

# Pre-emptive Diasporas: Russian Middle- Class Real Estate Owners Abroad

---

International workshop

---

*Uppsala Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies  
Burgas, Bulgaria*

20 August, 2015



UPPSALA  
UNIVERSITET

## PAPER ABSTRACTS

Alla Raspopova, Inna Ryzhkova, Marina Smirnova  
Murmansk State Humanities University

### **Murmansk Region owners with real estate abroad: negotiating juridical constraints**

The presentation is devoted to acquisition of the ownership of different objects of foreign real estate by the residents of the Barents Euro-Arctic region (for example in Murmansk and Murmansk region). The authors provide an overview of Murmansk region on the level of geopolitical and economic situation, as well as the overall geography of the region's residents who have bought foreign real estate (Bulgaria, Finland, Norway and Spain). Emphasis will be placed on individual statistics as reflected in the legal documents, including a declaration of officials and members of the regional government, as well as on the analysis of the individual life stories of real estate owners belonging to the middle class. The presentation will also reflect the overall picture of foreign real estate purchase motivations depending on the country of ownership.

**Alla Raspopova** – Ph.D in Economics, Associate Professor of the Department of Mathematics and Mathematical Methods in Economy of Murmansk State Humanities University since 2014. Chief Accountant in private companies of Murmanskaya oblast (small business). Specializes in management of the accountancy, financial analysis, tax policy, immobility purchasing and registration, participating in government programs: “Entrepreneur of the Year”, “The best Products and Services of Murmanskaya oblast”, “The Best 100 Products in Russia”. Research interests: accounting and finances, economy of Arctic Region, international cooperation. 2014-2015 Tutor in the Norwegian-Russian project Young Entrepreneurs (NRCC). Her recent publications include: The effect of the aggregates’ delivery from Norway to Russia. // European North and the Northerners: collection of scientific articles. // ed. by G. Zhigunova, Murmansk, MSHU, 2015; The estimation of the competition in the aggregates’ market. // Electronic Scientific Edition. Economy and Society. 2015, No2 (15). URL: <http://www.iupr.ru>; The reasons of inflation in Murmanskaya oblast and its influence to the citizen s’ wellness. // European North and the Northerners: collection of scientific articles. // ed. by G. Zhigunova, Murmansk, MSHU, 2014; The current economical position of Russia and influence of the economic sanctions. Electronic Scientific Edition. Economy and Society. 2014, No3 (12). URL: <http://www.iupr.ru>  
e-mail: [raspopova.alla@msspu.edu.ru](mailto:raspopova.alla@msspu.edu.ru)

**Inna Ryzhkova** - Ph.D. in Pedagogy, Associate Professor, Head of Research and International Cooperation Office; Associate Professor at the Department of Social Sciences of Murmansk State Humanities University. Research interests: intercultural communication, internationalization of higher education, international project management. Coordinator of four international projects. Recent publications: The Modern University in the Framework of Europe's "Northern Dimension": the Internationalization Phenomenon. Monograph. Murmansk: MSHU, 2013; ArctiChildren in NET. Empowering School e-Health Model in the Barents Region. Eds: E. Sohlman, C. Kostenius, O.M. Johansen, I. Ryzhkova, M. Merivirta. Publications of Lapland UAS. Publication series B. Reports 2/2015; Russia and Finland: Dialogue on Psychosocial Well-Being of Schoolchildren in the Barents Euro-region. Study guide. Ed. by Inna Ryzhkova. Murmansk, 2015; College Professor's and Instructor's Attitude Towards International Project Activity // Russian Education and Society. Vol.52, Issue 4, April 2010, pp.3-11; Specific Features of Internationalization of HE in the Framework of the Northern Dimension // Baltic Region 3(5) 2010. Pp. 24-37 (with A. Sergeev); Educational Tourism as a Factor of Internationalization // Interregional Tourism Cooperation: Experiences from the Barents/ Ed. by Jose-Carlos Garsia-Rosell, Maria Hakkarainen ets. Print: Erweko Oy, Rovaniemi 2013.

e-mail: [innaryzhkova@yandex.ru](mailto:innaryzhkova@yandex.ru)

**Marina Smirnova** is a Graduate Student in Business Informatics, Murmansk State Humanities University.

e-mail: [Marismirn1994@mail.ru](mailto:Marismirn1994@mail.ru)

Elena Shidlovskaya

Estate agent on the Costa Blanca

**Russian properties in Spain, based on the current climate in The Costa Blanca region**

The presentation focuses on the main aspects of acquisition of properties by Russian buyers, advantages or issues that accompany this process. The touristic region The Costa Blanca, is ranked as one of the second main destinations to consider when our citizens intend to acquire Spanish property.

