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Problems of Forming Relationships between the Indigenous Peoples and Resource Corporations: from Asserting the Rights to Joint Participation in Projects

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The authors show the necessity of co-participation of the indigenous peoples in development projects aimed at development of mineral resources extracting subsurface natural resources; there has been developed an approach to the assessment of institutional transformations in the relationships between the indigenous peoples and the resources' extractors. The paper offers promising forms of interaction between mining companies and the indigenous peoples of the North, which are expected to improve the social and economic benefits of the indigenous population in course of the development of natural resources in locations of their traditional residence.

Keywords: indigenous peoples of the North, territories of traditional land management, use of subsurface natural resources, participation, institutional changes.

Today, the search of approaches to solving one of the major problems of economic development of the northern areas, i.e. proper combining of modern industry and maintaining traditional lifestyle and forms of traditional economic activities of the indigenous peoples, is becoming increasingly important. People are getting more and more aware of the fact this does not involve merely connection of modern science and technology and traditional lifestyle and forms of economic activities of the indigenous peoples. Neither does it mean conservation or stagnation in prevailing prehistoric "technological" ways of life. There is necessity to revaluate the principles of interaction of the indigenous peoples and modern

state, the indigenous peoples and subsurface resources' extractors. Technocratic solutions do not play a major role here, more important task is to create a new institutional environment along the changing understanding of interaction between parties [Uchet interesov...].

Mining industry (subsurface resources' extracting) affects the traditional economy in two major ways:

- via changing the environmental situation
 in the region (extraction of raw materials often
 harms the ecological bases of traditional land
 management) [Rekommendatsii...];
- via changing the social and economic environment, which modifies social organization

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and priorities of those keeping the traditional way of life [Istomin].

Environmental component of subsurface extractors' influence, on reindeer husbandry as an example, is expressed primarily in the destruction of ecosystems of reindeer pastures through their pollution with products of extraction, through harming the soil surface layer with the technique employed during the development and extraction of mineral raw materials.

Moreover, burning of associated petroleum gas has a great impact on the environment in the places of residence of the indigenous peoples of the North [Kak potushit'...]. Another common example of environmental impact is laying of pipelines and roads, which are an obstacle to the migration of reindeer herds. They can make certain areas of pasture, even environmentally clean ones, inaccessible for reindeer herders.

Social and economic influence of mining industry on traditional land management (including reindeer herding) is connected with:

- the general change in economic condition of the regional population, its social structure and purchasing power;
- the appearance of a new group of people –
 the personnel of mining companies
 and settlements (often in the previously unpopulated areas) [Kalugin].

These factors have an ambiguous impact on the traditional lifestyle of the indigenous peoples. On the one hand, the emergence of generally well secured groups may provide the indigenous peoples with new markets for their products and thus stimulate their traditional economic activities. On the other hand, the relationships between the indigenous peoples and subsurface resources' extractors may take conflicting nature, for example, as a result of shooting reindeer, belonging to herders, or as a consequence of unequal exchange.

1. Approaches how to take into account the indigenous peoples' interests

The modern world practice has accumulated a considerable variety of different forms of conflict resolution between the need in development of natural resources of the North and sving the forms of traditional economic activities of the indigenous peoples [Ot paternalizma...].

The following main approaches may be distinguished.

Paternalistic approach:

- participation of companies which extract resources in addressing the economic problems of the indigenous peoples, usually in the form of assistance in solving social and economic problems at no cost;
- the indigenous peoples (more precisely, the economic structures acting on their behalf) are given the due place in solving a series of problems which extractors face and which may positively affect solving the problems of the indigenous peoples.

Approach based on participation:

- formation of rules and procedures which will enable the indigenous peoples to exercise their traditional economic activities in the long run;
- formation of procedures to make up for damage to traditional economic activities caused by mining companies.

Participation of the indigenous peoples in the development of mineral resources should not imply performing all the works in the development and production of subsurface products or in the construction of pipelines, but certain more narrow and specialized activities:

- involvement of the indigenous peoples in the processes of eco-monitoring and control during mining;
- employment of the indigenous peoples in the development of mineral resources'

- projects (after the indigenous peoples have passed appropriate training and retraining programs);
- providing the indigenous peoples with consumer services (including selling traditional products), and in the long term performance of works in rotational camps and participation in building programs. These directions can be effective only after the implementation of special training programs for the indigenous peoples, after the formation of appropriate organizational structures (e.g., corporations of the indigenous peoples).

