The economic anthropology: theory and terminology issues

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Abstract. The intensive course of socio-economic progress on a planetary scale makes it possible to strengthen the integration process in the economic and economic activities of the peoples of the world. The preservation of characteristic local ethno-economic structures and economic and cultural traditions, as well as their use, are becoming important in the implementation of national goals and objectives for the stable development of countries as a solution to problems related to food security, unemployment, real incomes of the population and the environment. In a number of leading research centers of the world, priority is given to the study of economic life, the traditions of creating material wealth inherent in various social, national-ethnic and agrarian-economic societies. They pay special attention to the theoretical and practical problems of economic anthropology, concerning such topics as socio-economic, cultural diversity, ethno-economic structure of peoples living in a certain natural and geographical environment. In this article “Theoretical problems of ethno-economics”, special attention is paid to the scientific characterization of ethno-economics as a new concept in ethnology and economics, as well as to the analysis of theoretical problems, the concepts of marginalism, formalism, substantivism, which the term regard to share public wealth, and production equally to every member of society, and institutional theory.

1 Introduction

The economic reforms and social changes carried out in the Republic of Uzbekistan in recent years are measured, first of all, by the effectiveness of their degree of influence on the financial situation and well-being, improving the level and quality of life of the population. That is why, at the present stage, special attention is paid to the study of such problems as “improving the living standards and incomes of the population, reducing the level of poverty of the population, strengthening food security and promoting sustainable development of agriculture, ensuring productive employment, rational use of water resources, protecting and restoring ecosystems on land ”. In this regard, the historical and ethnological study of the ethno-economic processes that took place during the 20th century and changes in the daily life of the population, as well as the local culture that was formed in different historical and ethnographic regions and preserved the unique features of ethno-economic traditions, becomes relevant.

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In modern geo-economic conditions, Eurasian continent is becoming one of the centers of economic development under the influence of political, economic and religious-ethnic communities. No doubt that the Republic of Uzbekistan occupies one of the central places in the region.

One of the main reasons that experts pay special attention to the ethno-economic common problems is its peculiarity and its connection with the multidimensional globalization process.

Indeed, today, in terms of globalization, the existence of the political and economic crisis, civil conflict, natural disaster, unemployment, too many hungry in the world, problems on access to drinking water and such as different political, socio-economic, ecologic problems are required using economic potential rationally of every region. Thus, the study of the ethno-economy of the mountainous and foothill populations of Uzbekistan plays an important role.

2 Materials and methods

The purpose of the study is to analyze the main methodological and scientific-theoretical approaches related to economic anthropology and ethno-economics, and to study the historiography of the problem. The article uses such methods of scientific research as historical and comparative analysis, statistical and comparative approach, direct observation, problem-chronological analysis and interviews.

3 Results

The study and systematization from the theoretical standpoint of the economy and economic relations of ethnic groups began in the 80-s of the XIX century. At first, the Russian economist and ethnographer N. I. Ziber, then the representative of the German historical school C. Bucher began to systematize the fragmentary information of various travelers, ethnographers and missionaries about economic relations in "primitive" or "primitive" societies [1, 67].

By the second quarter of the twentieth century, ethnologists and anthropologists M. Schmidt, R. Turnwald, M. Mauss, B. Malinovsky [2], carrying out targeted field research, came to grips with the study of the economic life of ethnic groups leading a primitive way of existence. This, in turn, served as the basis for systematizing information about the economy and economic relations of the peoples who remained at the primitive and traditional stage of development. As a result of this, starting precisely from the indicated time, the first steps were taken in the study of theoretical problems of ethno-economics.

The field ethnological materials collected by the above-named researchers and their analysis clearly showed that the theory of marginalism, which has so far dominated science and considered universal, is absolutely inapplicable in relation to the “primitive”, “traditional” economy. Marginalism (from French marginal - marginal) - also means “last”, “added”. The theory of marginalism is widely used in the analysis of the relationship and mutual influence between a particular product and its price. However, it should be especially noted that in sociology the term "marginalization" is also used. This term (from the late Latin “marginalis” - located on the edge) - denotes a sociological phenomenon, the concept of intermediateness, "boundary" position of a person between any social groups, which leaves a certain imprint on his psyche. This concept appeared in American sociology in the 1920s to refer to the situation of non-adaptation of immigrants to new social conditions.

