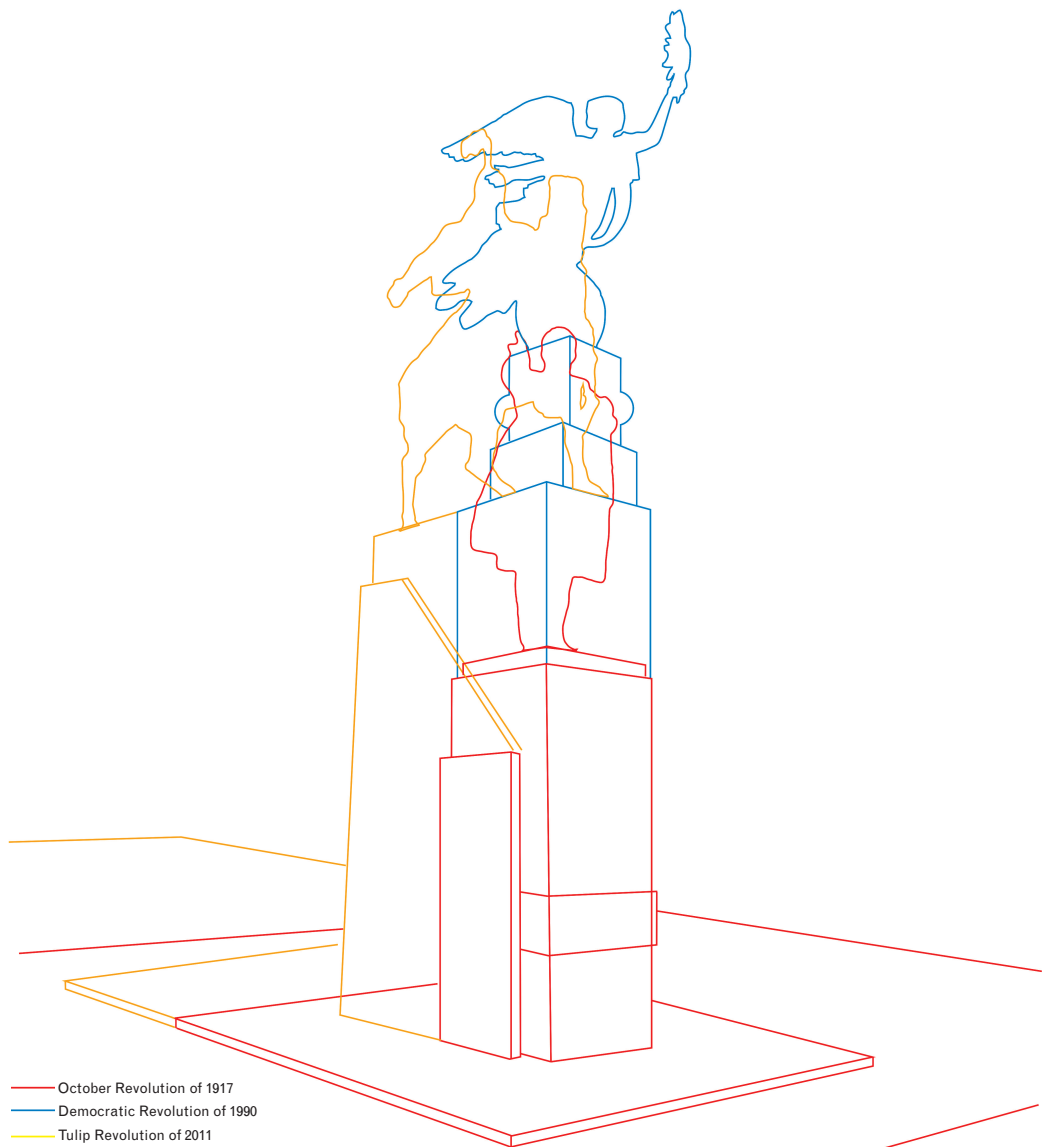


CENTRAL ASIA

CONTEXTS FOR UNDERSTANDING

NOTES VOLUME



— October Revolution of 1917
— Democratic Revolution of 1990
— Tulip Revolution of 2011

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CENTRAL ASIA

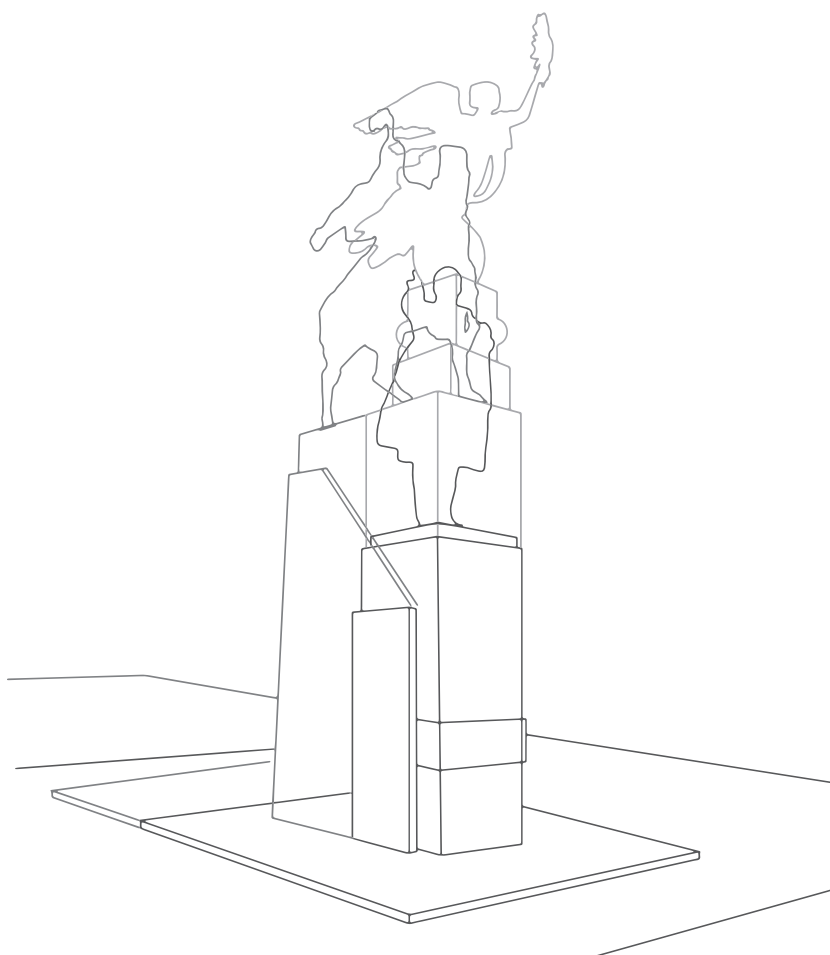
CENTRAL EURASIA IN CONTEXT SERIES

Douglas Northrop, *Editor*

CENTRAL ASIA

CONTEXTS FOR UNDERSTANDING

NOTES VOLUME



EDITED BY DAVID W. MONTGOMERY

UNIVERSITY *of* PITTSBURGH PRESS

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ABOUT THE NOTES

The aim of *Central Asia: Contexts for Understanding* is to reach a broad readership with diverse needs. As such, the question of notes presents a unique challenge. Academics have noting conventions that are the guideposts of scholarship yet are often extraneous to more casual readers. The varied textbook markets in which this book is likely to be used have their own conventions, with textbooks in the United States often lacking notes while those in Europe being more likely to contain them. One goal of the project has been to maximize the accessibility of the volume so more people can efficiently learn about the Central Asian region. This issue of accessibility is not only about language and style, but also about cost. Thus, to produce the most cost-effective and widely accessible volume possible, standard academic citations are available in this companion notes volume, available for download free of charge. Readers of the main text will be able to get the full meaning of the authors' arguments without referencing the notes volume, but it is made available here for those wishing to see some of the scholarship upon which the chapters are build. In a format that quotes a sentence extract from the main text associated with the reference, with footers providing the page range corresponding to the main text, the notes volume serves as something akin to an annotated bibliography that in its own reading offers insights into the scholarly literature beyond standard bibliographies.

Mapping Context

Julien Thorez and Emmanuel Giraudet

space has been commonly considered

as a social product: Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* [*The Production of Space*] (Paris: Anthropos, 1974).

the “semiology of graphics”: Jacques Bertin, *Sémiologie Graphique. Les diagrammes, les réseaux, les cartes* [*Semiology of graphics: Diagrams, networks, maps*] (Paris: Editions de l'EHESS, 1967).

the production and dissemination of maps are subject to political control: Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

long history of cartographic production: Many of these maps and atlases are available for consultation on the CartOrient website, www.cartorient.cnrs.fr/accueil.

developed an important cartographic corpus: *Atlas aziâtskoj Rossii* [Atlas of Asiatic Russia] (Saint Petersburg: Izdanie pereselenčeskago upravleniâ, 1914).

first national atlases of the Central Asian republics: *Atlas Uzbekskej SSR* [Atlas of the Uzbek SSR], 1963 (Moscow: Glavnoe upravlenie geodezii i kartografii pri sovete ministrov SSSR, 1963); *Atlas Tadžikskoj SSR* [Atlas of the Tajik SSR], 1968 (Moscow: Glavnoe upravlenie geodezii i kartografii pri sovete ministrov SSSR, 1968); *Atlas Kazahskoj SSR* [Atlas of the Kazakh SSR], T.1 1982, T.2 1985, (Moscow: Glavnoe upravlenie geodezii i kartografii pri sovete ministrov SSSR, 1982, 1985); *Atlas Kirgizskoj SSR* [Atlas of the Kyrgyz SSR], 1987 (Moscow: Glavnoe upravlenie geodezii i kartografii pri sovete ministrov SSSR, 1987), etc.

as well as regional ones: *Atlas severnogo*

Kazahstana [Atlas of North Kazakhstan], 1970 (Moscow: Glavnoe upravlenie geodezii i kartografii pri sovete ministrov SSSR, 1970); *Atlas Kustanajskoj oblasti* [Atlas of the Kustanay region], 1963 (Moscow, Glavnoe upravlenie geodezii i kartografii pri sovete ministrov SSSR, 1963); *Atlas Karagandinskoj oblasti* [Atlas of the Karaganda region], 1969 (Moscow: Glavnoe upravlenie geodezii i kartografii pri sovete ministrov SSSR, 1969). *Taškent: geografičeskij atlas* [Tashkent: geographical atlas] 1984 (Moscow: Glavnoe upravlenie geodezii i kartografii pri sovete ministrov SSSR, 1984), etc.

the corpus of maps on the region: Yuri Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

digital libraries and contemporary online platforms: See CartOrient, www.cartorient.cnrs.fr/accueil.

Part I. Contextualizing Central Asia

1. Central Asia as Global

Alexander Cooley

characterize its extrication as an

“unwanted” independence: Martha Brill Olcott, *Central Asia's New States: Independence, Foreign Policy, and Regional Security* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996); and Ahmed Rashid, *The Resurgence of Central Asia: Islam or Nationalism?* (New York: ZED Books, 1994).

plunged into a brutal civil war: Tim Epkenhans, *The Origins of the Civil War in Tajikistan: Nationalism, Islamism, and Violent Conflict in Post-Soviet Space* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016).

