

UDC 93/94+332.1+316.4

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2017.28.92

Traditional economy of the indigenous people of the North Yakutia in the post-Soviet period: some research results



© Yana M. Sannikova, Cand. Sci. (Hist.), Research Fellow of the Sector for Ethnic sociology. E-mail: sannikowa@mail.ru.

The Institute for Humanities Research and Indigenous Studies of the North, SB RAS, Yakutsk, Russia.

Abstract. Archival documents and sociological field materials lead to some study results on the development of the traditional economy on the Arctic and North territories of Yakutia in the post-Soviet period — 1990s–2000s. The author considered the following issues: environmental and economic zoning, the historical discourse of the traditional economy in the context of agrarian policy in 1990s and some theoretical

approaches to studying the phenomenon of the traditional way of life and the economy of the indigenous peoples of the North. In the first post-Soviet decade, we see a gradual decrease in the number of the northern livestock. The most vulnerable were the northwestern coastal areas with predominant reindeer herding. Sociological data on the second post-Soviet decade enabled us to identify three directions in the preliminary typology of the traditional economy of the indigenous peoples of the North Yakutia.

Keywords: *traditional economy, indigenous peoples, Yakutia, the Arctic, North*

Introduction

Among all the research devoted to the historical and sociological aspects of the traditional economy and adaptation of the indigenous population, it is necessary to mention the studies done by S.I. Kovlenkov, L.I. Vinokurova, F.S. Donskoy, M.H. Belianskaya and printed collections of the, IHR AS RSH (YA), the IPSPN SB RAS and the IHRISN (“Problems of the far North of Yakutia: status and solutions”. Yakutsk, 2001; “Contemporary Arctic: study experience and problems”. Yakutsk, 2005; “The ethno-social adaptation of the indigenous peoples of the North of Sakha (Yakutia)”. Novosibirsk, 2012).

To present the sociological part of the present research, the great role was played by the methodology of double reflexivity and its application in research on reflective rural studies made by T. Shanin, V. Danilov, and others. A great influence on our study have methodological approaches of the sociology of traditional economy of N.N. Zarubina, cultural-anthropological approaches of V.V. Marikhin, I.V. Udalova, et al. with the focus on ethnic self-consciousness and traditions. We also used the approaches and methods of qualitative sociological research, developed in the works of V.A. Yadov, S.S. Semenov, V.I. Il'in, An. Strauss, G. Corbin, I. Steinberg, and others.

A distinctive feature of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) is a significant proportion of rural residents (338. 8 thous or 35.9%) of the total number of its population. Most of the rural population are indigenous. According to the 2010 census, 15 Arctic and Northern ulus (district) that we've studied, have 9.4% of Sakha people, 43.2% of Evenks, 64.5 of Evens, 81.4% of Dolgan peo-

ple, 74.9% of Yukaghirs and 86.4% of Chukchi. The indigenous peoples make up for 66.9% (65.6 thous people) of the population of these areas. The number of rural residents in 15 the Arctic and Northern districts is 15.4% of the total rural population of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). If we will account only the population of these districts, we get 52.6%, of their resident who live in the countryside. It should be emphasized that the traditional economy and way of life are essential for all population, including the residents of cities and urban settlements of district significance.

Issues of the environmental and economic zoning of the area

The study of the traditional economy of indigenous peoples of the North in the post-Soviet period may be done within a study of 15 coastal Arctic and Northern (subarctic) ulus/districts of Yakutia (Abyysky, Allaikhovskiy, Anabarsky, Bulunsky, Verkhnekolymskiy, Verkhoyansk, Zhigansky, Nizhnekolymskiy, Momskiy, Oymyakonskiy, Olenekskiy, Tomponskiy, Srednekolymskiy, Ust-Yanskiy and Eveno-Bytantayskiy). The following ethnic groups represent the indigenous people, who keep the traditional economy: Yukagirs, Evenks, Evens, Dolgans, Russian old residents and Yakuts. In all districts, in varying degrees, people develop all traditional industries: reindeer herding, hunting, fishing, farming, herd horse production and breeding of cattle. The problems of the traditional economy development are about the development of all the indigenous peoples leading a traditional way of life in a certain area [1, Sannikova Ya.M., p. 122]. Specialists mention that in an extreme environment, cultural and economic characteristics are a subject to physico-geographical and ecological conditions that influence and change the traditional economy of the ethnic group. "...i.e. when we speak about the methods and means of hunting and fishing, first we should talk about the tundra or taiga methods, devices and instruments used for these types of work, the methods, different in geographical zones but not the ethnic groups" [2, Zykov F.M., p. 54]. The Arctic and North are different economic and geographical zones of the Northern hemisphere; they have so many common features. According to experts, an identical state policy could be applied to them. Therefore, our research reflects the issues of the development of traditional economy of Northerners, residents of the Arctic and Northern districts of the Republic.

