to belong to them. As they coherently state:

*"We don't want the land was privately owned by some reindeer herders, or anybody else, because this would mean the beginning of fight for land. If this happens then the war will start between the clans. This is what we don't want"* (R2 supported by ITA1; ITA2; and the representatives from the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North).

In order to solve the problem, the respondents decided to act. As one of the representatives from "the Nenets" said:

*"What we wanted to achieve that the railway was not constructed here on Yamal"* (R6).

This comment might be interpreted to relate to "the Nenets'" 'spatial practice' which, in turn, is based on 'the Nenets'" 'power within', 'power to' and 'power with' (or 'forms of agency'). However, based on "the Nenets'" opinion, they were powerless to stop the construction of the railway. On the contrary, as one of the respondents stated,

*"We were enforced to interact with Gazprom due to the space limitations"* (R17).

### 7.1.5. Spatiality of power surrounding the relationships between “the Nenets” and Gazprom

Based on “the Nenets” and indigenous travel companies’ ‘representational space’, the actions-interactions undertaken by the representatives from “the Nenets” to try to stop the railway construction using ‘power with’ resulted in Gazprom’s decision to find a compromise with “the Nenets”. In Lefebvre’s (1991) terms, Gazprom intended to manipulate “the Nenets” in a way “to bring about conformance with the edicts of the owners of space” in order to prevent them from causing problems to the expansion of Capitalism (Lefebvre, 1991: 285; Garnett, *et al.*, 2009). The representatives from Gazprom undertook the political action-interaction having opened up the previously ‘closed space’ of the decision-making process for the representatives from “the Nenets”. They organized consultations with “the Nenets” representatives. The situation changed, as noticed by the representatives from “the Nenets”, thanks to the remote, ‘power over’ of the central office of “Gazprom” located in Moscow. This influenced the local office of Gazprom in reaching agreement with the representatives from “the Nenets”:

*“For example, there goes a caravan of cars and a train, and nearby the reindeer herders follow their reindeer in Bovanenkovo. Nowadays they are already live in a tight contact. “The Nenets” already accepted this situation. In Bovanenkovo, they allocated special routes for the reindeer. For “the Nenets” everything is organised there. They have phones. They can make a call and tell that they need to cross the roads today. As a result, the transport will be stopped, the roads will be closed, the reindeer will be able to cross the roads. Once the reindeer crossed the road, the traffic will be restored again” (R17).*

Still, visibly opened up space, as stated by the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel companies, was in reality ‘closed space’, or, in Lefebvre’s (1991) terms, ‘smothered space’, because of the workings of the ‘hidden power of control’ of who gets an access to the meetings and what gets on the agenda (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962; Lefebvre, 1991). As the respondents state:

*“In most of the cases “the Nenets” are not invited to the meetings” (R6 supported by ITA1 and ITA2).*

Those representatives from “the Nenets” who are invited to the meetings, they are powerless to change the situation. This is revealed through the following comments:

*“If he [meaning the representative from Gazprom] said that the railway will be built, it means it will be built, and don’t ask me any questions. What can we say?” (R12);*

*“What can ordinary people do? Who can they complaint about?” (R6);*

*“If those who are in Moscow decided that the railway should be built across the tundra, it will be built by any means” (R12)*

The hidden intentions of the federal government as well as of Gazprom to do everything in order to allow Capitalism expand appear to be explicit to the representatives from “the Nenets”.

The Association of the Indigenous Peoples of the North and the deputies could probably help to solve the issues currently faced and highlighted by “the Nenets”. However, as coherently perceived by the respondents, they are ineffective.

#### **7.1.6. Respondents’ perceptions of the Association of the Indigenous Peoples of the North and of the deputies**

The powerlessness of The Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North in the YNAO and Moscow, and of the “the Nenets” representatives at the local governmental level is perceived on the basis that:

*“They depend on the local government and this dependence is grounded on the fact that they are financially funded by the government...The Association is just a useless organisation as well as the Association of Indigenous People in Moscow. They are funded by the government, whether it is federal or local. So it’s quite clear whose interests they protect” (ITA1 supported by ITA2);*

*“This organisation just does the illusion of civil society. It does not work anymore in accordance with its aims which were initially set when it was just created. I remember those times when the representative from the local government, referring to “the Nenets”, said that everything now depends on us, we should study, should create mechanisms for problems’ solutions and that we should collaborate with the local government on this matter. We were excited about it. However, the time passed as well as people changed. If before the main aims were to*

*protect the environment and improve the socio-economic situation of “the Nenets” then now it is used by the government for its own purposes, for example, when it needs to sign the documents related to land allocation. The main reason is that this organisation does not exist on the basis of membership and contributions paid by its members. It is funded by the government” (R9);*

*“They are ineffective because I think there is probably a pressure on them from the above...I would not rely on them at all. I remember when after school completion the representatives from the Association and the local government told us to go and study at the universities and that on our return we will be employed. However, after the university we were told that we need to find a job by ourselves. So how can we trust these people after all?” (R3);*

*“There is nothing to do with them” (R6);*

*“They just exist, that’s it” (R6 supported by R9 and R2);*

*“They just pretend that they work” (R12);*

Similar perceptions exist in relation to the deputies from “the Nenets” who hold positions at local government level:

*“Those Nenets who became the deputies, they are already not “the Nenets”, they are “the deputies”. Money is most important for them. They straight away forget about who they are and whose interests they should protect. Yet they do not think about the fact that the position they hold is not forever” (ITA1 supported by ITA2);*

*“No, the deputies do not help” (R24);*

*“Those who work for the government do not have their own opinion. They just obediently do what they are told from the above” (PNITO1 supported by PNITO2; PNITO3).*

Moreover, as it can be seen from the comments, like Gazprom, the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North along with the local government appear to use the ‘invisible power’ of ideology to manipulate “the Nenets” in a way “to bring about conformance with the edicts of the owners of space” (Lefebvre, 1991: 285; Garnett, *et al.*, 2009). This power is explicit to the representatives from “the Nenets” rather than implicit. They do not have a whole-hearted belief in the system that dominates them; they recognize the ideology promoted by the government:

*"I remember those times when the representative from the local government, referring to "the Nenets", said that everything now depends on us, we should study, should create mechanisms for problems' solutions and that we should collaborate with the local government on this matter. We were excited about it" (R9);*

*"I remember when after school completion the representatives from the Association and the local government told us to go and study at the universities and that on our return we will be employed" (R3).*

These findings are in line with Scott (1990) and Giddens (1990) according to whom people, in general, learn to be distrustful about received 'truths'. However, the findings differ from the ideas of Marx (1845), Engels (1893), Lukes (1974), Lefebvre (1991) and Gaventa (2004) in that they may be argued to challenge the notion of 'false consciousness' in the shape of 'ideological blindness'. Thus, they challenge the views promoted by tourism scholars such as Pike & Beames (2013) Taylor & Thrift (2013), Cohen (2014), Jordhus-Lier & Underthun (2014), Metro-Roland *et al.* (2014) and Feifan Xie (2015), for example. The findings are also in contrast to advocates of cultural political economy (including: Thrift & Olds 1996; Crang, 1997; Lee & Wills, 1997; Ray & Sayer, 1999; Amin & Thrift, 2000; Ateljevic, 2000; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Ateljevic, *et al.*, 2007) and alternative/post-structural political economists (including: Gibson-Graham, 1996; 1999; 2000; 2006; Dixon & Jones, 2006) (see Chapter 2).

Karl Marx (1845) suggested that people possess 'false consciousness' at the early stages of Capitalism but will develop 'class consciousness', enabling clearer awareness of their situation and their interests at the later stages of Capitalism. However, the findings of this research indicate that the representatives from "the Nenets" and indigenous travel agencies possess consciousness even at the early stages of Capitalism development. In other words, the dependence between the stages of Capitalism development and levels of consciousness or cognizance with 'reality' was not found.

Regarding the role of the NGO in general, (the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North in this case), the findings are also in direct contrast to those made by previous researchers. For instance, AbouAssi *et al.* (2010, 2013) argued that NGOs serve as the anchors of a nation's development initiatives and push for more public engagement in government processes and

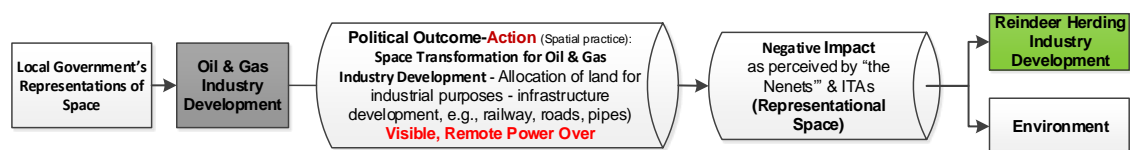
programmes. It was observed that in YNAO, in line with, for instance, Tang (2012) NGOs can influence decision-making on issues only if they can draw on resources which enable them to effectively advance the causes and protect the rights of their constituents. In the present research the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North does not possess the resources needed, it is dependent on the government for financial support and, as a result, the NGO is not considered by the respondents as being able to protect their interests

Returning back to the ‘conditions’ that negatively influence reindeer herding, another key problem, the issue of the unsustainable impact of oil and gas industry development on the environment which, in turn, harmfully impacts reindeer herding, was also not solved.

#### 7.1.7. Unsustainable influence of oil and gas industry development on the environment and as a result on the reindeer herding

According to the ‘representational space’ of the representatives from “the Nenets”, oil and gas industry development not only led to pasture reduction but it also destructively impacted the environment in general which, in turn, adversely influenced reindeer herding (Figure 7.7).

**Figure 7.7: Factors that negatively impact reindeer herding industry development**



Source: The Author, based on the respondents' opinions verified by the official documents, 2016.

As respondents state:

*“Earth rejection is currently happening” (R17);*

*“Our oil and gas companies work at the expense of the nature” (ITA1);*

*“If to take Bovanenkovo field as an example, it is impossible to stop with reindeer closer than 30 km from it. There are poisonous gases there,*

*dangerous for people's and animals' health...Even where the oil rig is closed down, still there are spills that kill fish and seals" (R6);*

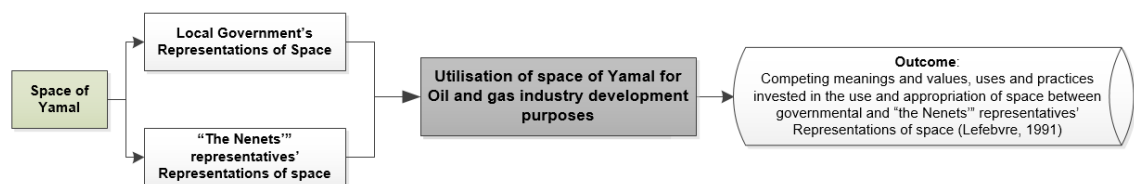
*"Everything is ploughed up...instead of green grass just iron bars protrude. It needs a century to restore the land. Because of the geography of Yamal, it can even go under water" (R6);*

*"Oil and gas industry development negatively influences on the earth, on the nature, even on the reindeer and people. Nowadays the reindeer became very weak" (R14 supported by R13);*

*"My attitude to oil and gas industry development is negative because it spoils nature and occupies our territory" (R11 supported by R4).*

In this context, the dissimilarities in the 'representations of space' between the representatives from "the Nenets" and local government can be seen (Figure 7.8). These are based on competing meanings and values as well as uses and practices invested in the use and appropriation of space (Lefebvre, 1991).

**Figure 7.8: Competing 'representations of space' between the representatives from "the Nenets" and local government (Lefebvre, 1991)**



Source: The Author, based on the 'representational space' of the respondents

The situation, according to the 'representational space' of the representatives from "the Nenets", is complicated under the influence of macro-conditions such as harsh climate which along with the unsustainable, environmentally harmful impacts of oil and gas industry development that directly affect reindeer herding (Figure 7.9).

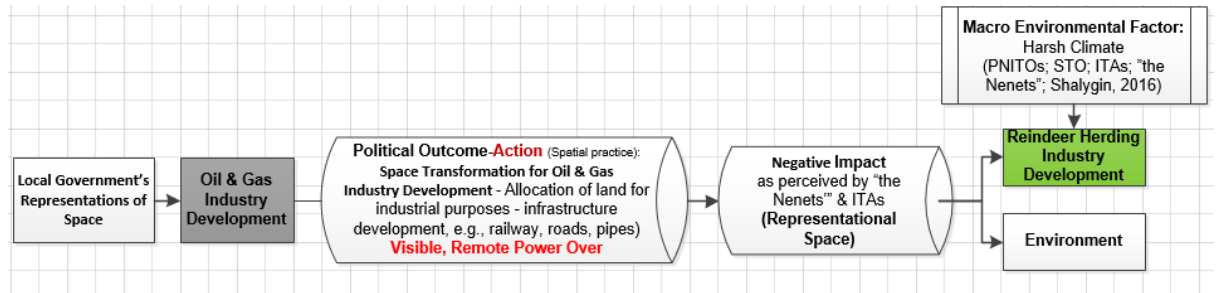
#### **7.1.8. The influence of macro-environmental conditions on reindeer herding**

According to, for example, R17 perception of the weather in Yamal:

*"The weather is very changeable in Yamal, YNAO. If there is ice, or a hot weather, most of the reindeer will die. It was so cold this spring, for*

*example, that lots of calves died. Or when the calves catch a cold and suddenly heat begins, they get a pulmonary disease. It's extremely difficult to grow reindeer. It just seems to be very easy as they run around by themselves, but without care they will die".*

**Figure 7.9: Impact of macro-environmental conditions on reindeer herding**



Source: The Author

This corresponds with Rosbalt's (2014) article according to which:

*"There were more than 30 thousand reindeer killed by hunger in the YNAO in 2014 because of the heavy snowfalls and ice crust during winter that prevented the animals from reaching food, and hot summer when the reindeer did not manage to gain the weight required, and when many pastures were burned due to the fires in tundra."*

It would appear that micro conditions such as pasture reduction and environmental pollution, together with macro conditions such as harsh climatic conditions contribute to economic outcomes and, in this case, reduction of the 'means of production', the number of privately owned reindeer. This reduction of 'capital' (reindeer), in turn, may be seen to trigger negative social changes in "the Nenets" income (equating to 'reduction of resources') and economic activity. "The Nenets" are 'enforced' to enter into the labour market. They often start to work for the state-owned reindeer farm, concentrate on fishing (Figure 7.10), look for an additional source of income relating to the inbound tourism industry, or settle down and look for a job in the settlement (Figure 7.11; 7.12). In other words, the preservation of "the Nenets" culture, customs and traditions is endangered:

*"Construction of the railway across the tundra, of the processing complexes, reduce the pastures. Industrial spills pollute the environment. These factors along with the harsh climate cause the reduction in the*

*number of reindeer and, as a consequence, endanger the existence of the reindeer herding” (R6 supported by R9);*

*“Negative influence of the oil and gas industry development might lead to the reduction in the number of reindeer and as a result, to the end of the reindeer herding” (R6);*

*“The reduction in the number of reindeer might lead to the collapse of the reindeer herding” (R2);*

*“If one of “the Nenets” has less than 100 reindeer, it means he must go to the village and settle down” (PNITO1);*

*“This might mean the end of reindeer herding which in turn might lead to the fact that about 300 Nenets families will have to settle down. They will live in Yar-Sale or somewhere else and will start fishing” (R17);*

*“The Nenets” traditional lifestyle begins to deteriorate. Less and less young Nenets return back to tundra” (R6);*

*“The Nenets” are enforced to relocate and lose that traditional lifestyle they used to, that it is why my attitude to the oil and gas industry development is negative” (R11);*

*“Traditional lifestyle starts to break down now... All went downhill” (R6).*

**Figure 7.10: Fishing**



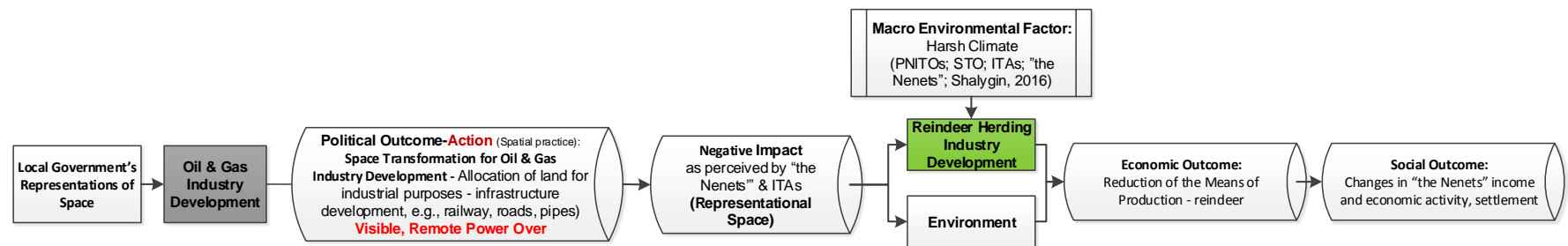
Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

**Figure 7.11: Enforced settlement**



Source: The Author (2013)

**Figure 7.12: Outcome of the influence of micro and macro conditions on reindeer herding and, consequently, on “the Nenets”**



Source: The Author, based on the respondents' opinions verified by the official documents, 2016

This process is similar to the one predicted by Marx & Engels (1848) and Lenin (1899) (see Chapter 4) according to whom because of the small size of the means of production, members of the 'petty-bourgeois', "the Nenets" in this case, are in constant danger of sinking into the 'proletariat' who loses its independence and becomes part of the 'means of production' (Ball *et al.*, 2014), used and discarded as required (Slattery, 2003):

*"The lower strata of the middle class... sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital... is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production"* (for example, processing complexes) (Marx & Engels, 1848: 213; Lenin, 1899: 235).

This also is in line with the ideas of Marxist geographer David Harvey (2003) who argues that the separation of people, "the Nenets" in this case, from their independent means of livelihood (or 'economic alienation' in Lefebvre's (1991) terms) is a continuous process embedded within contemporary (global) Capitalism, referring to this process as 'accumulation by dispossession'. This process, as stated by Lefebvre (1991), is rooted in historical processes such as state capitalism development. In the case of YNAO this began after the Russian Revolution in 1917 (see Chapter 4) and is still taking place nowadays.

One outcome arising from "the Nenets'" alienation from the land and their 'means of production' is that they are forced to settle down or to search for employment in the settlement or to seek additional income through participation in tourism industry development. A process similar to this one has been observed and highlighted in the research findings of Davydov *et al.* (2006), in the neighbouring Nenets Autonomous okrug where the intensive commercial exploitation resulted in industrial pollution and the reduction of suitable grazing pastures for reindeer.

The negative influences of oil and gas industry development on "the Nenets'" traditional economic activity, reindeer herding, were foreseen by Borodina (2013) and official documents.

Some of the key concerns presented include:

*“A great danger for the reindeer pastures represents the industrial development which along with the construction of roads and railways will lead to the reduction of pastures, which in turn will enforce some of “the Nenets” to settle down. The industrial exploration of Yamal will also might worsen the environmental situation in the region”* (“The Programme for the intergrated development of the Yamal Peninsula and adjacent water areas up to 2030” (Gazprom, 2015); “The State programme of socio-economic development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation for the period until the year 2020” (Decree of the Russian Government of April 21, 2014, №366).

*“An intensive industrial development of the territory of Yamal resulted in the pollution and environmental degradation”* (Article 3.4 of “The Strategy of Socio-Economic Development of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug to 2020”).

The only solution to the problem as officially expressed by the local government is to find settled Nenets a job in the settlement(s) or to provide additional sources of income for those Nenets who are still leading a traditional nomadic lifestyle but possess a small number of reindeer. Yet, as highlighted by the representatives from “the Nenets” in this study, it is challenging to find a job at the settlement in Yamal due to competition with migrant workers from former Russian republics where unemployment rates are high and economic development options are limited (Figure 7.13).

#### **7.1.9. Spatiality of power surrounding the problem of unemployment faced by “the Nenets” in Yar-Sale, Yamal.**

According to the coherent ‘representational space’ of the representatives from “the Nenets” *“the youth and settled Nenets currently face a problem of unemployment”* (R3 supported by R17). As R10 and R9 state respectively *“there is no job in Yar-Sale in accordance with my qualification.”* *“It’s very hard to find a job now.”*

One of the key reasons cited for limited employment prospects is an increased flow of migrants to Yamal:

*“Don’t know. May be because there are a lot of migrants to Yamal”* (R8);

*“For some reason most of “the Nenets” are not being employed. For example, there are specialists in construction among “the Nenets”, but they are unemployed because of the migrants from the former Russian*

*republics being brought into Yamal, such as Tajiks, Abkhazians...cheap labour” (ITA1 supported by R1; R6; R9);*

*“Some of “the Nenets” return back after completion of their education, but everything is occupied. There is no job for them because of the specialists brought into Yamal from other regions. Thus [as a social outcome], they are enforced to look for a job somewhere else” (R7);*

*“I even did not try to apply for a job at the construction company, I just asked whether they have any vacancies available or not, because I knew that they will not take me. They rather bring the workers in from other regions than employ “the Nenets” (R32).*

**Figure 7.13: Migrant workers in the construction sphere in Yar-Sale**



Source: The Author

The ‘representational space’ of the representatives from “The Nenets” and indigenous travel companies corresponds with the *“Strategy of Socio-Economic Development of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug to 2020”* (Decree of the Legislative Assembly of the YNAO from 21.05.2014 N° 2076 from 17.12.2014). It is in line with the serious problems with employment that those Nenets who live in rural localities face because of the high number of migrants arriving to the region, attracted by the job opportunities and the level of salaries. In 2015, the

percentage shares of arrivals from the former republics of the Russian Federation to Yamal were: Ukraine – 45.0%; Tajikistan – 11.4%; Kyrgyzstan – 9.8%; Azerbaijan – 8.7%; Belarus – 7.1%, Uzbekistan – 7.6%; Moldova – 5.4%; Kazakhstan – 2.7%; Armenia – 2.3% (Chief Federal Inspector of YNAO, 2016; The Department of Social Protection of Population, 2015).

The situation of in-migration is intensified due to the fact that where opportunity allows these migrants tend to employ their friends and relatives. In other words, 'power of kinship and friendship' takes place:

*"There was a local policeman, the representative from one of the nationality of the former Russian republic who hardly spoke Russian. He brought all of his relatives here" (R24).*

The 'representational space' of the representatives from "the Nenets" in this context is coherent with the 'representational space' of the representatives from the non-indigenous population:

*"Even for a doctor it is hard to make a career here. Most of the vacancies are occupied by Tatars and Kyrgyz. They employ only their friends and relatives. That is why we had to move to Salekhard" (R27).*

Additionally, the 'representational space' of the representatives from "The Nenets" and non-indigenous population is coherent with the information provided by the migrants to Yamal, with whom the interviewer had an informal conversation, and photographic material collected during the field work (see Figure 7.13; 7.14).