Approach based on the recognition of the exclusive rights of the indigenous peoples:

- the indigenous peoples are assigned the property rights to land and natural complexes located in places of their residence and economic activity;
- creation of economic structures and entities representing the economic interests of the indigenous people and carrying out activities in the areas of their residence and traditional economy;
- the indigenous peoples shall receive a portion of revenues from business activities in the field of exploration and mining.

One of the most important tasks for the indigenous peoples of Russia is a movement from upholding the exclusive rights to the land to participation in the processes of preparation and implementation of development and mining projects [Maksimov]. The main problems in this sphere concern:

 poor identification and improper structuring of forms of participation of the indigenous peoples in discussions and negotiations about the implementation of projects;

- lack of proper institutions and structures,
 authorized to represent the interests of the indigenous peoples;
 - scope of issues and direction of activities of the indigenous peoples which come out during preparation of the projects and their implementation in places where they live;
 - acute lack of experts and expertise among the indigenous peoples – the emphasis in education over the years has been on the training of specialists in the field of culture, secondary education, medicine.

In Russia in this sphere – as well as in many other areas of management and regulation of economic processes – there happens unification of conditions of land and subsurface management. Unfortunately, in this situation, economic and social problems of the indigenous peoples lose their connection to the land and the projects implemented in the territory of their residence, and get increasingly dominated by paternalistic approach.

Several Russian special laws declare the rights of the indigenous peoples regarding the use of renewable natural resources and the form of compensation for damages. Also an access to certain types of resources for traditional economic activities of the indigenous peoples is stated as certain. But these rights, declared by the Russian legislation, are not fully implemented in practice – due to the institutional reasons noted above, as well as due to the weakness of the Russian legislation in terms of the postulated procedures for conflict resolution.

Analysis of foreign experience and its comparison with the Russian experience leads to the conclusion that Russia has not yet managed to solve the problem of the indigenous peoples during resources' extracting in accordance with the international best practices

In foreign practice, problems of legal regulation of the use and protection of lands by the aboriginal people are solved in collaboration. In foreign legislation the rights of the indigenous peoples to land are not only recognized. The scope and content of these rights are defined in detail

The indigenous peoples' rights to land in the Russian laws and regulations are declared only, excluding, and sometimes neglecting the requirements of the land and forest legislation. If foreign legislation on land rights of the indigenous peoples fits adequately the overall system of law, the Russian legislation can not be attested as such [Pavlov].

Russian law scarcely touches upon the land sector problem in differences between the indigenous peoples and people of other nationalities and does not consider it necessary to include the interests of society and state in the law on the indigenous peoples' problems. This is one of the major conceptual distinctions of the Russian legislation from foreign one.

Given the positive and negative experience of the legal regulation of relations in the field of land use and protection (as regards the indigenous peoples) in foreign countries, one can not only create their own legal model of problem solving in accordance with global trends, but also avoid many mistakes.

2. Stages of field development and socio-economic effects on the indigenous peoples

Implementation of development projects in certain deposits of minerals in lands of traditional land management often has a decisive influence on the socio-economic development of specific groups of population, including representatives of the indigenous peoples. Dynamics of the development of oil and gas fields is important in terms of consideration of the interests of the

indigenous peoples because of the following reasons and considerations:

- general policy of the relationship between
 the indigenous peoples and oil and gas
 sector should be formed at the earliest
 stages of development of deposits and
 provinces. At the same time the most
 appropriate and effective common is the
 one which involves environmental impact
 and ethnological expertise, development
 of integrated adaptation programs of the
 indigenous peoples;
- dynamic nature of the deposits' development determines the choice for the different stages of the most appropriate and effective forms of the indigenous peoples' participation in development of subsurface mineral resources;
- levels of rent income of oil companies, some of which may be allocated to finance socio-economic development programs and the adaptation of the indigenous peoples, vary considerably at different stages of oil and gas deposits' development;
- at different stages of deposits' development there are different levels of impacts of industrial development on the environment and traditional nature management;
- the indigenous peoples have to enter into relationships with different types of companies, including socio-economic agreements. For example, for a specific period of development there may dominate large integrated or, conversely, small companies. These types of companies differ in the level of financial capacity, in their goals and objectives in relation to this area at a certain stage of development.

Potential benefits and costs of the development of subsurface mineral resources for

the indigenous peoples in the lands of traditional land management are largely dependent on the stages of deposits' development. At each stage the rational policy of the indigenous peoples should take into account the state of mineral and raw resources' base, the level of income of oil companies and modify accordingly. The main

factors, conditions and features of accounting the indigenous peoples' interests at different stages of hydrocarbon deposits' development are presented in Table 1.