The so-called Great Game: Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: On*

- Secret Service in High Asia* (Oxford University Press, 2001). For a critical review of the term's use in this genre, see Geoffrey Hamm, "Revisiting the Great Game in Asia: Rudyard Kipling and Popular History," *International Journal* 68, no. 2 (2013): 395–402.
- the supposed new geopolitical competition:** Nick Megoran and Sevara Sharapova, eds., *Central Asia in International Relations: The Legacies of Halford Mackinder* (Oxford University Press, 2014); and Rajan Menon, "The New Great Game in Central Asia," *Survival* 45, no. 2 (2003): 187–204.
- most significant instruments and institutions:** Alexey Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence: Russia in Central Asia* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2013).
- Moscow renewed a range of bilateral leases:** Yulia Nikitina, "The Collective Security Treaty Organization through the Looking Glass," *Problems of Post-Communism* 59, no. 3 (2012): 41–52.
- Moscow backed the Uzbek government:** Matteo Fumagalli, "Alignments and Realignments in Central Asia: The Rationale and Implications of Uzbekistan's Rapprochement with Russia," *International Political Science Review* 28, no. 3 (2007): 253–71.
- threat of externally-sponsored street protests:** Emilbek Dzhusraev, "Central Asian Stances on the Ukraine Crisis: Treading a Fine Line?" *Connections* 14, no. 4 (2015): 1–10.
- sought to promote the modernization of Xinjiang:** Michael E. Clarke, *Xinjiang and China's Rise in Central Asia: A History* (London, Taylor & Francis, 2011).
- highly dependent on Chinese investment:** Bhavna Dave and Yuka Kobayashi, "China's Silk Road Economic Belt Initiative in Central Asia: Economic and Security Implications," *Asia Europe Journal* 16, no. 3 (2018): 267–81; and Nargis Kassenova, "China as an Emerging Donor in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan," *Russie. Nei. Visions* 36 (2009): 11–13.
- institutionalize many of its security interests:** Stephen Aris, *Eurasian Regionalism: The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- Presenting itself as a "new-style" organization:** Thomas Ambrosio, "Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 8 (2008): 1321–44.
- concluded basing rights agreements:** Alexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 30–50.
- EU strategy was codified:** Neil Melvin, "The European Union's Strategic Role in Central Asia," CEPS Policy Brief, no. 128, March 2007, 1–8.
- Tokyo has been spurred back:** Mirzokhid Rakhimov, "Central Asia and Japan: Bilateral and Multilateral Relations," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014): 77–87.
- South Korea also remains heavily involved:** Timur Dadabaev, "'Silk Road' as Foreign Policy Discourse: The Construction of Chinese, Japanese and Korean Engagement Strategies in Central Asia," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2018): 30–41.
- region as a natural area to signal the country's status:** Emilian Kavalski, *India and Central Asia: The Mythmaking and International Relations of a Rising Power* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010).
- pursuit of a multivector foreign policy:** Nicola P. Contessi, "Foreign and Security Policy Diversification in Eurasia: Issue Splitting, Co-alignment, and Relational Power," *Problems of Post-Communism* 62, no. 5 (2015): 299–311; and Sally Cummings, *Understanding Central Asia: Politics and Contested Transformations* (London: Routledge, 2013).
- promoting the "New Silk Road" vision:** James McBride, "Building the New Silk Road," *Council on Foreign Relations*, May 26, 2015, <https://www.cfr.org/background/building-new-silk-road>.

connecting Eurasia to other parts of the globe: Halford John Mackinder, “The Geographical Pivot of History,” Royal Geographical Society, 1904.

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reexport hub for Chinese goods: Bartłomiej Kaminski and Gaël Raballand, “Entrepôt for Chinese Consumer Goods in Central Asia: The Puzzle of Re-exports through Kyrgyz Bazaars,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 50, no. 5 (2009): 581–90.

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BITs: Borzu Sabahi, and Diora M. Ziyaeva, “Investor State Arbitration in Central Asia,” *Transnational Dispute Management (TDM)* 10, no. 4 (2013), www.transnational-dispute-management.com/article.asp?key=1969.

widespread use of shell companies:

John Heathershaw, and Alexander Cooley, “Offshore Central Asia: An Introduction,” *Central Asian Survey* 34, no. 1 (2015): 1–10.

implicated in a number of corruption

scandals: Alexander Cooley and John Heathershaw, *Dictators without Borders: Power and Money in Central Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017).

an obvious red flag for corruption:

Michael G. Findley, Daniel L. Nielson, and Jason Campbell Sharman, *Global Shell Games: Experiments in Transnational Relations, Crime, and Terrorism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

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Fiona B. Adamson, “Global Liberalism versus Political Islam: Competing Ideological Frameworks in International Politics,” *International Studies Review* 7, no. 4 (2005): 547–69.

hybridization, without being

homogenized: Douglas W. Blum,

The Social Process of Globalization: Return Migration and Cultural Change in Kazakhstan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

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separatists: Sean R. Roberts, *The War on the Uyghurs: China's Internal Campaign against a Muslim Minority* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020).

triggered alarm across the region: Noah Tucker, *Central Asian Involvement in the Conflict in Syria and Iraq: Drivers and Responses* (Arlington, VA: Management Systems International, 2015), https://2012-2017.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/CVE_CentralAsiansSyriaIraq.pdf.

regimes themselves have different flavors:

Mariya Y. Omelicheva, *Democracy in Central Asia: Competing Perspectives and Alternative Strategies* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015); and Edward Schatz, “Access by Accident: Legitimacy Claims and Democracy Promotion in Authoritarian Central Asia,” *International Political Science Review* 27, no. 3 (2006): 263–84.

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autocrats across the region have

readily mimicked: Filippo Costa Buranelli, “Authoritarianism as an Institution? The Case of Central Asia,” *International Studies Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (2020): 1005–16.

devastating effect on the West's

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3. Central Asia as Place

Alexander C. Diener and Nick Megoran

current global maps are not permanent geographical facts: Kris Olds, “Practices for ‘Process Geographies’: A View from within and outside the Periphery,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 19 no. 2 (2001): 129.

“Inner Asia” emphasizes its connectedness: Owen Lattimore, *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers, 1928–1958* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962); Lattimore, *The Desert Road to Turkestan* (London: Kodansha, 1995).

the Russian doctrine of “Eurasianism,”: Milan Hauner, “Russia’s Asian Heartland Today and Tomorrow,” in *Central Asia in International Relations: The Legacies of Halford Mackinder*, ed. Nick Megoran and Sevara Sharapova (London: Hurst, 2013).

divests the region of most of Eurasia’s European space: John Schoeberlein, “Setting the Stakes of a New Society,” *Central Eurasian Studies Review* 1, no. 1 (2002).

The “Greater Middle East,” goes further: Mehdi Parvizi Amineh, ed., *The Greater Middle East in Global Politics: Social Science Perspectives on the Changing Geography of the World Politics* (Lieden: Brill, 2007).

There is no such faunal dividing line:

“The notion that the earth’s surface was divided into discrete territorial massifs originated with ancient Greek geographers, who first identified the three ‘continents’ of Europe, Asia, and Africa.” Mark Bassin, “Russia between Europe and Asia: The Ideological Construction of Geographical Space,” *Slavic Review* 50, no. 1 (1991): 2. For a detailed discussion of the Urals as a boundary between Europe and Asia see Martin Lewis and Kären Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (London: University of California Press, 1997), 27–72.

limitations involved in regarding Central Asia as “Asian”: Hauner, “Russia’s Asian Heartland Today and Tomorrow.”

cultivated a more viable perspective on governance: Mark Bassin, “Nationhood, Natural Regions, Mestorazvitie—Environmental Discourses in Classical Eurasianism,” in *Space, Place, and Power in Modern Russia: Essays in the New Spatial History*, ed. Mark Bassin, Christopher Ely, and Melissa K. Stockdale, 49–78. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010); Marlène Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016); Milan Hauner. *What Is Asia to Us? Russia’s Asian Heartland Yesterday and Today* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990).

works of Pan Slavic scholars: Nikolai Danilevski, *Rossia o Evropa Vzgljad na kul’turniye i politicheskie otnosheniia slavranskogo mira k germane-Romanskomu* [Russia and Europe: A look at the cultural and political relations of the Slavic world to the German-Roman] (Moscow: Kniga, 1895); Vladimir Lamanskii, *Tri Mira Aziiskogo-Europeiskogo Materiala* [Three worlds of the Asian-European continent] (Petrograd: Novoe Vremeia, 1916).

evidence that sought the unity of all Slavic peoples: See Bassin, “Russia between Europe and Asia,” 13

considered colonial possessions: see Hans Kohn, *Pan-Slavism: Its History and Ideology*, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1960): 190–210; Bassin, “Russia between Europe and Asia,” 15.

a new way for humankind: Ethnocentric thinking was at times prominent in the Slavophile movement (Hauner, *What Is Asia to Us?*, 49–68), as evidenced by the “Yellow Peril” discourses employed to promote a stronger Slavic presence in the Russian Far East and the anti-Islamic and antinomadic discourses used to rationalize Russian dominance in Central Asia, the Caucasus, and various Muslim border-regions. Bassin, “Russia between Europe and Asia,” 13.

culture and civilizational ideals to be problematic: Neo-Eurasianism has adapted these perspectives to the changing geopolitical realities of Eurasia (particularly Central Eurasia) by pitting a Eurasian civilizational ideal against US global hegemony.

more geographically expansive than the Pan Slavic imaginary: Arguments for the existence of a Eurasian race emerged during the period of classical Eurasianism; see Bassin, “Russia between Europe and Asia,” 15–16.

The product of the classical Eurasianist discourse: Bassin, “Russia between Europe and Asia,” 16.

political incarnation in the Eurasian Economic Union: Hauner, “Russia’s Asian Heartland Today and Tomorrow.”