The study of large territories, their climatic, economic and environmental conditions makes professionals to divide them into areas with similarities on the required characteristics [3, Tikhonov N.N., p. 384; 4, Moiseev I., p. 279]. The classifications of agricultural zoning made by N.N. Tikhonov and on environmental-economic zoning by I.I. Poiseeva are the foundation of our natural-economic division of leading traditional occupations of the indigenous population of the studied 15 ulus/districts. We've selected *three groups of areas of traditional economy development of the North*. The first one unites the Allaikhovskiy, Anabarsky, Bulunsky, Nizhnekolymsky, Ust-

Yanskiy, Olenekski, and Zhigansky districts. It is *the North-West-Coastal (reindeer-craft) group*. The group specialized in reindeer herding, fishing and hunting. The Verkhoyanskiy, Momskiy, Oimyakonskiy, Tomponskiy and Eveno-Bytantayskiy areas are the *North-Eastern group*. It is mainly engaged in reindeer herding, horse breeding, cattle breeding, hunting and fishing. The Abyyskiy, Verkhnekolymskiy and Srednekolymsk districts form the *Indigirka-Kolyma group*. The group is mostly involved in cattle and horse breeding, hunting, fishing and crafts. Also, all 15 districts have all types of livestock and fisheries somehow developed and locally represented by the whole complex of the Northern economy. Each group has its own leading traditional industries. They are addressed through the main parameters. E.g., in animal husbandry, it is the general dynamics of the number and proportion of the livestock, main quality indicators and the total production by types of farms. In fishery — the size of the allocated quota, the cost of fish, and the actual volume of catches. In hunting — trades, the size of the allocated quotas, the capacity of resources, and the amount of actual production. Characteristics of the main parameters identified three groups of areas and gave the opportunity to show the real situation of the Northern farms in the post-Soviet period.

In general, historically developed economy of indigenous peoples of Yakutia, who survived in the 20th century transformation of the Soviet and post-Soviet period, and dynamics of its development are largely dependent on environmental and economic peculiarities of the area, which is not always fully considered in agricultural policy. However, the whole life of the people occupied in the traditional economy, one way or another, is a constant process of adaptation to the Northern nature. The study of the traditional economy in modern conditions, the landscape and economic zoning require attention, being the basis of the development strategy that depends on regional and local specific.

***Dynamics of the traditional economy development in the North of Yakutia
in the context of agrarian policy of the 1990s: a historical discourse***

Since the mid-1980s, the agricultural sector, as the other sectors of the USSR national economy, experienced changes of management caused by the alteration of the state political system. That time the agriculture of Yakutia had its own features: a huge gap between the development of industry and agrarian sector, the disparity in prices for products, even though the main industries were traditional occupations of the indigenous peoples of the Republic. In this situation, at the end of 1985 it was decided to form a Union-Republic State agro-industrial Committee (Gosagroprom of the USSR) [5, Kavlakov S.I., p. 12], February 1986 — agro-industrial Committee of

the Yakutian ASSR [6, Sannikova Ya.M., pp. 104–115]. The aim of these actions was the improvement of the management of the agro-industrial complex at the level of the USSR and its republics,