In the process of oil and gas development major environmental costs are connected with the stage of investment and maximum production

Table 1. Features of taking into account the interests of the indigenous peoples at various stages of oil and gas development

Benefits, costs and	Stage								
opportunities for co- participation of the indigenous peoples	Search and exploration	Early mining	Mature	Falling mining					
Main influence of the extractors on the ecology	Exploration, formation of the infrastructure elements	Development of mineral resources, burning of associated gas	Burning of associated gas	Liquidation works, re- cultivation of lands					
Environmental and social costs	Relatively low	High	High	Decreasing					
Demand for production of the indigenous peoples	Low	Increasing (investment)	High	Low					
Potential opportunities for the indigenous peoples:									
co-participation in extracting mineral resources	Increasing	High	High	Weak					
provision of consumer services	Low	High	High	Decreasing					
– employment	Low	High	Decreasing	Low					
Potential benefits for the indigenous peoples	Low	Growth	High	Decreasing					
Policy of local authorities	Participation in programs of adaptation and development	Environmental monitoring, training of the indigenous peoples	Environmental monitoring and control	Environmental monitoring and control					
Priorities in the indigenous peoples' policy	Negotiatins, environmental monitoring, services for extractors	Monitoring the implementation of agreements, participation in projects	Claims for a part of rental income, services for the companies	Environmental monitoring, services for the companies					
Forming partnership:									
the indigenous peoples and government	Environmental monitoring, programs of adaptation and development	Environmental monitoring, training programs of the indigenous peoples	Environmental monitoring	Environmental monitoring					
the indigenous peoples and extractors	Consumer services, economic agreements	Production services	Production services	Consumer services					

(maturity). As production in the fields decline the environmental costs are reduced. But the risks associated with inadequate measures of subsurface extractors during liquidation works increase significantly.

Potential benefits and opportunities for coparticipation of the indigenous peoples in the realization of the projects also change significantly during the development of mineral resources. At step of search and exploration opportunities to benefit are notably limited, relatively low are the environmental risks. As production increases, potential benefits for the indigenous peoples associated with co-participation in the implementation of projects increase too. And simultaneously environmental pressures on areas of traditional nature management grow. Rational approach is connected with the formation of conditions for the indigenous peoples benefiting from the development of subsurface resources in the lands of traditional management (at least commensurate with the environmental costs). The key to achievements in this direction is the active participation of all organizations and representatives of the indigenous peoples in development of subsurface mineral resources.

3. Ways of increasing benefits from socio-economic effects of the development of mineral resources for the indigenous peoples

One of the main tasks of transformation in relationships between the indigenous peoples and extractors is to minimize the social and economic costs that arise during the development of subsurface mineral resources, and to maximize the potential benefits that these activities can bring. Analysis of Russian and foreign experience shows that an increase in socio-economic benefits from the development of mineral resources for the indigenous peoples is linked with a number of directions. These directions can be considered

as a basis for by-step changes, aimed at a more complete account of the interests of the indigenous peoples.

1. Development and expansion of activities within the economic agreements. This trend reflects the presence of special rights of the indigenous peoples on wildlife resources. Additional costs borne by extractors are related to compensation for the restriction of traditionally nature management and can be prescribed by economic agreements between businessmen and the indigenous peoples. One of the parties in such agreements may be local authorities.

Under current conditions in Russia the economic agreements with the extractors are focused on ensuring a minimum acceptable standard of living for the indigenous peoples. In world practice, a considerable portion of the potential benefits to the indigenous peoples are connected with the conclusion and implementation of agreements on the delivery of social and economic benefits and advantages [Obzor zakonov...]. These agreements are complex and multilateral in their character (unlike, for example, narrow economic agreements implemented in Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug in the territories of tribal lands), covering issues of participation of the indigenous peoples in the project, including the provision of consumer and production services, which is reflected in the following directions.