“metageography” that “obscures more than it reveals”: Lewis and Wigen, *Myth of Continents*.

the setting for the “Silk Road”: It should be noted that those traversing the multiple routes that historically spanned Central Asia would not have employed the Silk Road descriptor. The term (*die Seidenstraße*) surfaced in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and is attributed to the German scholar and explorer Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen. For a critical consideration of the term and its connotation of historical connectivity see Khodadad Rezakhani, “The Road that Never Was: The Silk Road and Trans-Eurasian

Exchange,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 30, no. 3 (2010): 420–34.

subjugated in this metaphorical geographic reference: Rezakhani. “Road that Never Was,” 420.

homes to a great many groups: S. Fredrick Starr, *The Lost Enlightenment: Central Asia’s Golden Age from the Arab Conquest to Tamerlane* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013); Scott Levi, “Early Modern Central Asia in World History,” *History Compass* 10, no. 11 (2012): 866–78; Peter B. Golden, *Central Asia in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Xinru Liu, *The Silk Road in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Christopher I. Beckwith, *Warriors of the Cloisters: The Central Asian Origins of Science in the Medieval World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

natural resources and control of the transit routes: Yuri Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Boston: Brill, 2003).

control of the trans-continental trade routes: Christopher I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011); Golden, *Central Asia in World History*; Liu, *Silk Road in World History*.

testing the Roman Empire’s defenses: Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road*, 93–111.

westernmost boundary of China’s Empire: Bregel, *Historical Atlas of Central Asia*, 18.

few people actually traveled the full extent: Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road*; Liu, *Silk Road in World History*; Stephen Kotkin, “Mongol Commonwealth? Exchange and Governance across the Post-Mongol Space,” *Kritika* 8, no. 3 (2007): 487–531; Levi, “Early Modern Central Asia in World History”; James Millward, *The Silk Road: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Peter Perdue, “Boundaries, Maps,

and Movement: Chinese, Russian, and Mongolian Empires in Early Modern Central Eurasia,” *International History Review* 20, no. 2 (1998): 263–86; L. J. Newby, *The Empire and the Khanate: A Political History of Qing Relations with Khoqand, c. 1760–1860* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

Mongols personified the very pastoral nomads: Kotkin, “Mongol Commonwealth”; Jack Weatherford, *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004).

subjective distinction between “civilized” and “barbaric”: Mobile pastoralists’ seasonal abandonment of lands allowed agriculturally based colonizers to rationalize seizure of territories they considered suboptimally exploited. Virginia Martin, *Law and Custom in the Steppe: The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and Russian Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2001): 114–30; Joseph Schechla, “The Ideological Roots of Population Transfer,” *Third World Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (1993): 239–75.

army from the disparate nomadic tribes: David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).

Spanning most of the Eurasian landmass: Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System* (Yardley, PA: Westholme, 2007); Timothy May, *The Mongol Conquests in World History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012); Morris Rossabi, *The Mongols and Global History* (New York: Norton, 2012).

One portion of this army ultimately laid claim: This set the stage for their two attempted invasions of Japan in 1274 and 1281.

ultimately engulfing the divided principalities: Rossabi, *Mongols and Global History*; May, *Mongol Conquests in World History*.

a clear turning point of history: In *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, Winston Churchill wrote:

But Asia too was marching against the West. At one moment it had seemed as if all

Europe would succumb to a terrible menace looming up from the East. Heathen Mongol hordes from the heart of Asia, formidable horsemen armed with bows, had rapidly swept over Russia, Poland, Hungary, and in 1241 inflicted simultaneous crushing defeats upon the Germans near Breslau and upon European chivalry near Budapest. Germany and Austria at least lay at their mercy. Providentially in this year the Great Khan died in Mongolia; the Mongol leaders hastened back the thousands of miles to Karakorum, their capital, to elect his successor, and Western Europe escaped. ([New York: Dodd, Mead, 1958], 2:9)

subsequently settled on the frontier:

The reality of the Mongol/Tatar Yoke may have been quite different from how it is presented in much of Russian historiography (see Marlies Bilz-Leonhardt, “Deconstructing the Myth of the Tatar Yoke,” *Central Asian Survey* 27, no. 1 [2008]: 33–43). Classical Eurasianists say it was actually good for Russia; neo-Eurasianists say its negative portrayal is a “black narrative” of the West. Bassin, “Nationhood, Natural Regions, Mestorazvitie,” 59.

the grand chessboard: Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives* (New York: Basic Books, 1997).

a “coin of the realm” ideal emerged: Kotkin, “Mongol Commonwealth.”

caravan trade continued: See Kotkin, “Mongol Commonwealth,” for further evidence.

not marking an absolute termination: Levi, “Early Modern Central Asia in World History.”

establishment of a direct sea route set in motion: Ron Sela, *The Legendary Biographies of Tamerlane: Islam and Heroic Apocrypha in Central Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road*.

India proved particularly vexing for Tsarist elites: Though technically a European regime, the years under Tatar rule were argued by many

- Westernizers in Russia to have altered, if not stifled, Russian political, economic, and cultural development, thereby making them quasi-European in the eyes of many Western European elites. Marshall Poe, *A People Born to Slavery: Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476–1784* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000). This rendered Russia an addendum to the new globally engaged Europe; a status much resented in the tsarist capitals of Saint Petersburg and later Moscow. It should, however, be noted that a large component of the Russian elite considered themselves the Third Rome and the chosen bearer of true Christianity. So for some, no inferiority to Western Europe manifested. Bassin, “Russia between Europe and Asia,” 4.
- vie with one another in glorifying them:** Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God Is within You: Christianity and Patriotism* (London: J. M. Dent, 1905).
- Our civilizing mission in Asia will bribe our spirit:** Cited in Hauner, *What is Asia to Us?*, 1.
- maps of Central Eurasia were often sparse:** Accurate maps of Russian territory were created at the behest of Peter the Great, who commissioned Ivan Kirilov’s *Atlas Vserossiiskoi Imperii* published in 1734, and the more authoritative *Atlas Rossiiskoi* compiled by the newly founded Academy of Sciences in 1745; see Bassin, “Russia between Europe and Asia,” 7. Examples of such fanciful tales of the region include Owen Lattimore’s references to local people’s description of a Yeti-like creature existing in the Tien Shan mountain range and the long-standing historical legend of Prester John (see Lattimore, *Desert Road to Turkestan*). A rumor that the Tien Shan or Pamirs hosted the tallest mountain in the world existed until after WWII. Tales of warrior women, later deemed Amazons, also exist from this region’s mythical history.
- reimagined expanse of territory:** Russian expansionism was particularly fervent after the Jungar (a western Mongolian confederation) invasion of the Kazakh Steppe in the eighteenth century. The Jungar seemingly envisioned a form of Eurasianism and sought to enact it by establishing a territory stretching from Mongolia to the Caucasus.
- benefit of securing the frontier:** Karl Myers and Shareen Blair Brysac, *Tournament of Shadows: The Great Game and the Race for Empire in Central Asia* (Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 1999): 111–36.
- Access to Indian and Iranian warm-water ports:** Hauner, *What is Asia to Us?*, 50–68.
- The British Raj responded to Russian ambitions:** Myers and Brysac, *Tournament of Shadows*, 111; Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia* (New York: Kodansha, 1994): 123.
- the region as core to the “heartland”:** Halford Mackinder, “The Geographical Pivot of History,” *Geographical Journal* 23, no. 4 (1904).
- devoted both his intellectual life and his career:** “The Teaching of Geography from an Imperial Point of View, and the Use Which Could and Should Be Made of Visual Instruction,” *Geographical Teacher* 6 (1911); Gerry Kearns, *Geopolitics and Empire: The Legacy of Halford Mackinder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- an incitement to imperial violence:** Gearóid Ó Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- proscribing the remedy of socialism:** Sh Abdullaev, *O’zbekiston Xalqlarining O’tmishdagi Mavjud Tengsizligini Tugatish Tarixidan* (Tashkent: O’zbekiston SSR Davlat Nashriyoti, 1959), 260.
- cities were designated, and boundaries were drawn:** Arne Haugen, *The Establishment of National Republics in Soviet Central Asia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
- often had substate ethnically defined autonomous regions:** Graham Smith, “The Soviet State and Nationalities

- Policy,” in *The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet States*, ed. Graham Smith (London: Longman, 1996). See also Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- “the national question” in Central Asia had been “solved”:** R. Tuzmuhamedov, *How the National Question Was Solved in Central Asia: A Reply to Falsifiers*, trans. David Fildon (Moscow: Progress, 1973). See also Arif Alimov, *Uzbekistan: Another Big Leap Forward*, vol. D, *The Fifteen Soviet Socialist Republics Today and Tomorrow* (London: Soviet Booklets, 1960).
- socialist development for the Third World:** Anatoly Khazanov, *After the USSR: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Politics in the Commonwealth of Independent States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 155.
- sending hundreds of development specialists around the world:** Eric Sievers, “Modern Regression: Central Asian Markets, Democracy, and Spoils Systems,” *Harvard Asia Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (2003): 45.
- more as “the failed transformation”:** William Fierman, ed. *Soviet Central Asia: The Failed Transformation* (Boulder: Westview, 1991).
- latent Turkic national pride:** Gavin Hambly et al., *Central Asia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), 241–42.
- Islamic threat to the Soviet state:** Alexandre Bennigsen and Marie Broxup, *The Islamic Threat to the Soviet State* (London: Croom Helm, 1983).
- class-based vestiges of feudal societies:** Sergei Poliakov, *Everyday Islam: Religion and Tradition in Rural Central Asia* (London: M. E. Sharpe, 1992).
- prepared the way for its own demise:** Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*.
- the post-1991 geostrategic imaginary:** Rajan Menon, “The New Great Game in Central Asia,” *Survival* 45, no. 2 (2003): 187–204.
- speculated about new and old players:** Henry Hale, “Islam, State-Building and Uzbekistan Foreign Policy,” in *The New Geopolitics of Central Asia and Its Borderlands*, ed. Ali Banuazizi and Myron Weiner (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994), 136–73.
- new Great Game was played by “local rules”:** Alexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- security-centric Washingtonian analysis:** John Heathershaw and Nick Megoran, “Contesting Danger: A New Agenda for Policy and Scholarship on Central Asia,” *International Affairs* 87, no. 3 (2011): 589–612.
- key theatre in the war on terror:** Douglas Lovelace, foreword, in Elizabeth Wishnick, ed., *Strategic Consequences of the Iraq War: U.S. Security Interests in Central Asia Reassessed* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 2004), iii.
- globalization is threatened by Central Asia’s disconnectedness:** Thomas Barnett, *The Pentagon’s New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Berkeley Books, 2004).
- broad arc of instability:** Donald Rumsfeld, *Annual Report to the President and to Congress* (Washington, DC: US Department of Defense, 2002), 11, <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=851>.
- significance derives from its being on the “front line”:** S. Neil MacFarlane, “The United States and regionalism in Central Asia,” *International Affairs* 80, no. 3 (2004): 447–61; Fiona Hill, “The United States and Russia in Central Asia: Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iran,” *The Aspen Institute Congressional Program*, August 2002, 17; Wishnick, *Strategic Consequences of the Iraq War*.
- premised on increasing “connectivity”:** Mathew Goodman and David A. Parker, “Eurasia’s Infrastructure Rush: What, Why, So What?” *CSIS Global Economics Monthly* 5, no. 1 (2016): 1–3; Alexander Diener, “Parsing Mobilities in Central Eurasia: Border Management and New Silk Roads,”

Eurasian Geography and Economics 56, no. 4 (2015): 376–404.

eastward shift in the global economic center of gravity: Richard Dobbs, Jaana Remes, J. Manyika, Charles Roxburgh, Sven Smit, and Fabian Schaer, *Urban Cities and the Rise of the Consuming Class* New York: McKinsey Global Institute, 2012.

development levels of landlocked states have improved: UN-OHRLLS (Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States), *The Development Economics of Land-lockedness* (New York: UN-OHRLLS, 2013).

a product of histories of struggle: Ó Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics*, 1.