In November 1988, the agro-industrial complex “Sever” was organized. Its management system was subordinated to the state agricultural Committee of RSFSR and the Council of Ministers of the Yakut ASSR. The highest authority was the Council of the agro-industrial complex, which took the decision to merge the farms, processing and service and organize their common management. With respect to Arctic and Northern farms, we can argue that changes in agricultural policy began in 1989–1991. That time, 33 farms of the AIC “Sever” accounted for 91% of reindeer (303 thous.), 17% of horses (29 thous.) and 7.6% of cattle (22 thous.) of the total livestock of domestic-animals of the Republic. The AIC owned 52.5% of the commercial and 47% of the cellular furs.¹ 22 farms with 265 teams and 1950 herders specialized in the reindeer husbandry. The importance of the Northern reindeer herding is reflected in the reports: *“In the economic and socio-economic terms, domestic reindeer herding is a major industry, which depends on financial and economic activity of the whole system of agrarian and industrial complex “Sever” [which is. — editorial note.] directly related to the enhancement of the cultural, household and living conditions of the peoples of the North”*.² Interesting was the real dynamics of the reindeer herding. In 1986–1988, no serious positive changes happened.

The decision was made to prepare to the transition to market economy, including the possibility of introducing of different forms of management, denationalization, privatization, improving the structure of economic activity of agrarian and industrial complex “Sever”, etc.³

It should be noted that even against the background of maintaining a centralized economic system and despite the gap between the authorities and the real state of the Northern farms, the common rules of the management contributed to the accumulation of experience of joint action, including development of social infrastructure, planning the objects of construction, etc. [6, Sannikova Ya.M., pp. 104–115].

Political and socio-economic transformation in the country (1990–1991) was followed by a breakdown of the economics of the Arctic and Northern farms. By 1992, virtually all the economy of the North of Yakutia experienced the organizational and financial-economic crisis. In this regard, I would like to draw attention to some common trends in the traditional industries of the North.

In 1992, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) officially ended the preparatory stage of agrarian reform. The first result was the changing forms of management and ownership. The Arctic and

¹ Nacionalnyj arhiv RS (Ya). [National Archive of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)] Ф.1500. Оп.1. Д.1. Л.1.

² Ibid. Д.3. Л.4, 48.

³ Ibid. Д.3. ЛЛ.71–74, 153.

Northern regions experienced the revival of the tribal communities and tribal land ownership as a distinctive form of traditional nature use in the interests of preservation and development of the indigenous numerically small peoples of the North. This process yielded the results. As of July 1, 1992, there were 70 tribal communities of 3 120 people, 83.3% of which were employed in the reindeer husbandry. By 1995, former deer field farms had become 170 tribal communities with 74.1 thous deer, 852 cattle, 2 185 horses, 196 pigs and 473 birds and small number of cellular animals [6, Sannikova Ya.M., pp. 104–115; 7, Borisov E.A., Garbuzov V.R., p. 16].

At the same time only for 1994–1996, in farms of tribal communities the number of reindeer decreased by 22.8% [8, Kulakov S.I., p. 81]. In 1994, 20.4 thous reideer died. It was 8.5% of total livestock at beginning of that year. The same year, predators hunted 18.8 thous (7.4%) of reideer. The loss was about 27.9 thous (11%) [8, Kulakov S.I., p. 98]. The reasons for this are different. The prolonged reorganization of the management was the most serious. In the rural areas of the Republic, a process of transformation of the agricultural sector was mass and spontaneous. Many farms (the only form of management available that days) were dissolved; their funds (cattle, horses, deer, equipment, workshops, and other household objects) were given to private owners to create tribal communities and farms [6, Sannikova Ya.M., pp. 104–115; 9, Popov A.A., pp. 41–42].

As it was mentioned above, in the first half of the 1990s, the state management of the agricultural sector had been undergoing continuous structural change and adapting to new tasks and functions, dictated by the market economy. In May 1993, the agrarian and industrial complex “Sever” was transformed in a joint stock reindeer herding company “Taba” with a local authority; in October 1993 The Ministry of Agriculture and Agro-industrial Complex of Sakha (Yakutia) took over the responsibility for the management of traditional economy of the North [6, Sannikova Ya.M., pp. 104–115].

