



Traditional Nature Management Areas as Means of Organizing the Economic Activities of the Siberian Arctic's Indigenous Minorities

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ABSTRACT

Since 2010, researchers have inhabited indigenous settlements, conducting field studies on the ways of preserving indigenous peoples' unique economic, environmental and cultural practices. The processes of new industrial reclamation of the Siberian Arctic have a direct effect on the area's indigenous populations living in the Arctic zone, including the Turukhan Area and Taymyr's Dolgano-Nenets Municipal District within the Krasnoyarsk Krai. In this area, traditional economic activities are practiced by the Nenets, the Evenks, the Evens, the Nganasans, the Dolgans, and the Selkups. The majority of experts believe that creating traditional nature management areas with a proper legal underpinning will enable a shift from the policy of state paternalism to the policy of strategic partnership between indigenous peoples and large financial and industrial groups, with state and local authorities assuming the role of mediators and guarantors. The Krasnoyarsk Krai is currently in the process of building a legal foundation for the creation of traditional nature management areas locally, which may make it possible to implement the ethnocultural standards of improving the quality of living for the Siberian Arctic's indigenous minorities.

Keywords: Siberian Arctic, Traditional Economics, Regional Development

JEL Classifications: R1, R5, Z1

1. INTRODUCTION

Today, industrial nature management processes are actively developing in the Siberian Arctic. Traditional nature management activities peculiar to the Siberian Arctic's indigenous inhabitants are currently undergoing a serious economic and ecological crisis, which threatens to destroy these inhabitants' unique economic, environmental and cultural practices. Experts believe that such traditional nature management territories (TNMTs), if created in the compact settlement areas of the Siberian Arctic's indigenous peoples, will preserve their traditional economy and open the way

to innovative technological reforms of traditional management methods (Shishatskiy et al., 2012; Koptseva and Kirko, 2014a; Kirko and Zakharova, 2013). Such entities as indigenous business leaders, indigenous public organizations, opinion leaders are interested in the innovative reforms of the indigenous peoples' traditional economy and committed to the cultural heritage of the Siberian Arctic's indigenous peoples and its preservation.

This paper analyzes traditional nature management activities in Taymyrsky Dolgano-Nenetsky Municipal District, one of the Siberian Arctic's regions. Until 2007, the district existed as Taymyr

Autonomous District, a federal subject of Russia. Since 2007, it has been a part of the Krasnoyarsk Krai.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

Since 2010, Siberian Federal University has conducted field studies in the compact settlement areas of the Siberian Arctic's indigenous peoples, including in the territory of Taymyrsky Dolgano-Nenetsky Municipal District (Libakova et al., 2014; Kistova et al., 2014; Koptseva and Kirko, 2014b; Zamaraeyeva et al., 2015) and the studies dealing with the estimation of the impact of active economic development of the natural resources of Taymyr and other Arctic territories of the Krasnoyarsk Krai on the preservation of the traditional habitat and the unique culture of the indigenous peoples (Mezhova et al., 2013; Savchenko et al., 2014; Zander et al., 2014). Nowadays, many empirical materials associated with such methods as involved observations, expert interviews, focus groups, analysis and systematization of static materials with regard to the quantitative and demographic structure of economic entities, production volumes, obtained from traditional nature management activities, including domestic reindeer farming, hunting, fishing, have been accumulated (Reznikova, 2013; Libakova and Sertakova, 2015). Rules and regulations associated with organizing the indigenous peoples' traditional economy and with their traditional nature management have been studied and analyzed (Luzan, 2011; Anaya, 2004).

3. REVIEW OF SCIENTIFIC STUDIES

Economic processes on the Taymyr Peninsula have been studied by Ziker (1999; 2002; 2003; 2006), Klovov (2000), Keeley (1988), Bukharova et al. (2005), Koptseva (2015), Schmidt et al. (2015), Zamaraeyeva et al. (2015), Kirko et al. (2012a and 2012b), Czarny (2015), Gogolev (2015), Tishkov et al. (2015) and other researchers.

Researchers note that the traditional economy of the Taymyr Peninsula's indigenous peoples is protected by international conventions, the Constitution of the Russian Federation, federal and regional laws, numerous executive orders. As a theoretical base, Russian scientists use Lev Gumilyov's theory of ethnogenesis which unites an ethnic group and its feeding landscape (Bassin, 2015), Sergey Shirokogorov's theory of ethnos (Sirina and Zakurdaev, 2016), Igor Krupnik's ethnoecological approach (Krupnik, 2002), the approach based on sustainable development of Arctic territories (Pilyasov, 2009; Pilyasov et al., 2015). Slezkine's findings (1994) are very frequently used by European and American scientists as a basis for understanding the Taymyr Peninsula's traditional economy.