Demand on the Spanish housing and other properties is quite strong among Russians due to the unique climate zone and reasonable prices, political stability, social security and security of investments in this country by being an EU member, but mainly because of the recent financial crisis.

The main reasons that lead Russians to purchase properties in Spain and their expectations regarding this country. The report is based on conducted surveys, analysis of sales during the last few years and official statistics.

Seeking for a “safe haven” to skip the hectic metropolitan life, climatic advantages, with positive effects on the health, potential purchasers definitely consider the opportunity to settle in Spain which is also based on the career development for children in the EU and potential income in euros from property rentals or business opportunities, taking into account the phenomenon of “part-time immigration” and the changes that have been taking place during this year.

Key words: climate, investment, education, rentals, residence, Russians on the Costa Blanca

**Elena Shidlovskaya** – Master’s degree of Finance, Barcelona Business School, currently occupied in real estate business from 2012 in collaboration with real estate and tourism agencies on the Costa Blanca, Spain. Specialized in rent and sales of residential and non-residential properties, assistance with emigration formalities, business organization and assimilation in a foreign society. Three years previously owner of a business, real estate agency in Estonia; also experience in Russia, as a chief accountant / financial director of private companies (small business) and chief economist of the holding’s financial department (joint-stock company) etc. Postgraduate study in St.Petersburg University of Economy and Finance, studying money and securities, specializing on USA monetary system.

Research interests and completed projects: developing of renewable sources of energy - Financial appraisals of the construction of the biogas /bio methane/ plants in Spain, in collaboration with private investors and EU subsidies; International co-operation - implementation of the International Standards of Accounting to the Russian accountancy for one joint-stock company in Russia, participation in international real estate exhibitions.

e-mail: [es0779@gmail.com](mailto:es0779@gmail.com)

Evgeniya Blagoeva  
New Bulgarian University, Sofia

### **Russian real estate owners on the Bulgarian Black Sea Coast: The Case of Tsarevo**

The paper examines the problem of Russian real estate owners in Bulgaria through the case of Russian inhabitants of Vassiliko neighbourhood – the old part of the city of Tzarevo, Southeastern Bulgaria. Via implementation of classical anthropological methods the framework of cultural contacts between Russians and local Bulgarians is outlined. Places of encounter and ethnic boundaries are analyzed. Patterns of expressing cultural identity are presented. A specific mixture of the images of Russian liberators, “Soviet oppressors “from the recent past, “Russian

neighbours” (following the stereotype shown in a satirical book with the same name) and finally the commodified figure of the Russian customer are shown and interpreted.

**Evgenia Krasteva- Blagoeva**, Assoc. Prof., Ph.D is teaching at the Department of Anthropology, New Bulgarian University, Sofia. Currently President of the International Association of Southeastern European Anthropology INASEA. Main research topics: food, consumer culture, names and name giving, ethnic communities and identities. Twice lecturer in the Institute of Ethnology – Ludvig Maximilian University, Munich; twice lecturer in Konitsa Summer School of Balkan Anthropology, Konitsa, Greece. Recent publications: A Contested Field: Bulgarian Ethnology between Institutional Enlargement and Instability after Socialism” In: *Ethnologia Balkanica*, vol. 17; Clothing and Fashion in a Time of Crisis. The Case of Kurzdjali. – *Ethnologia Balkanica*, vol. 18; “Identity, Religion and Democracy: the Pomak Case” In: Nitsiakos, V., Manos, I., Agelopoulos, G., Angelidou, A., Dalkavoukis, V. (Eds). *Balkan Border Crossings. First Annual of the Konitsa Summer School*. LIT, 2008, 177-202; Symbols of Muslim Identity in Bulgaria: Traditions and Innovations. In: *Islam und Muslime in (Sudost) Europa im Kontext von Transformation und EU-Erweiterung*. Verlag Otto Sagner Munchen-Berlin, 2012, 139-155; Food and Migration: the Case of Bulgarians in Munich- *Ethnologia Balkanica*, vol. 13, 2009, 249-269. e-mail: [evgenia\\_blagoeva@hotmail.com](mailto:evgenia_blagoeva@hotmail.com)