It is seen from the archival documents, that time all levels of the executive authorities of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) resolved the questions about the improvement of the financial and economic position of the Northern farms. The relevant Ministry operated the Northern farms, but its solutions contained organizational problems and a lack of action. Regarding the Northern farms, the lack of financial support made the Ministry to deal with the specific small issues.

The critical situation in agriculture of Yakutia remained stable for a long time due to the rise in production costs, lower volumes of production and sales cause by the disparity of prices for the industrial and agricultural products, devaluation of funds allocated in the form of state sup-

port, unreasonably high interest rates on loans, growth of mutual non-payments and transport and energy costs.⁴

The archival materials show that the control of agriculture had no feedback on the ground, many of their decisions and orders could not always be fulfilled in real life. This is proved by the speeches of people engaged in traditional households at the annual meetings of the National Joint Stock Reindeer Herding Company "Taba".⁵ These people drew attention to the need for an integrated approach in solving problems, including the social sector, and the undesirability of limiting economic performance and wages. In this context, it is impossible not to recognize the fact that neither ordinary workers nor the managers at different levels were not ready for the radical transformation, but at the same time, it is impossible to speak about their equal opportunities.

In 1995, the presence of excessively small economic organizations in the Northern districts was considered uneconomical. Since then, the focus was not just on the state support of agricultural producers, but also on the cooperation between the separate households and communities to create a market for the production and procurement. Economists, who stood at the origins of the agrarian reforms in the second half of the 1990s, recognized that the preservation and development of traditional industries of the North needed a mechanism for combining market economy with the state planning and regulation and appropriate financial and resource support [6, Sannikova Y.M., pp. 104–115; 9, Popov A.A., pp. 41–42]. In general, these six years of the agrarian reform in the study districts, the number of households and tribal communities had increased 5 times: from 62 to 322 units and from 28 to 198 units, respectively [6, Sannikova Ya.M., pp. 104–115; 7, Borisov E.A., Garbuzov V.R., p. 16].

As is known, the number of livestock is the main criterion of the prosperity of the North animal husbandry. Let us consider the statistics for the years 1990–1999.⁶ In the North-West coastal group, the largest decrease in the number of domestic animals occurred: reindeer — by 60.3 % (from 17 4874 to 69 424), horses — by 33.7% (from 2 279 to 1 511), cattle — by 56.7% (from 1773 to 767 heads), including cows — by 58.4% (from 875 to 364 goals), and as a result, the production of milk deceased by 78.5% (from 1 935 to 416 tons) and meat — by 90,6% (from 3 768 to 352

⁴ Obedinyonnyj vedomstvennyj arhiv MSHiPP RS (Ya) [Joined Departmental Archive of the MAaFP RS (Ya)] Ф.55. Оп.35. Д.1. Л.94–97.

⁵ Ibid. Ф.ХАОК «Таба». Оп.1. Д.4.Л.4–9.

⁶ *Osnovnye pokazateli agropromyshlennogo kompleksa RS (Ya) za 1999–2004 gg* [Key indicators of the agro-industrial complex of the RS (Ya) 1999–2004]. Yakutsk, 2005.p.66 [in Russian]; *Respublika Saxa (Yakutiya) za gody suvereniteta (1990–2000gg.). Oficialnoe izdanie* [The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) in the years of sovereignty (1990–2000).Official Issue]. Yakutsk, 2000. p. 27 [in Russian]; *Ekonomika ulusov i gorodov RS (Ya) v 1985–1999 gg. Oficialnoe izdanie*. [Economy of ulus and towns. Official issue] Yakutsk, 2000 [in Russian]; *Ekonomika rajonov i gorodov RS (Ya). Oficialnoe izdanie*. [Economy of rural areas and towns.Official issue] Yakutsk, 2002. [in Russian]