*"I arrived to Yar-Sale half of the year ago from Kyrgyzstan because my relatives live here" (R30);*

*"I arrived from Karachay-Cherkessia. Most of the shop keepers here are from Karachay-Cherkessia. All the shops on the second floor of this mall are owned by them. There is nobody from "the Nenets" (R31).*

**Figure 7.14. Migrants in Yar-Sale, Yamal**



Source: The Author

The main reason given by the representatives from “the Nenets” and non-indigenous population as to why migrant workers are employed rather than “the Nenets” is the existence of governmental law. *“The Labour code, article 316, of the Government of the Russian Federation approved by order of Labour of the RSFSR of 22 November 1990, no. 2”* states that the additional coefficients such as the “North payroll allowance” equal to 80% and the “Regional Coefficient” should be paid to persons working in the far North and similar areas (Salekhard Municipality, 2012). These factors were highlighted by respondents:

*“Nowadays mainly immigrants such as Tajiks, Armenians, Kirghiz work in the construction sphere here” ... “This is a fact. You will not find an employed Nenets here. I would rather employ 100 Tajiks than “the Nenets” because I will not have to pay them additional coefficients on top of their salaries” (R17);*

*“Because it is not beneficial for the employer to pay extra coefficients to “the Nenets” original salary” (R1);*

*“Here is there are lots of immigrants from the former Russian republics. It’s not bad, but it’s impossible to pour more than 200 ml of water into a 200 ml cup. It will start splashing out. Negative sides start to appear. For example, there are lots of employees from Kurgan in the sphere of education. They captured everything. As a result, they employ only their friends, relatives...There are lots of immigrants from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, for whom 5000 Russian Rubles [equivalent to £50 British Sterling Pounds] per month is a real wealth. However, if “the Nenets” is hired, then in line with the law, he must be paid various coefficients in addition to their main salary” (R9).*

In other words, the space of employment for “the Nenets” living in Yar-Sale is not ‘open space’, it is ‘closed’ or ‘smothered’ space (Lefebvre, 1991). The local employers appear to have use ‘hidden power’ to recruit only those who they benefit most from (immigrants for whom income coefficients do not have to be paid). This resistance or ‘created space’ appears to be based on the absence of visible, remote power of Federal and local government control. In this respect the findings may be recognized to be in line with Karl Marx, according to whom *“capitalists maximise their profits by paying workers less than the resale value of what they produce but do not own”* (Kendall, 2008: 220). The results are also consistent with the ideas of Lefebvre (1991) who stated that not every place is marked by the existence of power, supported by the noted absence of ‘remote power’ of the federal and local government in the case of Yamal.

The problem of unemployment (a micro-social factor) is not perceived by the representatives from “the Nenets” as the issue which just happened recently. It is linked to the outcome of a ‘macro-historical condition’, the collapse of the Soviet Union triggering the country’s transition from Socialism to Capitalism and an unstable socio-economic situation. Respondents acknowledged the impact of this ‘macro-historical condition’:

*“The sovkhos (or state-owned farms) were closed down and people faced the problem of unemployment”. “Even now, look at how many people are unemployed” (R14);*

*“That is why my sons went to tundra to keep doing reindeer herding” (ITA2);*

*“Possession of reindeer means independence, freedom and stability”* (R1 supported by R2; R4; R6; R9; R14; R17; R24; ITA1);

*“When you don’t live in tundra there is a feeling of something missing because there you are independent from everything. The most comforting feeling is the fact that you are not dependent on anybody or anything”* (R6);

*“If you want to go somewhere – you go, if you don’t want to go – you stay. If it’s cold, you are staying at home”* (R24);

*“People who used to this lifestyle will be unable to settle down even if they are old”* (R9 supported by R24).

In this respect “the Nenets” ‘representations of space’ correspond with Vladimir Lenin according to whom *“the peasantry wants land and freedom”* (Lenin, 1962: 382).

However, even in the reindeer herding industry, according to “the Nenets”, private reindeer herders’ ‘representational space’, they face a host of obstacles caused by the local government’s ‘representations’ of reindeer herding industry development.

#### **7.1.10. Local government’s ‘representations of reindeer herding industry development’**

In line with the coherent ‘representational space’ of respondents from all stakeholder groups, under the impact of Capitalism expansion and the current political regime, state capitalism is recognized to be interested in opening up new and profitable avenues of investment (Harvey, 2005). The local government is concentrated not only on oil and gas industry development but on reindeer herding industry development as well. As respondents state:

*“Reindeer herding is a governmentally subsidised industry”* (R1 supported by R2; PNITO1; PNITO2);

*“The Nenets” are usually supplied by the Agro-industrial department of YNAO with everything what they need to maintain reindeer herding”* (PNITO1 supported by PNITO2).

Their opinions correspond with the State programme of Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug *“Development of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Regulation of Markets of agricultural products, raw materials and food for the period of 2014-*

2020” (approved by the government of YNAO from November 26, 2013, N 964-p). They are also in line with Articles 3.2.4 and 3.5 of *The strategy of Socio-Economic Development of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug to 2020*” (Decree of the Legislative Assembly of the YNAO from 21.05.2014 N° 2076 from 17.12.2014) according to which reindeer herding is “the Nenets” traditional economic activity and its preservation and development is one of the main aims of these programmes.

In this context, the local government’s ‘representations’ of reindeer herding industry development and, linked to it, transformation of space (or ‘spatial practice’ - Lefebvre, 1991) reflect the federal government’s ‘representations of space’.

In order to develop the reindeer herding industry, the state-owned reindeer farm started collaborating with the foreign companies interested in the export of reindeer meat from Yamal. As stated by one of the respondents from “the Nenets”:

*“The local state-owned reindeer farm got an access to the export potential” (R1).*

This, in turn, resulted in the presence of:

*“the obligations of the local state-owned reindeer farm on meat supply at the international level, for example, France, Germany” and, as a consequence, “the process of slaughtering to be undertaken in accordance with the European standards” (ITA2 supported by ITA1).*

According to the European Union Food Hygiene Regulations on meat processing and veterinary control, the process of slaughtering as well as veterinary control should be undertaken at the slaughterhouse(-s) specially equipped for these purposes (Regulations (EC) 852/2004; Directive 2004/41/EC; European Commission, 2004). As an outcome,

*“The processing complexes did not exist before in Yamal” (R1)*

but

*“starting from 2000 there were built a few state-owned reindeer meat processing complexes in Yamal” (ITA2 supported by ITA1).*

In order to ensure the compliance of “the Nenets” with the ‘transformation of space’ of Yamal, the local government used the ‘hidden power’ of ideology. As one of the respondents stated:

*“The reindeer meat processing complexes were built to ease the process of slaughtering and to reduce the queues” (ITA2 supported by ITA1).*

It appears to be that the ‘hidden power’ of ideology is rather explicit to “the Nenets” than implicit.

The coherent ‘representational space’ of the representatives from “the Nenets” and indigenous travel agencies in this context corresponds with the Article 3.2.4 of the *“Strategy of Socio-Economic Development of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug to 2020”* in line with which during the period until 2020 there will be constructed five processing complexes on the territory of Tazovsky, Nadym, Priuralsky and Yamal, YNAO.

Moreover,

*“from now on the slaughtered meat should be certified in accordance with the European standards. This can only be done at the municipal enterprise “Yamalskie Oleni” (R17 supported by R24);*

*“All reindeer should be slaughtered at this enterprise” (R17).*

As a consequence, as perceived by the respondents, the previously ‘open space’ to slaughter reindeer in tundra closed down. In their opinion, this happened due to the political power of law approved by the local government in 2012 (an example of visible governmental ‘power over’ using the political power of law):

*“If before we could slaughter reindeer in tundra, now, in accordance with the law issued in 2012, “the Nenets” must slaughter reindeer only at the processing complexes such as “Yamalskie Oleni” (ITA2 supported by ITA1; R14).*

Additionally,

*“those private reindeer herders who are not registered as entrepreneurs or not members of the community, artificially created by the local government, or of any municipal organization, they are not eligible to slaughter their reindeer at the processing complexes” (ITA2 supported by ITA1; R14);*

*“As an [economic] result, private reindeer herders, irrespectively whether they officially registered or not, lost their direct access to the market, as a consequence, to the profit because the slaughtered meat becomes the property of the monopolist, municipal enterprise “Yamalskie Oleni”. The only return “the Nenets” get is the income from the slaughtered reindeer at the processing complexes. They get a fixed payment, 180 Russian Rubles, per kilogram of the slaughtered reindeer (which equals to about £2 British Pounds/kg)” (ITA2 supported by ITA1).*

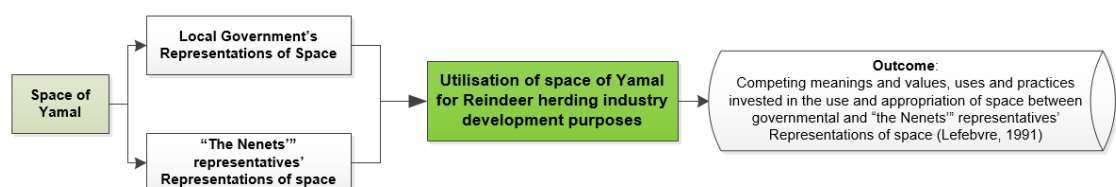
Furthermore,

*“If I slaughter my reindeer in tundra and sell the meat directly to somebody, I will not get the governmental subsidy. If I’m not registered as entrepreneur or as a member of the community, or of any municipal enterprise, I will also not get the governmental subsidy, social benefits and pension once I retire” (ITA2 supported by ITA1).*

This finding correspondence with the *Discussion of the law’s draft “On Reindeer herding in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug”* (The Legislative Assembly of YNAO, 2016).

As a result, the representatives from “the Nenets” express their dissatisfaction with the way the local government develops the reindeer herding industry and transform the space of Yamal. This appears to be the dissimilarities between the ‘representations of space’ of “the Nenets” and of the local government on reindeer herding industry development (Figure 7.15).

**Figure 7.15: Disconformity between the ‘representations of space’ of “the Nenets” and the local government on reindeer herding industry development (Lefebvre, 1991)**



Source: The Author

According to respondents, the main reason for the space being closed down by the local government is *“the governmental obligations on meat supply to the foreign companies”* and linked to it *“the governmental protection of the state-*

*owned big producers [meaning the state-owned reindeer farm “Yamalskie Oleni”] responsible for fulfilment of these obligations”* (ITA2 supported by ITA1).

The respondents’ ‘representational space’ on this matter corresponds with the governmental laws:

- *“Rules of Veterinary Inspection of animals and veterinary-sanitary examination of meat and meat products”, approved by the General Directorate of Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR, December 27, in 1983, according to which private reindeer herders must slaughter reindeer meat at the state-owned processing complexes;*
- *“The Order and Terms of State Support of Agribusiness” approved by the Decision of the Government of the YNAO in February 25, 2013 N 94-P, in line with which private reindeer herders should be registered as entrepreneurs or be members of the community to be able to slaughter reindeer at the state-owned processing complexes.*

As a result, “the Nenets” are ‘enforced’ to become entrepreneurs or the members of the communities or enterprises. Having become a member of the community, “the Nenets” are obliged to supply meat in accordance with the norms set by the contract. In other words, as one of the respondents expressed, *“Today, the private herders’ hand and foot are bind”* (ITA2 supported by ITA1).

Still, due to the bureaucracy relating to the amount of forms to fill in to report on the work done and the low profit “the Nenets” get while working as the members of the community, some of “the Nenets” decided to exercise a form of resistance. They terminated their membership of the community using ‘power to’ which, in turn, is based on ‘power within’ (see Chapter 6). This, in turn, may be identified to be grounded on the influence of the macro–historical, economic factor - the possession of the ‘means of production’, in this case, reindeer:

*“We simply couldn’t overcome the amount of paperwork, banking, accounting, tax reports, we had to complete to report on the work done. In other words, reindeer breeding mainly consisted of paperwork”* (R13);

*“The profit we got was incomparable with the amount of work we had to do”* (ITA1 supported by R13; R24).

The action may also be recognized to be a social outcome and personal outcome:

*“Some of the communities decided to terminate their activity”* (ITA1 supported by ITA2);

*“Like me”* (R13);

*“I don’t want to become a member of the community. Why should I? I don’t want either to be controlled by or to be dependent on anybody. It’s better if I’m on my own, independent from anybody, if I’m an owner to myself so I could decide how many reindeer I should slaughter and sell”* (R14).

The processes that currently take place in reindeer herding, likewise in oil and gas industry development in Yamal are in line with Lefebvre’s (1991) concept of ‘social space production’. According to him, the local government, following the directive of the federal government, creates an economic space of reindeer herding development in a way that it serves the economic goals of Capitalism expansion. The growth of the local economy is linked to the transformation of space, the construction of reindeer meat processing complexes in this case. Using political power of law, the local government controls the commodification and bureaucratisation of the reindeer herders’ everyday lives, namely making space ordered in such a way as to govern it most efficiently (Sharp, 2009) (see Chapter 3). This led the space of the everyday to become constrained, regulated, framed, ordered and thus, dominated by the economy and the authority and power of the local government. The local government’s ‘representations of space’ here function as technologies of control, discipline and power. Control of ‘representations of space’ is also expressed in the ideologies promoted (Lefebvre, 1976). For instance, the underlined ideas in respondent quotations:

*“construction of reindeer meat processing complexes will ease the process of slaughtering and will reduce the queues”* (ITA2 supported by ITA1);

*“creation of communities will ease the process of reindeer slaughtering”* (ITA2 supported by ITA1).

It may be considered that it is hoped by the representatives from the local government that these ideologies will help to maintain the dominance of the

local government's interests (and, as a result, also the federal government's concerns) (Lefebvre, 1968).

However, the ideology promoted by the local government is explicit to "the Nenets" rather than implicit. These discoveries are in line with Giddens (1990) and Scott (1990) according to whom people in general learnt to be distrustful about received 'truths'. Yet, they are different from the ideas of Marx (1845), Engels (1893), Lukes (1974), Lefebvre (1991) and Gaventia (2004). As a result, they are dissimilar to proponents of 'false consciousness' (in the shape of ideological blindness) as promoted by some tourism scholars nowadays for example: Pike & Beames (2013); Taylor & Thrift (2013); Cohen (2014); Jordhus-Lier & Underthun (2014); Metro-Roland *et al.* (2014); and Feifan Xie (2015). They also differ from the views of advocates of cultural political economy, including: Thrift & Olds, 1996; Crang, 1997; Lee & Wills, 1997; Ray & Sayer, 1999; Amin & Thrift, 2000; Ateljevic, 2000; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Ateljevic *et al.*, 2007). This is also the case with respect to alternative/post-structural political economists such as: Gibson-Graham, 1996; 1999; 2000; 2006; Dixon & Jones, 2006 (see Chapter 2).

Unlike Karl Marx (1845) who believed that people possess 'false consciousness' at the early stages of Capitalism, but will develop 'class consciousness' (clearer awareness of their situation and their interests), at the later stages of Capitalism, this PhD research suggest otherwise. It may be argued that it demonstrates that the representatives from "the Nenets" and indigenous travel agencies possess consciousness even at the early stages of Capitalism development. In other words, dependence between the stages of Capitalism development and 'false consciousness' was not supported.

As far, as the creation of communities is concerned, the findings are dissimilar to, for instance, Töennies (1887) and Macionis & Gerber (2010) who believe that whether the indigenous community represents a community or not depends on modernization brought to the region. The findings of this PhD suggest that this is the traditional economic activity that determines the existence or absence of solidarity amongst the indigenous people belonging to the same nationality. As Respondent 9 stated:

*“The Nenets” never ever been a community due to the isolated lifestyle which, in turn, is a result of the historically developed economic activity, reindeer herding, with the rule not to cross somebody’s migration routes”.* This view is supported by Respondents: 3; 4; 9; and 24.

*“They were enforced to become a part of the community, of something which was artificially created by the government” (R9).*

Despite the fact that “the Nenets” do not represent a community, they still support each other especially if they belong to a particular family clan. As respondents highlight:

*“we always help our relatives in tundra to slaughter reindeer” (R2 supported by R3; R6; R7);*

*“the mutual support does exist as well as the sense of belongings to the same nationality” (R2 supported by ITA1 and ITA2);*

*“we always help each other” (R2);*

*“we have a sense of belongings to the same family clan” (R2);*

*“there is a bond between us” (R2);*

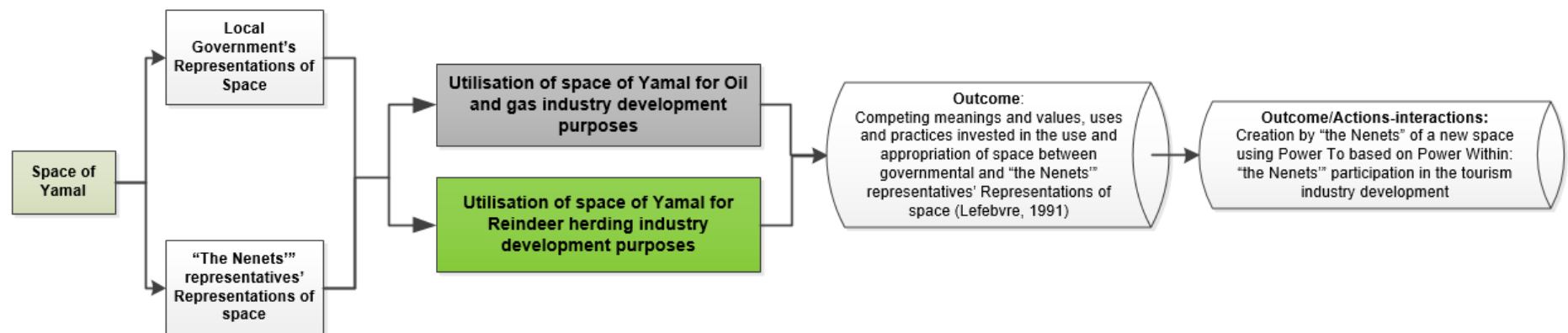
*“we are all relatives” (R2 supported by R3; R5; R7).*

Regarding the economic process of separation of the private reindeer herders from their independent means of livelihood (‘economic alienation’ in Lefebvre’s, 1991 terminology) the resources such as land, reindeer and final product (reindeer meat), and the political process of consolidation of power in the hands of the local government, are parts of the process embedded within contemporary (global) Capitalism. This process involves the incorporation of the peasantry into mechanisms of state power (Lefebvre, 1991; Wilson, 2011). Consecutively, as stated by Karl Marx in his ‘Theory of Primitive Accumulation’ (Marx, 1887), Lefebvre (1991), Marxist geographer David Harvey (2003) and Blackledge (2006) this is rooted in historical processes such as state capitalism development. In Russia this began after the revolution in 1917 (see Chapter 4), but the process was modified during the period of ‘Perestroika’ in accordance with the changed political economy regime.

In line with the thinking of Lefebvre (1991), Dierwechter (2001), Gaventa & Cornwall (2001), Gaventa (2006) and Sharp (2009), some of the private reindeer herders reported that they subvert this planned and dominating picture through *“termination of membership of the communities”* (ITA1 supported by

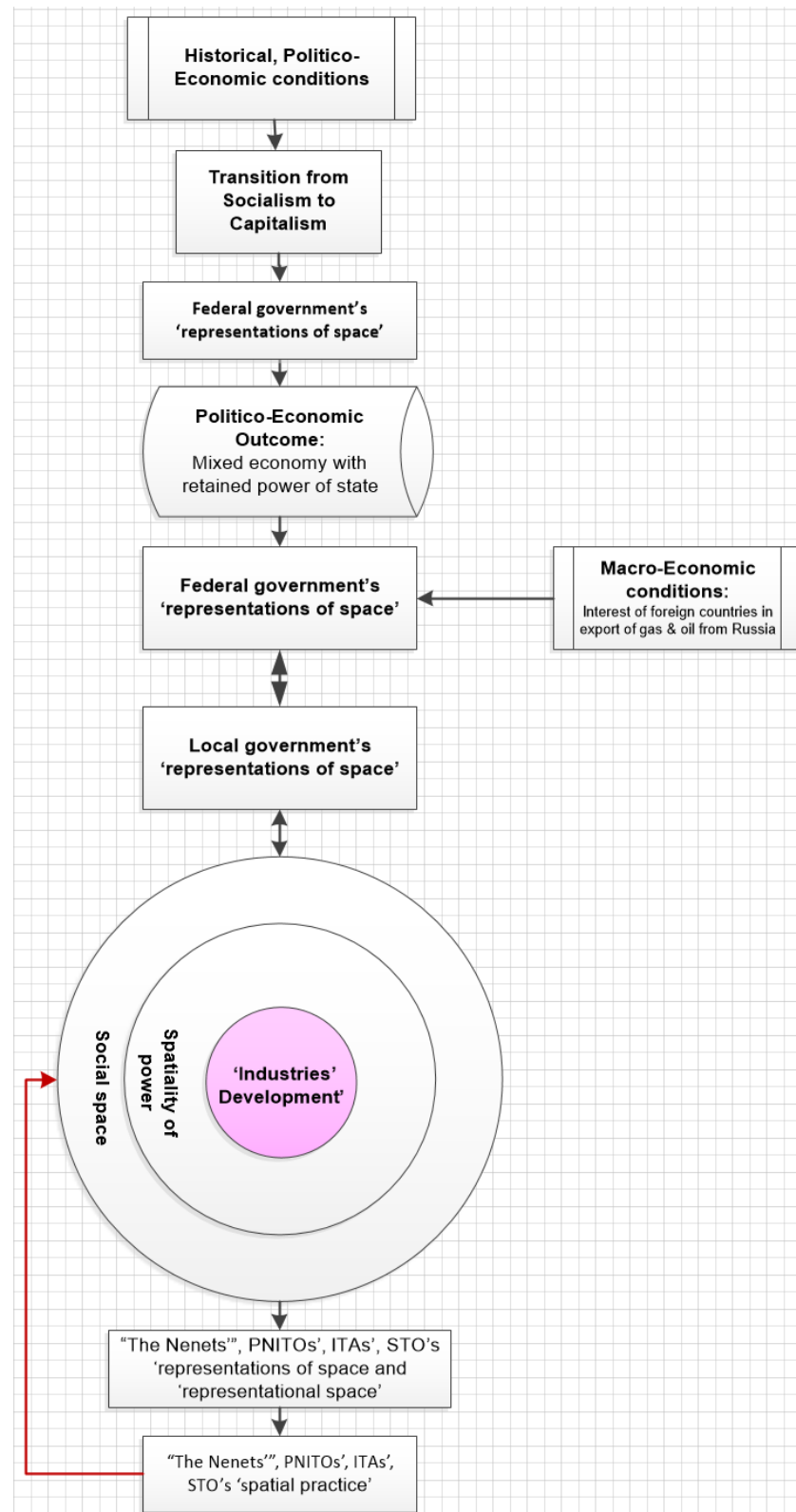
R13; R14). They also disrupt the process through the creation of new spaces, such as participation in tourism industry development, due to their competing meanings and values as well as the uses and practices invested in the employment and appropriation of space (Figure 7.16 and 7.17, the red arrow demonstrates “the Nenets” actions contributing to the spatiality of power surrounding the development of industries). The ‘expressions of power’ (or ‘forms of agency’ - VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002) used by the private reindeer herders in this process are ‘power to’ which is based on the ‘power within’ which sequentially is grounded on the possession of the ‘means of production’, reindeer. Hence, spaces of power refer here not only to ‘closed spaces’ protected by dominant powers, but also to spaces ‘claimed’ or ‘created’ by the Nenets (Lefebvre, 1991).