Irina Busygina  
Moscow State Institute for Foreign Affairs

### **Geography of Real Estate Purchase Abroad: Interregional Differences in Russia**

Taking strategic decision on real estate purchasing abroad, Russian citizens are looking for the most favorable geographic destination. Their choice would be conditioned by many factors including supply, income level, aim of purchasing, experience of those familiar to them, etc. However, taking into account Russia’s territorial size, the choice will be also conditioned by the geographic location of the buyer, since this will determine his “access to the target”. The phenomenon of purchasing real estate abroad had its start in Moscow and Sankt-Petersburg, spreading then to other large cities. Geographically the great divide in priorities of Russian real estate buyers exists between European Russia and Asian Russia. For the latter the main destination for all categories of buyers (regardless of income level or age group) is China while within European Russia we observe significant interregional differences. Bulgaria consistently ranks first in the priority list, though the destination with second rank differs between the regions – this is for Finland (for Russian North-West), Czech Republic (for Ural region). Current political crises can obviously bring changes to the picture, particularly with regards to Russia’s European part. Discussing Russia middle-class presence in cross-border mobilities interregional

differences are worth taking into account.

**Irina Busygina** is a Professor at Moscow State Institute for Foreign Affairs. Her recent publications include (books): *Political Modernization of the State in Russia: Necessity, Directions, Costs and Risks*. Moscow: “Liberal Mission” Foundation, 2012 (with Mikhail Filippov); *Federalism and Ethnic Diversity in Russia*. Ed. by Irina Busygina and Andreas Heinemann-Grueder. Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2010; (articles): *The Calculus of Non-Protest in Russia: Redistributive Expectations from the Political Reform*. *Europe- Asia Studies*, 2015 (in print); “Resource curse” and Foreign Policy: Explaining Russia’s Approach towards the EU. In: *Russian Energy in a Changing World*. Ed. by Jakub Godzimirski. UK: Ashgate, 2013, pp.91-111 (with Mikhail Filippov); *Quality of Governance, Globalization and Regional Inequality: the Russian Case*. In: *Russia’s Changing Economic and Political Regimes: The Putin Years and Afterwards*. Ed. by Andrey Makarychev, Andre Mommen, UK: Routledge, 2013 (with Mikhail Filippov); *Center – Periphery Problem in Russia and Its Effects for Patterns of State Behavior*. In: *Risks and Opportunities of the Energy Sector in East Siberia and the Russian Far East*. Sangtu Ko, Kyong Wan Lee (Eds.). LIT-Verlag, 2012; *Risks and Constraints of Political Modernization in Russia: The Federal Problem // Perspectives on European Politics and Society*. Vol.12, N1, 2011 (with Mikhail Filippov and Olga Shvetsova); *Russia: the Federal Relation’s Impact on Foreign Policy*. In: *Regional Leadership in the Global System: Ideas, Interests and Strategies of Regional Powers*. Ed. By Daniel Flemes. UK, USA: Ashgate, 2010.

e-mail: [ira.busygina@gmail.com](mailto:ira.busygina@gmail.com)

Kiril Avramov  
New Bulgarian University, Sofia

### **Playing it safe: Russian investment in the ‘near abroad’**

Russian real estate investment in Bulgaria has been a “hot” topic in terms of visibility, political “charge” in terms of the internal political debates and purely economic effects for the local industries, such as construction, tourism and service industry. The aim of this paper is to attempt to outline the rationale and the strategies of the Russian customers that are acquiring permanent or “second home” in various parts of Bulgaria but mainly on the Black Sea coast. The hypothesis regarding the Russian private real estate investment in Bulgaria, at least for the so-called “first wave” of investors, could be summarized with irony and shortly:” Playing it safe”, due to the persistence of the old stereotype “*Так как курица не птица, так и Болгария не заграница*”

(i.e. investing with a motive for capital safehaven, eventual unrestricted EU entry or possible future emigration and retirement via overcoming home institutional restraints in a country that until recently was deemed as friendly / brotherly “near abroad”). The conclusions are based on the available data and stats from the Land Registry and interviews with leading local experts that monitor the phenomenon of Russian real estate investment in Bulgaria.