Then, the anthropologists R Firth, J. Goodfellow, M. Herskovitz [3, 22, 3-4, 3-7], who laid the foundation for the theoretical formal economy, provided comprehensive information that even primitive societies in economic anthropology have, in a certain sense, a complex
system of economic relations and marginalism is not a universal theory in the study of the “peasant economy”, which plays an important role in commodity-money relations.

In the 60s of the twentieth century, a new theoretical direction arose in economic ethnology – substantivism, the founders of which were K. Polanyi, J. Dalton, M. Sahlins. After the publication in 1961 in the journal “American Anthropologist” (American Anthropologist) of J. Dalton's article “The Primitive Community and the Theory of Economics” [4, 1-25], the idea of substantivism gained popularity among ethnologists. Substantivism is a position first proposed by Carl Polanyi. Since in every society there is a socially organized production, distribution and consumption of material goods and services, it was he who emphasized that the economy is built into society and culture. In contrast to the formalists, the substantivists, focusing on the difference between the “primitive” and the capitalist (market) economy, decided to create a theory of "primitive" economics, different from the theory of the formal economy. A heated discussion between substantivists and formalists that broke out in the 1960s and 1970's confirmed the inappropriateness of a formal approach to a “primitive” economy. However, despite certain results, the substantivists failed to create a scientific theory of "primitive" economics, which caused a deep crisis in economic anthropology or the direction of ethno-economics.

Orientation to the function of social unity in the division of labor opened the way for a new direction in ethno-economics - the theory of institutionalism. "Institutional theory" was recognized first in classical political economy, and then in ethno-economics, where it gained further development. Economist G. Myrdal [5, 165-171] and ethnologist Yu. V. Bromley, who were supporters of the theory of institutionalism widespread in the 70-80s of the twentieth century, argued about the need to pay special attention to the ethnic factor in the course of economic processes and the use of labor resources in ethno-cultural conditions. Institutionalism (lat. Institution - "custom", "program") - a direction of economic theory that originated in the 20-30s of the twentieth century, which considers the economy as a combination of all institutions of human society - morality, customs, law, laws (institutions), etc. d. The term “institutional economics” was introduced in 1919 by Walton Hamilton in his article published in the American Economic Review.

Since that moment, attention has increased to the economic and ethnic analysis of ethnic groups, which is reflected in scientific publications on the ethnic aspects of "economic and cultural" problems. Since the end of the 80s of the twentieth century, the term "ethno-economics" has finally established itself in science. Since the concept of "ethno-economics" denoted a relatively new science, it was interpreted differently in various scientific branches and specialized literature. In our opinion, ethno-economics is a scientific direction based on objective laws about the relationship and mutual influence of nature, economic activity, traditions, customs, development of productive forces and production relations, culture, psychology, ideology, religious beliefs.

4 Discussion

Today ethno-economics is a new category in many scientific spheres and scientific literature, and the discipline formed as a scientific direction between ethnology and economics is developing. This discipline, named ethno-economics, means that its problems of studying are related to both ethnologists and economists.

Ethno-economics is scientifically close or crossing with ethnography, economic history, economic geography, regional geography, agrarian economics, demography, labor economics, and other fields of science [6, 14]. At the same time, it is deeply connected with the economic-sociology which studies developed societies. Moreover, the relationship between industrial labor (hired labor) and classes is also explored in the center of studying.
The problem of ethno-economics has become a research sphere with its relevance and fundamental aspects for both ethnologists and economists during the 20th century. Particularly in the second half of the 20th century, it has broadened as named economic anthropology in the West (the traditional terminology for us is the economic ethnography [7, 111] or economic ethnology) [8, 3]. One of the most important directions of ethnology is economic ethnology which studies the economy and economic performance of the ethnos [9, 21].

Although the economic anthropology terminology had been applied abroad since 1927, previously fundamental studies had already been published [10, 3-45].

Theoretically studying and systematization of the ethnic’s economy and economic relations had been firstly started in the 80s of the XIX century that it began to systematize distorted information about economic relations between different tourists, ethnographers and missionaries in "primitive" or "ancient" societies. It can be a study "The essays of primitive economic cultures' [11, 67] (1883) by N.I. Ziber, a Russian economist and ethnographer, an analyst for socio-economic relations in ancient societies, and “The emergence of the national economy” (1907) [12, 14] by C. Bucher, a German economist, a representative of historian school in the political economy. Carl Bucher, who investigated the economic life of societies on capitalistic stages, offered the three-tier (household, urban, and national) scheme to study the development of the economy.