A lot of attention has been paid to the exact meaning of traditional nature management activities in Russian legislation, ethnography, regional studies, northern studies and indigenous studies (Syroyechkovsky, 1974). Nowadays, researchers define the indigenous peoples' traditional economy as historically developed methods of development of the surrounding natural environment by indigenous ethnic groups, based on their long-

term and ecologically balanced use of renewable natural resources and ability to steadily reproduce and increase natural resources. This definition is used in the Federal Law "On the bases of state regulation of socio-economic development of the North of the Russian Federation" dated June 19, 1996.

In recent years, scientists have suggested other approaches to the traditional economy of the Siberian Arctic's indigenous peoples. These are known as "neotraditionalism." Therefore, Pika AI understands the "neotraditionalism" not as the indigenous peoples' return to the past and refusal of modern achievements, but as a rational combination of innovations and traditions in the indigenous peoples' lives. As a mechanism, it is suggested to apply economic independence, communal self-government (Pika, 1996). Anderson and Nuttall (2004) thoroughly study basic ecobiological principles of the traditional economy of the circumpolar area's indigenous peoples in their historical aspect and current state.

The reindeer economy provokes a great interest (Krupnik, 2000). The reindeer economy currently exists in circumpolar areas where the Sami (Hahn, 2000), the Nenets (Klovov, 2000), the Evenks live (Fraser, 2010).

As a rule, numerous studies of the traditional economy are associated with anthropological descriptions of indigenous peoples or with economic analyses of statistical data. There is a need to unite all the knowledge obtained by means of field studies and anthropological methods with the economic knowledge of the Taymyr traditional economy's condition. Our study purpose has been formulated as follows: Developing recommendations in order to increase the management effectiveness on the Taymyr Peninsula and improving the legislative base regulating the traditional economy of the Siberian Arctic's indigenous peoples, based on integrating anthropological and economic knowledge.

4. RESEARCH RESULTS

The Taymyr Peninsula is located in the Arctic part of Central Siberia. Its natural, climatic, social, economic, production parameters correspond to average values of other regions of the Russian Post-Soviet North. This Taymyr district may be considered as a model space for other northern regions. Its area is 880,000 km²; its total population is about 34,000 people. According to the All-Russian Population Census of 2010, the Taymyr Peninsula's indigenous ethnic groups are as follows: Dolgans – 5393 people, Nenets – 3493 people, Nganasans – 747 people, Evenks – 266 people, Enets – 204 people.

The indigenous peoples' communities on the territory of the Taymyr are occupied with their traditional activities including reindeer herding, fishing and selling of water biological resources, commercial hunting, processing and selling of hunting products, art and folk crafts, building of national traditional housings. The basis of the agricultural population is formed with reindeer population (95,379 heads on January 01, 2014). There were 260 farmers including 44 farms, 13 commercial ancestral households, 22 limited liability companies, 51 indigenous peoples'

communities, 15 agricultural cooperatives, 8 agricultural consumer cooperatives, 105 individual entrepreneurs, 2 households in the area – and this structure has not undergone any changes recently (According to the data of the department for the issues of indigenous peoples of the Taymyr Peninsula and the issues of agriculture and commerce of the Municipal District administration).

Hunting is the most important type of the Taymyr Peninsula's traditional economy. Like all the Arctic areas, commercial animals are represented by a very limited species composition. Wild reindeer hunting has the greatest significance for the Taymyr Peninsula's hunters. During the 20th century, up until the 1990's, arctic fox hunting was second only to wild reindeer hunting. In the preceding years, the global demand including Russian fur markets have lost interest in arctic fox skins. They have become more oriented towards wild reindeer hunting. At the present time, the state authorities are regulating this kind of hunting. Today, an average annual wild reindeer hunting quota on the Taymyr Peninsula is between 35,000 and 40,000 heads. It is quite a respectable business that along with fishing and domestic northern reindeer breeding allows the Taymyr indigenous peoples to preserve their traditional way of life. Individual entrepreneurs and legal entities represented by the Siberian Arctic's indigenous peoples share one third (1/3) of all allocated wild reindeer hunting quotas (Table 1).