4. Central Asia as Story

Benjamin Gatling

evokes disparate historical and narrative strands: Katherine Hughes, “From the Achaemenids to Somoni: National Identity and Iconicity in the Landscape of Dushanbe’s Capitol Complex,” *Central Asian Survey* 36, no. 4 (2017): 511–33.

dynamic tradition remains a matter of some dispute: Karl Reichl, “Oral Epics into the Twenty-First Century: The Case of the Kyrgyz Epic Manas,” *Journal of American Folklore* 129, no. 513 (2016): 327–44.

poets frequently use aityys as barbed, open criticisms: Eva-Marie Dubuisson, “Confrontation in and through the Nation in Kazakh Aityys Poetry,” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 20, no. 1 (2010): 101–15.

contribute to a unified Uyghur worldview: Sean R. Roberts, “Negotiating Locality, Islam, and National Culture in a Changing Borderlands: The Revival of the Mäshrāp Ritual among Young Uighur Men in the Ili Valley,” *Central Asian Survey* 17, no. 4 (1998): 673–99.

numerous professional and amateur storytellers: In Kyrgyz and Kazakh, *bakhshi* more often refers to folk healers who recite poetry and other ritual formulae to facilitate healing.

extreme differences between bakhshi: Theodore Levin, *The Hundred Thousand Fools of God: Musical Travels in Central Asia (and Queens, New York)* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

Uzbekistan’s widely attended and broadcast Navruz productions: Laura L. Adams, *The Spectacular State: Culture and National Identity in Uzbekistan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 145–46.

No one can [live] without fantasy: Margaret Mills and Ravshan Rahmoni, *Conversations with Davlat Khâlâv: Oral Narratives from Tajikistan* (Moscow: Humanity, 2000), 111.

contemporary Tajiks telling stories: Benjamin Gatling, “Historical Narrative, Intertextuality, and Cultural Continuity in Post-Soviet Tajikistan,” *Journal of Folklore Research* 53, no. 1 (2016): 41–65.

Sometimes, legends evolve into conspiracy theories: Gary Alan Fine and Bill Ellis, *The Global Grapevine: Why Rumors of Terrorism, Immigration, and Trade Matter* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 53.

overarching themes that are present in many conspiracy theories in Tajikistan: John Heathershaw, “Of National Fathers and Russian Elder Brothers: Conspiracy Theories and Political Ideas in Post-Soviet Central Asia,” *Russian Review* 71, no. 4 (2012): 610–29.

Case I-A. Ordinary Soviet Life through Collectivization

Marianne Kamp

American tractorization inspired Soviet agricultural economists: In the decade of the 1920s, tractor ownership in Texas, the US’s leading cotton producing state, increased from 9,000 to 37,000 units, and it was estimated in the 1930s that every tractor displaced three to five farm worker families. Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture*

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 133, 165, 179. Reflections on American cotton production are found in Soviet agricultural journals.

Zulayho, who was born in 1916, and Boltaboy, born in 1914, remembered their lives before collectivization:

Zulayho A, b. 1916, interviewed in Hazarasp district, Xorazm province, Uzbekistan, in 2003 by Komil Kolonov. Transcript Xorazm 9. Translations by Marianne Kamp. Boltabay K, b. 1914, interviewed in Taqir village, Xiva (Khiva), Xorazm (Khwarazm) province, Uzbekistan in 2003 by Komil Kolonov. Transcript Xorazm 4. Translations by Marianne Kamp. Interviews come from the following project: “Oral Histories of Collectivization in Uzbekistan” (2001–2004), PIs Marianne Kamp, Russell Zanca, Elyor Karimov; with 120 interviews in 7 provinces, funded by IREX, University of Wyoming, and the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research.

thousands of kulak families were exiled:

For a quick overview of collectivization in the USSR, see Ronald Suny, *The Soviet Experiment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 221–31. A classic account of the scope of collectivization disaster is Robert Conquest’s *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). On collectivization in Uzbekistan, see Marianne Kamp and Russell Zanca, “Recollections of Collectivization in Uzbekistan: Stalinism and Local Activism,” *Central Asian Survey* 36, no. 1 (2017): 55–72.

Collectivization-related famine struck the Soviet Union: Sarah Cameron, “The Kazakh Famine of 1930–33: Current Research and New Directions,” *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 3, no. 2 (2016): 117–32.

“a lot of people went to sell gold and buy flour.”: The Soviet state established Torgsin stores to obtain gold from its own citizens in order to fund its purchase abroad of technology for industrialization. Elena Osokina,

“Torgsin: Gold for Industrialization,” *Cahiers du monde Russe* 47 no. 4 (2006): 715–48. In the 1930s, the United States also sought to remove gold from citizens’ possession: see Roosevelt’s 1933 Executive Order 6102.

“women were forced to remove the paranji,”: On Soviet education among non-Russian peoples in this period, see E. Thomas Ewing, “Ethnicity at School: Educating the ‘Non-Russian’ Children of the Soviet Union, 1928–1939,” *History of Education*, 35, no. 4–5 (2006): 499–519. On unveiling, see Marianne Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling under Communism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Douglas Northrop, *Veiled Empire: Gender and Power in Stalinist Central Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

Case I-B. Regulation and Appropriation of Islam in Authoritarian Political Contexts

Tim Epkenhans

forcefully reshaped the public Islamic religious field: For the concept of the religious field see, Pierre Bourdieu, “Genesis and Structure of the Religious Field,” *Comparative Social Research* 13, no. 1 (1991): 1–44.

strong obstacle to the implementation of Soviet rule: For Russian and Soviet Orientalism see Michael Kemper and Stephan Conermann, eds., *The Heritage of Soviet Oriental Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2011). For Islam and Muslim institutions in pre-Soviet Central Asia see: Paolo Sartori, “Colonial Legislation Meets *Shari’a*: Muslims’ Land Rights in Russian Turkestan,” *Central Asian Survey* 29, no. 1 (2010): 43–60.

religious practice were taught, negotiated, and eventually experienced disappeared: See Shoshana Keller, *To Moscow, Not Mecca: The Soviet Campaign against Islam in Central Asia, 1917–1941* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001).

practice and belief became less regulated: See Talal Asad, *The Idea of an*

Anthropology of Islam (Washington, DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies / Georgetown University, 1986) and Adeeb Khalid, *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

made the religion legible for the state:

The term *legible* is borrowed from James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

Soviet authorities determined a

dichotomy: See Mark Saroyan, “Rethinking Islam in the Soviet Union,” in *Beyond Sovietology: Essays in Politics and History*, ed. Susan G. Solomon (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1993) and Eren Tasar, *Soviet and Muslim: The Institutionalization of Islam in Central Asia, 1943–1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

reference to Islam became an important

strategy: The relative strength of Islamist activism in Tajikistan has its origins to some extent in the Soviet social and political transformation since the 1920s. See Tim Epkenhans, *The Origins of the Civil War in Tajikistan: Nationalism, Islamism, and Violent Conflict in Post-Soviet Space* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016), 29–96 and 181–222.

religious-secular nature of the conflict:

See Jean-Nicolas Bitter, ed., *From Confidence Building Towards Co-operative Co-existence: The Tajik Experiment of Islamic-Secular Dialogue* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2005).

a unique political arrangement: See John Heathershaw, *Post-conflict Tajikistan: The Politics of Peacebuilding and the Emergence of Legitimate Order* (London: Routledge, 2009).

public observance of religious practice:

Shahnoza Nozimova and Tim Epkenhans, “Negotiating Islam in Emerging Public Spheres in Contemporary Tajikistan,” *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 67, no. 3 (2013): 965–90 and Manja Stephan,

“Education, Youth and Islam: The Growing Popularity of Private Religious Lessons in Dushanbe, Tajikistan,” *Central Asian Survey* 29, no. 4 (2010): 468–83.

projection of a secular Tajik nationalism:

Marlène Laruelle, “The Return of the Aryan Myth: Tajikistan in Search of a Secularized National Ideology,” *Nationalities Papers* 35, no. 1 (2007): 51–70.

Rahmon integrated Islam into the

narrative: The government followed a similar strategy one can observe in neighboring Central Asian countries, by distinguishing between a “good” traditional Tajik Islam and a “bad” foreign extremist Islam. Furthermore, Rahmon de-Islamized Abu Hanifa and portrayed him as a Tajik merchant and not as a religious scholar.

laws imposing stiff regulations on

religious associations: See Robert C. Blitt, and W. Cole Durham, *Analysis of the Republic of Tajikistan’s Draft Law ‘About Freedom of Conscience and Religious Unions’*, University of Tennessee Legal Studies Research Paper No. 26, posted March 23, 2008, revised June 9, 2015, Social Science Research Network, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1112193>.

dismantled the Tajik SADUM: See

Epkenhans, *Origins of the Civil War in Tajikistan*, 203–14.

oppressed any form of dissent: In 2015

the government banned the Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan (IRPT) and arrested the party’s presidium and many of its members. Furthermore, the authorities placed independent *ulamo*, such as the popular Turajon family, under informal house arrest and suspended their communication (including their website).

Part II. Contexts of History

5. Pre-Colonial Central Asia

Scott C. Levi

largely a product of successive waves of nomadic migrations and settlement:

Scott C. Levi, “Turks and Tajiks in Central Asian History,” in *Everyday*

- Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell Zanca (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 15–31.
- Timur emerged as the most successful:** Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- The strategy that Shah Rukh devised:** Beatrice Forbes Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- It began during the long reign of Shah Rukh:** Maria E. Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007).
- emerged as important landholding entities:** Jo-Ann Gross and Asom Urunbaev, *The Letters of Khwaja ‘Ubayd Allah Ahrar and His Associates* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002).
- legacy shaped Mughal administrative policies:** Lisa Balabanlilar, *Imperial Identity in the Mughal Empire: Memory and Dynastic Politics in Early Modern South and Central Asia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012).
- overland routes connecting India with the Mediterranean Sea:** Rudolph Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver, 1600–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Safavid control began to weaken:** Rudolph Matthee, *Persia in Crisis: Safavid Decline and the Fall of Isfahan* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012).
- displacing Babur and conquering the Timurid capital:** Yuri Bregel, “Turko-Mongol Influences in Central Asia,” in Robert L. Canfield, ed., *Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 74.
- they elected to split from the Uzbeks:** Joo-Yup Lee, *Qazaqlıq, or Ambitious Brigandage, and the Formation of the Qazaqs: State and Identity in Post-Mongol Central Eurasia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2016).
- the Kazakhs constituted three separate political powers:** See Allen J. Frank, “The Qazaqs and Russia,” in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter Golden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 363–79.
- some members of the Toqay-Timurid ruling family fled:** Thomas Welsford, *Four Types of Loyalty in Early Modern Central Asia: The Tūqāy-Timūrid Takeover of Greater Māwarā al-Nahr, 1598–1605* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2013).
- a spike in demand for silver in China:** For Qing silver demand, see Richard von Glahn, “Money Use in China and Changing Patterns of Global Trade in Monetary Metals, 1500–1800,” in *Global Connections and Monetary History, 1470–1800*, ed. Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez, and Richard von Glahn (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 187.
- to impose a series of military reforms:** Wolfgang Holzwarth, “Bukharan Armies and Uzbek Military Power, 1670–1870: Coping with the Legacy of a Nomadic Conquest,” in *Nomad Military Power in Iran and Adjacent Areas in the Islamic Period*, ed. Kurt Franz and Wolfgang Holzwarth (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2015), 273–354.
- In the wake of Nadir Shah’s assassination:** On this, see Yuri Bregel, “The New Uzbek States: Bukhara, Khiva and Khoqand: c. 1750–1886,” in Di Cosmo, Frank and Golden, *Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, 392–95.
- the Jungar forces exhibited a determined independence:** James A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 90.
- Determined to bring an end to the Jungar threat:** Peter Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).
- generals to show no mercy:** Perdue, *China Marches West*, 283.
- For eight decades the Buddhist Jungars had governed:** See James Millward, “Eastern Central Asia (Xinjiang): 1300–1800,” in Di Cosmo, Frank and Golden, *Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, 268–69.