The next step was to systematize the traditional economic and economic relations of the peoples of the primitive and traditional stages, based on targeted field research. At the beginning of the 20th century, a special study of the economic life of the primitive people began through ethnographic expeditions. It is important to note the research by ethnographers W.Semidt and R. Thurnwald that are the ethnographical collected field materials on investigation for the theoretical generalization of economic relations in certain primitive societies [13, 39].

It is directly related with the series of scientific works “Argonauts on the Western coast of the Pacific ocean” (1922), “Crimes and traditions in the wilderness society” (1926) and “The sexual life of northwestern Melanesians' wilderness” (1929) by B.Malinowski, one of the most famous British ethnologist and the man who reaches first base to economic ethnography. The field ethnographic materials collected by B.Malinowski expressed definitely that the theory of marginalization, which has been dominant in the Western economic science so far, is not applicable for implementing for a "primitive", "traditional" economy, and the "primitive" society has a certain system of the complex economic relationship, on the other hand, the marginalization is not universal theory [14, 64].

The name of B.Malinowski is connected with an economic institute which is later named after the prestige economy and describing specific components of socioeconomic systems in the class of pre-class societies, particularly, the explanation of potlatch is not as a ceremony, but as one of the form of socioeconomic communications, i.e. the economic institute. However, it is noteworthy that some ethnographers, such as American cultural anthropologists, S.A.Kan and several other ethnographers still have the opposite idea on the statement that potlatch is an economic institution [15, 154].

Also, one of the most important works in the study of the economic relationships of ethnos is "Essay about Gift" (1925), belonging to M.Mauss, as well as his other works too.

In the 30th years of the 20th century as the research object of the economic anthropology had began to study not only the “primitive economy”, but also the “economy of “dehkans” (– is a small-scale family-farm and their harvests are consumed at home or in local markets), which played an important role in commodity-money relations after issuing of several anthropologists’ works such as “The economy of primitive Polynesian " (1939) by R. Firth [16, 22][30, p. 22], “Economic life of primitive people" (reissued in 1952) by M. Herskovits [17, 3-7], and "Economic sociology principles" (1939) by D. Goodfellow a sociologist [18,
Thus, the theoretical formal economy has formed in economic anthropology, but it has not appeared of great interest.

Economic anthropology took place modestly in the ethnological research system during the 20s and 30s of the 20th century. However, since the 40s and 60s, economic anthropology has become one of the most important subjects of ethnography. After the Second World War, there was judgment on the great transformations such as the beginning of national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Oceania and the emergence of independent younger nations. The countries, which gained political independence but were still economically dependent, were mainly focused on the economic problems. However, in order to solve these problems and attend to the orbital area of the world economy, economic knowledge was required to understand the reforms in the traditional economic structures. Indeed, economic anthropology could only help for the moment.

The scope of research on economic anthropology has grown dramatically and new trends have emerged soon after. In the 40s and 60s the study of "primitive economy" continued and it was published more than the period in the 20s and 30s [18, 3-4].

This economy has been changed beside scientists, and naturally, the analysis of the changes was contributed in their research widely. In general, the primitive economy which is placed at the research center of economic anthropologists, gradually integrated with the "dehkan’s economy". During that period, evidence was quickly collected needed materials, but it was not possible to analyze a huge amount of material on formal economic theory and, as a result, was not demonstrated all the important aspects of the approach to primitive economics [19, 62-66].

Thus, a new stage in the development of economic ethnography was in the mid-40s, marked by the "formalist" direction. However, attempts to obtain needed materials from the marginal school were not successful. In the 50-60's of the 20th century, a new conceptual direction called substantive class (founders are K.Polani, D.J.Dalton, M.Salinz) had formed in the economic ethnography.

The representatives of the substantive class focused on the difference between “primitive” and capitalism (market) economies in contrast to formalists. They aimed to create a "primitive" economic theory that differentiated this from the formal economic theory.