**Figure 7.16: Competing ‘representations of space’ between the representatives from “the Nenets” and local government**



Source: The Author

**Figure 7.17: “The Nenets”” ‘spatial practice’: the creation of new spaces using ‘power to’**



Source: The Author

#### 7.1.11. Reasons for “the Nenets” participation in inbound tourism industry development

Based on the coherent or shared ‘representational space’ of the representatives from “the Nenets”, their decision to participate in inbound tourism industry development was triggered by their dissatisfaction with the federal and local government’s ‘representations of space utilisation and transformation’ for oil and gas and reindeer herding industries development in Yamal. In other words, decisions were influenced by the competing meanings and values as well as uses and practices put in in the use and appropriation of space (Lefebvre, 1991) in Yamal. Under the impact of Capitalism expansion, this resulted in the space of the everyday becoming constrained, regulated, framed, ordered and thus, dominated by the economy and the authority and power of the local government. As an outcome of this, representatives from “the Nenets” chose to resist (Young, 1990; Dierwechter, 2001; Larsen, 2006) and subvert this planned and dominating picture by creating a new space through participation in inbound tourism industry development.

As one of the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies stated:

*“I wouldn’t say that the private reindeer herders are satisfied with the current socio-economic, political and environmental situation” (R2).*

That is why according to the coherent ‘representational space’ of the representatives from “the Nenets”, private indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, the tourism industry was perceived to be non-threatening. As one of the respondents said:

*“The Nenets” attitude to tourism industry is just positive because it doesn’t steal from “the Nenets”, doesn’t invade “the Nenets” land, it doesn’t change their lives” (R11 supported by R4; R14);*

In this context, this finding is similar to the findings made by Swarbrooke (1999) and Dé Ishtar (2005) on indigenous Australians.

Moreover, the tourism industry is perceived by respondents as the only source which can bring “the Nenets” an additional income and employment. As one of the respondents highlighted:

*“This is the only sphere in the region that can bring “the Nenets” an additional income and employment” (R2 supported by R3; R4; R13; R17; R24; ITA1; ITA2; PNITO1; PNITO2).*

The profit that the participation in inbound tourism industry development brings to some of “the Nenets” is perceived by respondents as quite considerable. As one of the representatives from ITA1 stated:

*“Every tourist pays between 35 000 - 45 000 Russian Rubles per week (equals to between £ 350-450 British pounds). This is a very good profit. It is incomparable with the earnings in the reindeer herding industry.”*

This finding is in line with Mitina (2011) and Zolotukhina (2016) who noticed that the salary of “the Nenets” women working in the chum (a year-round shelter for reindeer herders, Figure 7.18) or of the reindeer herders working for the state-owned reindeer farm is very low. The monthly salary of a chum-worker is only 15 000 Russian Rubles per month (equals to £150 British Pounds), of the reindeer herder - less than 30 000 Russian Rubles per month (equals to less than £300 British Pounds).

**Figure 7.18: “The Nenets” women working in chum**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

This is in line with the findings made by, for example, Dé Ishtar (2005) on indigenous Australians, Snyder & Stonehouse (2007) on indigenous people in Polar Regions or Iankova & Hassan (2016) on indigenous people in Canada, according to which the main interest the indigenous people express in relation to their participation in tourism industry development is the economic one.

As respondents coherently highlight:

*“Nobody is yet refused from money” (R4);*

*“Money is the main “Nenets” interest” (R17);*

*“If people can earn extra money, why not?” (R9);*

*“If I know that I’ll earn money then I’ll host tourists, I’ll take care of them. Otherwise there is no reason just to waste my time” (R13).*

In these terms, the respondents perceive “the Nenets” to be spoiled by money.

As respondents state:

*“The Nenets” are already spoiled, but not because of tourism, because of money and the relationships built on them” (R4 supported by R6);*

*“Look around. What can you see now? Even if we take oil and gas industry development as an example, there are lots of rich people in this sphere and big money as well as in the settlement, Yar-Sale. Look at how “the Nenets” changed. They already started to understand that nothing is possible without money. If before [meaning the Soviet period of time] “the Nenets” could barter fish on everything they required then now [meaning Capitalism] they need to sell something in order to buy something. Unfortunately, everything became measured by money. As a result, “the Nenets” were enforced to accustom themselves to this type of life” (R3; supported by R4);*

The same perception is expressed in relation to the tourism industry:

*“If before [meaning the Soviet period of time] “the Nenets” could show you everything without expecting anything in return. Now [meaning Capitalism] they do everything just for money... If money is paid, then everything can be demonstrated” (R13).*

These findings are different from, for example, Markova & Gillespie (2008), who stated that people develop greed “through contact with tourist money” (Markova & Gillespie, 2008: 148). However, they are in line with Lefebvre’s (1976) beliefs

according to which this is actually Capitalism, that the tourism industry is part of, colonized not only its location – ‘social space’ - but also “the Nenets” everyday lives.

However, despite the acknowledged power of money, *“not all of “the Nenets” in Yamal agree to participate in inbound tourism industry development”* (R17 supported by R25; STO – state-owned tour operator). In this respect the study findings are dissimilar to those made by, for instance, Girard & Nijkamp (2009: 50) who observe tourism to become a *“monoculture, abandonment of traditional economic activities”* or Dé Ishtar (2005: 219) in whose view indigenous people agree to partake in tourism industry development even *“to the detriment of their cultural integrity.”*

#### **7.1.12. Reasons for “the Nenets” disagreement to participate in inbound tourism industry development**

As commonly highlighted by the respondents, “the Nenets” who are unwilling to contribute to tourism industry development tend to be those, who:

*“Own a big herd of reindeer, around 1500-2000, which supplies them with the income high enough to source them with everything they need”* (ITA2 supported by ITA1; R1; R2);

*or*

*“Work for the state-owned reindeer farm and as a result, do not have time and place available to host the tourists”* (STO supported by ITA1; ITA2; R17);

Moreover, under the impact of the ‘macro-historical, economic and cultural factor’, isolated lifestyle is connected to the traditional economic activity of reindeer herding. For example, “the Nenets” in general:

*“do not like the strangers”* (ITA1 supported by ITA2; R25);

*“This is not in “the Nenets” traditions to accommodate the strangers, even other Nenets”. They used to be hosted outside of the chum. If “the Nenets” arrived at night, it wasn’t in tradition to wake the owner of the chum up. “The Nenets” had to spend the night in his sledge”* (R24; 25; 29).

Furthermore, if tourism becomes a mass tourism industry then even those Nenets who agreed to contribute to tourism industry development stated that they will have to stop participating in tourism development. In other words, they will 'close the space'. "The Nenets'" power to 'close the space' appears to be based on their 'power to' which, in turn, is grounded on 'power within'. Consecutively, 'power within' is based on the possession of the 'means of production', reindeer. As respondents stated:

*"If tourism becomes a mass one then tourists will only distract "the Nenets" from their main economic activity, reindeer herding" (R10 supported by R17; R13; R14);*

*"They will only start annoying us and this will result in rejection to host the tourists" (R13 supported by R14; R17; PNITO 1; PNITO2; ITA1; ITA2);*

*"The fewer tourists come, the better" (R13).*

This is consistent with, for example, Collins (2000: 29), according to whom tourism industry development might lead to *"the tensions between tourism and agriculture"* (Collins, 2000: 29) and rejection of the indigenous people from tourism (for instance, see Verner, 2009).

As a result, the representatives from "the Nenets" expressed their satisfaction with the fact that tourism in Yamal is at its initial stage of development and thus, characterised by a small number of tourists arriving to the region (Butler, 1980). One respondent for example directly remarked, *"the less tourists come, the better"* (R13).

This information, as well as the observable 'power over' of "the Nenets" to refuse to contribute to inbound tourism industry development, is coherently verified by the representatives from private, indigenous travel agencies (Figure 7.19) in line with whom:

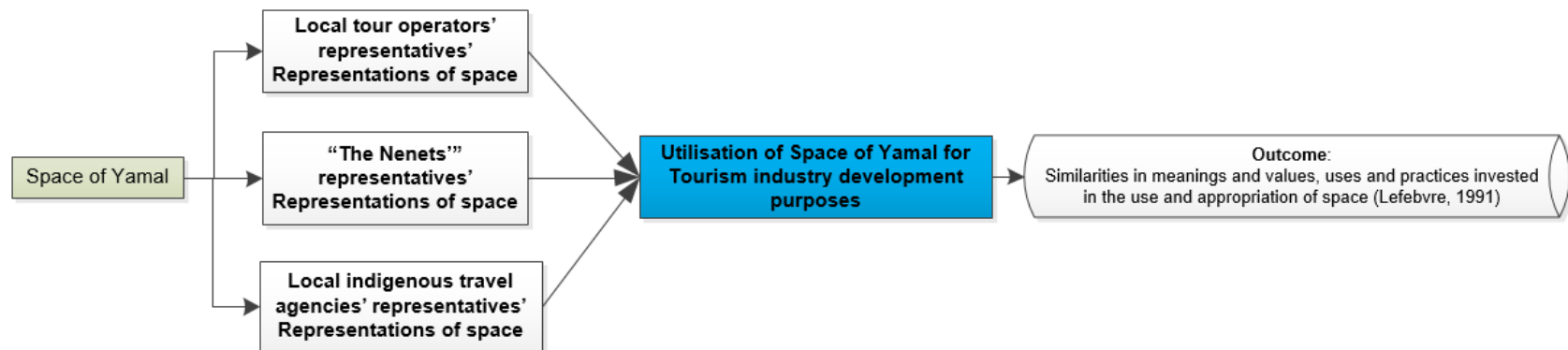
*"In order not to annoy "the Nenets" and not to distract them from their main economic activity, reindeer herding, we allocate the tourists among a few Nenets families" (ITA1 supported by ITA2);*

*"Tourists usually live in a separate chum" (ITA1);*

*“We don’t bring a lot of tourists. On average we have two groups of tourists per three months” (ITA2);*

*“We have one to two groups of representatives from a TV channel per year and two-three groups of tourists per summer. In total around twelve groups of tourists per year” (ITA1).*

**Figure 7.19: Similarities in the ‘representations’ of tourism industry development between the representatives from “the Nenets”, local private non-indigenous tour operators and indigenous travel agencies**



Source: The Author

However, the fact that the tourism industry is in its initial stages of development is not solely explained by the unwillingness of some of “the Nenets” to participate in inbound tourism industry development nor by the desire of the representatives from indigenous travel agencies “*not to annoy “the Nenets”*” (ITA1).

On the contrary, the inbound tourism industry in Yamal is underdeveloped due to the local government’s ‘representations of space’ as jointly perceived by the other stakeholder groups in this study.

#### **7.1.13. Local government’s ‘representations of inbound tourism industry development’ in Yamal**

According to the coherent ‘representational space’ of the representatives from “the Nenets”, private indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, inbound tourism industry development is immature because the local government lacks understanding of the importance of inbound tourism industry development for the region. This is possibly the outcome of history, discussed in Chapter 4 (also see, for instance, Lefebvre, 1991; Clancy, 1999; Reed, 1999; Lieven & Goossens, 2011, on the role of history in present discussed in Chapter 3). During the Soviet period, the tourism industry was conceived as a non-productive industry, based on the ideology and political economy regime promoted during that time (Burns, 1998). As a consequence, it is perhaps unsurprising that the respondents consistently claimed:

*“Everybody shouts that they are interested in tourism industry development, but they do not understand to what degree yet, what to do with it and what to do in general. First of all, they need to read this book. It lies on the table in the local administration for a long period of time and nobody read it. Why does it lie unread?”* (PNITO2);

*“There is no overall concept, clearly formulated positioning of the region and of the product to be promoted”* (PNITO1 supported by PNITO2);

*“There is a programme developed in relation to tourism industry development but the present leaders in our local government do not know yet where we should move. In other words, they do not understand what to do and how”* (PNITO2);

*“The previous team of the previous local Governor at least invited a specialist from Austria who developed a plan of actions on tourism*

*industry development. However, the representatives of the current Governor do not use it. Don't know why" (PNITO2).*

It may be, as presumed by one of the representatives from the private indigenous travel agencies that a reason lies in the primacy of oil and gas industry development for the local governor over inbound tourism industry development (suggesting the influence of the 'macro-economic factor' on 'micro-economic factor'):

*"The local governor does everything for oil and gas companies because this industry brings lots of money and easy money while the development of the inbound tourism industry takes time that is why it is being developed just because of the directive of Vladimir Putin" (ITA1).*

As a result,

*"There is lots of written in the newspapers that the current governor of the Yamal-Nenets AO, Kobylkin, does a lot to develop the inbound tourism industry in the region in order to supply "the Nenets" with an additional source of income to improve their welfare, but do not believe it" (ITA1 supported by ITA2);*

*"Everything is just words. Where is development? There is no development" (R6);*

*"There is lots of said that the inbound tourism industry should be developed in the region, but in reality there is nobody who would develop it" (PNITO2).*

Moreover, the 'representations of space' promoted by the federal and, as a result, by the local government relate to public-private sector collaboration on inbound tourism industry development. This occurs as one of the bases of a mixed economy political regime (Holloway & Taylor, 2006; Ioannides & Timothy, 2011). However, at a local level, it results in *"the absence of public-private collaboration"*. In other words, the space for public-private collaboration is 'closed' by the local government.

#### **7.1.14. Local government's 'representations of public-private collaboration'**

As the representatives from private indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators state in relation to private-public partnership: *"we neither invited to participate in the exhibitions nor in the consultations or*

*discussions on the tourism industry development in the region” (PNITO2 supported by ITA1; ITA2).* That is to say, the visibly open space of public-private collaboration is in reality ‘closed’ (or ‘smothered’) by the representatives from the local government using ‘hidden power’ of control over the access to the meetings or to the exhibitions (Lefebvre, 1991; Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). This is akin to the case of tourism industry development in China (for example, Huang & Chen, 2015; Yang & Wall, 2016).

However, the findings are dissimilar to the supporters of a community-based approach, discussed in Chapter 2. They do not support the claim that new, more “democratic” ‘open spaces’ - (Gaventa, 2006) and opportunities have emerged for citizen engagement in tourism planning and development processes, from local to global levels. Similarly, in this research support was lacking for the proposition that different groups of people, including minority groups, although not equal in influence, still have a particular degree of access to and influence on inbound tourism industry planning and development, and on decision-making aligned to it (Murphy, 1988; Keogh, 1990; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Margerum, 1999; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002; O’Faircheallaigh, 2010).

However, the findings of this PhD study are similar to those made by scholars such as Pellissery & Bergh (2007) and AbouAssi *et al.* (2013), according to which the governmental structures are quite inflexible to work with in participatory decision-making processes. The space for the citizens is ‘closed’. They are not given a chance to participate and discuss policies, programmes and projects. Such ‘institutional resistance’ may be argued to limit any meaningful exchange taking place between public and private bodies and, ultimately, prevents any wholesale transformation of local outcomes (Barnes *et al.*, 2007). As Franco & Estevao (2010) and Menon & Edward (2014) highlight, the lack of public-private collaboration might result in greater risks and a situation burdened with lots of issues (for example, marketing-related). These can result in a low profile tourism destination and, as a result, poor awareness of potential visitors about the destination, linked to low visitation rates to the locality. In the present case example, an outcome of this is the immature inbound tourism industry development and an extremely low tourism industry economic contribution. It is notable, for example, that the inbound tourism

industry in the macro-economic indicators of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug amounted just around 0.02% of GDP in 2012 (Department of Youth Policy and Tourism, YNAO, 2015). Interestingly, in relation to this, one representative from PNITOs commented: *“My perception that we are stuck and do not move, everything goes round and round in loops”* (PNITO2).

Regarding the conceived ‘representations of space’ of the federal government (and, as a result, of the local government) to develop a tourism industry based on private sector investment, the representatives from the stakeholder group perceive it as not possible. The assistance of the local government is required. As one of the respondents stated:

*“The private tour operators are unable to develop the inbound tourism industry because the inbound tourism industry is just in the bud and it does require the big governmental investments which the local private businesses are lack of”* (PNITO2 supported by PNITO1; ITA1; ITA2).

In this context, the perceptions of the respondents are in line with, for example, Holloway and Taylor (2006). According to them, government’s involvement in tourism industry development can be strong at least at the initial stages of tourism development because private businesses might be reluctant to invest. Still, unlike Holloway and Taylor’s (2006) views, private indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators in Yamal were not found to be unenthusiastic about investing in inbound tourism industry development. On the contrary, they are simply lacked finances due to their businesses not being developed to a degree that would enable them to make investments. These findings are similar to the conclusions made by, for example, OECD *et al.* (2012) in Georgia, in line with which private sector companies possess very little active funds and capital available for investments at the early stage of development. As an outcome, as stated by, for instance, Fyall and Garrod (2005), Salamova (2012), Zaharova (2012) and Conlin & Bird (2014), the initial public financial investments in the early stages of tourism development were noted as being amongst the most important issues by the representatives from private indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, as well as public-private collaboration for sustainable tourism development, and successful destination management. The latter two issues support the ideas of tourism scholars including: Fyall and Garrod (2005); Meyer-Arendt & Lew

(2016); Miryala & Gade (2016); and OECD (2016). In this context, the conceived 'representations of space' of the federal government (and, as a result, of the local government) to develop a tourism industry based on private sector investment are coherently considered by the representatives from private indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators (in the format of 'representational space') as 'untenable'. Evidence of this may be seen in relation to the federal programme, "*Development of domestic tourism in the Russian Federation (2011 – 2018)*" (see Chapter 4). This is also reflected in the programme at the local level of the YNAO though "*The development of tourism, improving the efficiency of the implementation of youth politics, recreation and health of children and youth in the 2014 - 2020 years*" (approved by the Governmental Resolution of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District on December 25, 2013 № 1126-P) (Department of Youth Policy and Tourism, YNAO, 2015).

Furthermore, those investments that are currently made by the local government in inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO are perceived by the respondents to be "*insufficient*" and as "*a drop in the ocean which quickly dissolves and, as a result, doesn't have any influence on the tourism industry development in the region*" (ITA1 supported by ITA2; PNITO1; PNITO2). In this respect it may be observed that the respondents' 'representational space' corresponds with the 'representational space' of the representatives from the Department of Youth Policy and Tourism, YNAO, in line with which one of their officially acknowledged constraints of inbound tourism industry development - the lack of investments (Department of Youth Policy and Tourism, YNAO, 2015).

#### **7.1.15. Current investments made by the local government in inbound tourism industry development**

Based on the perceptions of the respondents, the financial assistance of the local government is minimal. This is perceived to be not enough for the development of the inbound tourism industry. As one of the respondents stated:

*"For example, let's take the governmental grant of five million Russian Rubles (equals to £50 000 British pounds) allocated on inbound tourism development in general or the minimal grant of three hundred thousand*

*Russian Rubles (equivalent to £3 000 British pounds) allocated on Ethnic tourism development. Are these big grants? This is just funny money” (PNITO2 supported by ITA1; ITA2).*

Based on the information provided on the website of the Department of Youth Policy and Tourism, YNAO (2015), six grants offered by the local government vary from just two hundred thousand Russian Rubles (equivalent to approximately £2,000 British Pounds Sterling) to seven hundred thousand Russian Rubles (equivalent to approximately £ 7000 British Pounds Sterling). As far as the total amount of government funding for the state programme in the Yamal-Nenets district is concerned, it equals approximately 613,549 Russian Rubles (equivalent to approximately £ 6 000 British Pounds Sterling) (Department of Youth Policy and Tourism, YNAO, 2015).

In these terms, *“the grants assigned on a competitive basis might be enough for a company being at the initial stage of its development, but completely scarce to develop private business further, not to mention the inadequate financial support of the tourism industry development in general” (ITA1).*

Moreover, as consistently highlighted by the respondents, *“it’s very difficult to get these grants due to bureaucratisation, corruption which is based on friendship, kinship and bribes and hidden racism towards “the Nenets” (PNITO2; ITA1; ITA2; R9; R17).*

From this comment it appears that the visibly ‘open’ space for grants’ acquisition in reality is ‘closed space’ or ‘smothered space’ (Lefebvre, 1991). The space is ‘smothered’ based on the workings of the ‘hidden forms of power’, (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970) or “a mobilization of bias” (Schattschneider, 1960).

These findings are similar to the findings made by, for example, AbouAssi (2006) and AbouAssi *et al.* (2013), according to whom the public is usually sceptical and suspicious of government, where it is considered akin to a “*cave of corruption*”, where administrators are not seen to serve public interests. The results are also similar to those made by, for instance, Morris (2010) and Liu *et al.*, (2012). They found out that those people who get the grants are usually relatives or friends of the governmental officials. The findings also correspond with, for example, Suresh *et al.*, (2002) and Zeppel (2006), who argued that

racism takes place in relation to indigenous peoples. For instance, Suresh *et al.*, (2002) remarked how government officials in Paraguay were found to express racist attitudes towards the indigenous people and by virtue were argued to constrain or limit indigenous peoples' abilities and opportunities.

As in the case with respect to private business development in China, for example Hudson (2014), there is a tendency in the YNAO *"to limit private sector growth"* (ITA1) instead of letting it to develop. Under the influence of a mercantilist political economy regime (O'Neil, 2007) that controls and manages the economy for the benefit of the government, the local government may be argued to prevent rather than contribute to Capitalism expansion (Lefebvre, 1991). This happens in direct contrast to Vladimir Putin's directive *"On the development of small and medium enterprises in the Russian Federation"* (the Federal Law of 24 July 2007 N 209-FZ signed on July 24, 2007). That directive regulates the relationships between private business companies, governmental bodies of the Russian Federation, state authorities of the Russian Federation and bodies of local self-government. According to the document, the following aspects should be ensured:

- An equal access for small and medium-sized businesses to seek support in accordance with the terms of its provision, established by federal programs of development of small and medium-sized businesses, regional development programs for small and medium-sized enterprises and municipal development programs for small and medium-sized businesses (Article 6. n. 4);
- Financial support for small and medium-sized businesses (Article 7, n. 7).

However, as one of the representatives from indigenous travel agencies stated during the course of the field work in this study, *"Our local government is a completely separate State which lives in accordance with its own economic interests"* (ITA1).

The main reason for this to be *"the absence of the federal government's remote power of control over the local government and its actions and decisions"* (PNITO2). This may be seen to be an outcome of the influence of transition

from Socialism to Capitalism (a macro-historical, political condition), and a subsequent decentralisation of power (Article 5.2, 5.3, 130.1, 132.1, 132.2, The Constitution of the Russian Federation, 1993). In these terms, the findings are consistent with Lefebvre (1991) who stated that not every place is marked by the existence of power. This is in contrast from Foucault's belief in power being *"more or less everywhere"* (Layder, 2006: 125).

#### **7.1.16. Decentralisation of power**

Decentralisation of power, as expected, may be recognized to have resulted in a lack of federal government's control over the decisions and actions made by the local government in the YNAO. One consequence of this was found to be that *"the plan of actions proposed in the programme on inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO to be not quite implemented"* (PNITO2). For example, the allocation of financial resources for tourism industry development, financial support of private businesses, promotional support through participation in exhibitions, involvement of "the Nenets" in inbound tourism industry development, and public-private partnership was noted to have been affected.

*"They [meaning the representatives from the local government] just report that the work was done and the money was spent, and that's it. This is our position, to make an illusion that everything works and the plans are implemented...and this is because there is no control from the Federal government"* (PNITO1 supported by PNITO2).

In this context, the findings of the present PhD research are recognized to differ from researchers such as Yüksel & Yüksel (2000), Sharpley & Telfer (2014) and Buckley *et al.* (2016). They believe that a shift to a regional planning of tourism industry development would require decentralisation of power because otherwise *"tourism growth may not be sustainable and contribute to the national development"* (Tosun & Jenkins, 1996: 530 in Telfer, 2002). From their perspective, decentralised power will facilitates a move towards a more participatory tourism industry development policy and this may assist a locality in making timely decisions regarding tourism development.