**Kiril Avramov** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the Center for Social Practices, Department of Political Science. New Bulgarian University (NBU), Sofia. His recent publications include (books): ‘When The Walls are Screaming’ (in Bulgarian), (Forthcoming in 2015); ‘Patriots or Predators – Success Strategies of the Bulgarian Economic Elite 1990 – 2010’ (work in progress); (book chapters): Avramov, K. in Minkenberg, Michael (Forthcoming 2015) (Ed.): *Transforming the Transformation? The Radical Right in the Political Process in East Central Europe*, Routledge; Kostova, D., Avramov, K. “Political Science in Bulgaria: Legacy of Discontinuity”, in Eisfeld, Rainer / Pal, Leslie (Eds.), *Political Science in Central-East Europe. Diversity and Convergence*. Barbara Budrich Verlag. June, 2010; (articles): Avramov, K., “Political graffiti & art interventions’ transformative function in the urban landscapes of Sofia”, *Seismopolite, Journal of Arts & Politics*, **Issue # 8, 2014**; Avramov, K. “So Close, Yet Worlds Apart”, "Elections' Observatory", ([www.electionsnet.org](http://www.electionsnet.org)), Institute for Democracy Constantinos Karamanlis, Greece, 2013; Avramov, K., Nachev, I., „State Capture as a Political Economy Challenge in Catching Up- Performance“. *Yearbook of the Institute for Economic Policy (EPI)*, 2013.

e-mail: [k.avramov@nbu.bg](mailto:k.avramov@nbu.bg)

Leonid Polishchuk  
UCRS/ National Research University, Higher School of Economics, Moscow

### **Institutional rationales for Russia’s preemptive diaspora**

Russian nationals are highly visible on foreign real estate markets, and the value of Russian acquisitions of residential properties abroad runs in tens of billions of dollars. There are multiple rationales behind this trend, including diversification of investment portfolios and acquiring vacation and/or retirement properties. However in the Russian case, apart from these conventional motives, buying foreign property was a channel of capital flight, as well as a means to secure a foothold for subsequent emigration to countries more attractive than Russia in terms of political stability, public service delivery, and the overall quality of life. In other words, Russians have been buying foreign real estate to, inter alia, put their money and/or themselves in

better institutional environment than the one available at home. Therefore, the decisions to buy residential properties estate abroad could be revealing true institutional preferences of the Russians, and considered as a credible evidence of their mistrust in the country's future, especially when middle class households put abroad their nest eggs.

We review the available evidence of Russian acquisitions of foreign real estate and outline an empirical strategy to gauge institutional preferences and expectations behind this phenomenon. We also compare the acquisitions of foreign real estate to other "exit strategies" in the contemporary Russian society.

**Leonid Polishchuk** is an economist with professional interests in governance, institutions and culture as drivers of economic development. He published extensively in the fields of political economy, institutional economics, and public choice. Throughout his career he held academic positions in Russia, Canada, the US and Sweden. Presently Leonid Polishchuk is a researcher at the Uppsala Center of Russian and Eurasian Studies (Uppsala University) and professor at the Higher School of Economics, Moscow. His recent publications include:

Polishchuk L., Syunyaev G. Ruling elites' rotation and asset ownership: implications for property rights. *Public Choice*. 2015. Vol. 162. No. 1. P. 159-182; Borisova E., Polishchuk L., Peresetsky A. Collective Management of Residential Housing in Russia: The Importance of Being Social. *Journal of Comparative Economics*. 2014. Vol. 42. No. 3. P. 609-629; Polishchuk L., Tonis A. Endogenous contest success functions: a mechanism design approach. *Economic Theory*. 2013. Vol. 52. No. 1. P. 271-297; Polishchuk L. I. Institutional Performance, in: *The Oxford Handbook of the Russian Economy* / Ed. by S. Weber, M. Alexeev. Oxford University Press, 2013. P. 189-220.

e-mail: [leonid.polishchuk@ucrs.uu.se](mailto:leonid.polishchuk@ucrs.uu.se)

Olga Hannonen  
University of Eastern Finland

### **Russian property purchases in Finland**

International movement of people in search for leisure opportunities is a growing trend. People increasingly move across borders in order to satisfy their leisure demands. Second home ownership abroad is one of the established patterns in this globalised tourism mobility. Finland is an example of popular second home destination among foreigners, especially Russians. Russians

comprise the biggest group of foreign owners in Finland, which accounts for about seventy percent of the total foreign real estate purchases in Finland nowadays.