the Qing forces had defeated the Khojas:

For a discussion of the shaping of the Uyghur ethnic-national identity in the early twentieth century, see David Brophy, *Uyghur Nation: Reform and Revolution on the Russia-China Frontier* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

Uzbek tribal dynasties devised new techniques:

On the importance of Timur's legacy to political legitimacy in eighteenth-century Central Asia, see Ron Sela, *The Legendary Biographies of Tamerlane: Islam and Heroic Apocrypha in Central Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Central Asia's regional and local histories:

For Shahrisabz, see James Pickett, "The Persianate Sphere during the Age of Empires: Islamic Scholars and Networks of Exchange in Central Asia, 1747–1917" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2015), 88–105; "Written into Submission: Reassessing Sovereignty through a Forgotten Eurasian Dynasty," *American Historical Review* 123, no. 3 (2018): 817–45.

the rise of the family that would rule Khoqand:

See the introductory essay in Timur K. Beisembiev, *Annotated Indices to the Kokand Chronicles* (Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2008). For a comprehensive treatment of Khoqand's historiography, see Timur K. Beisembiev, *Kokandskaia istoriografiia: issledovaniie po istochnikovedeniiu Srednei Azii XVIII–XIX vekov* (Almaty: TOO Print-S, 2009).

the Qing sought to pacify: For Qing policies in Xinjiang and Qing relations with Khoqand, cf. James Millward, *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759–1864* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998); Laura Newby, *The Empire and the Khanate: A Political History of Qing Relations with Khoqand, c.1760–1860* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2005); Kwangmin Kim, *Borderland Capitalism: Turkestan*

Produce, Qing Silver, and the Birth of an Eastern Market (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016).

revenue from this official relationship streamed into Khoqand:

For a more detailed treatment of the history of Khoqand, see Scott C. Levi, *The Rise and Fall of Khoqand, 1709–1876: Central Asia in the Global Age* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017); Bakhtiyar Babadjanov, *Kokandskoe khanstvo: vlast, politika, religiia* (Tashkent: Yangi Nashr, 2010).

Khoqand's population:

Timur K. Beisembiev and Scott C. Levi, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (forthcoming), s.v. "Khoqand."

a fiscal crisis that forced the Qing:

Millward, *Beyond the Pass*, 58–61, 235–36.

Cherniaev led his Russian troops to victory:

See Alexander Morrison, *The Russian Conquest of Central Asia: A Study in Imperial Expansion, 1814–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

Khoqand's irrigation programs: Levi, *Rise and Fall of Khoqand*, 219.

Khoqand's greatest rival:

Andreas Wilde, *What Is Beyond the River? Power, Authority and Social Order in Transoxania 18th–19th Centuries*, 3 vols. (Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016).

Bukharans exploited their own long-standing commercial linkages:

For India, see Scott C. Levi, *The Indian Diaspora in Central Asia and Its Trade, 1550–1900* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002).

Russian commercial interests extended:

See Audrey Burton, *The Bukharans: A Dynastic, Diplomatic and Commercial History, 1550–1702* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). See also Scott C. Levi, "India, Russia and the Eighteenth-Century Transformation of the Central Asian Caravan Trade," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, no. 4 (1999): 519–20.

Bukharan merchants extended their networks:

This point is addressed in Erika Monahan, *The Merchants*

of Siberia: Trade in Early Modern Eurasia (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), 200–201, 260–61. For contrasting perspectives, cf. Christopher I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 241–42, 262; Sela, *Legendary Biographies of Tamerlane*, 117–40; Paolo Sartori, “Introduction: On Khvārazmian Connectivity: Two or Three Things That I Know about It,” *Journal of Persianate Studies* 9, no. 2 (2016): 133–57. For a response to Sela, see Scott C. Levi, “Early Modern Central Asia in World History,” *History Compass* 10, no. 11 (2012): 866–78.

Manghit claim to legitimacy: Manghit amirs bolstered their claim as the rightful rulers over Bukhara through strategic history writing. See Anke von Kügelgen, *Die Legitimierung der mittelasatischen Mangitendynastie in den Werken ihrer Historiker* (Istanbul: Orient-Institut; Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2002). Published in Russian translation as *Legitimatesiia Sredneaziatskoi dinastii Mangitov v proizvedeniiakh ikh istorikov (XVIII–XIX vv.)* (Almaty: Daik-Press, 2004).

this earned Amir Nasrallah the nickname: Bregel, “New Uzbek States,” 397.
developing a more capable standing army: Holzwarth, “Bukharan Armies and Uzbek Military Power,” 330–33.

Khiva was also distinctive: See Sartori, “Introduction: On Khvārazmian Connectivity.”

his brother and successor: Bregel, “New Uzbek States,” 399.

Turkmen grew infamous for running raids: See Jeff Eden, “Beyond the Bazaars: Geographies of the Slave Trade in Central Asia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 51, no. 4 (2017): 1–37.

the Khivan khans leveraged their ability: Bregel, “New Uzbek States,” 400, 404.
state’s new position as a Russian protectorate: Bregel, “New Uzbek States,” 409.

6. Colonial Central Asia

Alexander Morrison

“Russia did not have colonies” is a common refrain: See S. V. Timchenko and V. Germanova on, respectively, modern Kazakh and modern Uzbek historiography, which make up appendices 1 & 2 of S. Abashin, D. Arapov and N. Bekmakhanova, eds., *Tsentral’naia Aziia v sostave Rossiiskoi Imperii* (Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2007), 338–81.

The reasons cited vary: Most of these can be found in Evgenii Glushchenko, *Rossii v Srednei Azii. Zavoevaniia i preobrazovaniia* (Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf, 2010). He does not shy away from using the term *colonizers* to describe the Russians in Central Asia, but argues that their role was entirely benign.

Tsarist officials often claimed that their colonialism was more humane: Ulrike Lindner, “New Forms of Knowledge Exchange between Imperial Powers: The Development of the Institut Colonial International (ICI) Since the End of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Imperial Co-operation and Transfer, 1870–1930: Empires and Encounters*, ed. Volker Barth and Roland Cvetkovski (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 67.

routinely described Central Asia as a colony: E.g., P. P. Semenov “Znachenie Rossii v kolonizatsionnom dvizhenii evropeiskikh narodov,” *Izvestiia Imperatorskogo Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva* XXVIII (1892): 349–69; V. Voshchinin *Ocherki novago Turkestana. Svet i teni Russkoi Kolonizatsii* (Saint Petersburg: Tip. Tov. “Nash Vek,” 1914).

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7. Soviet Central Asia

Ali İğmen

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8. Post-Soviet Central Asia

David G. Lewis

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United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, *Kazakhstan 2012 Human Rights Report*, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2012, https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2013/06/10/Kazakhstan_5.pdf.

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Jesse Driscoll, *Warlords and Coalition Politics in Post-Soviet States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

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Case II-A. The Rise of Vali Bay, an Entrepreneur between Two Empires

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Case II-B. The Management of Islam in the Late Soviet Period

Adeeb Khalid

public space was de-Islamized: On antireligious campaigns in Central Asia, see Adeeb Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), chs. 7 and 10; Shoshana Keller, *To Moscow, Not Mecca: The Soviet Campaign against Islam in Central Asia, 1917–1941* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001).

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Amirsaid Usmankhodzhaev, *Zhizn' muftiev Babakhanovykh: Sluzhenie vozrozhdeniiu islama v Sovetskom Soiuze* (Nizhnii Novgorod: Medina, 2008).

Orenburg Spiritual Assembly was responsible for appointing: D. D. Azamatov, *Orenburgskoe magometanskoe dukhovnoe sobranie v kontse XVIII-XIX vv.* (Ufa: Izd-vo "Gilem," 1999).

unlikely that the rather fragile Russian power would have been able to coax: Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 52–56.

spiritual administration was necessary: Behbudiy's proposal from 1907 is reproduced in Necip Hablomitoglu and Timur Kocaoğlu, "Behbudî'nin Türkistan Medeni Muhtariyeti Layıhası," in *Türkistan'da Yenilik Hareketleri ve İhtilaller, 1900–1924: Osman Hoca Anısına İncelemeler*, ed. Timur Kocaoğlu (Haarlem: SOTA, 2001), 436–66; for an analysis, see Adeeb Khalid, "Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale*, no. 17–18 (2009): 423–27.

casualties of the antireligious campaign: Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan*, 235–37, 345–46.

limited religious activity under bureaucratic oversight: Yaacov Ro'i, *Islam in the Soviet Union: From the Second World War to Gorbachev* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

condemned as "un-Islamic" such customs: Bakhtiar Babadzhonov, "O fetvakh SADUM protiv «neislamskikh obychev»,» in *Islam na postsovetском prostranstve: vzgliad iznutri*, ed. Martha Brill Olcott and Aleksei Malashenko (Moscow: Moskovskii Tsentr Karnegi, 2001), 170–84; the texts of some of these fatwas can be found in Shamsuddinxon Boboxonov, *Shayx Ziyovuddinxon ibn Eshon Boboxon (ma'naviyat va ibrat maktabi)* (Tashkent: O'zbekiston Milliy Entsiklopediyasi, 2001).

official recognition of the place of Islam: For example, Eren Tasar, *Soviet and Muslim: The Institutionalization of Islam in Central Asia, 1943–1991* (New York: Oxford University Press,

2017), argues that SADUM played a central role in Central Asian public life in the period after 1943. Such claims are hard to maintain.

leadership passed out of the family: Bakhttiar Babadzhanyan, “Sredneaziatskoe dukhovnoe upravlenie musulman: predystoriia i posledstviia raspada,” in *Mnogomernye granitsy Tsentral’noi Azii*, ed. Martha Brill Olcott and Aleksei Malashenko (Moscow: Moskovskii Tsentr Karnegi, 2000), 59–64.