In Krasnoyarsk Krai, Resolution No. 103-II of the Government of Krasnoyarsk Krai dated September 25, 2008 "On establishment of the limits of use of animal subjects for satisfaction of personal needs" specifies a maximum possible and definite quantity of animals, which may be hunted by indigenous ethnic groups. These limits are presented in Table 2.

As shown in Tables 1 and 2, the practice of assigning hunting lands accepted on the Taymyr Peninsula allocates hunting lands, as a rule, not in favor of the indigenous peoples for whom hunting is a part of their traditional way of life. A minimum area of hunting limits them from conducting their full-fledged hunting economy. It is possible to correct this situation by uniting the distribution of animal hunting quotas between hunters and the area of allocated hunting lands in accordance with the commercial gain per units of the area of the corresponding lands.

At the same time, experts believe that existing hunting norms and rules do not represent a statistical review of animal hunting volumes.

In Russia, the practice of allocation of predominant residence areas of indigenous ethnic groups of the North, Siberia and the Far East is being currently replaced with the allocation of places of their traditional residence and traditional economic activities. These places of traditional residence and traditional economic activities are specified in 28 territorial subjects of the Russian Federation, including Krasnoyarsk Krai.

The TNMTs are especially protected areas where indigenous ethnic groups of the North of the Russian Federation compactly live and maintain their traditional way of life. The TNMTs are a source of numerous benefits, such as food, agricultural raw materials, natural resources, recreational facilities. The TNMT have many social and economic functions, including production, demographic, cultural, ethnic, ecological, recreational, communicative, social control, etc.

The Taymyr Dolgan-Nenets Municipal District is a warehouse of various natural and mineral resources. There are more than 120 discovered deposits and 40 kinds of minerals at the Taymyr territory: They are unique deposits of nickel and platinum ores, gas and oil deposits, reserves of lignite and coal (Mandel, 2014). Concerning the deposits of natural resources the Taymyr is among the five most resourced regions of Russia and attracts the attention of major resource-extracting companies. Under the conditions of secondary industrialization of the Siberian Arctic, it is rather important to agree upon interests of the subsurface users (large financial and industrial groups) and indigenous people, to reach equality in their economic relations. One of the most important tasks is to arrive at a compromise in contractual relations. This compromise, on the one hand, would limit excessive claims made by the indigenous population, but on the other hand, would help to compensate for moral and material losses in case of rejection of the indigenous population's primordial lands.

The TNMTs can promote the implementation of several scenarios in the economic situation when oil and gas are produced in these territories. This may include economic agreements, use of rent

Table 1: Hunters and main production indicators associated with the Taymyr hunting in the hunting season of 2013-2014

Organizational and legal form of activities	Subjects	Commercial areas	Total area (thousand ha)	Min area–max area (thousand ha)	Summarized reindeer hunting quota	Min and max quota
Legal entities	17	36	1248	0.8-511	20,500	30-6238
Including representatives of the Siberian Arctic's indigenous peoples	8	13	236	0.8-62	6600	30-968
Individual entrepreneurs	36	38	715	0.4-190.7	9500	10-968
Including individual entrepreneurs from among the indigenous peoples	8	8	86.1	1.3-32.8	3300	242-968
Total number of hunters from among the indigenous peoples (individual entrepreneurs+legal entities)	16	21	322.1	-	9780	-
Total number of other hunters (not from among the indigenous peoples) (legal entities and individual entrepreneurs)	37	53	1640.9	-	18,958	-
Public lands	-	-	77,579.1	-	6000	-
Total	53	74	1963	-	36,000	-

Table 2: Limits of use of animal subjects for satisfaction of personal needs

District	Animals					
	Wild reindeer	Elk	Bear	Sable	Wood grouse	Other fur animals
Taymyrsky	8	1	1	5	10	20
Dolgano-Nenetsky						

income, and property tax, consumer and production services for the oil and gas sector, additional royalties. The scenario when the indigenous peoples actively participate in subsurface development projects (including by means of rendering production and consumer services) will be the most effective one. This scenario will allow them to fully consider the following four subjects that have their own interests in receiving profits from the development of hydrocarbonic raw materials: The federal budget, a subject of the Russian Federation, the Siberian Arctic's indigenous ethnic groups, subsurface users.