The focus of the presentation is on dynamics of Russian property purchases in Finland, regional distribution of Russian properties and Russians' reasons to choose a foreign country for their second home location. The results are based on the interviews with Russian second home owners in the Savonlinna region, the province of South Savo, Finland (N=25) and on statistical data on Russian property purchases (2000-2014) from the National Land Survey of Finland.

**Olga Hannonen** (née Lipkina) is a Researcher, MSc, at the Centre for Tourism Studies & Department of Geographical and Historical Studies, University of Eastern Finland. Her main research interests include second home tourism, Russian second homes (dachas), leisure mobility, trans-border second home ownership and international property purchases. Her ongoing PhD project is on Russian second home ownership in Eastern Finland. She is interested in motivations behind trans-border second home mobility, local changes due to foreign second home ownership, and the role of the border in trans-border second home mobility. Her publications include: Hannonen, O., Lehtonen, O. & Sikiö, M. (submitted) Buying out the 'best places'? Confronting opinions on Russian recreational property ownership. *Norwegian Journal of Geography*; Hannonen, O., Tuulentie, S. & Pitkänen, K. (2015) Borders and second home tourism: Norwegian and Russian second home owners in Finnish border areas. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 30 (1). Pp. 53-67; Adamiak, C., Vepsäläinen, M., Strandell, A., Hiltunen, M.J., Pitkänen, K., Hall, C. M., Rinne, J., Hannonen, O., Paloniemi, R., Åkerlund, U. (2015) Second home tourism in Finland - Perceptions of citizens and municipalities on the state and development of second home tourism. Reports of the Finnish Environment Institute 22en/2015. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10138/155090>; Hannonen, O. (2014) Russian second home owner – friend or foe? *Baltic Rim Economies* 6. Pp. 58.; Åkerlund, U., Lipkina, O. & Hall, C. M. (2014). Second home governance in the EU: In and out of Finland and Malta. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events* 7(11). Pp. 77-97.

e-mail: [olga.hannonen@uef.fi](mailto:olga.hannonen@uef.fi)

Petar Stankov

Dept. of Economics, University of National and World Economy, Sofia, Bulgaria

**Fundamentals, Financials or Russians: What Drives Bulgarian Real Estate Prices since 2000?**

The paper discusses the development of the Bulgarian real estate market since 2000. Specifically, it looks into both the demand and the supply side of the market. The demand is assumed to be driven by GDP growth, labor market conditions and the availability of bank loans, whereas the supply moves with the newly built square meters in the household segment. In addition, the paper studies the correlation between the Russian GDP growth and the Bulgarian real estate prices. To explore the relationships, quarterly data is used and time series methods are employed.

**Petar Stankov** is an Assistant Professor of Economics at the Department of Economics, University of National and World Economy, Sofia. His recent publications include: 2014 The Post-Crisis Macroeconomics at the Introductory Level, *conference paper published in a Bulgarian conference proceedings volume*, Sofia, published in Bulgarian language; 2013 Crises, Reforms and Growth: A Non-Technical Summary of Recent Empirical Work, Economic Alternatives, Issue 4, Sofia; Firm Size, Market Liberalization and Growth, *CERGE-EI Working Paper No. 485*, April, CERGE-EI, Prague; 2012 Banking Crises and Reversals in Financial Reforms, *CERGE-EI Working Paper No. 474*, December, CERGE-EI, Prague; *Межстрановые различия в итогах реформы, направленной на либерализацию кредитного рынка*, In: Tarr, David (ed.) *Влияние либерализации сферы услуг на производительность отрасли, экспорт и развитие: эмпирические исследования в странах с переходной экономикой*, Глава 5, Ves Mir Publishers, Moscow; Cross-Country Differences in Credit Market Liberalization Reform Outcomes, *EERC Working Paper No. 12/04E*, EERC, Kiev; 2010 Deregulation, Economic Growth and Growth Acceleration. *CERGE-EI Working Paper No. 424*, October, CERGE-EI, Prague.

e-mail: [petar.stankov@gmail.com](mailto:petar.stankov@gmail.com)