tons). The greater vulnerability of the North-West coastal group derives from the single-industry nature of the livestock and associated with the significant loss in reindeer husbandry. In the North-Eastern group domesticated reindeer has decreased by 53.1% (from 111 445 to 52 221), horses — by 31.8% (from 24 640 to 16 799), cattle — by 31.4% (from 23 609 to 16 193), including cows — by 25.1% (from 9 043 to 6 777), milk production — by 47.7% (from 18 654 to 9 755 tons), meat — by 68,6% (from 7 130 to 2 239 tons). In in the Indigirka-Kolyma group, the number of domestic reindeer decreased by 73,7% (from 21 566 to 5 670), horses — by 21.8% (from 10 266 to 8 028), cattle — by 32.8% (from 8 728 to 5 872), including cows — by 20.2% (from 3 344 to 2 670), milk production — by 54.7% (from 6 274 to 2 845 tons), meat — by 67.7% (from 2 762 to 893 tons).

Thus, the 1990s were the most difficult in the development of traditional economy of indigenous peoples of Yakutia, both in economic and social terms. Transformation of ownership, land rights and agrarian reform in the Northern agriculture had no financial support. On the background of a systemic crisis, the national management structures at all levels could contribute only to the solution of situational economic problems of a critical character. That time, mechanisms of regulation of the new socio-economic relations in the farms formed. Neither the population of reindeer and cattle nor the production of the traditional industries could not reverse the process of gradual reduction of its quantitative and qualitative indicators. At the same time, the vector of development of the traditional economy of the North of Yakutia turned to the interest for all members of this sphere of life. All the existing problems of traditional agriculture highlight three main points: the role of social movements and the indigenous peoples of Yakutia; the position of the heads and workers of farms, management structures; the views of the village workers about agricultural reform and traditional way of life [6, Sannikova Ya.M., pp. 115–126].

The study of the phenomenon of traditional lifestyles and economy of the peoples of the North at the beginning of the XXI century

Systematization of the empirical findings of the field surveys 2004–2015 has been done with the use of the approved program of qualitative sociological research on the theme of research “The Evolution of the Traditional Economy of the Peoples of the North in the Context of the Agricultural Policy of the State”. This allowed formulating the main theoretical approaches in the interpretation of the traditional way of life and indigenous adaptation strategies in the North of Yakutia:

– the traditional way of life is a unique phenomenon, historical the economic lifestyle of the indigenous population of the area. It consists of three main levels (“pyramid”): the initial level includes a broader understanding of the traditional way of life and can be applied to the entire ru-

ral population of the studied area. In general, it is the foundation of the economic security in their daily life, is mostly traditional, and based on the production of traditional industries and trades (reindeer, cattle and horse breeding, fishing and hunting). According to the data collected in 2010, in 15 districts/areas we had studied, the rural population was about 51.6 thous people, or 52.6% of the total population of these districts. The rural population of the studied districts/areas of Yakutia had negative dynamics in the second decade (2002–2012) and was 16.8%–15.4% of the total rural population of the Republic. Despite a certain dynamic to the population decline in the middle of the decade, it did not have any important changes. The rural population continued rural life-style. The second intermediate level means understanding of the traditional economy as an entity of the state economic system and as a social phenomenon of traditional economy of the indigenous peoples. The third, upper level — maintenance of traditional occupations by the rural population is a unit of the agricultural economics and personal farms of the population.

– preliminary identification of indigenous adaptation strategies is based on conditional division of the following major components constantly interacting with each other: 1) spiritual or ethnic-oriented historical component: a common historically established traditional way of life of indigenous peoples; the continuity of the traditional economic through generations of families of the respondents — representatives of farms; 2) implemented or public component: a socio-economic activity of rural population separated within the economic system of the state on categories: clan community, agricultural enterprises (mostly state or municipal), peasant (farmer's) economy and personal farms; also the specialization of the economy based on natural-economic zoning of the region under study; 3) subjective or personal evaluation: assessment of agriculture and agrarian policy by the respondent, the value of the traditional economy for him/her (and his/her family) way of life.

Preliminary development of the typology of the indigenous economy of the peoples of the North in the conditions of post-Soviet social and economic transformations allows highlighting three typological directions.