However, this scenario has certain and important restrictions. If the primordial lands are reduced, how will the indigenous population be able to provide subsurface users with products in necessary volumes? On the other hand, if the indigenous population work in industrial companies, their employment in the traditional economy will be accordingly reduced. The population will lose its unique economic, ecological and cultural practices; the prospects of preservation and development of ethnic groups will turn out to be extremely unsuccessful.

Experts believe that the allocation of TNMTs may be followed by a rise in corruption. These traditional settlement areas of the North are occupied not only by the indigenous population, but also by many other nations who live there on a constant basis. Their considerable part consists of Russian old residents, i.e. descendants of those who arrived here several centuries ago and who helped the indigenous population to survive under severe climatic conditions. These old resident people generally lead the same life as the peoples of the North. Additional rights and privileges, if introduced in favor of the indigenous peoples, may result in a further aggravation of international relations and this already difficult social situation in the North.

If the indigenous peoples acquire a land title, it may create a group of businessmen from among the peoples of the North, but it is not a guarantee of preservation of their traditional nature management and traditional culture, and therefore, preservation of these peoples themselves as independent and authentic ethnoses. Here it is necessary to pay attention to three substantial points.

Firstly, in case of acquisition of any titles to certain territories under contracts, the people of the North will lose their titles to other considerably large territories. Such as, for example, the practice of the Canadian-American indigenous peoples development model where the oil companies get easy access to the territories rich in oil and are the most interested parties in concluding land use contracts by the Inuvialuit of the western Canadian Arctic. Under these conditions, a necessary base for preserving the traditional culture and corresponding life support system is being narrowed.

Secondly, if such lands allocated to the peoples of the North are rich in mineral resources, these lands will not be generally used for traditional nature management purposes. Besides, as the Russian experience shows, majority of the territories will be under control of big business and the Northern peoples will get a small portion in the best case scenario as it usually happens when economic agreement are concluded between oil companies and communal landowners.

Thirdly, there is such a risk when these landowners receive monetary gifts from oil and gas companies, they may forget about their traditions and original types of economic activities.

In 2014, in the course of the field studies in the Taymyr Peninsula's territory, we conducted expert interviews with representatives of the local administration of such settlements as Khatanga, Zhdanikha, Kresty, including Kuleshov Alexander Valerievich, head of the settlement of Khatanga, who gave definite answers to the following six questions.

Question 1: In the present period of industrialization and reindustrialization, the indigenous peoples' cultural practices need a special form of organization with regard to settlement and management activities. There are different forms known in the world, including ethnic villages, national and cultural parks, TNMTs, reservations. In your opinion, what is the most effective form for the indigenous peoples of Krasnoyarsk Krai and why?

Question 2: Today, different opportunities, including legal ones, in order to form TNMTs, are being created in Krasnoyarsk Krai. It is obvious that authorities and public organizations need assistance from economic entities existing in these territories for effective development of such TNMTs. These may be individual entrepreneurs, municipal enterprises, cooperatives, tribal communities. In your opinion, the assistance of what economic entity will be most effective for preservation of the Krasnoyarsk Krai indigenous peoples' unique culture?

Question 3: One of the main strategies of preservation of the Krasnoyarsk Krai indigenous peoples' unique culture is the cultural policy. This cultural policy is created by state authorities, public unions, and individual entrepreneurs, authors (artists, musicians, poets, composers, dancers and other talented people). In your opinion, who is capable of creating the cultural policy maximally meeting the task of preservation of the Krasnoyarsk Krai indigenous peoples' culture? What methods can be used to turn theoretical principles of the cultural policy into real cultural practices?

Question 4: Any culture is associated with economic activities and ethnic outlook. How is it possible to preserve the Krasnoyarsk Krai indigenous peoples' languages provided that this indigenous population is rather small (<1000 people, <500 people)?

Question 5: What studies should be conducted by scientists, economists, sociologists, culturologists and teachers in order to preserve the indigenous peoples' unique culture?

Question 6: If the TNMTs are created in our Krasnoyarsk Krai, what criteria can be used to judge those benefits, which they bring to the indigenous peoples?

Definite answers to these questions provoke a great interest. However, this article does not include all of such answers to the six questions. We will note only the most important points which are associated with the organization of TNMT and to which Alexander Kuleshov, head of the rural settlement of Khatanga, the largest rural settlement in the world, pays special attention.