Discussions between substantive class' representatives and formalists in the 50-70s of the 20th century have shown that the formal approach to the “primitive” economy was incorrect. Although representatives of the substantive class have achieved particular results on the study of “primitive” economy, they could not create its concept [20, 78] and it led to a profound theoretical crisis of economic anthropology or ethno-economics.

In the 80s of the 20th century, the Marxian methods were not implemented to study the traditional economy in France. It should be emphasized that several English researchers deployed the Marxian theory for solving existing difficulties in the 70s. The collection of thesis called “New economic anthropology” was issued in 1978. Its publishers were J.Klemmer, R.Frankenberg, D.Seddon and others such as the known English anthropologists. But, there is no doubt that the traditional economy theory has still remained to solve its problems in economic anthropology.

From the 80s of the 20th century, attention has been paid to the economic and ethnic analysis of ethnic groups. In the late 80's of the 20th century the articles on ethnicity of “economic-cultural” problems were issued [21, 21-39]. At that time, the "ethno-economics" terminology was introduced.

At the present time, foreign scientists are approaching the appearances that are happening in economic processes, as a general problematic issue, as well as widely covering the practical aspects of ethno-economic knowledge. The ethno-economics, as a separate scientific discipline, is described in well-known dictionaries of social science and defined as
"a science that studies the peculiarities of the economic activity of the ethnos" [22, 6][19, -s. 6].

In the scientific communities, the concept of ethno-economics is used widely and narrowly. Both of these concepts have some distinctive features. The views of scientists, who narrowly describe ethno-economics, are the following:

- “Ethno-economics is a form of economic activity that is differentiated by the minimal material and intellectual resources of household” [23, 10-11][20, p. 10-11];
- “Ethno-economics is a small family business, entrepreneurship with the ethnic character” [24, 8];
- “family network” based on family and familiar relationships for carrying out traditional economic activities [25, 142];
- "Ethno-economics – is the expression of important ethnic traditions within the framework of a separate enterprise" [26, 110];
- "it is the evolution of the traditional folk craftsmanship which plays a major role in household participation" [27, 23].

Extensive processing, agrarian-oriented, natural and small commodity forms of exchange, homogeneity and unofficial employment are highlighted in the narrow (traditional) context of ethno-economics.

The broader interpretation of ethno-economics has more scientific relevance. V.N. Ovchinnikov describes ethno-economics as being primarily an ethnically-driven part of society, and he calls that it is the independent branch of society’s production [6, 14]. D.A. Nuratinov, an economist scientist, paid attention to the ethno-region and he defined the ethno-economics as being a precise objective and subjective factor in the economy of the ethno-region which has been formed during the historical development and economic activity of peoples [28, 9]. K. Pavlov, an economics-scientist, interprets that it is a subject that connects ethno-economic characteristics with tradition and culture, and is about the tradition, customs, culture, psychology, ideology, religious beliefs of various ethnos, as well as the level of development of processing forces and production relations [27, 36]. S.P. Makarov, a researcher, linked ethno-economics with the environment and described that it is a combination of ethnos adaptation to the environment [29, 12]. E. Kochetov, a well-known economist, points out the ethnic factor and he emphasized that "it forms an ethno-economic system in the economy and it is a duration in the transition of post-industrialization to a new economy" [30, 10]. O. Inshakov “argues that it is one of the more natural means of implementing the processes of globalization using a multidimensional national tradition of labor” [31, 9].

Kara-Murza, a researcher-scientist, states that one of the most important vital components of ethnos is a household. It embodies all aspects of the elements of culture such as the democratically distribution of the resources of nature and human beings, wealth and property, the cooperation of the organizations, and definitions about the technological knowledge and skills. The combination of variants of these elements is huge and so many, therefore the household creates an inherent peculiarity in each ethnic community. Ethnos is the creator of a specific economic system for themself, and on the other hand the household also is the creator of ethnos [32, 1-2].

In this regard, the locality of the household is characterized by the similarity of living conditions and plays an important role in organizing people's economic life in the natural environment.

The characteristic feature of this organization depends on the difficulties of living in mountainous areas of the high level of internal association. It is characterized by the evidence that is limited land for cropping, locked conditions for villages there with the external world during the winter season, and is a strong relations of the traditional groups in the community.
Nowadays, understanding of ethno-economics as a traditional house holding is the most common. This definition is particularly relevant to A.H. Tambiev's research: "Ethnic associations are the main types of development and labor activity that are closely related to the family-houseware share, household and traditional lifestyle of the local population [33, 134].