Types level of specialization of the integrated Northern economy: 1) regional specialization based on natural-economic distribution of the leading sectors of the economy in the 15 studied ulus/districts for the three groups of the traditional economy of the North: North-West coastal group — reindeer-fishing type of economy; the North-Eastern group — reindeer-breeding and livestock-fishing type of economy; in the Indigirka-Kolyma group — livestock-fishing type of economy; 2) the district level of specialization on the basis of specialization of individual farms of the

ulus/district; 3) local level of specialization on the basis of the specifics of the development of the local economy of a rural locality.

Types of agricultural producers due to characteristics of business forms and positions of entities: a form of socio-economic organization of the rural population (tribal communities, private farms); organizational-economic forms of management (agricultural companies and farms enterprises, peasant (farmer) economy, individual entrepreneurs in agriculture).

Types of workers/leaders of households due to the roles and positions of the representatives of the farms: the collective worker — the individual worker — the leader of the collective farm, the leader of the individual farm — a worker of an individual farm.

Conclusion

Thus, the stability and the nature of traditional business is closely connected with historical way of life of indigenous peoples, geographical and climatic conditions of the North. At the same time, we have highlighted the complexity of the Northern economy. It is characterized by local development of all kinds of traditional occupations. The current structure of the agricultural economy of Yakutia reflects the economic development of the diverse landscapes that organized the Northern types of livestock. In this regard, the classifications proposed in a study of the traditional economy of the 15 Arctic coastal and Northern (sub-Arctic) ulus/districts of Yakutia are grounded on natural-economic distribution of traditional occupations of the indigenous population and highlight three groups of areas: North-West-coastal (reindeer-field), Northeast (livestock-herding-fishing), and the Indigirka-Kolyma group (livestock-fisheries).

Northern households in the extreme climatic conditions considered the number of cattle as the main criterion for the well-being. Therefore, in the 1990s, a huge reduction in the number of livestock made the situation of the traditional economy of the North of Yakutia very difficult. In the North-West coastal group, a single-industry nature of the breeding revealed significant losses in reindeer husbandry. In the Northeastern group, the decline of livestock was less, but we accounted for all three types of the animal breeding and the quantitative indicators “distributed” between them. The Indigirka-Kolyma group had the greatest reduction in the number of reindeer. In absolute terms, the most affected economy is the economy of the North-West coastal group. At the same time, each group of provinces experienced difficult situation in animal husbandry both on individual farms and in the whole ulus/district.

In times of the systemic crisis, the Republican administration tried to contribute to the solution of situational economic problems. However, in the second half of the 1990s mechanisms of regulation of the new socio-economic relations began to emerge. They could not stop the gradual

reduction of quantitative, production, and quality indicators. At the same time, the vector of development of traditional lifestyle of indigenous peoples became visible and turned to the interests of everyone involved in agriculture. It is possible to trace three main components of this process: the views of villagers on agrarian reform and traditional economic way of life; positions of managers and employees of farms, management structures; the role of social movements and the indigenous peoples of Yakutia.

In general, in the framework of the natural-economic distribution of traditional occupations, the dynamics of basic parameters for 1992–2012, the twenty-year post-Soviet period shows that there was a decline in the leading indicators, including the number of livestock: if in 1992 the reindeer breeding involved 83.9% of the total reindeer of the Republic, in 2012 — 79.3%; herd horse breeding — 18.3% and 14.6% of the total number of horses; cattle — 8.3% (including 9% of cows) and 6% (6.5% of cows) of cattle. In absolute terms, the real picture of the changes looks like that: reducing the number of reindeer by 47.5% (139 582), horses — by 34.7% (13 270), cattle — 60% (20 860), including cows — by 58% (7 850). The largest decline of indicators is allocated the North-West coastal group: the number of reindeer decreased by 60.3%, horses — by 33.7%, cattle — by 56.7%, including cows — by 58.4%, respectively, the volume of milk production decreased by 78.5%, meat — 90.6%.