Case II-C. Gendered Aspects of Soviet Industrialization in Ak Tyuz

Botakoz Kassymbekova

more than a couple dozen plants were built: Valentin Bogdetskii, Vitaliy Stavinskiy, Emil Shukurov, and Murat Suyunbaev, eds., *Mining Industry and Sustainable Development in Kyrgyzstan*, Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development, November 2001, No. 110 (N.p.: International Institute for Environment and Development and World Business Council for Sustainable Development, 2002), 23, <https://pubs.iied.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/migrate/G00573.pdf>.

The lower part of the settlement was called Shanghai: Pavel Polian, *Against Their Will: The History and Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004), 148.

Bombay, on the other hand, was located on a hill: “White” man in Russian means a “civilized man”—a man who lives in comfort. In the Soviet context, this is not an entirely racial category and rather refers to (Western) European life standards, and applies to ethnic Russians as well.

According to Soviet regulations: Bogdetskii, Stavinskiy, Shukurov, and Suyunbaev, *Mining Industry and Sustainable Development*, 23, 80; see also Michael Gentile, “Former Closed Cities and Urbanisation in the FSU: An Exploration in Kazakhstan,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 56, no. 2 (2004): 267.

Stalinist and post-Stalinist policies fostered societal traditionalization:

See Vera Dunham, *In Stalin’s Time: Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990); Donald Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization* (London: Pluto, 1986); Eric Duskin, *Stalinist Reconstruction and the Confirmation of a New Elite, 1945–1953* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); David Ruffley, *Children of Victory: Young Specialists and the Evolution of Soviet Society* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003).

Industrialization and private life: Nick Baron, in his book *Soviet Karelia: Politics, Planning and Terror in Stalin’s Russia, 1920–1939* (London: Routledge, 2007), showed how Soviet economics and politics were interconnected. I suggest that the economic and political structure of the Soviet Union also shaped its citizens’ private sphere. Family politics (both official and its unofficial dimensions), economics, and politics were closely interrelated.

Part III. Contexts of Living

9. Rural Life

Tommaso Trevisani

People value village sociality: The Central Asian New Year holiday (*Nōrūz* in Persian; *Navro’z* in Uzbek; *Nauryz* in Kazakh) occurs on the spring equinox (March 21–22). The holiday coincides with the beginning of the agricultural cycle, it has Zoroastrian origins and despite Soviet officialdom’s opposition it has continued to be celebrated in Central Asia ever since. Laura Adams, *The Spectacular State: Culture and National Identity in Uzbekistan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 50ff.

pleasurable experiences connected to food: Russell Zanca, “Fat and All That: Good Eating the Uzbek Way,” in *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, ed. Jeff Sahadeo and Russell Zanca (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 178–97.

traditional rural societies the rift runs: Elizabeth E. Bacon, *Central Asians under Russian Rule: A Study in Culture Change* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966); Lawrence

- Krader, *Peoples of Central Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963).
- the “attack” (hujum in Uzbek) campaign of the late 1920s:** Marianne Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity and Unveiling under Communism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).
- nomadic lifestyles of the steppes came to an end:** Niccolò Pianciola, *Stalinismo di Frontiera: Colonizzazione agricola, sterminio dei nomadi e costruzione statale in Asia centrale (1905–1936)* (Rome: Viella, 2009); Isabelle Ohayon, *La Sédentarisation des Kazakhs dans l’URSS de Staline: Collectivisation et changement social (1928–1945)* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2006).
- overall share of land used for agriculture grew:** B. Tulepbayev, *Socialist Agrarian Reforms in Central Asia and Kazakhstan* (Moscow: Nauka, 1986), 199.
- rural families were larger than average:** Nancy Lubin, *Labor and Nationality in Soviet Central Asia: An Uneasy Compromise* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- Large agricultural development projects:** Ian M. Matley, “Agricultural Development (1865–1963),” in *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview*, ed. Edward Allworth (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 304–8.
- enlargement of the Hungry Steppe irrigation schemes:** Ian M. Matley, “The Golodnaya Steppe: A Russian Irrigation Venture in Central Asia,” *Geographical Review* 60, no. 3 (1970): 328–46.
- Soviet modernity and the resilience of “traditionalism”:** Sergei Poliakov, *Everyday Islam: Religion and Tradition in Rural Central Asia* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1992).
- The kolkhoz partly failed in its alleged mission:** Olivier Roy, *La Nouvelle Asie Centrale: ou la fabrication des nations* (Paris: Seuil, 1997).
- emerged in the disclosing of the “cotton scandal”:** By the mid-1980s Moscow-led investigations revealed a gigantic fraud perpetrated by Uzbek party officials based on widespread manipulation of cotton production statistics. The “cotton scandal” resulted in a purge of party officials and in tightened control over the internal affairs of the Central Asian union republics.
- agrarian reforms have concerned the “individualization” of agriculture:** Zvi Lerman, Csaba Csáki, and Gershon Feder, eds., *Agriculture in Transition: Land Policies and Evolving Farm Structures in Post-Soviet Countries* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004).
- newly established large farms needed to have “bureaucratic capital”:** Tommaso Trevisani, *Land and Power in Khorezm: Farmers, Communities, and the State in Uzbekistan’s Decollectivisation Process* (Berlin: LIT, 2011).
- rural demographic growth and increased dependency on agriculture:** Deniz Kandiyoti, “The Cry for Land: Agrarian Reform, Gender, and Land Rights in Uzbekistan,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3, no. 1–2 (2003), 225–56.
- many families were pushed by district authorities into farming:** Trevisani, *Land and Power in Khorezm*.
- living conditions in rural communities had significantly worsened:** Kandiyoti, “Cry for Land,” 225–56.
- found themselves caught in a process of “agricultural involution”:** Cf. Clifford Geertz, *Agricultural Involution: The Processes of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).
- growing poverty made it more difficult:** Cynthia Werner, “Household Networks and the Security of Mutual Indebtedness in Rural Kazakhstan,” *Central Asian Survey* 17, no. 4 (1998): 597–612; Deniz Kandiyoti, “Rural Livelihoods and Social Networks in Uzbekistan: Perspectives from Andijan,” in “Market Reforms, Social Dislocations and Survival in Post-Soviet Central Asia,” ed. Deniz Kandiyoti and Ruth Mandel, special

issue, *Central Asian Survey* 17, no. 4 (1998): 561–78.

Now it is just five, the remaining had to go: Author's interview in Makhtarl district, Southern Kazakhstan, April 12, 2016. Fieldwork was conducted in the framework of a research project hosted at the SFB 923 "Threatened Orders," University of Tübingen (on the topic "Salinization and soil degradation as threats to the agrarian orders in Central Asia," 2015–2019).

10. Urban Life

Natalie Koch

the chief promoters of progress: Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 197.
each epoch leaves its creations: Nursultan Nazarbayev, "Future Vision," *K Magazine*, 2010, 53.

11. Migratory Life

Madeleine Reeves

a remittance-driven building boom: Igor Rubinov, "Migrant Assemblages: Building Postsocialist Households with Kyrgyz Remittances," *Anthropological Quarterly* 87, no. 1 (2014): 183–215.
for their children to learn Russian: Stefan Kirmse, "'Nested Globalization' in Osh, Kyrgyzstan: Urban Youth Culture in a 'Southern' City," in *Urban Spaces after Socialism: Ethnographies of Public Places in Eurasian Cities*, ed. Tsypylma Darieva, Wolfgang Kaschuba, and Melanie Krebs (New York: Campus, 2011), 294.
migration is raced, classed, and gendered: Sergey Abashin, "Migration from Central Asia to Russia in the New Model of World Order," *Russian Politics and Law* 52, no. 6 (2014): 8–23.
Migrant life is navigated in this environment: Compare Nicholas De Genova, *Working the Boundaries: Race, Space and "Illegality" in Mexican Chicago* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Seth Holmes, "'Oaxacans Like to Work

Bent Over': The Naturalization of Social Suffering among Berry Farm Workers," *International Migration* 45, no. 3 (2007): 39–66.

the sub-contracting of labor: Agnieszka Kubal, "Spiral Effect of the Law: Migrants' Experiences of the State Law in Russia—A Comparative Perspective," *International Journal of Law in Context* 12, no. 4 (2016): 453–68; Madeleine Reeves, "Clean Fake: Authenticating Documents and Persons in Migrant Moscow," *American Ethnologist* 40, no. 3 (2013): 508–24.

perceived as part of the "near abroad":

Cf. Dace Dzenovska, "Bordering Encounters, Sociality and Distribution of the Ability to Live a 'Normal Life,'" *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* 22, no. 3 (2014): 271–87.

meanings of migration for those on the move: Filippo Osella and Caroline Osella, "Migration, Money and Masculinity in Kerala," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 6 (2000): 117–33; Alpa Shah, "The Labour of Love: Seasonal Migration from Jharkhand to the Brick Kilns of Other States in India," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 40, no. 1 (2006): 91–118; Madeleine Reeves, "Black Work, Green Money: Remittances, Ritual, and Domestic Economies in Southern Kyrgyzstan," *Slavic Review* 71, no. 1 (2012): 108–34.

presumption of economic rationality likewise does little: Sophie Roche, *Domesticating Youth: Youth Bulges and Their Socio-political Implications in Tajikistan* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).

to counter the tendency in narratives: Jane Buchanan, *Are You Happy to Cheat Us? Exploitation of Migrant Workers in Russia*, Human Rights Watch, 2009, https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/russia0209web_0.pdf; John Round and Irina Kuznetsova, "Necropolitics and the Migrant as a Political Subject of Disgust: The Precarious Everyday of Russia's Labour Migrants," *Critical Sociology* 42, no. 7–8 (2016): 1017–34.

the agency and ethical reasoning of migrant workers: De Genova, *Working the Boundaries*; Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz, “Willing to Work: Agency and Vulnerability in an Undocumented Immigrant Network,” *American Anthropologist* 112, no. 2 (2010): 295–307; Reeves, “Clean Fake.”

a transformative and a redemptive process: Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).

to work simply was the mark: Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 202.

garden plots provided a critical supplement: Isaac Scarborough, “(Over)determining Social Disorder: Tajikistan and the Economic Collapse of Perestroika,” *Central Asian Survey* 35, no. 3 (2016): 439–63.

wage labor undertaken for the state: Jeanne Féaux de la Croix, “After the Worker State: Competing and Converging Frames of Valuing Labor in Rural Kyrgyzstan,” *Laboratorium* 6, no. 2 (2014): 84.

wages earned from mining: Eeva Kesküla, “Disembedding the Company from Kinship: Unethical Families and Atomized Labor in an Estonian Mine,” *Laboratorium* 6, no. 2 (2014): 66.

mining still shapes the identity of the town: Abdumomun Mamaraimov, “Kirgiziia: Byvshaia ‘kocheharka’ Srednei Azii namerena sokhranit’ status goroda shakhterov,” *Ferghana.ru*, October 13, 2007.

an ambivalent locus of collective hope: Frances Pine, “Migration as Hope: Space, Time, and Imagining the Future,” *Current Anthropology* 55, S9 (2014): S95–S104.

undermines the value of work: Pine, “Migration as Hope.”

migrant workers who acted as facilitators and brokers: Madeleine Reeves, “Diplomat, Landlord, Con-Artist, Thief: Housing Brokers and the Mediation of Risk in Migrant Moscow,” *Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 34, no. 2 (2016): 93–109.

the demeaning and destructive aspects: Christina Garsten, “Flexibility Frictions: Economies of Connection in Contemporary Forms of Work,” in Jens Kjaerulff, *Flexible Capitalism: Exchange and Ambiguity at Work* (New York: Berghahan Books, 2015), 93–115.

a case of “strategic citizenship”: Cf. Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

one of Russia’s most pressing social problems: Nikolay Zakharov, *Attaining Whiteness: A Sociological Study of Race and Racialization in Russia* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis, 2013), 18.

racialized discrimination is legitimated: De Genova, *Working the Boundaries*; Vladimir Malakhov and Mark Simon, “Labour Migration Policy in Russia: Considerations on Governmentality,” *International Migration* 56, no. 3 (2017): 61–72.