In contrast, the findings of this PhD study align with Pandey (2004), for example, who emphasised that it is the responsibility of the federal government

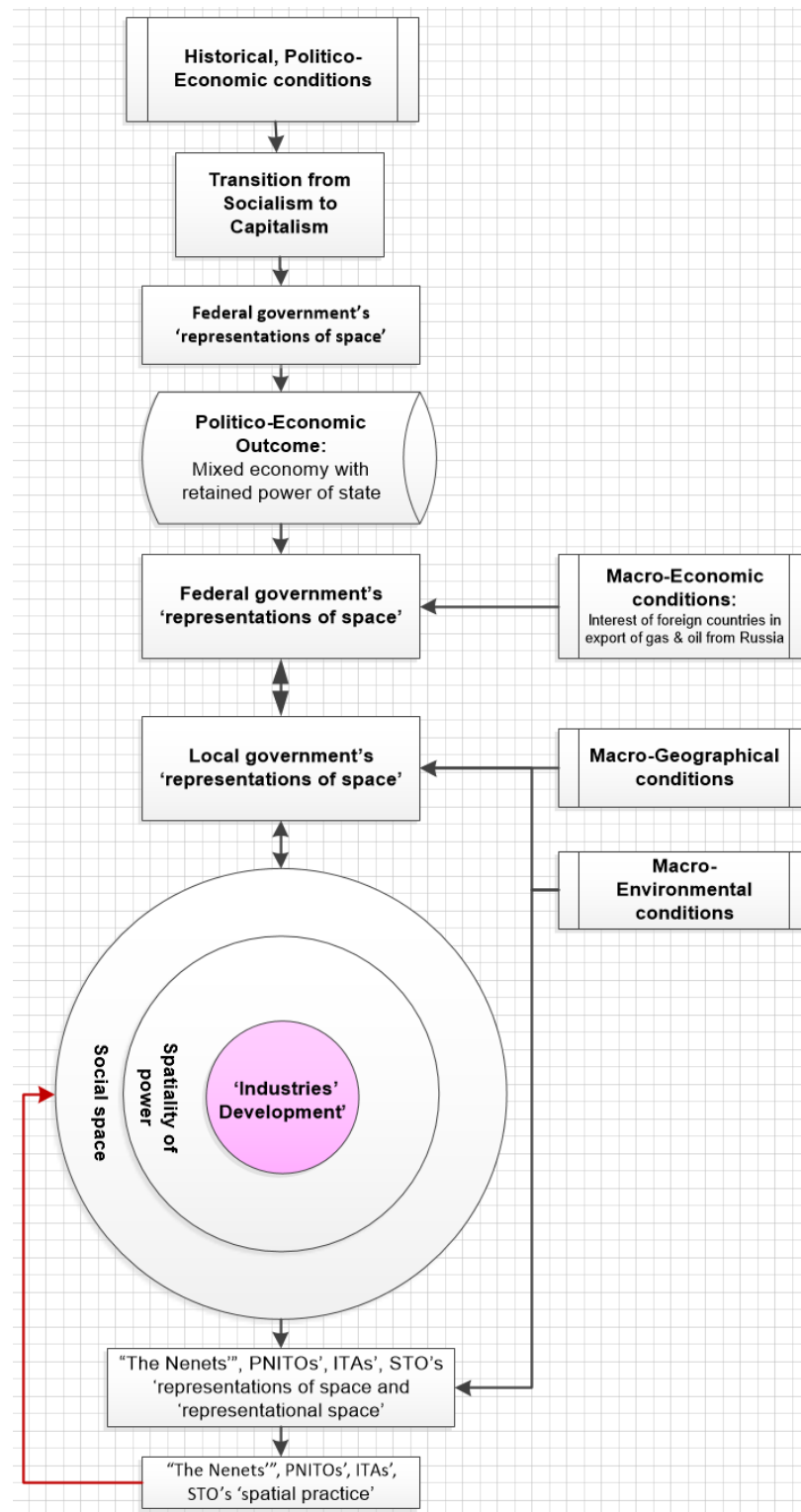
to ensure that the duties are carried out properly at the local level, that the funds are used properly, and that decentralisation works in general. With respect to this, Karl Marx' and Frederick Engel's (1969) beliefs in the ability to erase Capitalism and the role of the government in it through economic decentralisation were not supported.

The underdevelopment of the inbound tourism industry is also explained by the 'representations of space' of the representatives from the local, private non-indigenous tour operators.

**7.1.17. 'Representations of inbound tourism industry development' of the representatives from the local, private non-indigenous tour operators**

To recap from Chapter 6, the 'conditional/consequential matrix' offered by Schatzman (1991) and later by Corbin and Strauss (2008; 2015) was used to help to frame the story. It was identified that the inbound tourism industry is also underdeveloped in Yamal because of the influence of two additional conditions such as macro-geographical (remoteness of Yamal) and macro-environmental (harsh and changeable climate) conditions on the 'representations of space' of the representatives from the local, private non-indigenous tour operators and local government (Figure 7.20).

**Figure 7.20: The impact of macro-geographical and macro-environmental conditions on the 'representations of space' of the local tour operators and local government**



Source: The Author

As one of the representatives from the local, private non-indigenous tour operators commented:

*“It is possible to develop the inbound tourism industry in Yamal. In order to get there from Salekhard, it will take around an hour by helicopter or from eight to twenty-two hours by boat (from Aksarka or Salekhard respectively). This means that the main target group of tourists should be VIP tourists. Thus, we can’t say that the inbound tourism industry is currently being developed in Yamal because of the remoteness of Yamal, resulted issues with tourists’ safety and price of the trip there. In other words, an hour of flight by helicopter would cost around 120,000 Russian Roubles per hour (equivalent to approximately £1200 British Pound Sterling). This is just the cost of transportation by helicopter. If to deliver by train, then it will cost about 14,400 Russian Roubles per person (equivalent to approximately £144 British Pound Sterling). If I have a group of tourists consisting of 5 people then it will cost around 72,000 Russian Roubles one way and another 72 000 will be needed to pay for the return, in total 144 000 Russian Roubles (equivalent to approximately £720 British Pound Sterling per group and £ 1 440 British Pound Sterling respectively)” (this view is supported by R17);*

*“The cost of the tickets is very important because it impacts the tourists’ flow to Yamal. There are lots of people interested in travelling to Yamal but when we send them the cost of the trip to Yamal, we get a response that it is very expensive. Thus, they choose to travel to a cheaper destination” (PNITO1 supported by PNITO2; ITA1);*

*“So I would not say that the trips to Yamal can be on a daily basis, they can happen just once or twice per year” (PNITO1 supported by R17);*

*“Still, the situation can change, but if the local government assists in reducing the transport costs. However, this does not happen at this moment” (PNITO1 supported by PNITO2);*

*“Plus, the weather is very changeable and very harsh. This factor can severely disrupt the thoroughly pre-planned trip. Sometimes it is impossible to leave Yamal by any mode of transport (see Figure 7.21-7.24) because of the weather. As a result, any such kind of disruption put at risk tourists’ safety and the whole plan of the trip” (PNITO1 supported by PNITO2; ITA1; ITA2).*

**Figure 7.21: Modes of transport to Yar-Sale, Yamal, during winter**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

**Figure 7.22: Modes of transport around tundra in Yamal, during winter**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

**Figure 7.23: Modes of transport to Yar-Sale, Yamal, during summer**



Source: The Author (2013)

**Figure 7.24: Modes of transport around tundra in Yamal, during summer**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from "the Nenets" (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

Thus, as stated by one of the representatives from the local, private non-indigenous tour operators, the inbound tourism industry is currently being developed at the locations located closer to the capital city of the YNAO, Salekhard, where the infrastructure is well developed:

*“Yes, inbound tourism industry development helps to improve “the Nenets” welfare but we mean the development of the inbound tourism industry in the Priuralsky and Shurishkarsky districts of the YNAO and “the Nenets” located there. These districts are located closer to Salekhard where the infrastructure is well developed, where the tourists can be delivered by car, boat or bus. These are the locations we are currently concentrated on” (PNITO1 supported by ITA1; ITA2; R17).*

In this context, the absence of the tourists’ flow to Yamal was coherently reinforced by the representatives from “the Nenets”:

*“Inbound tourism industry development happens there. Tourists do not reach Yamal” (R17);*

*“Where are tourists?” (R13);*

*“Apart from the representatives from the local indigenous travel agencies nobody asked us to participate in the tourism industry development” (R11 supported by R13);*

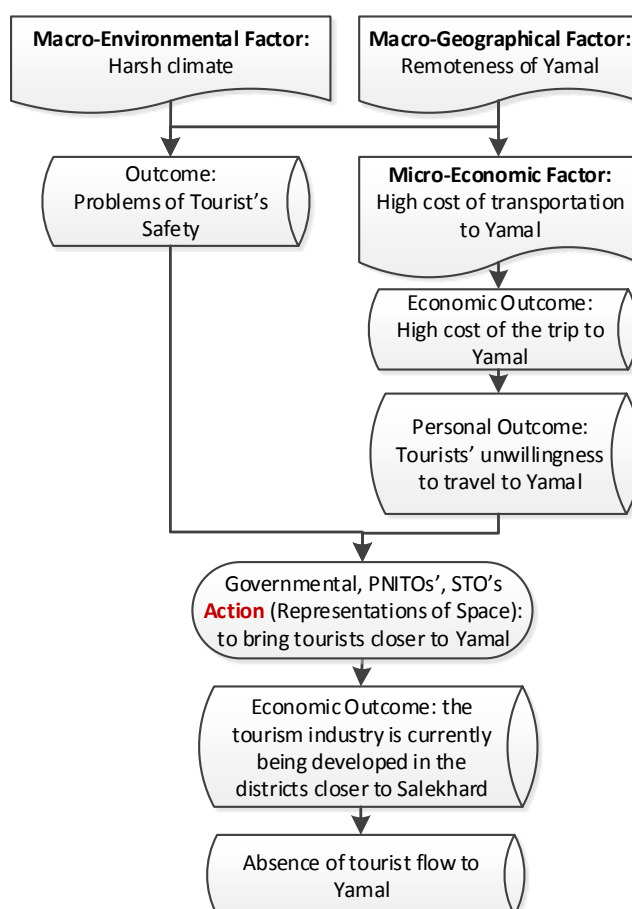
*“Tour operators located in Salekhard do not promote Yamal, there is no single advertisement on this matter” (R3 supported by R17);*

*“I have never ever heard about these tour operators” (R7).*

Regarding the local tourism industry development, it was remarked that, *“there is no department created in the local municipality responsible for tourism industry development in Yamal. There is no interest in it. If you have a look at the local municipality’s website, there is no information on tourism industry development here” (R17).* This view was found to correspond with the information available on the Federal Agency for Tourism’s website (2015) relating to inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO.

Based on the macro-conditions identified (which influence the ‘representations of tourism industry development’ of the representatives from the local, private non-indigenous tour operators), a ‘conditional/consequential’ flow chart was created (Figure 7.25):

**Figure 7.25: Impact of macro-geographical and macro-environmental conditions on the ‘representations of space’ of the representatives from the local, private non-indigenous tour operators and local government**



Source: The Author

The findings also suggest that due to the impact of the macro-geographical and macro-environmental conditions the infrastructure in Yamal, including transportation, is underdeveloped.

#### **7.1.18. Negative impact of the macro-geographical and the macro-environmental conditions on infrastructure development in Yamal, YNAO**

Based on the 'representational space' of the representatives from the local, private non-indigenous tour operators and indigenous travel agencies, the infrastructure in some locations of the YNAO, in Yamal particularly, is underdeveloped. As respondents stated:

*“The infrastructure such as, for instance, hotels, roads, availability of internet and satellite connection in all localities, are underdeveloped in the YNAO, in general, and in Yamal, particularly. The main reason is the remoteness of Yamal and harsh climate which make infrastructure development in Yamal quite expensive for the local government to invest in”* (PNITO1 supported by PNITO2; ITA1; ITA2).

This results *“in the lack of hotels to accommodate tourists, in the poor conditions of the roads, absence of internet and satellite connection in some localities, in the lack of modes of transportation to Yamal”* (ITA1).

Sequentially the underdeveloped infrastructure impacts the decision of the representatives from the local, private non-indigenous tour operators and local government *“to develop tourism industry closer to Salekhard, where the infrastructure is well developed”* (PNITO1 supported by PNITO2; ITA1; ITA2; R17).

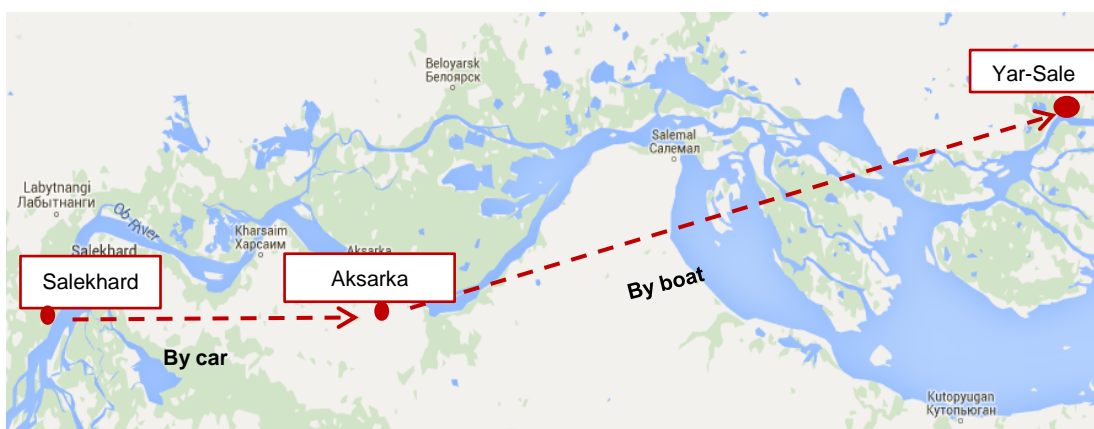
These findings coincide with the field notes made by the researcher in 2013 when she spent a whole day to get to Yar-Sale, Yamal (see Chapter 5). When the researcher arrived to Salekhard, there were no boats going to Yar-Sale. As a result, she had to set off the following day. Moreover, she had to go to Yar-Sale from the place called Aksarka located at a distance of 63 km from Salekhard. In the early morning the researcher, accompanied by the representative from “the Nenets”, set off to Aksarka by car. It took about more than an hour to get there. Then the journey from Aksarka to Yar-Sale continued by boat which the researcher had to wait for around five hours due to the delay in the boat arrival (Figure 7.26). The destination, eventually, was reached after another eight hours (Figure 7.27).

**Figure 7.26: Trip to Yar-Sale, Yamal, by boat**



Source: The Author

**Figure 7.27: Journey from Salekhard to Yar-Sale**



Source: The Author

The fact that the infrastructure is underdeveloped is also corresponds with the information provided on the Department of Youth Policy and Tourism's website, in line with which the development of the inbound tourism industry is constrained by such factors as:

- The insufficient development of the social, transport and informational infrastructure;
- The unevenness in the development of socio-cultural and tourist infrastructure in the municipalities of the autonomous region like Yamal;
- The lack of the necessary service infrastructure; not all the municipalities of the autonomous region have an access to the Internet resources (Department of Youth Policy and Tourism, YNAO, 2015).

As a result, the transformation of space (or 'spatial practice' - Lefebvre, 1991), communication and transport networks development from Salekhard to Yamal, to enable the circuits of exchange for the purposes of Capitalism expansion and the state and economy growth, does not take place in the YNAO. This finding is in contrast to Lefebvre's (1991) expectations discussed in Chapter 3. Moreover, the finding differs from Lefebvre's (1991) belief with respect to that fact that the local government does not help the local private tour operators and indigenous travel agencies to sustain market Capitalism, to generate profit and support the local economy (Miller, 2012).

While, as stated by Bauer (2013) in the case of Antarctic tourism, an inbound tourism industry can be developed despite the harsh climate and the remoteness of a locality. However, this is only possible if all interested parties collaborate with each other and if the local government substantially invests in both inbound tourism industry and infrastructure development (Holloway and Taylor, 2006). In the case of Yamal, the investments made by the local government might contribute to the reduction of the cost of the trip to Yamal and, as a result, to make Yamal more accessible.

In these terms, there is no public-private collaboration but there is a collaboration between the indigenous travel agencies, non-indigenous tour operators and "the Nenets". In this, the findings are different from Sharpley and Telfer (2002), Bianchi (2002, 2010), Mowforth and Munt (2009), Mosedale

(2010) and Sharpley (2011), who considered the power relationships between indigenous community and private sector businesses as unequal and being based on the dependency of indigenous or local community on foreign tour operators or multi-national corporations (Trau and Bushell, 2008; Britton, 1981; see Chapter 2).

Still, based on the issues highlighted by the representatives from the local, private non-indigenous tour operators and indigenous travel agencies, it is very difficult to develop inbound tourism industry in Yamal, YNAO. As respondents comment:

*“My perception that we are stuck and do not move, everything goes round and round in loops...Inbound tourism industry development looks like our roads, bad and bumpy”* (PNITO2).

That is why:

*“inbound tourism industry development is in its initial stage of development. It's not a mass tourism industry yet because quite a few of tourist groups arrive to Yamal annually”* (ITA1 supported by ITA2; PNITO1; PNITO2).

As a result,

*“the inbound tourism industry development does not bring good income on a constant basis. We spend more than we earn”* (ITA2).

Consequently, the representatives from the local, private indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators are ready to stop participating in inbound tourism industry development and start participating in other, more profitable economic activities. In other words, it appears that they are ready to ‘close down’ the space and ‘create’ a new one (‘special practice’) based on their ‘power to’ which, in turn, is based on the ‘power within’ (Lefebvre, 1991; Gaventa, 2006). Consecutively their ‘power within’ is grounded on the resources they possess: ‘knowledge’, ‘education’, ‘experience’ and ‘education’ in case of the representatives from the non-indigenous tour operators; ‘knowledge’, ‘education’ and the ‘means of production’ (reindeer) in case of the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies (see Chapter 6).

This finding is again in line with Lefebvre (1991), according to whom spaces of power refer not only to 'closed spaces' protected by dominant powers, but also to spaces 'being closed' and 'claimed' or 'created' by other stakeholder group.

As respondents stated:

*"I have a lot of options available. Our company can concentrate either on participation in other projects, not related to the tourism industry, or to focus on outbound tourism industry development which brings more profit than inbound tourism industry development"* (PNITO2 supported by PNITO1);

*"Apart from travel agency, my company is also concentrated on other economic activities. Plus, the reindeer herding is much more profitable than the tourism industry (Figure 7.28). Possession of reindeer brings stability. If you have a big number of reindeer, you don't need anything because you are supplied with food, clothes, mode of transport, cover for beds and tepee style tents called 'chum'"* (Figure 7.31) (ITA2 supported by R2; R3; R5; R7; R24; PNITO1);

*"You can sell reindeer and buy whatever you need: a house (Figure 7.32), clothes, modes of transport, technology (Figure 7.29; 7.30; 7.33), to set up your own private business"* (R1 supported by R2; R3; R4; R17; R23; ITA1; ITA2; PNITO1; PNITO2).

In other words,

*"possession of reindeer means prosperous life"* (R1 supported by R2; R3; R17; R23; ITA1);

*"possession of reindeer means independence, freedom, stability"* (R1 supported by R2; R4; R6; R9; R14; R17; R24; ITA1) (Figure 7.34).

With respect to the contribution of the inbound tourism industry to the local economy, the issues and spatiality of power highlighted by the stakeholder group result in the immature inbound tourism industry and, as a result, limited contribution to the local economy. According to the information provided by the Department of Youth Policy and Tourism, YNAO (2015), the input of inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO amounted just around 0.02% of GDP (Figure 7.35).

**Figure 7.28: Concentration of the representatives from the indigenous travel agencies on reindeer herding industry development**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

**Figure 7.29: Reindeer as a source of clothes**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

**Figure 7.30: Reindeer as a mode of transport**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

**Figure 7.31: Reindeer as a source of cover for beds and tepee style tents called “chum”**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

**Figure 7.32: Opportunity to buy a house or a flat in a new house based on the possession of a big number of reindeer**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

**Figure 7.33: Opportunity to buy a new technology based on the possession of a big number of reindeer**



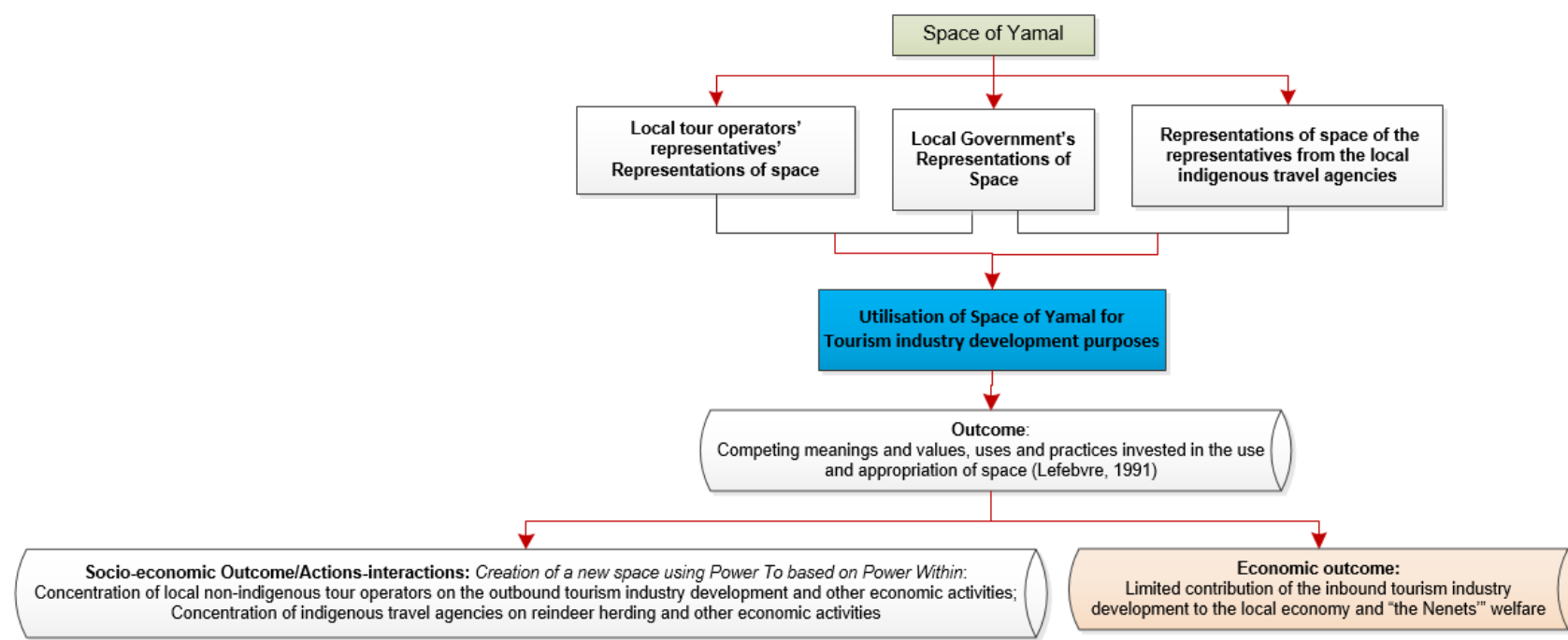
Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

**Figure 7.34: Reindeer as a means of “independence, *freedom and stability*”**



Source: The photograph is supplied by a representative from “the Nenets” (2013). It is reproduced with permission (Appendix III; IV).