- 2. Provision of consumer services. The term "consumer services" means, first of all, sales of products of the traditional economy, including to the employees of companies that operate in the territories of traditional nature management.
- 3. Provision of type 1 production services. These services include the organization and provision of hotel services, room cleaning, preparation and delivery of food for the workers of mining companies (especially in remote areas and rotational camps). Such an experience

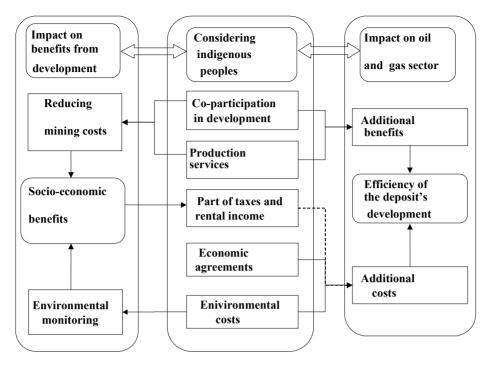


Fig. 1. Potential benefits and costs of the main actors in the subsurface mining in the lands of traditional land management

occurs during the development of subsurface resources in Alaska and the Canadian province of Alberta.

- 4. Provision of type 2 production services. These services include the participation of the indigenous peoples' organizational structures in the implementation of construction programs in the field facilities. It should be noted that the provision of consumer and production services requires training of relevant personnel and formation of the indigenous peoples' corporations.
- 5. Taxes and rental income shall be directed partly to fulfill the needs of the indigenous peoples. Russian and foreign experience shows that this trend may realize in various forms: in part of the property tax connected with the production assets of mining companies operating in the lands of traditional land management; in part of the rental income from regional budgets;

introduction of additional royalty or tax on production.

From the standpoint of the most significant negative effects for the indigenous peoples environmental costs prevail. Implementation of projects in the sphere of subsurface mining often leads to environmental pollution, disturbance of natural systems, which are the basis of life of the indigenous population. Decline in the number of deer, decreasing hunting and fisheries result in a drop in revenues and an increase in unemployment among the indigenous peoples in the areas of traditional nature management.

In the course of mining projects there is a complex of technological solutions and measures, which helps to minimize the negative environmental impact of these projects on the environment. These activities involve striking capital and operating costs. If subsurface extractors (usually within a weak system of state regulation)

significantly reduce the cost of environmental measures, the population of the territory, including representatives of the indigenous peoples, suffers from serious environmental damage. At the same time the demand to meet stringent environmental regulations requires higher costs connected with monitoring and control of environmental conditions and the technologies used.

Place and role of the considered areas in relation to their impact on overall benefits to the society and on the efficiency of field development from the standpoint of subsurface extractors are shown in Fig. 1.

4. Assessment of institutional changes scenarios concerning relationships between the indigenous peoples and subsurface extractors

A number of scenarios are based on the enlisted ways of increasing socio-economic benefits of mineral resources development in the lands of traditional land management (where the indigenous peoples live) considering changing environmental costs. In summary, the basic conditions of scenarios in relation to the change in certain rights of the indigenous peoples are presented in Table 2.

Scenario 1. Development and expansion of economic activities within the agreements. Low expenditure of subsurface extractors on the environment.

Additional costs within the economic agreements aimed at compensating the limitations of traditional land management enjoys no significant effect on performance of oil and gas development from the standpoint of subsurface extractors. Since these costs for subsurface extractors are relatively stable, their impact is inversely proportional to the volume of the reserves extracted from the developed deposits. In this scenario, the total amount of benefits for the indigenous peoples from the project is negative

for the entire period of operation, which is due to a high level of environmental costs (subsurface extractors spend little money on environmental measures). Also the indigenous peoples do not benefit greatly from the narrow economic agreements. This scenario fully characterizes the current situation in the development of subsurface deposits in the areas of traditional land management: there are high environmental costs and risks for the indigenous peoples and the environment, on the one hand, and on the other, there is a relatively small level of compensation provided by businessmen to the indigenous peoples (Fig. 2).

Scenario 2. Provision of consumer services for subsurface extractors. Rising expenditure on environmental measures.

Under this scenario, the amount of consumer services provided by the indigenous peoples rises rapidly: the indigenous peoples sell more of their products to employees of the companies involved in the project. In the case of the provision of these services the part of the oil extractors' income spent on buying consumer goods produced by the indigenous peoples is seen as a benefit for the latter.

According to this scenario there will be an increase (compared to the scenario 1) in expenditure of subsurface extractors on environmental protection. These costs of the companies are more consistent with the objectives of minimizing the environmental impact on the areas of traditional land management, but they still do not meet the required level.