12. Diaspora Life

Medina Aitieva

bus stop near Yakutsk’s Stoliczny market: The ethnographic material presented in this chapter derives from fieldwork in Russia’s Yakutsk (March–May 2012) and Kyrgyzstan’s Naryn and Chui oblasts (2011–2012), and maintained contacts over the phone, through WhatsApp groups, and subsequent visits to Kyrgyzstan (2015; 2018).

sinking appearances of the traditional wooden log houses: In local parlance, “ChB” refers to “chastichno blagoustroennyi dom,” houses with partial comforts. These houses were preserved for cultural heritage, despite numerous attempts to dismantle them.

visa-free open border regime: Of the post-Soviet republics, the exceptions to the visa-free regime are the Baltic states, Georgia, and Turkmenistan.

how impossible it is for Moscow migrants to remain entirely formal: Madeleine Reeves, “Living from the Nerves: Deportability, Indeterminacy, and the ‘Feel of Law’ in Migrant Moscow,” *Social Analysis* 59, no. 4 (2015): 131.

second-largest number of labor migrants:

See John Round and Irina Kuznetsova, "Necropolitics and the Migrant as a Political Subject of Disgust: The Precarious Everyday of Russia's Labour Migrants," *Critical Sociology* 42, no. 7–8 (2016): 1018; and Madeleine Reeves, "Clean Fake: Authenticating Documents and Persons in Migrant Moscow," *American Ethnologist* 40, no. 3 (2013): 520; Madeleine Reeves, "Diplomat, Landlord, Con-Artist, Thief: Housing Brokers and the Mediation of Risk in Migrant Moscow," *Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 34, no. 2 (2016): 93–109, on documents and documentary regimes in "heightening insecurity and normalizing suspicion toward certain ethnically bodied persons" in Russia.

legal mechanisms that regulate foreign

workers' status: Sergei Abashin, "Migration from Central Asia to Russia in the New Model of World Order," *Russian Politics and Law* 52, no. 6 (2014): 8–23; Vladimir Malakhov, "Russia as a New Immigration Country: Policy Response and Public Debate," *Europe-Asia Studies* 66, no. 7 (2014): 1062–79; Vladimir Malakhov, "'Us' and 'Them': Post-Soviet Migration in Russia and Re(making) Symbolic Boundaries," *Eurozine*, December 6, 2016, <https://www.eurozine.us-and-them-2/>.

overwhelmingly negative images of

Central Asian migrants: John Round and Irina Kuznetsova, "Necropolitics and the Migrant as a Political Subject of Disgust: The Precarious Everyday of Russia's Labour Migrants," *Critical Sociology* 42, no. 7–8 (2016): 1017–34.

add to the migrants' daily insecurities:

Throughout the chapter, I use the general term *migrant* to denote both migrants and immigrants. Although they may have different legal practices, they may share common daily experiences. Migrants arrive in Russia to find temporary work and immigrants come to seek permanent residence and acquire citizenship. However, immigrants may see their future back in their country of origin,

and migrants may change their primary intent of working and living temporarily. In the end, in Russia both these groups are largely seen and treated as migrants.

Putin's pronatalist policies: Michele

Rivkin-Fish, "Pronatalism, Gender Politics, and the Renewal of Family Support in Russia: Toward a Feminist Anthropology of 'Maternity Capital,'" *Slavic Review* 69, no. 3 (2010): 701–24.

attracted some Central Asian migrants

to naturalize: See Maria Lipman and Yulia Florinskaya, "Labor Migration in Russia," *PONARS Eurasia: New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia* (January 9, 2019), <http://ponarseurasia.org/labor-migration-in-russia/>. In their discussion, Florinskaya predicted that by 2020, Russia's labor force will have shrunk by over 10 million people, a shortage that Russia would need to address by employing retirees and increasing labor migrants.

shift in Russian migration policies: Elena Nikiforova and Olga Brednikova, "On Labor Migration to Russia: Central Asian Migrants and Migrant Families in the Matrix of Russia's Bordering Policies," *Political Geography* 66 (2018): 142–50.

migrant group that materially

contributes: Khalid Koser, *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

three core elements constituting diaspora:

Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 1–19; Thomas Faist, "Diaspora and Transnationalism: What Kind of Dance Partners?" in *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, ed. Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 9–34.

"seasonal" migrants arriving, in their

minds temporarily: Most Kyrgyzstani migrants in Sakha worked seasonally, arriving in February or March and leaving by December of the same year.

permanently relocated to Russia: Sergei Abashin, "Migration Policies in

Russia: Laws and Debates,” in *Migrant Workers in Russia: Global Challenges of the Shadow Economy in Societal Transformation*, ed. Anna-Liisa Heusala and Kaarina Aitamurto (New York: Routledge, 2017), 16–34.

plan was to assert regional dominance:

Jens Siegert, “Natives, Foreigners and Native Foreigners—the Difficult Task of Coexistence in Russia,” *Russian Analytical Digest* 141 (December 23, 2013): 5–7.

medical specialists who were committed

to serving the diaspora: Daniel Kashnitsky and Ekaterina Demintseva, “‘Kyrgyz Clinics’ in Moscow: Medical Centers for Central Asian Migrants,” *Medical Anthropology* 37, no. 5 (2018): 401–11.

little political engagement:

Vanessa Ruget and Burul Usmanalieva, “Can Smartphones Empower Labour Migrants? The Case of Kyrgyzstani Migrants in Russia,” *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 2 (2019): 165–80.

a sense of moral duty: Paolo Boccagni, “Private, Public or Both? On the Scope and Impact of Transnationalism in Immigrants’ Everyday Lives,” in Bauböck and Faist, *Diaspora and Transnationalism*, 185–204.

irregular construction side jobs earning:

In 2012, 1USD = 30RUB, 1KGS = 0.62RUB; in 2014, 1USD = 36RUB, 1RUB = 1.5KGS, and in 2019, 1USD = 65RUB, 1KGS = 0.93RUB, 1USD = 52KGS.

they wanted to live in the capital:

Susan Thieme, “Coming Home? Patterns and Characteristics of Return Migration in Kyrgyzstan,” *International Migration* 52, no. 5 (2012): 127–43.

solidarity is usually not just ethnically

based: Similar trends exist in other migrant hubs throughout Russia among the Central Asian groups, including the Tajiks and Uzbeks (cf. Sophie Roche, “Illegal Migrants and Pious Muslims: The Paradox of Bazaar Workers from Tajikistan,” in *Tajikistan on the*

Move: Statebuilding and Societal Transformations, ed. Marlène Laruelle (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 247–78.

based on “mobility know-how”:

Michel Bruneau, “Diasporas, Transnational Spaces and Communities,” in Bauböck and Faist, *Diaspora and Transnationalism*, 43.

deceiving the system in order to accrue

more: Cf. Vanessa Ruget and Burul Usmanalieva, “Social and Political Transnationalism among Central Asian Migrants and Return Migrants: A Case Study of Kyrgyzstan,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 58, no. 6 (2011): 48–60; Michele Rivkin-Fish, “Pronatalism, Gender Politics, and the Renewal of Family Support in Russia: Toward a Feminist Anthropology of ‘Maternity Capital,’” *Slavic Review* 69, no. 3 (2010): 701–24.

opinions on how to live their lives

differed: This finding is consistent with other academic research on Central Asian labor migration patterns; cf. Thieme, “Coming Home?” 127–43; Delia Rahmonova-Schwartz, “Family and Transnational Mobility in Post-Soviet Central Asia” (PhD diss., Nomos, 2012); Medina Aitieva, “Reconstituting Transnational Families: An Ethnography of Family Practices between Kyrgyzstan and Russia” (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2015).

amnesty for the Kyrgyzstani migrants:

According to migrants, a similar amnesty was given to Kyrgyzstani migrants in October 2018 when another migrant was implicated in a sexual abuse crime.

March 2019 anti-migrant protest in

Yakutsk was not the first: Marlène Laruelle, “Anti-Migrant Riots in Russia: The Mobilizing Potential of Xenophobia,” *Russian Analytical Digest* 141 (December 23, 2013): 2; and Jens Siegert, “Natives, Foreigners and Native Foreigners—the Difficult Task of Coexistence in

Russia,” *Russian Analytical Digest* 141 (December 23, 2013): 5–7.

explicitly excluded from the national community: Laruelle, “Anti-Migrant Riots in Russia,” 2–4.

paradox between individual daily experiences and the migrant-dependence: Roche, “Illegal Migrants and Pious Muslims,” 247–78.

described the Kyrgyz diaspora in Russia in 2011: Ruget and Usmanalieva, “Social and Political Transnationalism among Central Asian Migrants and Return Migrants,” 54.

virtual groups based on regions of origin: Rustam Urinboyev, “Migration, Transnationalism, and Social Change in Central Asia: Everyday Transnational Lives of Uzbek Migrants in Russia,” in *Eurasia on the Move: Interdisciplinary Approaches to a Dynamic Migration Region*, ed. Marlène Laruelle and Caress Schenk (Washington, DC: George Washington University, Central Asia Program, 2018), 27–41.

“foreign agent” laws: Rustamjon Urinboyev, *Migration and Hybrid Political Regimes: Navigating the Legal Landscape in Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021).

“sedimentation” that shows over a longer period: Michel Bruneau, “Diasporas, Transnational Spaces and Communities,” in Bauböck and Faist, *Diaspora and Transnationalism*, 36–49.