**Figure 7.35: Consequences of competing ‘representations of space’ for inbound tourism industry development, its contribution to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare**



Source: The Author

The results and findings discussed in this chapter would not have been possible to obtain without the appreciation of the conceptual framework and methodology developed. The reflection on their utilisation will be presented in Chapter 8. In Chapter 8, it will also be acknowledged: the input of the research in general based on the implications of the findings made in relation to the theory; limitations; and recommendations for future studies.

## **7.2. Summary**

In this chapter the neat, resulted conceptual framework was presented and the connections between the results of the data analysis and existing theory were made. The major theoretical findings confirm Marx' (Morrison, 2006), Lefebvre's (1991), Webster *et. al.*'s (2001) and O'Neil's (2007) beliefs that, formed under the historical conditions, political economy regime influences 'The Production of Space', of which spatiality of power is a key part (Lefebvre, 1991). The findings also support the way that 'social space' is produced and theorised by Lefebvre (1991) in his theory 'The Production of Space'. In these terms, the importance of fusion of mental and material construction of space together is confirmed. In this, the findings do not support Karl Marx and Georg Hegel, as well as their followers amongst tourism scholars, prioritizing material constructions of space over mental (for example, regulationists, comparative and Marxist political economists) or vice versa (for example, advocates of cultural political economy and alternative/post-structural political economy). The central role in the mental processes of space production belongs, as correctly noticed by Lefebvre (1991), to the state government. It serves economic goals of Capitalism through creation of a social space. With respect to Yamal, state government's 'representations of space' are based on the resources of Yamal such as: oil, gas, reindeer, "the Nenets'" culture and traditions. The mental aim of the state government is to control and transform the space of Yamal in such a way that it would serve the state government's economic interests. In this context, the main state government's economic interest is in the development of the oil and gas, reindeer herding and inbound tourism industries. State government protects its economic interests and ensures its control of the space of Yamal through 'spatial practice'. 'Spatial practice', in turn, is revealed through 'spatiality of power': 'material transformation of space'; 'forms of power'; 'power proximity

and reach'; 'space'; and 'resources'. The local government in the YNAO is responsible for the implementation of the state government's 'spatial practice'. Moreover, the 'representations of space' of the local government in the YNAO are impacted by the 'representations of space' of the state government. This influence was revealed through 'spatial practice' of the local government and 'representational space' of the stakeholder group. However, it was identified that there are differences between the 'representations of space of Yamal' of the representatives from the federal and local government, on one hand, and of "the Nenets", local indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, on another hand. Disparities between the 'representations of space of Yamal' of the representatives of the stakeholder group are triggered by the influence of macro-historical, politico-economic conditions, namely the transition of the country from one political economy regime (a Socialist, centralized economy) to another one (a Capitalist, decentralized economy). Additional macro-geographical and macro-environmental conditions also impact the 'representations of space' of the stakeholder group and their 'spatial practice', of which spatiality of power is a key part. These differences in the 'representations of space' result in the attempt of the representatives from "the Nenets" and private sector business enterprises to resist and to subvert this planned and dominating picture through 'spatial practice'. 'Spatial practice', in turn, is revealed through 'spatiality of power': 'forms of agency'; 'space'; and 'resources'. Still, the issues revealed by respondents and 'spatiality of power' involved result in the immature inbound tourism industry and a limited contribution of the inbound tourism industry to the local economy and "the Nenets'" welfare.

In addition, the findings differ from the ideas of Marx (1845), Engels (1893), Lukes (1974), Lefebvre (1991) and Gaventa (2004) in that they may be argued to challenge the notion of 'false consciousness' in the shape of 'ideological blindness'. Thus, they challenge the views promoted by tourism scholars such as Pike & Beames (2013) Taylor & Thrift (2013), Cohen (2014), Jordhus-Lier & Underthun (2014), Metro-Roland, *et al.* (2014) and Feifan Xie (2015), for example. The findings are also in contrast to advocates of cultural political economy (including: Thrift & Olds 1996; Crang, 1997; Lee & Wills, 1997; Ray & Sayer, 1999; Amin & Thrift, 2000; Ateljevic, 2000; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003;

Ateljevic, *et al.*, 2007) and alternative/post-structural political economists (including: Gibson-Graham, 1996; 1999; 2000; 2006; Dixon & Jones, 2006).

The findings are different from, for instance, from Sharpley and Telfer (2002), Bianchi (2002, 2010), Mowforth and Munt (2009), Mosedale (2010) and Sharpley (2011), who considered the power relationships between indigenous community and private sector businesses as unequal and being based on the dependency of indigenous or local community on foreign tour operators or multi-national corporations.

Finally, the findings suggest the absence of the 'remote' power of the federal government to control the actions of the local government. In this context, this is in line with Lefebvre's (1991) belief that not every space is marked by the existence of power. However, it does not support Foucault's belief in the power being "*more or less everywhere*" (Layder, 2006: 125).

## **Chapter 8: Conclusions**

## **8. Introduction**

The aim of this research study was to explore spatiality of power and its influence on inbound tourism industry development. This was explored by examining the relationships between “the Nenets”, local indigenous travel agencies, non-indigenous tour operators and local government in Yamal in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO) of the Russian Federation, and the consequent contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare. Based on the findings made and discussed in Chapter 7, it was discovered that spatiality of power identified results in an inbound tourism industry being immature and limited in terms of its contribution to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare.

This final chapter reflects on the conceptual framework (Chapter 3) and methodology developed and applied (Chapter 5) which were employed to address the main research aim and objectives (see section 8.2 and 8.3 respectively). The discussion proceeds with an appreciation of the contributions made to academic knowledge based on the findings made (see section 8.4). The chapter finishes with limitations and challenges of the research and recommendations for future research.

### **8.1. Reflection on the conceptual framework developed**

Based on the conceptual framework and methodology developed (see Chapters 3 and 5 respectively) the main aim of the research was accomplished.

This was achieved through fulfilment of the research objectives and research questions presented in Table 8.1 and 8.2.

**Table 8.1: Fulfilment of the objectives**

1	To present a literature review on how the issue of power and power relationships was approached by tourism scholars. This will contribute to setting the context for the research and to identify gaps in academic knowledge	Chapter 2
2	To create a conceptual framework to guide the research and to justify the case study chosen, having drawn upon the literature review and identified potential research gaps	Chapter 3 and 4 (respectively)
3	Based on the conceptual framework developed, to investigate the 'representations of space' of the stakeholder group and the 'spatial practice', of which spatiality of power is a key part	Chapter 4, 5 and 6
4	To explore the role and influence of the historical context on the contemporary politico-economic situation in the YNAO, on the 'representations of space' of the stakeholder group and their 'spatial practice'	Chapter 4 and 6
5	To examine the 'representational space' of the representatives from "the Nenets", local indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators and their 'spatial practice', of which spatiality of power is a key part	Chapter 5 and 6
6	To identify the outcome of the interrelations between the 'representations of space', 'representational space' and "spatial practice" for inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO, in Yamal specifically; for contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and "the Nenets'" welfare	Chapter 6 and 7

Source: The Author

**Table 8.2: Research objectives and research questions**

N	Research objectives	Research questions
3	Based on the conceptual framework developed, to investigate the ‘representations of space’ of the stakeholder group and their ‘spatial practice’, of which spatiality of power is a key part	How do the representatives from the stakeholder group conceive the space of Yamal and its utilisation for the development of the industries, the inbound tourism industry in particular?
		What is the ‘spatial practice’ of the state and local government in relation to the usage of the space of Yamal?
4	To explore the role and influence of the historical context on the contemporary politico-economic situation in the YNAO, on the ‘representations of space’ of the stakeholder group and their ‘spatial practice’	How does the historical context impact the contemporary politico-economic situation in the YNAO, the ‘representations of space’ of the stakeholder group and their ‘spatial practice’?
5	To examine the ‘representational space’ of the representatives from “the Nenets”, local indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators and their ‘spatial practice’, of which spatiality of power is a key part	How do the representatives from “the Nenets” and private business enterprises perceive the current socio-economic, political and environmental situation?  What are their actions (or ‘spatial practice’)?
6	To identify the outcome of the interrelations between the ‘representations of space’, ‘representational space’ and “spatial practice’ of the representatives from the stakeholder group for inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO, in Yamal specifically;	What is the outcome of the similarities and/or differences in the ‘representations of space’ of the representatives from the stakeholder group, the ‘spatial practice’ involved for inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO, in Yamal specifically; for contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the

	for contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare	local economy and “the Nenets” welfare?
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Source: The Author

*Objective 1: To present a literature review on how the issue of power and power relationships was approached by tourism scholars. This will contribute to setting the context for the research and to identify gaps in academic knowledge (Chapter 2).*

In order to develop the conceptual framework, a literature review on how the issue of power and power relationships was approached by tourism scholars was made and gaps in academic knowledge were identified (See Chapter 2). It was recognized that the conceptions of power that currently exist in tourism studies were influenced by Karl Marx. As a result, theorists using critical approaches to research power tended to focus on issues around the equality of power relationships between actors or stakeholders. In doing so, it was reasoned that they neglected to acknowledge the diverse geographies of power and, in particular, overlooked the inherently spatial nature of power, and the involvement of social relations in both space and power (Lefebvre, 1976; 1991). In order to fulfil these gaps, the present PhD study identified a need to focus on the exploration of the spatiality of power that surrounds tourism industry development.

Having drawn upon the literature review and gaps acknowledged, a conceptual framework was developed.

*Objective 2: To create a conceptual framework to guide the research and to justify the case study chosen, having drawn upon the literature review and identified potential research gaps (Chapter 3 and 4 respectively).*

Based on the recognized gaps in academic knowledge on the issues of power and power relationships, a conceptual framework was developed (Chapter 3). Concepts were borrowed from Lefebvre’s (1991) theory “The Production of Space” and supplemented by Gavent’s (2006) “power cube” to facilitate analysis

of the spatiality of power. These were used as “sensitising” concepts to provide a general sense of reference when approaching empirical instances.

With respect to the case study chosen, tourism scholars considered the power relationships between the stakeholders, in this case between the indigenous community and private sector businesses, tour operators, in the context of the developing countries with the colonial past and characterised them as unequal and being based on the dependency of indigenous community on foreign tour operators or multi-national corporations (Britton, 1981; Trau & Bushell, 2008). In this context, the type of country in which to situate the study was chosen based on the observations of Webster *et al.* (2011) that there has been a lack of focus in tourism studies on countries that have a federal type of governance, with a non-colonial past, being in transition from one political economy regime to another, and with the tourism industry at an early stage of its development. Yamal in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO) of the Russian Federation was identified as a suitable destination area to be studied (Chapter 4).

The concepts developed from Lefebvre’s (1991) theory ‘The Production of Space’ and supplemented by Gaventa’s (2006) ‘power cube’ proved useful in that they helped the researcher to explore the ways in which ‘social space’ in Yamal is being produced and the spatiality of power used by the stakeholders. This, in turn, helped to identify the influence of the spatiality of power on the relationships between the state, local government, non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and “the Nenets”, and the resulted contribution of the inbound tourism industry to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare.

Yet, the application of Lefebvre’s (1991) theory ‘The Production of Space’ supplemented by Gaventa’s (2004) ‘power cube’ on their own is considered to be insufficient. These theories are absent of such important concept as, for example, the role of the history. History was considered not to be obscured because historical conditions are directly linked to the production of space. The history of space is inscribed in its present. Thus, to study the spatiality of power at a particular locality required a combination of history and political economy to explain phenomena, for example, actors’ motivations for decision-making and

actions (Reed, 1999; Lieven & Goossens, 2011) because context determines peoples' viewpoints, interests, motivations, shapes the power relations and conflicts that occur (Clancy, 1999). In these terms, these theories were placed in the broader context of Marx' political economy and 'Historical Materialism' and complemented by other concepts developed from regulation theory and the comparative political economy'. Regulation theory, assisted in the appreciation of the role of the state and local government in a wider political, economic, social and environmental context with an emphasis on the context-specific tendencies of historical capitalist development. The findings were abstracted to the level of economic framework analysis ('the comparative political economy') to investigate and demonstrate the influence and type of relations that exist in a particular locality and the impact of these on tourism industry development in general and spatiality of power specifically.

*Objective 3: To investigate the 'representations of space' of the stakeholder group and their 'spatial practice', of which spatiality of power is a key part (Chapter 4, 5 and 6).*

Based on the application of Lefebvre's (1991) and Gaventa's (2006) concepts, it was identified that the central role in the mental processes of space production belongs, as correctly noticed by Lefebvre (1991), to the state government. It serves economic goals of Capitalism through creation of a social space. With respect to Yamal, state government's 'representations of space' are based on the resources of Yamal such as: oil, gas, reindeer, "the Nenets'" culture and traditions. The mental aim of the state government is to control and transform the space of Yamal in such a way that it would serve the state government's economic interests. In this context, the main state government's economic interest is in the development of the oil and gas, reindeer herding and inbound tourism industries. State government protects its economic interests and ensures its control of the space of Yamal through 'spatial practice'. 'Spatial practice', in turn, is revealed through 'spatiality of power': 'material transformation of space'; 'forms of power'; 'power proximity and reach'; 'space'; and 'resources' (Lefebvre, 1991; Gaventa, 2006). The local government in the YNAO is responsible for the implementation of the state government's 'spatial practice'. Moreover, the 'representations of space' of the local government in

the YNAO are impacted by the 'representations of space' of the state government. This influence was revealed through 'spatial practice' of the local government and 'representational space' of the stakeholder group. However, it was recognized that there are differences between the 'representations of space of Yamal' of the representatives from the federal and local government, on one hand, and of "the Nenets", local indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators, on another hand. These differences trigger the representatives from "the Nenets", local indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators to resist.

*Objective 4: To explore the role and influence of the historical context on the contemporary politico-economic situation in the YNAO, on the 'representations of space' of the stakeholder group and their 'spatial practice' (Chapter 4 and 6).*

Disparities between the 'representations of space of Yamal' of the representatives of the stakeholder group are triggered by the influence of macro-historical, politico-economic conditions, namely the transition of the country from one political economy regime (a Socialist, centralized economy) to another one (a Capitalist, decentralized economy). Additional macro-geographical and macro-environmental conditions also impact the 'representations of space' of the stakeholder group and their 'spatial practice', of which spatiality of power is a key part.

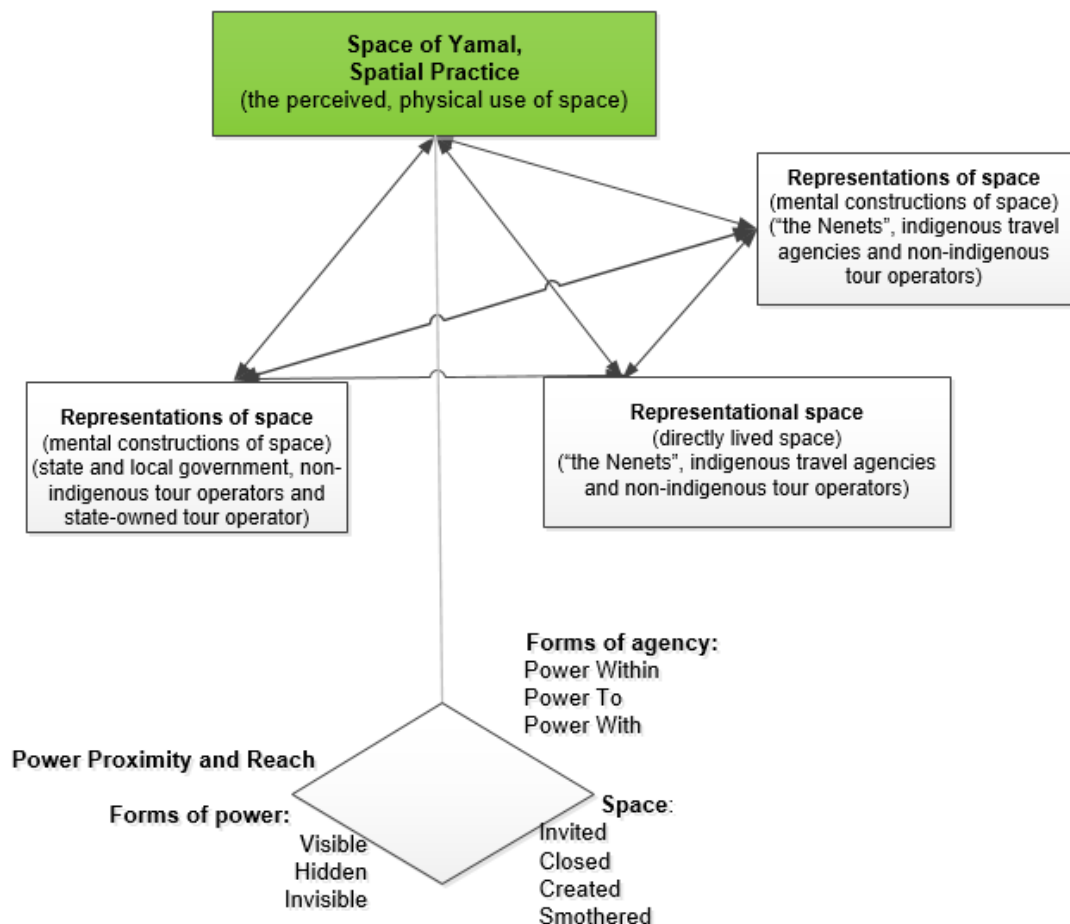
*Objective 5: To examine the 'representational space' of the representatives from "the Nenets", local indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators and their 'spatial practice', of which spatiality of power is a key part (Chapter 5 and 6).*

Differences between the 'representations of space of Yamal' of the representatives of the stakeholder group were revealed through dissatisfaction expressed by the representatives of "the Nenets", local, indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators. In other words, they were revealed through 'representational space'. Respondents were dissatisfied with the way the industries are being developed in Yamal, YNAO, inbound tourism industry specifically. As a result, the representatives from "the Nenets" and private sector business enterprises try to resist using 'spatial practice'. 'Spatial

practice', in turn, is revealed through 'spatiality of power': 'forms of agency'; 'space'; and 'resources'.

In these terms, the conceptual framework was corrected in line with the findings made. 'Forms of agency' offered by VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) were added to the conceptual framework.

**Figure 8.1: Conceptual framework added in accordance with the findings made**



Source: adopted from Gaventa (2006) and Lefebvre (1991), embraced by the Author in 2013 and modified in 2015

*Objective 6: To identify the outcome of the interrelations between the 'representations of space', 'representational space' and "spatial practice" of the representatives from the stakeholder group for inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO, in Yamal specifically; for contribution of inbound*

*tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare* (Chapter 6 and 7).

Disparities between the ‘representations of space of Yamal’ of the representatives of the stakeholder group and spatiality of power involved into ‘spatial practice’ of respondents result in the immature inbound tourism industry development and limited contribution of inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and “the Nenets” welfare.

As a personal outcome, the representatives from the local, indigenous travel agencies and non-indigenous tour operators consider the possibility of termination of their participation in inbound tourism industry development. They think about the possibility to start participating in more profitable economic activities, including the reindeer herding industry in case of the indigenous travel agencies.

The findings made would not have been possible to obtain without the appreciation of the methodology developed as well.

## **8.2. Reflection on the methodological approach developed, or ‘confirmability’**

Unlike critical theorists, the researcher of the present study positioned herself in neo-empiricism which allowed her to utilise a palette of qualitative methods to unwrap respondents’ subjective opinions in a neutral manner (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In this, the research was different from the paradigm in which critical theorists position themselves, and which influences the ways in which they research issues of power. Critical theorists, it may be argued, marginalise the respondents’ perspective in their research enquiry because they do not trust the accounts of the researched to give a true reading of the world due to the influence of their false consciousness and their inability to escape the knowledge-conventions of their epoch and cultural background (Tribe, 2008). As a result, instead of concentrating on the problem of power, critical theorists, it may be argued, have mainly focused on the mental constructions of space, or ‘ideologies’. In contrast, the present research, reflecting the paradigm in which it is grounded, attempted to return the focus on the problem of power back to the

researched and their lived experience. One example of how this was implemented is through an examination of representational space (or directly lived space). The researcher developed a research strategy that assisted her in the exploration of the spatiality of power from the respondents' viewpoint in a neutral manner.

With respect to this, the researcher's objectivity was reached through the usage of both deductive and inductive approaches, the collection of very rich and detailed data, and the establishment of results or 'findings' from the perspective of the respondents who approved the accuracy of the data that was recorded and presented (see Chapter 5).

The utilisation of both deductive and inductive approaches permitted the researcher access to the respondents' subjective perspectives in an unbiased manner. It was deductive in the sense that the concepts developed were based on the literature analysis and a conceptual framework was utilised to identify 'sensitizing concepts' that, unlike 'definitive' ones, only guided the ways in which the phenomena under study was empirically investigated (Blumer, 1954). An inductive approach, being open enough, allowed for generation of theory, or a story, grounded in peoples' actions, attitudes, perceptions and feelings. The usage of this approach allowed for theoretical explanation of what constitutes 'spatiality of power', its operation and influence on inbound tourism industry development, relationships between the state, local government, non-indigenous tour operators, indigenous travel agencies and "the Nenets", and resulted contribution of the inbound tourism industry development to the local economy and "the Nenets'" welfare (see Chapter 5).

The collection of very rich and detailed data (or 'thick descriptions' (Denzin, 1989; Creswell & Miller, 2000), based on a palette of qualitative methods employed, allowed the researcher to:

- Address the main aim and objectives of the research;
- Be sensitized to the context of the study against which coherence (i.e. coherence truth) of respondents' perspectives was able to be assessed throughout the analysis stages;

- Validate the results through triangulation of the data sources at the results and findings stages (see Chapter 7) (Fine, *et al.*, 2009);
- Enable other researchers to make comparisons (achieve ‘transferability’, Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The findings made as a result, allowed the researcher to make a theoretical contribution to current academic knowledge by challenging some of the traditional theories around tourism industry development, whether critical or associated with cultural political economy.

### **8.3. Contribution of research to academic knowledge based on the findings made**

The main contributions of the present PhD study are as the following:

1. The findings support the way the social space is produced and theorised by Lefebvre (1991) in his theory ‘The Production of Space’. In these terms, the findings do not support Karl Marx and Georg Hegel, as well as their followers amongst tourism scholars, prioritizing material constructions of space over mental (for example, regulationists, comparative and Marxist political economists) or vice versa (for example, advocates of cultural political economy and alternative/post-structural political economy) (Chapter 2, Tentative Proposition 1: p. 35-36);
2. The findings confirm Marx’ (Morrison, 2006), Lefebvre’s (1991), Webster *et. al.*’s (2001) and O’Neil’s (2007) belief that, formed under the historical conditions, political economy regime influences ‘The Production of Space’, spatiality of power of which is a key part of (Lefebvre, 1991) (Chapter 2, Tentative Proposition 2: p. 35-36);
3. The findings differ in relation to a concept of ‘decentralisation of power’; they differ from researchers such as Yüksel & Yüksel (2000), Sharpley & Telfer (2014) and Buckley *et al.* (2016). These scholars believe that a shift to a regional planning of tourism industry development would require decentralisation of power because otherwise “*tourism growth may not be sustainable and contribute to the national development*” (Tosun &

Jenkins, 1996: 530 in Telfer, 2002). From their perspective, decentralised power will facilitates a move towards a more participatory tourism industry development policy and this may assist a locality in making timely decisions regarding tourism development.