Increased costs of environmental measures should be coupled with an increase in expenses connected with monitoring and control processes during the development of subsurface resources. At the same time co-participation of the indigenous representatives in the monitoring and control of the environment seems rather effective (from the standpoint of social and economic benefits for the

Table 2. Structur	e of benefits fron	oil project	for the indigenous	s people: scenarios' features	3

Powers and benefits for the indigenous peoples		Scenarios						
	1	2	3	4	5			
Disposition rights to ¹ :								
- natural resources	A	Н	Н	Н	Н			
- resources on the surface (land)	L	A	Н	Н	Н			
- subsurface resources	L	L	L	L	A			
Co-participation in environmental monitoring	L	A	A	Н	Н			
Powers ² specified by benefits agreements	I-1	I-2	I-2	I-2	I-3			
Benefits and costs for the indigenous peoples								
Environmental costs of subsurface extracting	low	average	average	normative	normative			
Economic agreements	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes			
Consumer services provided by the indigenous peoples to subsurface extractors		yes	yes	yes	yes			
Production services - type 1			yes	yes	yes			
Production services - type 2				yes	yes			
Part of tax revenues is at the indigenous peoples' disposal					yes			

Note 1. Degree of implementation of the main powers within the framework of property rights (low - L, average - A, high - H). 2. Powers of the indigenous peoples: I-1 - right to enter the narrow economic agreements; I-2 - right to conclude a comprehensive agreement on obtaining social and economic benefits and advantages; I-3 - right to a part of the rental income.

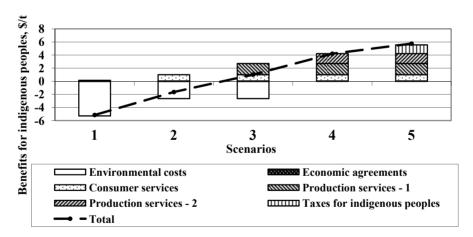


Fig. 2. Structure of benefits for the indigenous peoples for the entire project period

whole society), especially in the areas of oil and gas projects.

It is important to analyze the effectiveness for subsurface extractors along with the assessment of projects in terms of community benefits (bearing in mind federal budget, social and economic benefits for the regions and the indigenous peoples). If a project is rejected by potential investors for financial and economic reasons, society will not receive the potential benefits and will not incur potential social and environmental expenses. Extent of liabilities of oil and gas companies within the framework of the narrow economic agreements is not critical

for subsurface extractors in terms of overall efficiency of the project. The situation with the cost of environmental protection measures during implementation of the projects can have a tremendous impact on investment decisions. The increased costs on the environment can lead to the fact that some projects will be ineffective from the standpoint of subsurface extractors and will not be realized.

Due to the framework of the weak regulatory system as a whole (characterized, for example, by soft rules and regulations in the field of ecology) Russia has seen realized extracting projects that would not be considered effective and, therefore, implemented in a rigid system of monitoring and controlling of the development of mineral resources from the state. The most important factor in the formation of an adequate system for monitoring and controlling the state of the environment in the areas of subsurface development projects should be proactive participation of the indigenous peoples in this process.

Provision of consumer services for mining companies can substantially increase the benefits from the projects for the indigenous peoples. But these benefits can not fully compensate for the high environmental costs (Fig. 2). In addition, within the case of the cumulative impact on the environment by oil and gas companies the possibility of the indigenous peoples to provide these services is reduced, as natural productivity in the areas of influence of industrial projects drops.

Scenario 3. Provision of type 1 production services.

Under this scenario, in addition to providing consumer services the indigenous peoples may render production services for oil and gas companies and their contractors. The indigenous peoples' participation in the provision of specified production services

(service in camps, cooking meals) is a balanced way of getting common positive consequence for the indigenous peoples from these projects: in this case, the benefits of another region's residents are not reduced. In this scenario, growth of benefits for the indigenous peoples from the project realization may become possible (Fig. 2). Providing services of type 1 can be effective from the standpoint of companies, as it results in total (though relatively small) reduction of costs caused by the implementation of the project with the appropriate organization of granting these services.

Scenario 4. Provision of type 2 production services. Rising expenditure on environmental measures.

In this scenario, production services of type 2 emerge to prominence: participation of the indigenous peoples in the construction programs at the stage of deposit's development and building facilities there. It should be noted that the provision of consumer and production services requires the relevant training of employees and formation of adequate organizational structures. Under this scenario, the costs of environmental protection measures are borne at the required level, which minimizes the impact of development of natural resources on the environment in the areas of traditional land management.

This scenario is one of the most favorable from the point of view of the indigenous peoples: the benefits from the project increase, while environmental costs minimize. Moreover, this scenario has its own internal logic: the higher the degree of participation the indigenous peoples in projects (up to implementation of the construction programs at the first stages), the lower the environmental costs. Co-participation of the indigenous peoples in the development of subsurface riches allows:

 to monitor the process of deposits' development;

- to control the compliance with environmental requirements;
- to contribute to the construction of facilities (in accordance with the development project), which sets the level of impact on the environment.