According to the aforementioned author, one of the most important aspects of ethno-economics is the substantial dependence on the household’s economy with the production of goods which is a market-oriented business. This specific area of activity provides a condition for all layers of the population besides housewives, teenagers, disabled persons, retirees and others to be partly employed. The population in the mountainous and foothold districts uses leather, wood, fiber etc. – mainly raw materials in ethno-economy, particularly, in household’s production. This sector as a goods production has become a major source of income for the population [34, 2]. Even today, it has continued to cultivate foliage, poplar, mulberry and apricot trees around the crop lands at almost all the mountainous villages. The sharp increase in the prices for wood products has made the production of foliage and poplar as a source of income in the last two decades. In general, horticulture and the production of timber have remained the main branches of ethno-economy and source of income for the mountainous populations.

The traditional sector of the ethno-economics is especially important for rural areas. Its main functions are listed here:
- self-sufficiency of the population with foods (low population density and low-income areas);
- increasing employment in rural areas far from economically developed regions and administrative centers;
- increasing incomes in rural districts;
- maintaining ethnic culture and traditional lifestyles;
- conserving biodiversity and landscape productivity.

The neo-traditional field of ethno-economics also has many useful functions. In addition to providing additional stability to the region's economy, it promotes its positive growth, increases the living standards of small villages, enhances the competitiveness of the regional economic system via preserving ethnic-diversity and serves as a factor in the formation of various regional territorial production.

Economic affairs and relationships are important in ethno-economics. Researchers: K.Pavlov, V. N. Dudko and O. V. Zimovets argues that ethno-economics is also studying problems related to economic processes and relationships, and interethnic relations. Interethnic relations are multi-dimensional, and it is manifested in all aspects of the ethnos' vital activity. For example, ethnic relations impact mutually between ethnic groups in the economic field of the peoples, especially among ethnic groups that have greatly differ in directions.

Thus, researchers in the field of ethno-economics do not have the same idea even though they study the problem within a single research school and they have different interpretations and conclusions.

Summarizing the different approaches to the concept of ethno-economics in scientific literatures, we also would like to pay attention to important points of the matter in follow:
- study on new ethno-economics, traditional economic activity of the population oriented to increasing of their standard of living;
- identify the parts of producing goods for the market and for their own needs via studying the characteristics of ethnos’ the traditional household;
- problems of ethnic employment and ethnic affiliation[35, 4-5];
- dominating of informal institutions;
- advantageous of traditionalism, leadership of agrarian forms of economic activity;
interconnection of natural and small commodity production, less development of exchange;
immobile resources, specific local living environments;
empirical - economic experience, craftsmanship and rational use of labor;
high extensive employment, the advantage of manual labor using based on the infrastructure of raw materials;
low social and territorial mobility of the population.
production and sale of ecologically clean foods, organization of traditional home craftsmanship, identifying actuality of the new directions of ethno-economics during dealing with problems.

Moreover, it is important to consider the national-historical lifestyle, the traditions, customs and overviews of our people and the formation of ethno-economics in terms of the transition to market economy.

The scientific significance of the study is determined by the performance of the guiding function in identifying the concept of ethno-economics and its theoretical foundations, ethno-economic processes in the economy of the population of mountainous regions, the knowledge and experience of management accumulated by the people, new relevant thematic areas on unique methods of economic activity, the development of modern methodological approaches and the improvement of theoretical conclusions for research in the future.

5 Conclusion

The works of researchers on theoretical issues of ethno-economics, performed at the intersection of economic anthropology and economic sectors, discussions about the ethnic aspects of economic and cultural problems, the concept of ethn-economics, made it possible to clarify information about the place and role in ethno-economic processes of socio-economic institutions formed on the basis of economic traditions and experience population.

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From the beginning of the 20th century, researchers, separately studying the economy of ethnic groups as an object of study of economic anthropology, focused on the “primitive economy”, and subsequently, starting from the 1930s, they began to focus on the “peasant economy”.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the theory of marginalism lost its significance, giving way to the increasingly widespread principles and theories of “formalism”, “substantivism”, “institutionalism”. Increasing attention to the ethnic aspects of economic and cultural problems led to the emergence of an interdisciplinary scientific direction - ethno-economics.

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