In contrast, the findings of this research study align with Pandey (2004), for example, who emphasised that it is the responsibility of the federal government to ensure that the duties are carried out properly at the local level, that the funds are used properly, and that decentralisation works in general. With respect to this, Karl Marx' and Frederick Engel's (1969) beliefs in the ability to erase Capitalism and the role of the government in it through economic decentralisation were not supported (Chapter 2, Tentative Proposition 3: p. 35-36);

4. The findings may support Simpson's (2008), Li's (2006; 2004), Holden's (2005) and Bianchi's (2002) beliefs in that that the possibility of the indigenous people to benefit from participation in tourism industry development depends on the 'spatiality of power' surrounding them (Chapter 2, Tentative Proposition 4: p. 35-36);
5. The present study challenged the notion of 'dependency' between international (the multinational corporations) and local (local indigenous communities) levels, by considering the relationships at the local level, between local tour operators and indigenous community. The dependency of "the Nenets" on the local tour operators and indigenous travel agencies was not found (Chapter 2, Tentative Proposition 5: p. 35-36);
6. Finally, the findings differ from Töennies (1887) and Macionis & Gerber (2010) who stressed that whether the indigenous people represent a community or not depends on modernization brought to the region under the Capitalism development. The findings of the present research study suggest that whether "the Nenets" are a community or not depends on the character of the traditional economic activity that determines the existance or absence of solidarity between the people belonging to the same nationality (Chapter 2, Tentative Proposition 6: p. 35-36);

Although the research was successful in accomplishing the research aim and objectives, and in contributions made, some limitations should be taken into account.

#### **8.4. Limitations and challenges of the research and recommendations for future research studies**

It is anticipated that by highlighting the limitations and challenges of the present research, this section provides recommendations for future research, which would allow research studies on similar issues to contribute further to academic knowledge:

1. First of all, the research was constrained in terms of time and financial cost;
2. Secondly, 33 interviews collected were considered an acceptable number for the research study because the purpose was to explore the issue of 'spatiality of power' in-depth. In this context, 'transferability' was derived not from sampling but from rich description of the research context that now might enable other researchers to make such a transfer and comparisons possible (Lincoln & Guba, 1985);
3. Secondly, there were problems experienced in relation to the process of interviewing. The informal conversations were not always recorded due to being undertaken during the trip, for example, while waiting for a flight or a boat. They were written down once the conversation had finished;
4. Thirdly, there were issues concerning the process of interview transcription. Due to the remoteness of Yamal, YNAO, and the nomadic lifestyle of "the Nenets" migrating to the places located quite away from any settlements, the interviews were transcribed not during the field work, but after because there were no facilities to charge the devices needed for the transcriptions. Once the interviews were transcribed, they were straight away translated from Russian language into English

language. Here it would be worthwhile to notice a difficulty that the researcher experienced with this approach at the stage of the analysis. The researcher had to keep constantly referring back to the sources in Russian language in order to ensure the accuracy of the translation made and that the meaning was not lost. This was found to be quite time consuming. For future research studies it would be highly recommended to analyze the data and perform the results in its origin language and only then to undertake the translation into the language required;

5. As far as the process of data analysis is concerned, apart from macro social, political, economic, and historical conditions offered by Corbin and Strauss (2008; 2015) (see Chapter 5), the existence of 'macro geographical' and 'macro environmental' conditions that influence and shape the 'micro conditions' should be taken into account when the research on spatiality of power is undertaken. Moreover, unlike simplified paradigm offered by Corbin & Strauss (2008; 2015), 'conditions, actions-interactions and outcomes', the presence of a more nuanced sequence between 'conditions, actions-interactions and outcomes' should also be taken into consideration in future research studies;
6. There were also issues in relation to the document analysis. It was quite difficult to obtain the statistical data on inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO in general and in Yamal specifically.

The results and findings of the present PhD study offer several opportunities for future research. In particular, the researcher recommends:

1. The undertaking of a similar research approach applied in other under-researched regions of the Russian Federation or in other post-communist countries to explore the extent to which the results of the present PhD study might be applied or transferred beyond the specific context of this research;
2. Further exploration of particular elements of the proposed framework developed and used in the present study. For example, an in-depth focus might be placed on the rarely explored concepts of 'power proximity and reach' or 'smothered' spaces;

3. A spatiality approach might be applied in a different social or community context, for example, by focusing on local indigenous communities in more developed areas (i.e. industrial communities). This is a tourism research area that has rarely been explored through the lens of the relationship between space and power;
4. A spatiality approach might be applied to the context of rural entrepreneurship to explore particular constraints which influence rural business models. Here it is noted that a key element which is often missing from rural entrepreneurship narratives is the notion of 'place' as a link between spatial context and entrepreneurial activities.

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## **Appendices**

## I. Appendix: Letter of Confirmation in English language



*Sheffield  
Hallam University*

Dear Sir/Madam!

Let me introduce myself. My name is Dr Nicola Palmer and I am the PhD supervisor of Ms. Tatiana Gorbuntsova at Sheffield Business School, Sheffield Hallam University, UK.

I wondered if I could kindly ask you to take a short break from your busy schedule to support Tatiana in her research. Tatiana is an excellent, mature student (with plenty of industry experience) and I am sure you will enjoy talking to her.

Her study looks at the collaboration between the local tour operators and the Nenets population involved in the tourism industry development in order to identify the ways tourism development could contribute to the local economy and the Nenets' welfare. This research might be of interest to you to be included in this study. Should you be willing to participate Tatiana will be happy to provide you with a copy of her results.

Tatiana is planning to undertake the following:

- Interviews with the manager(s) (or other knowledgeable staff) of local tour operators offering tours for the International market;
- Interviews with the Nenets involved in the tourism industry development;
- Other knowledgeable participants identified by the Nenets or local tour operators as relevant to the present study (e.g. Tourism Board; NGOs (the Association of Indigenous People).

I very much hope that you are interested and most of all have the time to take part in this study.

If you decide to participate could you please contact Tatiana directly to discuss your [involvement](#):

Tatiana Gorbuntsova

E mail: [t.gorbuntsova@shu.ac.uk](mailto:t.gorbuntsova@shu.ac.uk)

Tel.: (+44) 7503551790

Thanking you in anticipation of your kind cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "N. J. Palmer".

Dr. Nicola Palmer

**PhD Programme Leader**  
**Principal Lecturer**  
**Co-Director Visitor Economy Research Unit**  
Sheffield Business School  
Sheffield Hallam University  
City Campus

## II. Appendix: Letter of Confirmation in Russian language



*Sheffield  
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Tel: +44 (0) 114 225 2940  
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See: <http://www.shu.ac.uk/sbs/research/cther/staff/sp-nicola-palmer.html>

Уважаемые Дамы и Господа!

Разрешите представиться, меня зовут Никола Палмер, я являюсь научным руководителем по докторской диссертации Татьяны Горбунцовой, обучающейся в Шеффилд Бизнес Школе при Университете Шеффилд Халлам, Великобритания.

Я была бы искренне признательна вам, если бы вы смогли выделить свободное время в своём напряжённом графике и поддержать Татьяну в её исследовании.

Её исследование сконцентрировано на сотрудничестве местных тур операторов и Ненецкого населения, принимающего участие в развитии туризма с целью определения путей увеличения вклада туризма в местную экономику и повышения благосостояния Ненецкого населения. Данная проблема возможно представляет интерес для вас, и вы возможно были бы заинтересованы в принятии непосредственного участия в данном исследовании. Если вы согласны принять участие, Татьяна будет рада ознакомить вас и предоставить копию результатов данного исследования.

Планируется проведение:

- Интервью с Менеджерами (или другими специалистами, обладающими знанием и информацией) местных тур операторов принимающих иностранных туристов;
- Интервью с представителями Ненецкого населения, принимающими участие в развитии туризма;
- Интервью с другими специалистами, указанными представителями Ненецкого населения или тур операторов как обладающие необходимой информацией.

Я искренне надеюсь, что вы заинтересованы в этом исследовании, а главное, сможете выделить время для участия в нём.

Если вы согласны принять участие, пожалуйста, свяжитесь с Татьяной напрямую, чтобы обсудить ваши дальнейшие совместные действия:

Татьяна Горбунцова/Tatiana Gorbuntsova

E mail: [t.gorbuntsova@shu.ac.uk](mailto:t.gorbuntsova@shu.ac.uk)

Tel: (+44) 7503551790



*Sheffield  
Hallam University*

Заранее благодарна за сотрудничество.

С уважением,

Никола Палмер

**Доктор Наук**

***Руководитель отделения Докторантуры***

***Главный Лектор***

***Директор Исследовательского Центра «Visitor Economy»***

Шеффилд Бизнес Школа

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See: <http://www.shu.ac.uk/sbs/research/cther/staff/sp-nicola-palmer.html>

### III. Appendix: Consent Form in English language



Sheffield  
Hallam University

Dear Sir/Madam!

Let me introduce myself. My name is Dr Nicola Palmer and I am the PhD supervisor of Ms. Tatiana Gorbuntsova at Sheffield Business School, Sheffield Hallam University, UK.

I wondered if I could kindly ask you to take a short break from your busy schedule to support Tatiana in her research.

Her study looks at the collaboration between the local tour operators and the Nenets population involved in the tourism industry development in order to identify the ways tourism development could contribute to the local economy and the Nenets' welfare. Your views and perspectives on this matter would be invaluable.

Tatiana is planning to undertake the following:

- Interviews with the manager(s) (or other knowledgeable staff) of local tour operators offering tours for the International market;
- Interviews with the Nenets involved in the tourism industry development;
- Other knowledgeable participants identified by the Nenets or local tour operators as relevant to the present study (e.g. Tourism Board; NGOs (the Association of Indigenous People).

I very much hope that you are interested and most of all have the time to take part in this study.

During the interview Tatiana would like to make a voice recording so that not to miss out things that you are telling her, but if at any point you aren't comfortable with your words being recorded, the recorder will be turned off and your response will be recorded again.

Tatiana would like to ask your permission to make use of some of what you tell her in publications from this study, including quoting some of your words. When she does this, she can "anonymise" your responses (disguise your name and identity) if you wish to. You will be able to discuss this with her and to return to this point at the end of the interview.

If you decide to participate could you please contact Tatiana directly to discuss your involvement, the time and place of the interview to suit your convenience.

Tatiana Gorbuntsova

E mail: t.gorbuntsova@shu.ac.uk

Tel.: (+44) 7503551790

Thanking you in anticipation of your kind cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

*N. J. Palmer*

Sheffield Hallam University



Sheffield  
Hallam University

Dr. Nicola Palmer  
**PhD Programme Leader**  
**Principal Lecturer**  
**Co-Director Visitor Economy Research Unit**  
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Please confirm your agreement to participate by circling your responses to the following questions.

Do you agree to take part in this study?	YES	NO
Have you read and understood the information sheet about this study?	YES	NO
Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from this study?	YES	NO
Would you like your responses to be anonymised before they are analysed?	YES	NO
Do you give your permission to use your responses and make quotes in the publications?	YES	NO
Do you give your permission to take photographs and use them in publications?	YES	NO
Do you give your permission to use your photographs in publications	YES	NO

Your signature will certify that you have voluntarily decided to take part in this research study having read and understood the information in the sheet for participants. It will also certify that you have had adequate opportunity to discuss the study with an investigator and that all questions have been answered to your satisfaction.

Signature of participant: ..... Date:..... |

Name (block letters):.....

Signature of investigator: ..... Date:.....

Please keep your copy of the consent form and the information sheet together.

## IV. Appendix: Consent Form in Russian language



Sheffield  
Hallam University

Уважаемые Дамы и Господа!

Разрешите представиться, меня зовут Никола Палмер, я являюсь научным руководителем по докторской диссертации Татьяны Горбунцовой, обучающейся в Шеффилд Бизнес Школе при Университете Шеффилд Халлам, Великобритания.

Я была бы искренне признательна вам, если бы вы смогли выделить свободное время в своем напряженном графике и поддержать Татьяну в ее исследовании.

Её исследование сконцентрировано на сотрудничестве местных тур операторов и Ненецкого населения, принимающего участие в развитии туризма с целью определения путей увеличения вклада туризма в местную экономику и повышения благосостояния Ненецкого населения. Ваше мнение по данной проблеме очень ценно.

Планируется проведение:

- Интервью с Менеджерами (или другими специалистами, обладающими знанием и информацией) местных тур операторов, принимающих иностранных туристов;
- Интервью с представителями Ненецкого населения, принимающими участие в развитии туризма;
- Интервью с другими специалистами, указанными представителями Ненецкого населения или тур операторов как обладающие необходимой информацией.

Я искренне надеюсь, что вы заинтересованы в этом исследовании, а главное, сможете выделить время для участия в нём.

Татьяна планирует использовать диктофон, чтобы зафиксировать информацию, предоставленную вами, в полном объеме. Но, если во время записи, вы захотите дать другой ответ, то диктофон будет выключен и ваш ответ или фраза будут перезаписаны. Вы также можете прекратить участвовать в данном исследовании.

Кроме того, Татьяна хотела бы попросить вашего разрешения использовать предоставленную вами информацию, включая цитаты, в публикациях, основанных на данном исследовании. Ваша анонимность гарантируется. Вы сможете обсудить это в конце интервью. Вы будете ознакомлены как с результатами данного исследования, так и с планируемым текстом публикации.

Если вы согласны принять участие, пожалуйста, свяжитесь с Татьяной напрямую, чтобы обсудить ваши дальнейшие совместные действия, время и место проведения интервью, удобное для вас.

Татьяна Горбунцова/Tatiana Gorbuntsova

E mail: t.gorbuntsova@shu.ac.uk

Tel: (+44) 7503551790

Заранее благодарна за сотрудничество.

С уважением,

Никола Палмер

Доктор Наук

Sheffield Hallam University



Sheffield  
Hallam University

Доктор Наук

Руководитель отделения Докторантуры

Главный Лектор

Директор Исследовательского Центра «Visitor Economy»

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Пожалуйста подтвердите ваше согласие на участие, выбрав ответ на нижеприведенные вопросы

Вы согласны принять участие в данном исследовании?	Да	Нет
Ознакомились ли вы с содержанием предстоящего исследования?	Да	Нет
Знаете ли вы, что можете прекратить участвовать в данном исследовании в любое время?	Да	Нет
Знаете ли вы, что ваши ответы будут анонимны, если вы захотите?	Да	Нет
Даете ли вы разрешение на использование ваших ответов в публикациях?	Да	Нет
Даете ли вы разрешение на использование фотографий в публикациях?	Да	Нет
Даете ли вы разрешение на использование предоставленных вами фотографий в публикациях?	Да	Нет

Пожалуйста, распишитесь, чтобы заверить ваше добровольное участие в данном исследовании и, что вы ознакомились с приведенной выше информацией. |

Ваша Подпись:..... Дата:.....

Имя, Фамилия:.....

**V. Appendix: Interview questions with the representatives from “the Nenets”**

1. Please tell me about yourself (age, place of birth, education, current occupation)
2. What is your perception of and attitude to oil and gas industry development? (value of land, attitude to its utilisation for industrial purposes, impacts of oil and gas industry development)
3. What is your perception of and attitude to reindeer herding industry development and the way it is being currently developed? (possible comparison with how it was developed before)
4. What is your perception of and attitude to inbound tourism industry development? What are the reasons for participation? Absence or existence of any difficulties, problems, reasons for their existence, outcomes.

**Relationships with Tour Operators, indigenous travel agencies**

5. Please could you tell me about your relationships with tour operators/indigenous travel agencies?
  - For how long have you been collaborating with tour operators/travel agencies?
  - Who was an initiator? Why?
  - How do you see your role in inbound tourism industry development? Why? (forms of participation, what tour operators responsible for; what you are responsible for)
  - How the process of decision-making or problems discussion happens? (involvement, exclusion of people, of issues, ability to influence the decision-making process)

**VI. Appendix: Interview questions with the representatives from the local non-indigenous tour operators and indigenous travel agencies**

1. Please tell me about yourself
2. Please tell me about your company (privately or governmentally owned; number of tourists hosted per year; types of trips offered; the most popular trips)
3. What is your perception of the way inbound tourism industry is being currently developed in the region? (role of the state and local government in it)
4. What is your perception of the way inbound tourism industry is being currently developed in Yamal? (role of the state and local government in it)
5. If there are any difficulties or problems of inbound tourism industry development, what are the main reasons?

**Relationships with the Nenets, between each other, with the local government**

6. Please tell me about your relationships with the representatives from “the Nenets”?
  - Who is the initiator? Why?
  - Why do “the Nenets” take part in inbound tourism industry development in your point of view?
  - How do you perceive “the Nenets” role in inbound tourism industry development? Why?
  - What is the form of “the Nenets” participation in inbound tourism industry development at present?
  - How do you see your role in inbound tourism industry development? Why?
7. Please tell me about your collaboration with the representatives from the local indigenous travel agencies/non-indigenous tour operators?
8. Please tell me about your collaboration with the representatives from the local government?

**Space utilisation**

9. What are your company’s interests, goals and strategies?
  - How do you see the usage of land, natural resources and the Nenets’ culture for inbound tourism industry development purposes? (availability of planning documents, maps, designs or images)

## VII. Appendix: Example of concept's expansion in terms of properties, dimensions, extraction of new concepts

Concept	Similar Ideas, their expansion	New, abstracted concepts
1. Money and gas flow	<p><i>Gazprom is a Giant Machine (R17)</i></p> <p><i>Gazprom is a Tank that is impossible to stop (R2)</i></p> <p><i>Is it possible to stop oil and gas industry development? No, it's impossible (R15)</i></p> <p><i>Who will be able to stop it? Nobody (R14; 15)</i></p> <p><i>If they already came, they will not leave until everything is extracted (R2; 14; 15; 9)</i></p> <p><i>If he said that the railway will be built it means it will be built and don't ask me any questions. What can we say? (R12)</i></p> <p><i>What can ordinary people do? To whom can they complaint? (R6)</i></p> <p><i>If those who are in Moscow decided that the railway should be built across the tundra, it will be built by any means (R12)</i></p>	<p><i>Power of Gazprom</i></p> <p><i>"The Nenets'" Feeling of Powerlessness</i></p> <p><i>The Nenets' powerlessness to influence decision-making process</i>  <i>Hidden power of Gazprom's representatives, established through "and don't ask me any questions", to control what gets on the agenda</i></p> <p><i>The Nenets' feeling of powerlessness, nobody they could address their problem to</i></p> <p><i>Remote Power of Federal Government</i></p> <p><i>Closed space for "the Nenets"</i></p>

Concept	Similar Ideas, their expansion	New, abstracted concepts		
2. Reduction of pastures (R17)	More and more land is being developed for the industrial purposes (R 17; 2)			
	Construction of the railway across the tundra, of the processing complexes, reduce the pastures (R6, ITA1,2)	Construction of railway	Transformation of tundra for industrial purposes	
		Construction of processing complexes that limit pastures		
	Reindeer herders have nowhere to go (R17)	Limited space for herding	Negative impact of transformation of tundra for industrial purposes on the reindeer herding	
	They already leave the territory where they used to herd their reindeer (R17)			
	They already move closer to places where other reindeer herders herd their reindeer (R17)	No space for herding in the North		
	In the North they already occupied all the territory (R14)			
	At this moment the Northern part of Yamal is being explored (ITA1)			

Concept	Similar ideas	New, abstracted concepts	
3. <b>Weak Land</b> (R17)	<p>Everything is ploughed, only iron rods are sticking out instead of green grass;</p> <p>Industrial spills pollute the environment;</p> <p>Centuries are needed for the land to recover (R6) Grass is being planted instead of lichen. It will not save the reindeer, eating grass, reindeer do not get the weight needed (R2)</p>	<p>Negative impact of oil and gas industry development on the environment</p> <p>These factors (plus Construction of the railway across the tundra, of the processing complexes that reduce pastures) along with the harsh climate cause the reduction in the number of reindeer and, as a consequence, endanger the existence of the reindeer herding (R 6; 9).</p>	<p>Negative impact of oil and gas industry development, of harsh climate on reindeer herding</p> <p>"Fear of reindeer herding industry's collapse in Yamal" (R17).</p>
Concept	Similar or Polarised ideas	New concepts	
4. Belief in the ability of the Association of Indigenous people to influence the decision-making process (R17)	<p>Polarised view: There is nothing to do with them (R6); They just exist, that's it (R6; 9; 2); They just pretend that they work (R12).</p>	<p>Trust in the ability of the Association of the Indigenous People of the North to help "the Nenets" to protect their interests</p> <p>Mistrust in the Deputies from "the Nenets" and Association of the Indigenous People of the North</p>	

Source: the Author, (2014-2015)

## VIII. Appendix Open coded concepts relating to oil and gas industry development

1	"The Nenets" perception that land belongs to them
2	Lack of Land due to the oil and gas industry development
3	Reduction of the number of state-owned reindeer due to the oil and gas industry development (Reduction of Resources – Means of Production (MoP))
4	Job loss as a result of the reduction of reindeer at the state-farm
5	"The Nenets" traditional lifestyle starts collapsing as a result of the negative impact of oil and gas industry development
6	Disappearance of natural resources and possession of small number of reindeer endangers the traditional lifestyle of "the Nenets"
7	"The Nenets" Absence of Knowledge of other economic activities
8	Importance of getting education in the current political, socio-economic situation
9	Possession of Education prevents from returning to traditional lifestyle
10	Negative impact of Railway construction on reindeer herding (it limits the territory of reindeer's pastures)
11	Negative impact of industrial (oil and gas industry) spills, pollution, waste processing on land and reindeer
12	Hidden facts of violations of wildlife by the local government from the public
13	Governmental control to prevent poaching, unlawful movements across the tundra
14	Governmental operational groups of control are poachers themselves
15	Land does not belong to "the Nenets"
16	Absence of direct benefits for "the Nenets" from oil & gas industry development
17	Indirect benefits from oil and gas industry development at a regional level through taxation paid to the local budget which in turn are allocated on various social programmes aimed at indigenous and non-indigenous population living in YNAO (infrastructure development, for example, construction of new schools, nurseries, cinemas, roads, houses; compensations paid to the reindeer herders, <i>2000 Russian Roubles per month</i> , for leading nomadic way of life; delivery of "the Nenets" children to the tundra and back during holidays by helicopters;

	subsidies from the taxes are paid to support reindeer herding)
18	Eligibility of “the Nenets” for free travel by “Gazprom’s” train to get to their camps in the tundra
19	Gazprom’s representatives decide who gets on train, who doesn’t
20	Negative attitude of “the Nenets” to the railway construction
21	“The Nenets” attempt to stop railway construction
22	“The Nenets” perception of Gazprom as a tank, giant machine that impossible to stop
23	Participation of “the Nenets” in the meetings with the representatives from Gazprom
24	Inability of “the Nenets” to influence decision-making process
25	“The Nenets” put up/”The Nenets” Powerlessness to change the situation in relation to oil and gas industry development in Yamal
26	Importance of oil and gas industry development for the country to solve its problems but not the problems of “the Nenets”, Importance of oil and gas industry development over the welfare of “the Nenets” or of the whole population of Russia <i>“for them indigenous people are the people of the whole Russia”</i> (ITA1)
27	Uselessness of the “Association of Indigenous People of the North” in the YNAO and in Moscow based on its financial dependence on the local government