Participation of the indigenous peoples in the development of subsurface resources complies with the interests of the state as an owner of these resources. Adequate monitoring and control of processes of mineral resources development are aimed at full realization of the rights of ownership. Therefore, the common interests of the state and indigenous peoples should be a basis for the formation of partnerships, including the management of the processes of subsurface resources development, which are focused on improving the social and economic benefits for the whole society.

A reasonable part of the potential benefits for the indigenous peoples (especially their participation in the projects) is not associated with additional costs of oil and gas companies and their contractors. Provision of consumer and production services by the indigenous peoples (in remote areas with poor infrastructure) will reduce the total cost of the projects. Thus, the indigenous peoples' participation in the provision of services (including environmental monitoring and control) will lead to an increase in community benefits. This fact is an important argument in favor of practical implementation in Russia of the described scenarios, which take into account the interests of the indigenous peoples and their participation in the processes of mineral resources development, in monitoring and control of the ecological state during the development of mineral deposits.

Scenario 5. A part of tax revenues from the extraction of subsurface resources comes directly to the indigenous peoples.

This scenario can evolve in various forms.

- A part of the property tax (derived from the production assets in the considered deposit) is used for the needs of the indigenous peoples. Practical implementation of this approach is in the purview of local authorities: the property tax in modern Russian conditions has regional status. This approach is impractical for some individual projects to develop mineral resources. In the case of positive results this experience can become more widespread and common for the projects on the mineral resources development in the areas of traditional land management.
- A part of rental income comes from regional budgets. In this case, the overall level of benefits for the indigenous peoples increases due to the fact they begin to share the regional income from extraction of raw materials. This direction can bring ample benefits to the indigenous peoples, if a substantial portion of rental income from the extraction of mineral resources goes to the regional level budgets.
- The above-mentioned approach may not always be welcomed by the population living in this region of the Russian Federation, as it reduces the benefits (though slightly) for the whole population. Therefore one had better prefer an approach used in the Canadian province of Alberta, although it is difficult to realize in practice. There, if mining occurs in the areas where Aboriginal Identity Peoples live, additional royalties are charged, increasing overall tax burden on oil and gas companies. Subsurface extractors pay an additional royalty to Aborigines, without lowering the level of tax revenues, which come to budget.

Under this scenario, the indigenous peoples do not have only special rights to the ground, but also certain powers to the subsurface area (if property rights are meant as a set of powers), because the indigenous peoples directly receive rental income from the development of this deposit.

In the considered scenarios federal tax revenues remain virtually unchanged, if there are relevant institutional changes. In this situation there occurs a major growth of social and economic benefits for oil and gas regions, primarily due to lower environmental costs. However, efficiency of projects for oil and gas companies in a number of directions is reduced. But within the framework of the adopted hypotheses IRR remains at an acceptable level, so mining companies are interested in investing in projects with the simultaneous implementation of measures under consideration, taking into account the interests of the indigenous peoples during the development of subsurface resources.

Based on the above analysis, the following conclusions are provided. One of the foundations for the transition from paternalism to partnership is co-participation of the indigenous peoples in the development of subsurface resources in the

projects, including the provision of consumer and production services for mining companies and their contractors. As a consequence, there must be an active position of the indigenous peoples organizations in matters of protection of their interests, which is a prerequisite for the transformation of the special rights of the indigenous people in the territories of traditional land management into real social and economic benefits through the development of various forms of participation in the implementation of development projects.

The scenarios, as described above, show the trend and the possible dynamics of the transition to a more complete consideration for the indigenous peoples in projects in the sphere of subsurface extracting in the territories of their traditional economic activities: from narrow economic agreements to partnership in the implementation of projects. This truly dynamic wave must be combined with the formation of specific organizational structures, including corporations of the indigenous peoples.

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Проблемы формирования отношений коренных народов и ресурсных корпораций: от отстаивания прав к соучастию в реализации проектов

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В статье показана необходимость соучастия коренных народов в реализации проектов освоения недр; разработан подход к оценке институциональных трансформаций во взаимоотношениях коренных народов и недропользователей. Предложены перспективные формы взаимодействия между компаниями-недропользователями и КМНС, направленные на повышение социально-экономических выгод коренного населения в процессе освоения недр на территории их традиционного проживания.

Ключевые слова: коренные малочисленные народы Севера, территории традиционного природопользования, недропользование, соучастие, институциональные изменения.