In addition, it is worth pointing that the survey of farms in the Northern districts revealed that the workers of the traditional agricultural industries were trying to adapt to the requirements of agricultural policy. E.g., the farms of Srednekolymskiy ulus remain herding and herd horse breeding; fishing and hunting and individual farms are the priority. The households of the Olenekskiy ulus have: at the district level — herding and hunting (75% of residents live off the meat of wild reindeer) and cattle breeding at the level of localities. 50% of all ulus farms are tribal. Personal communication with rural worker revealed the orientation of the farms directly to the labor process, which is responsible for ensuring: a) rural employment; b) a rational interaction of humans and the environment; c) reproduction of ethnicity, languages, traditions and indigenous way of life of the peoples of Yakutia.

The systematization of empirical findings of field surveys 2004–2015 let us formulate some approaches. The traditional way of life is a unique historical phenomenon, economic lifestyle of indigenous peoples of the area consists of three main levels of understanding: rural lifestyle of the indigenous population; the specificity of the traditional economy in modern conditions; the nature of maintaining the traditional economic occupations of the indigenous population. The development of adaptation strategies of the traditional economy of the indigenous population is based on

conditional division of the following constantly interacting components: spiritual or ethnic-historical, implemented or public; subjective or personal evaluation. We identified three classifications: by the level (regional, district, local), by specialization, by the types of agricultural producers, the types of workers/leaders of households.

In general, despite social and economic turmoil of the 1990s — beginning of 2000s, the place and role of traditional households in the economy of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) is only as farmers. Field studies allow asserting that the commitment of rural workers to traditional occupations is determined by the greater system of basic values and preservation of the cultural traditions of economic life.

References

1. Sannikova Ya.M. *Tradicionnoe hozjajstvo Arktiki: transformacii v novejsij period (na primere RS (Ja) [Traditional economy of the Arctic: transformation in the newest period (on the example of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia))]*. Nauchnyj otchjot (na pravah rukopisi) v IGI AN RS (Ja), Jakutsk, 2005, 122 p. [in Russian]
2. Zykov F.M. Arkticheskaja zona Respubliki Saha i ee jetnokul'turnye osobennosti [The Arctic zone of the Republic of Sakha and its ethno-cultural features] *Jetnos: tradicii i sovremennost'*; Sb. nauch. trudov, Jakutsk, 1994, pp. 51–61. [in Russian]
3. Tihonov N.N. *Severnoe selo* [Northern Village], Novosibirsk, Nauka, 1996, 384 p. [in Russian]
4. Poiseev I.I. *Ustojchivoe razvitie Severa: jekologo-jekonomicheskij aspekt* [Sustainable development of the North: ecological and economic aspect], Novosibirsk, Nauka, 1999, 279 p. [in Russian]
5. Kovlekov S.I. *Sel'skoe hozjajstvo Jakutii (1971–1985 gg.)* [Agriculture of Yakutia (1971–1985)], Jakutsk, 1993, 120 p. [in Russian]
6. Sannikova Ya.M. Dinamika razvitija tradicionnogo hozjajstva Severa Jakutii v kontekste agrarnoj politiki 1990-h gg. [Dynamics of development of the traditional economy of the North of Yakutia in the context of the agrarian policy of the 1990s], *Jetnosociologicheskie issledovanija v Respublike Saha (Jakutija)*, Jakutsk, 2015, pp. 104–126. [in Russian]
7. Borisov E.A., Darbasov V.R. Agrarnaja reforma v Respublike Saha (Jakutija) [Agrarian reform in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)], *Jekonomika, opyt, rynek*, Jakutsk, 1997, 291 p. [in Russian]
8. Kovlekov S.I. Agrarnaja reforma v Respublike Saha (Jakutija) v 1991–1995 gg. [Agrarian reform in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) in 1991–1995], *Suverennaja Respublika Saha (Jakutija) (1991–1996 gg.): problemy korennyh preobrazovanij*, Jakutsk, 1999, pp. 76–110. [in Russian]
9. Popov A.A. *Jekonomicheskie interesy i mehanizmy organizacii i upravljenja sel'skohozejstvennym proizvodstvom v uslovijah rynochnoj jekonomiki* [Economic interests and mechanisms of organization and management of agricultural production in a market economy], Moscow, 2003, 311 p. [in Russian]