## IX. Appendix Open coded concepts relating to reindeer herding industry development

1	Value of Reindeer for "the Nenets" (reindeer as a source of income, food, house, cloths, modes of transport, stability, independence and freedom)
2	Small number of reindeer (around 100-200) means inability to slaughter for commercial purposes, ability to slaughter just for family's needs
3	Big number of reindeer (more than 1500) means prosperous life
4	Reduction in the number of reindeer due to Harsh climate conditions
5	Work for state-owned reindeer farm means guaranteed salary and pension
6	Private, not registered reindeer herders are not eligible to get social benefits
7	Availability of a Direct Access to the Market for private reindeer herders a few years ago
8	Current absence of a Direct access to the Market for private reindeer herders, irrespectively whether they are registered as entrepreneurs or as members of community, or not
9	Direct access to Market is prohibited by Law (slaughtering is only allowed through state-owned processing complexes)
10	Only state-owned reindeer farm «Yamal Oleni» (Municipal Enterprise "Yamal Reindeer") has a direct access to the market
11	Collaboration of the state-owned reindeer farm with foreign companies on reindeer meat supply (for example, Germany, Finland)
12	Construction of state-owned processing complexes
13	Positive attitude to processing complexes' construction: relieves congestion at other complexes
14	Negative attitude to processing complexes' construction: reduces the territory of pastures along with the railway
15	Certification of reindeer meat in accordance with European Standards
16	To be able to slaughter at the state-owned processing complexes, Private Reindeer herders should be registered as entrepreneurs
17	Private reindeer herders not registered as entrepreneurs or not the members of the community are not subsidised, they will not get a pension

18	To be able to sell antlers, raw materials of endocrine system, license must be obtained
19	Creation of “The Nenets” Communities, subsidised by the government, to ease the process of slaughtering for “the Nenets” by making it centralised
20	Subsidised are only paid to those who slaughter reindeer on the territory of the YNAO
21	Positive side of Communities Creation – paid tax results in guaranteed pension
22	<p>Negative side of Communities Creation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Small size of governmental subsidies paid and income got for slaughtered meat</li> <li>• The bigger community the more difficult to run it, less profit the members get; subsidies do not reach reindeer herders, it settles at the level of those who run the community, who in turn spend subsidies on tax payment and to cover the needs of the community;</li> <li>• Lots of paperwork to report on work progress (Hidden power of Bureaucratisation)</li> <li>• Absence of specialists, for instance, lawyer, accountant, to run “the Nenets” community (Absence of Resources-Educated specialists among “the Nenets”);</li> <li>• Obligations to supply foreign business partners put “the Nenets” into limits, «the Nenets” are fettered now, if before they could decide how many reindeer they slaughter, now they have norms they obliged to fulfil, with the absence of opportunity to sell meat directly;</li> <li>• Fixed payments for slaughtered meat: 180 Russian Roubles/kg</li> </ul>
23	Some Nenets leave the community (Absence of fear to leave community based on the MoP (reindeer) possessed)
24	Some Nenets stay in the community because of the social benefits, for example, pension
25	Absence of Access to exhibitions for private reindeer herders
26	Access to exhibitions for the representatives from the state-owned reindeer farm
27	Role of Deputies from “the Nenets” –based on their number, just four of them are in Duma
28	Power of state-owned reindeer farm (Monopolist)
29	State-owned reindeer farm will cause obstacles to its competitors
30	Corrupted local government which uses hidden power to dominate over the private business
31	Power of “the Nenets” to open up closing space by creation of new space

## X. Appendix Open coded concepts relating to fishing

1	Fishing used to be profitable economic activity for "the Nenets"
2	Collapse of fishing industry due to Perestroika
3	Decrease in income in fishing industry during Perestroika
4	Loss of job
5	Fish disappearance due to Environmental causes
6	Fish disappearance due to pollution and spills caused by Gazprom
7	Fish disappearance triggers ban on fishing for commercial purposes excluding state-owned fishery complexes
8	Operational groups control compliance with the law
9	"The Nenets" Perception of these operational groups as being poachers themselves
10	Eligibility of "the Nenets" community to fish
11	Small quotas on fishing for "the Nenets" communities prevent them from benefiting
12	Fish disappearance, ban on fishing and small quotas on fishing enforces changes in "the Nenets" social life - changes in occupation
13	Locations for fishing are allocated on a competitive basis
14	Locations for fishing and quotas are made in Tumen, not in the YNAO
15	Construction of state-owned fishing complexes

## XI. Appendix Open coded concepts relating to inbound tourism industry development

1	"The Nenets" perception of tourists as the instrument to make people aware of the problems "the Nenets" currently face
2	Reason for participation in the tourism industry development: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pasture reductions due to oil and gas industry development;</li> <li>• Small number of reindeer;</li> <li>• Low salaries at the state-owned reindeer farm;</li> <li>• Absence of job in the villages due to the cheap labour-immigrants to Yamal;</li> <li>• Unprofitability of community;</li> <li>• Ban on fishing;</li> <li>• Absence of other economic activities/sources of income;</li> <li>• Perception of Tourism as a source of additional income;</li> <li>• Perception of Tourism as a tool to preserve "the Nenets" culture</li> </ul>
3	Primacy of Financial interest
4	Reasons not to participate in the tourism industry development: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Primacy of traditional economic activity - reindeer herding over tourism industry;</li> <li>• Negative attitude to the strangers based on the traditionally isolated lifestyle</li> </ul>
5	Indigenous travel agencies and representatives of "the Nenets" communities are the Initiators of "the Nenets" participation in the tourism industry, not "the Nenets", PNITOs, STO and local government
6	Possession of resources needed to begin participation in tourism (for instance, nature, "the Nenets" culture, contacts, internet, knowledge of tundra, resources for film making)
7	Production of films as the initial stage of the tourism industry development
8	"The Nenets" negative attitude to a mass tourism
9	Absence of collaboration between the local government and PNITOs, ITAs (PNITOs and ITAs are not invited to discuss the tourism industry development, the type of the assistance needed for PNITOs and ITAs)
10	Collaboration between "the Nenets", STO, PNITOs and ITAs
11	Dependence of STO, PNITOs and ITAs on "the Nenets" agreement to participate in the tourism industry development

12	<p>Difficulties of tourism industry development:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Remote Geographical location of Yamal;</li> <li>• Connected to geographical location of Yamal Long trip duration to Yamal;</li> <li>• Connected to geographical location of Yamal High transportation cost;</li> <li>• Transportation expenses are not subsidised by the local government;</li> <li>• High fuel cost;</li> <li>• High cost of transport repair;</li> <li>• Underdeveloped infrastructure (lack of hotels, poor road conditions, absence of internet in some localities, slow internet connection, absence of satellite connection in some localities, high cost of satellite connection (Absence or Lack of Resources required for tourism industry development));</li> <li>• Harsh climatic conditions;</li> <li>• Connected to geographical location of Yamal and harsh climatic conditions Problems with tourists' safety;</li> <li>• Absence of collaboration from the local government;</li> <li>• Absence of support from the local government (including substantial financial);</li> <li>• Absence of governmental interest in the inbound tourism industry development</li> </ul>
13	High cost of trip that puts tourists off
14	<p>Business Dishonesty ("promise one price, pay much less");</p> <p>Resulted Mistrust of ITAs to STO and "the Nenets" to ITAs</p>
15	Inbound tourism industry is not always profitable
16	<p>Governmental, PNITOs' and STO's solutions to the problems of tourism industry development:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Delivery of tourists closer to Salekhard where infrastructure is well developed;</li> <li>• Product substitution - creation of artificial chums located closer to Salekhard, accommodation of tourists at the municipally owned trading posts in the tundra which are equipped with everything, accommodation for tourists, a shop, a sauna</li> </ul>
17	Absence of tourists' flow in Yamal
18	Possession by the Local government of the main resources: hotels, transport
19	Financial support of the local government by the Federal government (e.g., participation in the Tourism exhibitions)
20	Inability of PNITOs and ITAs to participate in Tourism exhibitions due to the lack or absence of Financial Resources
21	Inability of PNITOs and ITAs to compete with the local government due to the lack of resources needed for the inbound tourism industry development (e.g., modes of transport, finances)

22	PNITOs and ITAs action: Resource Acquisition (e.g., finding business partners (other tour operators) in other regions of the Russian Federation and abroad to collaborate with, to promote themselves, their service and products)
23	Local government is the main competitor
24	Collaboration of Governmental Tourism Department with PNITOs – collection of PNITOs leaflets to represent them at the exhibitions. PNITOs and ITAs, themselves, are not invited and their participation is not subsidised by the local government
25	Governmental absence of understanding of the degree of interest in tourism, what should be done to develop it
26	Outcome of governmental absence of understanding of the degree of interest in tourism, what should be done to develop it: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• incorrect product ;</li> <li>• incorrect allocation of financial resources on the tourism industry development positioning;</li> <li>• lack of financial investments in the tourism industry development</li> </ul>
27	Absence of interest in the inbound tourism industry development in Yamal at the municipal level
28	Outcome of the absence of interest in the inbound tourism industry development in Yamal at the municipal level and governmental level: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Absence of Tourism department at the Municipal level;</li> <li>• Absence of website devoted to tourism industry development in Yamal</li> </ul>
29	Hidden Power of local government to make an illusion of the work done
30	Transformation of STO into the informational centre to stop it being the competitor for other private companies
31	Availability of grants, and their allocation on a competitive basis by the local government
32	Governmental Instruments to prevent “the Nenets” and ITAs from grant acquisition: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bureaucratisation;</li> <li>• Lack of advertisements;</li> <li>• Improper work of post-delivery;</li> <li>• Absence of Internet in some localities;</li> <li>• Importance of friendship and kinship in grants' acquisition;</li> <li>• Nationalism toward “the Nenets”</li> </ul>
33	ITAs', PNITOs' and “the Nenets” action: collaboration on business plan development to get the grant

34	<p>Grant allocated are enough for small businesses, but not enough to develop it further;</p> <p>Absence of governmental interest in small business development;</p> <p>Absence of governmental interest in “the Nenets” independence</p>
35	<p>PNITOs' vision of the role of “the Nenets” and ITAs' in the tourism industry development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The Nenets” service should be part of the tour package offered by PNITOs.</li> <li>• Grants' Space for “the Nenets” should be closed down and opened up for PNITOs</li> </ul> <p>Ideology: “the Nenets” should do what they can do well; their shoulders shouldn't be overloaded.</p>
36	Local government's perception of “the Nenets” and ITAs' inability to host tourists
37	Local government's interference in the ITA's and PNITOs' work
38	ITA's Action to tackle obstacles caused by the local government or municipality, to open up the closing down space by creation of the new ones
39	“The Nenets” Action: to get resources needed to open up closed space and to get Power Within and as a result, Power To
40	<p>ITAs', “the Nenets” and non-indigenous respondents' Negative Perception of the current, local Governor and government:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Desire to control everything and everybody;</li> <li>• Desire to centralize everything in accordance with its own interests;</li> <li>• Corruption (Hidden power of government);</li> <li>• Nationalism in relation to “the Nenets” at the local government and municipal level (Hidden power of government)</li> </ul> <p>ITAs', “the Nenets”, PNITOs' Mistrust toward the local government regarding “active” tourism industry development in the YNAO in order to improve “the Nenets” welfare (based on the absence of tourism industry development and governmental help / Inconsistency between what it is said by the governor and what it is in reality)</p>
41	Primacy of oil and gas industry development for local government over tourism industry development
42	<p>Negative Outcome of Difficulties of the tourism industry development for ITAs: participation in other than tourism entrepreneurial, economic activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reindeer herding;</li> <li>• Participation in the exhibitions subsidised by the local government to represent “the Nenets” culture;</li> <li>• Participation in other entrepreneurial, economic activities based on the resources possessed (e.g., education, specialization)</li> </ul>
43	<p>Negative Outcome of Difficulties of the tourism industry development for PNITOs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Concentration of PNITOs on Outbound tourism rather than on Inbound;</li> <li>• Involvement in other entrepreneurial, economic activities (e.g., setting up a new, private business; attempt to get into the local government to be able to make and influence</li> </ul>

	decision-making process re tourism industry development)
44	Unsuccessful attempt of the representative from the PNITO to get onto the governmental structure to be to be able to make and influence decision-making process re tourism industry development
45	Tourism in the YNAO is not a mass tourism

## XII. Appendix Axial coded sub-categories and categories relating to oil and gas industry development

"The Nenets" perception that land belongs to them			Macro-Historical factor						"The Nenets" and ITAs Representational space
Lack of Land due to the oil and gas industry development	Lack of Natural Resources – Result of Spatial practices	Negative Impact of Oil and gas industry development on reindeer herding	Unsustainability of oil and gas industry development	Negative Outcome of Transformation of Space	Oil and Gas industry development Power Over	Spatiality of Power	Primacy of Economic Interests	Macro-Historical factor : Outcome of transition from Socialism to Capitalism	Federal and local governments' Representations of space through "The Nenets" and ITAs Representational space
Reduction of the number of state-owned reindeer due to the oil and gas industry development	Reduction of Resources – Means of Production (MoP) - Result of Spatial practices								
Job loss as a result of the reduction of reindeer at the state-farm	Changes in Social sphere								
Railway construction limits reindeer' pastures	Negative impact of Railway construction on reindeer herding – Spatial practice								
Industrial (oil and gas industry) pollution, spills, waste processing negatively impact land, reindeer and environment in general		Negative Impact of Oil and gas industry development on the environment – Result of Spatial practices							"The Nenets" and ITAs Representational space
"The Nenets" traditional lifestyle starts collapsing as a result of the negative impact of oil	Changes in Social sphere	Negative Impact of Oil and gas industry development on							

and gas industry development		“the Nenets” traditional lifestyle – Result of Spatial practices							
Disappearance of natural resources and possession of small number of reindeer endangers the traditional lifestyle of “the Nenets”									
“The Nenets” Absence of Knowledge of other economic activities	Absence of Resources – Work experience in other economic activities	Absence of Power Within to be able to get Power To							“The Nenets” Representational space
Importance of getting education in the current political, socio-economic situation	Importance of Resource Acquisition (Education) to get Power Within and as a result, Power To	Changes in Social sphere		Outcome of Transformation of Space					
Possession of Education prevents “the Nenets” from returning to traditional lifestyle	Negative impact of Resource acquisition (high education) on preservation of “the Nenets” traditional lifestyle								
Hidden facts of violations of wildlife by the local government from the public	Governmental Hidden power to conceal facts from the public								Spatiality of Power
Governmental control to prevent poaching, unlawful movements across the tundra	Local Government’s Visible, Remote power of control, Spatial practice								

Governmental operational groups of control are poachers themselves	Corruption	Hidden governmental power			<b>“The Nenets” and ITAs Representational space</b>
Land does not belong to “the Nenets”	Federal Government's Visible, Remote Power Over				<b>Federal and local governments' Representations of space through “The Nenets” and ITAs Representational space</b>
Absence of direct benefits for “the Nenets” from oil & gas industry development					<b>“The Nenets” and ITAs Representational space</b>
Indirect benefits from oil and gas industry development at a regional level through taxation paid to the local budget which in turn are allocated on various social programmes aimed at indigenous and non-indigenous population living in YNAO (infrastructure development, e.g., construction of new schools, nurseries, cinemas, roads, houses; compensations paid to the reindeer herders, <i>2000 Russian Roubles per month</i> , for leading nomadic way of life; delivery of “the Nenets” children to the tundra and back during holidays	“The Nenets” Perception of the oil and gas industry development, benefits it brings them – Results of Spatial practice	Federal Government's Visible, Remote Power Over	Spatiality of Power		<b>“The Nenets””, PNITOs', ITAs', STO's Representational space</b>

by helicopters; subsidies from the taxes are paid to support reindeer herding)					
Eligibility of “the Nenets” for free travel by “Gazprom’s” train to get to their camps in the tundra		“Gazprom’s” Power Over			
Gazprom’s representatives decide who gets on train, who doesn’t	Hidden Power of “Gazprom’s” Representatives, Spatial practice				
Negative attitude of “the Nenets” to the railway construction	Outcome of the negative impact of railway construction on “the Nenets” traditional reindeer herding – Result of Spatial practices	Negative Outcome of Space Transformation			“The Nenets” and ITAs Representational space
“The Nenets” attempt to stop railway construction	“The Nenets” Power With – Spatial practice	Outcome of Space Transformation	Spatiality of Power		
“The Nenets” perception of Gazprom as a tank, giant machine that impossible to stop	“The Nenets” Powerlessness	Invisible Power, but Visible to “the Nenets”			
“The Nenets” put up	“The Nenets” Powerlessness to change the situation in relation to the oil and gas industry development in Yamal – Result of				
				Macro-Historical factor: Outcome of Transition from Socialism to Capitalism	

	Spatial practices						
Participation of “the Nenets” in the meetings with the representatives from Gazprom	Visibly Invited space – Spatial practice	Smothered space					
Inability of “the Nenets” to influence decision-making process	Hidden Power of “Gazprom’s” representatives – Spatial practice						
Importance of oil and gas industry development for the country to solve its problems but not the problems of “the Nenets”, Importance of oil and gas industry development over the welfare of “the Nenets” or of the whole population of Russia “ <i>for them indigenous people are the people of the whole Russia</i> ” (ITA1)	Federal and local governments’ primacy of economic interests	Primacy of economic interests over social	Expansion of Capitalism				Federal and local governments’ Representations of space through “The Nenets” and ITAs Representational space
Uselessness of the “Association of Indigenous People of the North” in the YNAO and in Moscow based on its financial dependence on the local government	Financial dependence of NGOs on the government	Powerlessness of NGOs	Invisible, but visible to “the Nenets” and ITAs power of government	Spatiality of Power			“The Nenets” and ITAs Representational space

### XIII. Appendix Axial coded sub-categories and categories relating to reindeer herding industry development

Value of Reindeer for “the Nenets”  (reindeer as a source of income, food, house, cloths, modes of transport, stability, independence and freedom)	Possession of Resources – Means of Production (MoP) by “the Nenets”		“The Nenets” Independence, Freedom based on the possession of Resources (MoP)	“The Nenets” Power Within, Power To	Spatiality of Power			ITAs’ and “the Nenets” Representational Space	Spatial Practice
Small number of reindeer (e.g. 100-200) means inability to slaughter for commercial purposes, ability to slaughter just for family’s needs	Dependence of income on the possession of the Resources - MoP (number of reindeer possessed)	Outcome of “The Nenets” dependence on the Resources (MoP) possessed		“The Nenets” powerlessness					
Big number of reindeer (more than 1500) means prosperous life	Dependence of “the Nenets” welfare on the MoP (number of reindeer possessed)			“The Nenets” Power Within, Power To					
Reduction in the number of reindeer due to Harsh climate conditions	Negative Environmental impact on Reindeer herding		Macro-Environmental Condition/Factor						
Work for state-owned reindeer farm means guaranteed salary and pension	Visible, Governmental Power Over, governmental control of reindeer herding industry using political power of law		Social sphere		Spatiality of Power			Governmental Representations of Space through ITAs’ and “the Nenets” Representational Space	
Private, not registered reindeer herders are not eligible to get social benefits									
Availability of a Direct Access to the Market for private reindeer herders a few years	Used to be Open space – Spatial			Outcome of Space		Macro-Economic Factor -	Macro-Historical factor:		

ago	practice			Transformation		Outcome of Capitalism Expansion	Outcome of Transition from Socialism to Capitalism		
Current absence of a Direct access to the Market for private reindeer herders, irrespectively whether they are registered as entrepreneurs or as members of community, or not	Now Closed space	Hidden Power, Power Over of Government to control and limit the opportunities for "the Nenets"	Visible, Remote Governmental Power Over to use political power of law to close down the direct access to Market for private, not officially registered as entrepreneurs or as members of community reindeer herders – Result of Spatial practices						
Direct access to Market is prohibited by Law (slaughtering is only allowed through state-owned processing complexes)	Visible Political Power of Law (Remote Federal Government's Power Over) to close down the space								
Only state-owned reindeer farm «Yamal Oleni» (Municipal Enterprise "Yamal Reindeer") has a direct access to the market	Visible, Governmental Power to protect interests of the state-owned reindeer farm using political power of Law (Remote Federal government's Power Over) - Result of Spatial practices				Spatiality of Power				
Collaboration of the state-owned reindeer farm with foreign companies on reindeer meat supply (e.g. Germany, Finland)	International Business Collaboration with foreign companies on reindeer meat supply – Spatial practice	Space Transformation		State-owned reindeer farm's Visible Power Over					
Construction of state-owned processing complexes	Space Transformation – Spatial practice	Visible, Governmental Power Over		Spatiality of Power	Micro-Economic Factor				
Positive attitude to processing complexes' construction: relieves congestion at other	"The Nenets" attitude to processing complexes	Positive outcome of Space Transformation	Invisible power of Ideology		Spatiality of Power		<b>"the Nenets" Representational Space</b>		

complexes	construction - Result of Spatial practices							
Negative attitude to processing complexes' construction: reduces the territory of pastures along with the railway (linkage to oil & gas industry development)		Negative Outcome of Space Transformation						
Certification of reindeer meat in accordance with the European Standards	Visible, Foreign business partners' Power Over		Spatiality of Power	Macro-Economic Factor	Outcome of Capitalism expansion		Governmental Representations of space through ITAs' and "the Nenets"' Representational space	
To be able to slaughter at the state-owned processing complexes, Private Reindeer herders should be registered as entrepreneurs	Ways to guarantee international obligations on meat supply and to make "the Nenets" to comply with governmental interests – Spatial practice	Visible, Remote, Governmental Power Over to use political power of law to protect its economic interests				Macro-Historical factor : Outcome of Transition from Socialism to Capitalism		
Private reindeer herders not registered as entrepreneurs or not the members of the community are not subsidised, they will not get a pension		Visible, Remote, Governmental Power Over based on the usage of political power of law						
To be able to sell antlers, raw materials of endocrine system, license must be obtained		Invisible Power of Ideology, but Visible to "the Nenets"						
Creation of "The Nenets" Communities, subsidised by the government, to ease the process of slaughtering for "the Nenets" by making it centralised		Visible, Remote, Governmental Power Over based on the usage of political power of law to protect its economic interests						
Subsidies are only paid to those who slaughter reindeer on the territory of the YNAO								