1. "The way of life of our indigenous peoples, in particular reindeer breeders, is characterized by their relocation, together with their families and herds, along this or that territory. It is a nomadic way of life: From time to time, it is necessary to move to a new place. National and cultural parks and ethnic villages are not possible here. Because, besides pasturing domesticated deer, there are other animal and vegetable subjects, etc. And some traditional nature management territory in legal terms is more flexible than other forms; it is more optimum, a priority for us."
2. "If we speak about TNMTs, then tribal communities or individual entrepreneurs from among local indigenous people should be created here as legal entities <...> Tribal communities are a more flexible thing. Firstly, their members have a right to withdraw natural world subjects for each inhabitant of the indigenous minorities, regardless of any license, for food purposes. They can catch fish for food. However, it seems to me that there is one legal shortcoming: The indigenous people have no right to sell their products. Our locals think that they have a right to shoot eight deer and to sell venison. They can sell it to their neighbors, if for food purposes, but cannot sell it to some legal entity for processing. We face the fact that our locals have no license to such sales. In order to sell, it is necessary to have licenses. Products should pass veterinary examinations, and these procedures need a license. It is a certain legal mistake."
3. "The cultural policy is arranged by state authorities. Culture is not my expertise. We, to the best of our ability, try to encourage and hold different competitions. We have a national creativity center, managed by Fedoseeva Maya Erbukovna. There are song creativity practices, but it is a modern remake. In addition, singers-storytellers (indigenous people) are a kind of rarity; one or two persons are here today. I do not know, whether they will transfer these skills to their next generations? After all, they are peculiar. One singer-storyteller has been brought to France. He is almost 80 years old, and when he sings, it really gives the creeps."
4. "The Dolgans are more than one thousand, but the Nganasans are much less. It is clear that when this one thousand people live in two, three or four isolated settlements, they will communicate among each other. Nevertheless, when these 500 people are scattered, they will lose their language practices sooner or later. Probably, some lessons with regard to the Dolgan people's history will help here. At our schools, it is introduced as an additional course. But it is impossible to oblige schoolchildren to intensively learn their native language."

Thus, the idea about TNMTs on the Taymyr Peninsula is supported by the indigenous people who regard them as a way to resolve the most difficult problem: To preserve their traditional economy, unique cultural heritage, to obtain tools for conducting successful negotiations with subsurface users (large financial and industrial groups). The TNMTs, according to the Siberian Arctic's indigenous people, will allow them to create rules and regulations taking into account traditions, ethnic and cultural quality standards of life.

At the present time the municipal programme "The Creation of the Conditions for the Preservation of the Traditional Ways of Life of Indigenous Minorities of the Taymyr Dolgan-Nenets Municipal District and the Protection of their Original Habitat" for 2014-2016 years aimed at solving the problems connected with the organization of life and its mode of indigenous minorities on the territory is implemented (Municipal Programme, 2014).

The first of them – is the maintaining of life and lifestyle based on domestic reindeer herding. In spite of the deer population increase, this activity is not cost-effective due to high labour costs, rising energy prices, low resource endowment, distance location from the markets and the lack of established marketing channels.

The second problem is related to the provision of medical care and medication to indigenous minorities in conditions of their territory dispersity and nomadic way of life – The communities seasonally migrate to the places of pasture.

The third problem is the organization of education for the indigenous minorities, both general and vocational.

The fourth problem is associated with the assimilation of the population and the necessity of preservation of traditional culture, language and national traditions.

A number of activities for solving these problems are presupposed in the framework of the municipal programme:

- Provision of the compensation to those who maintain a traditional way of life;
- Provision of the financial support for the compensation of the expenditures for buying energy-producing equipment for those who produce agricultural products and the compensation of the realization of reindeer herding products;
- Implementation of the social payments for the removal of wolves from the environment;
- Target financing of the costs connected with the training of the representatives of the indigenous minorities in vocational education institutions and the children, enrolled in boarding schools;
- Gratuitous provision of the indigenous minorities with the nomadic housing or payment of compensation for the creation of such property;
- Gratuitous provision of the indigenous minorities which have the tradition lifestyle with gasoline, communication equipment, drugs and medicines;
- Provision of women with the sets for newborns;
- Organization and carrying out socially relevant activities (the days of reindeer herders and fishermen, etc.).