Sergio Nasarre Aznar, Maria Font-Mas, Diana Marín Consarnau  
Housing Chair, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Catalunya, Spain  
(in absence, to be presented by Y.Konstantinov)

### **Housing and other properties acquisition by Russian citizens in Spain**

The real estate market in Spain currently favors buyers due to the drop of housing prices since the start of 2007 crisis. Home purchase by Russian citizens is increasingly common in Spanish touristic areas and entails legal issues of particular relevance that should be taken into account by the non-EU citizen investor in acquiring housing in Spain, which is the aim of this part of the project. To achieve this, these issues are addressed in three perspectives. First, to understand the

way by which land is conveyed under Spanish legal system; the *titulus plus modus*, rule, the intervention of notary public and the role of the Land Registry are crucial to this point. Second, those directly affecting the contract and the deed of sale in cross-border operations with immovables, including the aspects of form and applicable law to the contractual capacity, to the marital status regime and also the validity of foreign public documents. And finally, those that affects the administrative status of entry and remains for Russian nationals and their families in Spain in order to enjoy the property as investment, second home or primary residence.

*Key words:* real estate, foreign Russians buyers, contract and deed of sale, legal formalities, visas, residence.

**Sergio Nasarre Aznar**, Civil Law Full Professor, Director of Housing Chair, **Maria Font-Mas**, Phd, Senior lecturer in Private International Law; **Diana Marín Consarnau**, Phd, Lecturer in Private International Law Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Catalunya, Spain.

Yulian Konstantinov  
University of Tromsø, Norway

### **Russian Real Estate Acquisition as a Feature of the ‘Two Lane’ Model of Social Development in post-Soviet Russia**

A ‘two lane’ model attempts to capture a central feature of post-soviet social development revealing a gradience of divergencies between power-centre promoted doctrines, on the one hand, and informal vernacular strategies, on the other. Current Russian real estate property acquisition in EU countries exemplifies this feature. The presentation focusses on the civil servant segment of the postsoviet middle-class, who are officially barred from acquiring property abroad. The available ethnography of ‘middle middle class’ civil servants acquiring real estate in Bulgaria indicates strong continuities between soviet and post-soviet informal strategies of overcoming administrative constraints. It is concluded that the study of real estate behavior in Russia and in the Soviet Union before that ranks high as an empirical pointer to divergences between official and vernacular visions of society. The case of civil servants points clearly to an embodied life of the divergence, premised on traditionalized belief in official visions as a transient ‘poetic’ text of limited real life relevance, unless strong pressure is exercised.

**Yulian Konstantinov** is a Social Anthropologist with a background in Theoretical Linguistics. He is known for his work in minority studies, postsocialist informal economies, and since 1994 – with reindeer-herding communities in the Russian Far North (Kola Peninsula). Currently holds the position of Research Professor at the Department of Archaeology and Social Anthropology,

University of Tromsø, Norway. Recent publications include (books): Conversations with power. Soviet and postsoviet developments in the reindeer husbandry part of the Kola Peninsula. Uppsala: Uppsala University (In press); Socio-economic developments in Murmansk Region: the insiders' point of view (with Inna Ryzhkova, eds.) (work in progress); (book chapters and articles): Tourist hegemonies of outside powers: the case of salmon-fishing safari-camps in territories of traditional land-use (Kola Peninsula), in *Arctic Indigenous Tourism*, A. Viken and D. Müller, eds. Channel View Publications. (Forthcoming); Human-Rangifer conversations with power. In *Sibirskiy sbornik-4. Grani sotsial'nogo: antropologicheskie perspektivy issledovaniya sotsial'nykh otnosheniy*, Davydov, V.N, D.V. Arzyutov, eds. *Rossiyskaya Akademiya Nauk. Muzey antropologii i etnografii im. Petra Velikogo (Kunstkamera)*, pp. 626-648, 2014; Premonitions of Change: Lovozero Home Talk Twenty Years After. In: Tero Mustonen, Kaisu Mustonen. *Eastern Sámi Atlas*. Vaasa, Finland:Snowchange.Org, pp. 192-97, 2011; The Socioeconomic Life of Climate Change: Extensivity in Reindeer Husbandry in Relation to Synergies between Social and Climate Change (Kola Peninsula). *Acta Borealia*, 27 (1):44-66.

e-mail: [yulian.konstantinov@uit.no](mailto:yulian.konstantinov@uit.no)