Positive side of Communities Creation – paid tax results in guaranteed pension	“The Nenets” Positive Attitude to communities creation – Result of Spatial practice									
Negative side of Communities Creation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Small size of governmental subsidies paid and income got for slaughtered meat</li><li>• The bigger community the more difficult to run it, less profit the members get;</li><li>• subsidies do not reach reindeer herders, it settles at the level of those who run the community, who in turn spend subsidies on tax payment and to cover the needs of the community;</li><li>• Lots of paperwork to report on work progress (Hidden power of Bureaucratisation)</li><li>• Absence of specialists, e.g., lawyer, accountant, to run “the Nenets” community (Absence of Resources-Educated</li></ul>	Negative outcome of Communities creation - Result of Spatial practice	Governmental Hidden Power of Bureaucratisation;  “The Nenets” powerlessness to tackle bureaucratisation (Invisible power, but visible to “the Nenets”)  “The Nenets” Powerlessness-Invisible power, but visible to “the Nenets” based on the Absence of Resources-Educated specialists among “the Nenets”  Visible, Remote Governmental Political Power Over – Communities’ contract obligation on meat supply;  Governmental Hidden Power Over to limit “the Nenets” and “the Nenets” communities’ opportunities to earn money having set a		Spatiality of Power						

specialists among “the Nenets”); <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Obligations to supply foreign business partners put “the Nenets” into limits, «“the Nenets” are fettered now, if before they could decide how many reindeer they slaughter, now they have norms they obliged to fulfil, with the absence of opportunity to sell meat directly;</li><li>Fixed payments for slaughtered meat: 180 Russian Roubles/kg</li></ul>		fixed payment for the slaughtered meat							
Some Nenets leave the community (Absence of fear to leave community based on the MoP (reindeer) possessed)	Outcome of community creation - Result of Spatial practice	“The Nenets” Resistance	Space Creation based on power Within which is in turn is grounded on possession of MoP, and resulted Power To	Spatiality of Power	Macro-Historical Factor			“The Nenets” and ITAs’ Representational space	
Some Nenets stay in the community because of the social benefits, e.g., pension		“The Nenets” dependence on governmental social benefits	Visible, Governmental Power Over		Macro-Social Factor				
Absence of Access to exhibitions for private reindeer herders	Hidden Governmental Power, Closed space for “the Nenets” - Result of Spatial practice				Outcome of transition from Socialism to Capitalism, Capitalism Expansion		Macro-Historical Factor	Governmental Representations of Space through “the Nenets” and ITAs’ Representational Space	
Access availability to exhibitions for the representatives from the state-owned reindeer farm	Hidden Governmental Power, Open space for the representatives from the state-owned reindeer farm - Result of Spatial practice								

“The Nenets” and ITAs’ negative perception of the Deputies from “the Nenets”	Powerlessness of “the Nenets” representatives (Deputies) to influence decision-making process due to their small number (just 4 of them are in Duma) (Invisible Power, but visible to “the Nenets” and ITAs)	Hidden Governmental power to control the number of “the Nenets” representatives in the governmental structures				<b>“the Nenets” and ITAs’ Representational Space</b>	
Power of state-owned reindeer farm (Monopolist)	Monopolism of governmental state-owned reindeer farm	Visible, Governmental Power Over	Spatiality of Power	Outcome of transition from Socialism to Capitalism, Capitalism Expansion	Macro-Historical Factor	<b>the Nenets” and ITAs’ Representational Space</b>	
State-owned reindeer farm will cause obstacles to its competitors	“The Nenets” Negative perception of state-owned reindeer farm	Hidden Power of local government and state-owned reindeer farm to limit opportunities – Spatial practice					
Corrupted local government which uses hidden power to dominate over the private business	“The Nenets” Negative perception of local government	Hidden Power of Corruption					
Power of “the Nenets” to open up closing space by creating the new space	“The Nenets” Resistance (Power To) based on Power Within & Power To	Space Creation – Spatial practice					

#### XIV. Appendix Axial coded sub-categories and categories relating to fishing

Fishing used to be a profitable economic activity for "the Nenets"						Negative Outcome of Space Transformation		Macro-Historical Factor: Socialism	"The Nenets"' and ITAs' Representational Space	Spatial Practice		
Collapse of fishing industry due to Perestroika							Negative outcome of Capitalism expansion	Macro-Historical Factor: transition from Socialism to Capitalism				
Decrease in income in fishing industry during Perestroika					Negative changes in Social sphere							
Loss of job												
Fish disappearance due to Environmental causes	Lack of Natural Resources – Fish				Negative Environmental impact on fishing							
Fish disappearance due to pollution and spills caused by Gazprom - Result of Spatial practice					Negative, Unsustainable, Industrial impact on fishing	Negative Outcome of Space Transformation	Negative outcome of Capitalism expansion	Macro-Historical Factor: transition from Socialism to Capitalism				
Fish disappearance triggers ban	Remote, Visible, Governmental Power Over to	Hidden Governmental power to limit	Invisible, but Visible to "the Nenets".	Closed Space for the Nenets"	Spatiality of Power						Governmental Representations of Space	

on fishing for commercial purposes excluding state-owned fishery complexes	use political power of law to protect its economic interests – Spatial practice	opportunities by preventing “the Nenets” from fishing for commercial purposes	Power of Ideology: governmental wish to preserve fish							through “the Nenets” and ITAs’ Representational Space	
Operational groups control compliance with the law				Governmental instrument to control the closeness of space for “the Nenets”		Outcome of Space Transformation					
“The Nenets” Perception of these operational groups as being poachers themselves	“The Nenets” Negative attitude to the governmental groups of control	Mistrust to governmental structures	Hidden Governmental Power of corruption		Spatiality of Power	Negative Outcome of Space Transformation				“The Nenets” and ITAs’ Representational Space	
Eligibility of “the Nenets” community to fish for commercial purposes	Remote, Visible, Governmental Power Over to use political power of law to protect “the Nenets” traditional lifestyle interests –Spatial practice	Open Space for “the Nenets” communities	Smothered Space		Spatiality of Power			Macro-Historical Factor based on fishing being “the Nenets” traditional economic activity		Governmental Representations of Space through “the Nenets” and ITAs’ Representational Space	
Small quotas on fishing for “the Nenets” communities prevent them from benefiting	Hidden Governmental power to limit “the Nenets” opportunities to benefit from fishing using political power of law (fishing quotas) - Spatial	Closed Space for “the Nenets” communities				Negative Outcome of Space Transformation	Negative outcome of Capitalism expansion	Macro-Historical Factor: transition from Socialism to Capitalism		“The Nenets” and ITAs’ Representational Space	

	practice									
Fish disappearance , ban on fishing and small quotas on fishing enforces changes in "the Nenets" social life - changes in occupation					Negative changes in Social sphere - Result of Spatial practice					
Locations for fishing are allocated on a competitive basis	Hidden Governmental power to use political power of law and bureaucratisation to close down space - Spatial practice									
Locations for fishing and quotas are made in Tumen, not in the YNAO	Hidden Governmental Power to limit the possibilities of "the Nenets" using bureaucratisation and decentralisation of power - Spatial practice		Smothered space		Spatiality of Power					
Construction of state-owned fishing complexes	Spatial practice				Outcome of Space Transformation in accordance with the governmental economic	Primacy of Governmental Economic interest				
										<b>Governmental Representations of Space through "the Nenets'" and ITAs' Representational Space</b>

					interests					
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## XV. Appendix Axial coded sub-categories and categories relating to inbound tourism industry development

“The Nenets” perception of tourists as the instrument to make people aware of the problems “the Nenets” currently face	“The Nenets” positive perception of tourists	Transformation of Powerlessness into Power using tourists as a tool	Spatiality of Power			“The Nenets” Representational Space	Spatial Practice
Reason for participation in the tourism industry development: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Pasture reductions due to the oil and gas industry development;</li><li>Small number of reindeer;</li><li>Low salaries at the state-owned reindeer farm;</li><li>Absence of job in the villages due to the cheap labour-immigrants to Yamal;</li><li>Unprofitability of community;</li><li>Ban on fishing;</li><li>Absence of other economic activities/sources of income;</li><li>Perception of Tourism as a source of additional income;</li><li>Perception of Tourism as a tool to preserve “the Nenets” culture</li></ul>	Reason for participation in the tourism industry development:	Space Creation – Spatial practice	Outcome of Negative Transformation of Space		“The Nenets” and ITAs’ Representational Space		
Primacy of Financial interest for “the Nenets”				Negative impact of transition to Capitalism	Macro-Historical Factor: transition from Socialism to Capitalism	“The Nenets” Representations of Space through “the Nenets” and ITAs’ Representational Space	
Reasons not to participate in the tourism industry development: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Primacy of traditional</li></ul>	Space Closure by “the Nenets” – Spatial practice	Power of the MoP (Power of Resources – reindeer	“The Nenets” Power Within and, as a result, Power To	Spatiality of Power	Macro-Historical Factor: traditional lifestyle connected to		

<p>economic activity - reindeer herding over tourism industry;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Negative attitude to the strangers based on the traditionally isolated lifestyle</li> </ul>		<p>possession);</p> <p>Power of Traditional lifestyle</p>			traditional economic activity		
Indigenous travel agencies and representatives of “the Nenets” & “the Nenets” communities are the Initiators of “the Nenets” participation in the tourism industry, not PNITOs, STO and local government	“The Nenets”, “the Nenets” communities’, ITAs’ Power Within, Power To	Space Creation	Spatiality of Power	Outcome of Space Transformation	Macro-Economic Factor & Micro-Social Factor	<b>ITAs’, PNITOs’ and STO’s Representational Space</b>	
Possession of resources needed to begin participation in tourism (e.g., nature, “the Nenets” culture, contacts, internet, knowledge of tundra, resources for film making)	“The Nenets” and ITAs’ Power Over based on Resource possession	“The Nenets” Power Within and resulted Power To				<b>“The Nenets” and ITAs’ Representations of Space</b>	
Production of films as the initial stage of the tourism industry development	“The Nenets” Power With	Space Creation – Spatial practice				<b>ITAs’ Representations of Space</b>	
“The Nenets” negative attitude to a mass tourism	“The Nenets” Negative Attitude to mass tourism				Macro-Economic Factor: primacy of traditional economic activity – reindeer herding	<b>“The Nenets”’, ITAs’, PNITOs’, STO’s Representational Space</b>	
Absence of collaboration between the local government and PNITOs, ITAs (PNITOs and ITAs are not invited to discuss the tourism industry development, the type of the assistance needed for PNITOs and ITAs)	Hidden Governmental Power to control the access to decision-making process – Spatial practice	Open/Invited Space. In reality, Closed Space	Smothered Space	Spatiality of Power	Macro-Historical Factor: transition from Socialism to Capitalism, Capitalism expansion	<b>Governmental Representations of Space through “the Nenets”’, ITAs’, PNITOs’, STO’s Representational Space</b>	
Collaboration between “the Nenets”, STO, PNITOs and ITAs	Power With	Space Creation – Spatial practice				<b>“The Nenets”’, ITAs’, PNITOs’, STO’s Representations of</b>	

						<b>Space</b>	
Dependence of STO, PNITOs and ITAs on “the Nenets” agreement to participate in the tourism industry development	“The Nenets” Power Over based on the Resources possessed (“the Nenets” culture, knowledge of tundra)					<b>ITAs’, PNITOs’, STO’s Representations of Space</b>	
<p>Difficulties of tourism industry development:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Remote Geographical location of Yamal;</li> <li>• Connected to geographical location of Yamal Long trip duration to Yamal;</li> <li>• Connected to geographical location of Yamal High transportation cost;</li> <li>• Transportation expenses are not subsidised by the local government;</li> <li>• High fuel cost;</li> <li>• High cost of transport repair;</li> <li>• Underdeveloped infrastructure (lack of hotels, poor road conditions, absence of internet in some localities, slow internet connection, absence of satellite connection in some localities, high cost of satellite connection (Absence or Lack of Resources required for tourism industry development));</li> <li>• Harsh climatic conditions;</li> <li>• Connected to geographical</li> </ul>	Difficulties of tourism industry development				<p>Macro-Geographical Factor;</p> <p>Macro-Environmental Factor;</p> <p>Macro-Economic Factor;</p> <p>Macro-Social Factor;</p> <p>Macro-Historical Factor</p>	<b>ITAs’, PNITOs’, STO’s Representational Space</b>	

location of Yamal and harsh climatic conditions Problems with tourists' safety; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Absence of collaboration from the local government;</li> <li>• Absence of support from the local government (including substantial financial);</li> <li>• Absence of governmental interest in the inbound tourism industry development</li> </ul>							
High cost of trip that puts tourists off	Reasons that put "the Nenets", ITAs, PNITOs, STO off from participation in the tourism industry development	Outcome of Difficulties of tourism industry development			Macro-Geographical Factor; Macro-Environmental Factor; Macro-Economic Factor; Macro-Social Factor; Macro-Historical Factor	<b>ITAs', PNITOs', STO's Representational Space</b>	
Business Dishonesty ("promise one price, pay much less"); Resulted Mistrust of ITAs to STO and "the Nenets" to ITAs - Result of Spatial practice	Reasons that put PNITOs, ITAs and "the Nenets" off from participation in the tourism industry development	Difficulties of tourism industry development		Negative Outcome of Capitalism expansion	Macro-Historical Factor: transition from Socialism to Capitalism	<b>"The Nenets'", ITAs', PNITOs', STO's Representational Space</b>	
Inbound tourism industry is not always profitable							
Governmental, PNITOs' and STO's solutions to the problems of tourism industry development – Spatial	Hidden Power of Government, PNITOs and STO			Spatiality of Power	Outcome of Macro-Geographical	<b>Governmental, PNITOs', STOs' Representations of</b>	

practice: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Delivery of tourists closer to Salekhard where infrastructure is well developed;</li> <li>• Product substitution - creation of artificial chums located closer to Salekhard;</li> <li>• Accommodation of tourists at the municipally owned trading posts in the tundra which are equipped with everything, accommodation for tourists, a shop, a sauna</li> </ul>	to create new space and to close down space for “the Nenets” and ITAs;  Governmental Power Over based on the Resources possessed				Factor;  Macro-Environmental Factor;  Macro-Economic Factor;  Macro-Social Factor;  Macro-Historical Factor	<b>Space</b>	
Absence of tourists' flow in Yamal	Result of Spatial practice			Negative Outcome of the tourism industry development		<b>“The Nenets”, ITAs’, PNITOs’, STO’s Representational Space</b>  <b>Federal Government’s Representations of Space through “The Nenets”, ITAs’, PNITOs’, STO’s Representational Space</b>  <b>ITAs’, and PNITOs’, Representational Space</b>	
Possession by the Local government of the main resources: hotels, transport	Governmental Power Over based on the Resources possessed			Spatiality of Power			
Financial support of the local government by the Federal government (e.g., participation in the Tourism exhibitions) – Spatial practice	Governmental Power Over based on the financial resources possessed  Power With						
Inability of PNITOs and ITAs to participate in Tourism exhibitions due to the lack or absence of Financial Resources	Invisible, but Visible to PNITOs and ITAs Powerlessness based on the lack or absence of						

	financial resources						
Inability of PNITOs and ITAs to compete with the local government due to the lack of resources needed for the inbound tourism industry development (e.g., modes of transport, finances)	Reasons that put "the Nenets" and ITAs off from participation in the tourism industry development	Invisible, but Visible to PNITOs and ITAs Powerlessness based on the lack or absence of financial resources		Spatiality of Power			
PNITOs and ITAs action: Resource Acquisition (e.g., finding business partners (other tour operators) in other regions of the Russian Federation and abroad to collaborate with, to promote themselves, their service and products) – Spatial practice	Opening up the closed space (Space Creation) through resource acquisition	PNITOs' and ITAs' Power Within and Power To				<b>ITAs', and PNITOs', Representations of Space</b>	
Local government is the main competitor	Governmental Power Over based on the Resources possessed					<b>ITAs', and PNITOs', Representational Space</b>	
Collaboration of Governmental Tourism Department with PNITOs – collection of PNITOs leaflets to represent them at the exhibitions.  PNITOs and ITAs, themselves, are not invited and their participation is not subsidised by the local government	Visibly open space, but in reality it's partly Closed, Smothered Space for PNITOs to participate in the exhibitions	Spatial practice				<b>Governmental Representations of Space through ITAs', and PNITOs', Representational Space</b>  <b>ITAs', and PNITOs', Representational Space</b>	
Governmental absence of understanding of the degree of interest in tourism, what should be	Reasons of slow tourism industry development				Macro-Historical Factor	<b>ITAs', and PNITOs', Representational Space</b>	

done to develop it							
Outcome of governmental absence of understanding of the degree of interest in tourism, what should be done to develop it: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>incorrect product positioning;</li><li>incorrect allocation of financial resources on the tourism industry development;</li><li>lack of financial investments in the tourism industry development</li></ul>	Negative outcome for the tourism industry development	Spatial practice					
Absence of interest in the inbound tourism industry development in Yamal at the municipal level		Reasons of slow tourism industry development in Yamal				<b>Governmental Representations of Space through ITAs', and PNITOs', Representational Space</b>	
Outcome of the absence of interest in the inbound tourism industry development in Yamal at the municipal level: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Absence of Tourism department at the Municipal level;</li><li>Absence of website devoted to tourism industry development in Yamal</li></ul>	Negative Outcome: Absence of governmental actions						
Hidden Power of local government to make an illusion of the work done	Absence of Federal Government's control over the tourism industry development in the YNAO			Cause: Decentralisation of Power, Absence of Remote, Federal Government's Power of Control	Macro-Historical Factor: transition from Socialism (centralised economy) to Capitalism (Decentralised economy)	<b>ITAs', and PNITOs', Representational Space</b>	
Transformation of STO into the informational centre to stop it being	Governmental action to open up	Remote Power Over of Federal			Macro-Historical Factor: Power of	<b>Federal Government's</b>	

the competitor for other private companies	the space for PNITOs and ITAs	Government to influence Local government's decisions			Federal government as a result of previously centralised economy	<b>Representations of Space through ITAs', and PNITOs', Representational Space</b>
Availability of grants, and their allocation on a competitive basis by the local government	Governmental, Financial assistance to private business development in the sphere of tourism industry development – Spatial practice	Visible, Governmental Power Over, Open Space	Spatiality of Power			<b>Federal and Local Government's Representations of Space through ITAs', and PNITOs', Representational Space</b>
Governmental Instruments to prevent “the Nenets” and ITAs from grant acquisition – Spatial practice: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Bureaucratisation;</li><li>• Lack of advertisements;</li><li>• Improper work of post-delivery;</li><li>• Absence of Internet in some localities;</li><li>• Importance of friendship and kinship in grants' acquisition;</li><li>• Nationalism toward “the Nenets”</li></ul>	Difficulties of grant's acquisition	Governmental Hidden Power Over (Instruments used to limit the number of applicants) to close down visibly open space - Smothered space creation		Capitalism Expansion and decentralisation of power resulted in the absence of the Remote, Federal Government's Power of Control	Macro-Historical Factor: transition from Socialism to Capitalism	<b>Government's Representations of Space through ITAs', and PNITOs', Representational Space</b>
ITAs', PNITOs' and “the Nenets” action: collaboration on business plan development to get the grant – Spatial practice	Power With, To	Space Creation based on Power With and Power Over – power of resource possession required to get the grant, e.g., education, experience, by PNITOs'				

		representatives					
<p>Grant allocated are enough for small businesses, but not enough to develop it further;</p> <p>Absence of governmental interest in small business development;</p> <p>Absence of governmental interest in “the Nenets” independence</p>	<p>ITA’s perception of Grants and local government’s interest in small business development</p>					<p><b>ITA’s Representational space; Governmental Representations of space through ITA’s Representational space</b></p>	
<p>PNITOs’ vision of the role of “the Nenets” and ITAs’ in the tourism industry development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“The Nenets” service should be part of the tour package offered by PNITOs.</li> <li>Grants’ Space for “the Nenets” should be closed down and opened up for PNITOs</li> </ul> <p>Ideology: “the Nenets” should do what they can do well; their shoulders shouldn’t be overloaded.</p>	<p>PNITOs perception of “the Nenets” and ITAs’ role in the tourism industry development and principals of Governmental Grants’ allocation</p>	<p>Invisible (but visible to ITAs and “the Nenets” entrepreneurs in the sphere of tourism) Power of Ideology</p>	<p>Spatiality of Power</p>			<p><b>PNITOs’ Representations of Space</b></p>	
<p>Local government’s perception of “the Nenets” and ITAs’ inability to host tourists</p>	<p>Local government’s negative perception of “the Nenets” and ITAs’ abilities to participate in the tourism industry development</p>					<p><b>Local government’s Representations of Space</b></p>	
<p>Local government’s interference in the ITA’s and PNITOs’ work – Spatial practice</p>	<p>Local Government’s Visible (using political power of law) and Hidden Power Over to</p>		<p>Spatiality of Power</p>		<p>Macro-Historical Factor</p>	<p>Governmental Representations of Space through ITA’s and PNITOs’ Representational</p>	

	close down space for private business development					Space	
ITA's Action to tackle obstacles caused by the local government or municipality, to open up the closing down space by creation of the new ones	Spatial practice	ITAs' Resistance, Power Within based on the resources possessed, resulted Power To to open up the closing or closed space by creating the new one space				<b>ITA's Representations of Space</b>	
"The Nenets'" Action: to get resources needed to open up closed space and to get Power Within and as a result, Power To	Acquisition of Resources to get Power Within and as a result, Power To – Spatial practice					<b>"The Nenets'" Representations of Space</b>	
ITAs', "the Nenets" and non-indigenous respondents' Negative Perception of the current, local Governor and government: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Desire to control everything and everybody;</li> <li>• Desire to centralize everything in accordance with its own interests;</li> <li>• Corruption (Hidden power of government);</li> <li>• Nationalism in relation to "the Nenets" at the local government and municipal level (Hidden power of government)</li> </ul>	ITAs', "the Nenets", PNITOs' Negative Attitude to the local governor and government					<b>ITAs', "the Nenets" and non-indigenous respondents' Representational Space</b>	
ITAs', "the Nenets", PNITOs' Mistrust toward the local government regarding "active" tourism industry development in the YNAO in order to improve "the Nenets" welfare (based on the absence of tourism industry development and governmental help / Inconsistency between what it is said		Absence of Federal Government's Remote Power of control			Macro-Historical Factor: decentralisation of power as a result of transition from Socialism to Capitalism		

by the governor and what it is in reality)							
Primacy of oil and gas industry development for local government over tourism industry development					Macro-Historical Factor	<b>Local Government's Representations of space through ITAs' Representational space</b>	
<p>Negative Outcome of Difficulties of the tourism industry development for ITAs and "the Nenets" communities: participation in other than tourism entrepreneurial, economic activities – Spatial practice:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reindeer herding;</li> <li>• Participation in the exhibitions subsidised by the local government to represent "the Nenets" culture;</li> <li>• Participation in other entrepreneurial, economic activities based on the resources possessed (e.g., education, specialization)</li> </ul>	Negative Outcome of Difficulties of the tourism industry development for ITAs and "the Nenets" communities	Power Over and Within based on MoP possessed, resulted Power To to create new space	Spatiality of Power			<b>ITAs and "the Nenets" communities' Representations of Space</b>	
<p>Negative Outcome of Difficulties of the tourism industry development for PNITOs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Concentration of PNITOs on Outbound tourism rather than on Inbound;</li> <li>• Involvement in other entrepreneurial, economic activities (e.g., setting up a new, private business; attempt to get into the local government to be able to make and influence decision-making process re tourism industry)</li> </ul>	Negative Outcome of Difficulties of the tourism industry development for PNITOs	Power Over and Within based on the resources possessed, resulted Power To to create new space – Spatial practice				<b>PNITOs' Representations of Space</b>	

development)							
Unsuccessful attempt of the representative from the PNITO to get into the governmental structure to be able to make and influence decision-making process re tourism industry development - Result of Spatial practice	Hidden Governmental power to limit the access to the governmental structures	Closed Space	Spatiality of Power			<b>PNITOs' Representations of Space</b>	
Tourism in the YNAO is not a mass tourism	Outcome of the inbound tourism industry development in the YNAO, its contribution to the local economy and "the Nenets" welfare					<b>"The Nenets'", ITAs', PNITOs, STO's Representational Space</b>	