The introduction of the evaluation of the effectiveness of the work of local government and state bodies on the territory of the Taymyr for implementation of the municipal programme is suggested. It is reasonable to use a wide range of indicators that characterize the quality of life of indigenous population which include both traditional indicators and also indicators associated not only with the general or average data, but the data which are focused on ethnic and cultural uniqueness of the Siberian Arctic aboriginal people.

It is suggested to introduce the following effectiveness indicators associated with implementation of not general, average indicators of the quality of life of the Siberian Arctic's indigenous people, but those focused on ethnic and cultural uniqueness to the assessment of the Taymyr local self-government and state authorities' overall performance.

The first group: Welfare indicators

- Income level, including by means of traditional types of management
- Cost of living
- People having an income higher and lower than a cost of living.

The second group: Demographic indicators

- People older than 55 years
- Registered infant mortality (till 1 year of age)
- Alcoholism (officially registered alcoholics, death causes connected with alcoholism, expert assessment of alcoholization level).

The third group: Employment indicators

- People having a continuous employment
- Official and actual unemployment
- Participation in job centers' programs
- People engaged in traditional branches of economy
- Satisfaction with work (interesting, well-paid, status).

The fourth group: Housing and modern technical (technological) facilities indicators

- Apartment, house
- Commercial housing
- Comfort level (living area, public utilities)
- Satellite communications
- Internet connection
- Mechanized vehicles (sports utility vehicles, snowmobiles, quad bikes, etc.).

The fifth group: Education quality assessment indicators

- People completed secondary education
- People entered universities and secondary institutions
- People completed higher education
- Learning languages and cultures (number of schoolchildren, corresponding training and teaching).

The sixth group: Health care quality indicators

- Available healthcare institutions and medical assistance
- People who pass annual medical examination.

The seventh group: Polyethnicity indicators

- Indigenous people in the total number of population
- Ratio between migrants and old residents
- International marriages.

The eighth group: "Ethnic comfort" indicators

- Use of ethnic languages
- Structure of food, share of ethnic food
- Literature, mass media, geographic and administrative names in ethnic languages
- Use of ethnic symbols in the urban environment, in office buildings
- Ethnocultural centers, museums, folklore ensembles, souvenir workshops
- Possibility of learning languages and cultures.

The ninth group: Traditional life indicators

- Ensuring a right to fishing, marine animal business, hunting, reindeer farming, collecting (including seafood), processing and sales of products
- Resource quotas
- Ensuring a right to national crafts
- Ensuring a right to folklore.

The 10th group: Legal security indicators

- Level of state and legal guarantees
- Level of penalties
- Appeals to public authorities, including court and militia, local government.

The 11th group: Communities, patrimonial farms, other organizational development indicators

- How many years this organization works
- Staff, including indigenous ethnic groups
- Material support (processing base, transport, fishing tools, trade area)
- Income from activities
- Charitable payments
- Self-organization level (effectiveness of government bodies, interaction with public authorities and local government).

These indicators represent a list of possible indicators intended for monitoring the quality of life of the Siberian Arctic's indigenous peoples. However, they may be corrected depending on actually available data.

Studying of the quality of life with regard to the mentioned indicators is based, firstly, on the consideration of state statistical data, secondly, on ethno-sociological opinion polls, thirdly, on expert interviews. Indigenous people may participate in sociological polls in order to provide a higher level of trust and create new workplaces.

5. CONCLUSION

Modern economic processes on the Taymyr Peninsula among the Siberian Arctic's indigenous peoples bear a complex and multidirectional nature. There is a certain discrepancy between the

ethnic identification among the Taymyr indigenous population, on the one hand, and a quite low standard of living, which is caused by the indigenous peoples' traditional economy, on the other hand. The Siberian Arctic's indigenous peoples regard the creation of the TNMTs as a means of resolving this discrepancy where, in their opinion, it is possible to develop economic and legal mechanisms for improvement of their quality of life, relying on their communal way of life, traditional values, bio-ecological and socio-ecological practices. In spite of the fact that the federal legislation is not properly ready to regulate the creation of TNMTs, all opportunities for this creation are being used at both regional and local level.

The development of the economic situation among the Siberian Arctic's indigenous peoples living on the Taymyr Peninsula is associated with a possible emergence of new forms of economic activities where market mechanisms will be more or less successfully combined with the traditional economy. Economic entities in the TNMTs will have a mixed structure: Individual entrepreneurs, municipal enterprises, tribal communities. At the present time, the majority of the indigenous people consider a tribal community as the most authentic economic entity.

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