Case III-B. From Potemkin Village to Real Life in Turkmenistan

Sebastien Peyrouse

in a festive atmosphere: “President Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov took part in the opening of new settlement Berkarar Zaman village,” *TDH*, July 6, 2016, accessed December 15, 2017 (link no longer active), <http://tdh.gov.tm/index.php/en/politics/news/17764-2016-07-08-21-18-10>.

sign indicating the town’s name: “A Potemkin Village for the Turkmen President,” *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, July 26, 2016, <http://www.rferl.org/media/video/turkmenistan-president-village/27880955.html>.

one example of propaganda among many: Sebastien Peyrouse, *Turkmenistan: Strategies of Power, Dilemmas of Development* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2011).

era of the so-called Great Renaissance: Annette Bohr, “Turkmenistan: Power, Politics and Petro-Authoritarianism,” research paper, Chatham House, Royal Institute of International Affairs, March 8, 2016, p. 32, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/turkmenistan-power-politics-and-petro-authoritarianism>.

the embodiment of late president: On the architectural transformation of Ashgabat, see Natalie Koch and Anar Valiyev, “Urban Boosterism in Closed Contexts: Spectacular Urbanization and Second-Tier Mega-events in Three Caspian Capitals,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 56, no. 5 (2015): 575–98.

government uses many arguments to deny: D. Ovezov, and I. Sikorskaiia, “Nedovol’stvo kampaniei turkmenskikh vlastei po snosu zhilykh domov,” *Gündogar*, March 6, 2010, <http://gundogar.org/?022104914800000000000011000000>.

undertaken in part by prisoners: M. Kozlova, “Giant Turkmen Lake Sets Off Environmental Alarms,” *Asia Water Wire*, June 5, 2006, <http://www.asiawaterwire.net/node/329>.

agriculture, which employs nearly 50 percent: CIA World Factbook estimates, 2016, accessed May 22, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tx.html>.

agrarian overpopulation in arable areas: World Bank data, accessed May 24, 2018, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/AG.LND.ARBL.ZS>.

health has been fully integrated:

Abel Polese and Slavomir Horák,
“A Tale of Two Presidents: Personality
Cult and Symbolic Nation-Building
in Turkmenistan,” *Nationalities
Papers* 43, no. 3 (2015): 457–78.

launched reforms are criticized:

Médecins Sans Frontières,
*Turkmenistan’s Opaque Health
System*, April 12, 2010, [https://
www.doctorswithoutborders.org/
what-we-do/news-stories/research/
turkmenistans-opaque-health-
system](https://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/what-we-do/news-stories/research/turkmenistans-opaque-health-system); R. Annabairamova, “Spid
v Turkmenii. Golovu v pesok—i
nas ne vidno,” June 1, 2016,
[http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.
php?st=1464799260](http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1464799260).

midwives per ten thousand persons:

World Health Statistics (Geneva:
World Health Organization, 2009),
102.

real figure is much higher: Paul Stronski,

“Turkmenistan at 25. The High
Price of Authoritarianism,” Carnegie
Endowment for International
Peace, January 30, 2017, [http://
carnegieendowment.org/2017/01/30/
turkmenistan-at-twenty-five-high-
price-of-authoritarianism-pub-67839](http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/01/30/turkmenistan-at-twenty-five-high-price-of-authoritarianism-pub-67839).

Great Renaissance was supposed

to engage: “Politika Novogo
vozrozhdeniia i Velikikh
preobrazovanii Prezidenta
Turkmensitana,” *Neitral’nyi
Turkmenistan*, June 27, 2007, as
quoted in Polese and Horák, “Tale of
Two Presidents,” 468.

Turkmenistan continues to languish:

United Nations Development
Programme, “Human Development
Reports,” accessed May 24, 2018,
[http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-
development-index-hdi](http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi).

Case III-C. Private Education, Inequality, and the Growing Social Divide in Bishkek

*Emil Nasritdinov, Aigoul Abdoubaetova,
and Gulnora Iskandarova*

fairly good-quality education: The

“quality” of education in this chapter
is evaluated through high scores of

students in the national standardized
tests and high achievements in various
interschool competitions on school
subjects. In addition, we refer to the
opinions shared by interviewed experts
and parents, and to the common
public opinion shaped through various
online discussions and forums.

afford the cost of lower-end private

schools: Only the Turkish schools have
a small ideological component. Most of
them are Fethullah Gullen schools, and
so involve some religious mentoring,
but this is not necessarily connected to
the cost of education or the category
of parents. These Turkish schools used
to prepare graduates for applying to
universities in Turkey, but at least in
2019, after the alleged 2016 coup, this
is no longer an option, as a Khizmet
lyceum graduate will not stand a chance
applying to a Turkish university. So
now they prepare students for Ala-Too
and Manas Universities (both Turkish)
and more prestigious universities, such
as American University of Central
Asia. Other than that, philosophy is
correlated with wealth. For example,
the most expensive schools know
that parents will be able to send kids
abroad, so they prepare students for
studying abroad. The less expensive
schools’ strategy is to keep students
happy and safe.

suffer from a shortage of qualified

teachers: According to the National
Statistics Committee in Bishkek, a
“living wage” is 4,696 som (\$68),
but in looking at how they compose
the data, one sees how wildly
unrealistic that number is. For
example, the diet they compose
includes \$12 a month for meat (3 kg),
\$1 for fish (1 kg of the cheapest fish),
\$3 for vegetables, \$5 for fruits, and \$9
for milk products. Certainly, different
numbers would be offered if members
of the statistics committee tried to live
within these ranges. See data from
the National Statistical Committee
of the Kyrgyz Republic, from April
11, 2019: [http://www.stat.kg/media/
files/fb3640c4-432f-42ee-a617-
6be168f7978b.PDF](http://www.stat.kg/media/files/fb3640c4-432f-42ee-a617-6be168f7978b.PDF).

corruption as the number one problem:

Emil Nasritdinov, Zarina Urmanbetova, Kanatbek Murzakhilov, and Mametbek Myrzabaev, *Vulnerability and Resilience of Young People in Kyrgyzstan to Radicalization, Violence and Extremism: Analysis across Five Domains*, CAP Paper no. 213, January 2019, Central Asia Program, Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University, <https://www.centralasiaprogram.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/CAP-paper-213-Emil-Nasritdinov.pdf>.

Part IV. Contexts of Structure

13. Family Structure

Cynthia Werner

The author thanks Celia Emmelhainz for her assistance with an early draft of this chapter.

Kazakh households and social networks:

Cynthia Werner, "Household Networks, Ritual Exchange and Economic Change in Rural Kazakhstan" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1997).

a household comprised of related individuals spanning at least three generations: Werner, "Household Networks, Ritual Exchange and Economic Change in Rural Kazakhstan," 160–61.

large patriarchal family households: Dzh Karmysheva, "Sem'ia I semeinyi byt," in *Kul'tura I byt Kazakskogo kolkhoznogo aula*, ed. A. Kh. Margulan and V. V. Vostrov (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1967).

maintain these networks by granting personal favors: Cynthia Werner, "Household Networks, Ritual Exchange and Economic Change in Rural Kazakhstan"; Cynthia Werner, "Gifts, Bribes, and Development in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan," *Human Organization* 59, no. 1 (2000): 11–22.

households remain in a state of mutual indebtedness: Cynthia Werner, "Household Networks and the Security of Mutual Indebtedness," *Central Asian Survey* 17, no. 4 (1998): 597–612.

shrinking of their social networks

compounded the challenges of

poverty: Kathleen Kuehnast and Nora Dudwick, "Better a Hundred Friends Than a Hundred Rubles? Social Networks in Transition—The Kyrgyz Republic," *World Bank Economists' Forum* 2 (2002): 51–88.

used their wealth from business ventures to develop strong patronage networks: Aksana Ismailbekova, *Blood Ties and the Native Son: Poetics of Patronage in Kyrgyzstan* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017).

at the expense of sharing a portion of their resources: David W. Montgomery, "Relations Made over Tea: Reflections on a Meaningful Life in a Central Asian Mountain Village," *Central Asian Survey* 32, no. 4 (2013): 475–86.

income earned from transnational labor migrants and the illegal hashish trade: Gulzat Botoeva, "The Monetization of Social Celebrations in Rural Kyrgyzstan: On the Uses of Hashish Money," *Central Asian Survey* 34, no. 4 (2015): 531–48; Madeleine Reeves, "Black Work, Green Money: Remittances, Ritual, and Domestic Economies in Southern Kyrgyzstan," *Slavic Review* 71 (2012): 108–34.

those who keep up and those who do not perform: Tomasso Trevisani, "Modern Weddings in Uzbekistan: Ritual Change from 'Above' and from 'Below,'" *Central Asian Survey* 35, no. 1 (2015): 64.

critical of the "irrational" expenses on ritual life: Trevisani, "Modern Weddings in Uzbekistan," 61–75.

enforcing limits on the number of guests: Trevisani, "Modern Weddings in Uzbekistan," 61–75.

policy that prevents restaurants and banquet halls: "Don't Get Married, Pick Cotton, Uzbek Authorities Say," RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty, September 13, 2015, <https://www.rferl.org/a/dont-marry-pick-cotton-uzbek-officials/27245373.html>.

limits on the duration, size, and cost of family feasts: Tom Balmforth, "Reporter's Notebook: After Years of Work in Russia, an Uzbek Wedding in Tajikistan," Eurasianet, May 19, 2015, [38](https://eurasianet.org/reporters-</p></div><div data-bbox=)

notebook-after-years-of-work-in-russia-an-uzbek-wedding-in-tajikistan.
restrictions to curtail costs spent on family events: “Tajikistan: What Festivities Can You Celebrate in Style?” Eurasianet, August 26, 2017, <https://eurasianet.org/tajikistan-what-festivities-can-you-celebrate-in-style>.
brought new patterns of consumption: Werner, “Household Networks, Ritual Exchange and Economic Change in Rural Kazakhstan.”
competing models for organizing family life: Ruth Mandel, “A Marshall Plan of the Mind: The Political Economy of a Kazakh Soap Opera,” in *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain*, ed. Faye D. Ginsburg, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Brian Larkin (Berkeley: University of California Press 2002), 211–28; Laura Adams, “Globalization of Culture and the Arts,” *Sociology Compass* 1, no. 1 (2007): 127–42.
missionaries have introduced different religious ideals: Julie McBrien, and Mathijs Pelkmans, “Turning Marx on His Head: Missionaries, ‘Extremists’ and Archaic Secularists in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan,” *Critique of Anthropology* 28, no. 1 (2008): 87–103.
often young men who are migrating for work: Aksana Ismailbekova, “Migration and Patrilineal Descent: The Role of Women in Kyrgyzstan,” *Central Asian Survey* 33, no. 3 (2014): 375–89; Eliza Isabaeva, “Leaving to Enable Others to Remain: Remittances and New Moral Economies of Migration in Southern Kyrgyzstan,” *Central Asian Survey* 30, no. 3–4 (2011): 541–54; Reeves, “Black Work, Green Money,” 108–34.
polygamy can be a coping strategy: Juliette Cleuziou, “‘A Second Wife Is Not Really a Wife’: Polygyny, Gender Relations and Economic Realities in Tajikistan,” *Central Asian Survey* 35, no. 1 (2016): 76–90.

14. Social Structure

Edward Schatz

sounds like something that constrains the individual: For coverage of approaches

to social structure, see Karen S. Cook, and Joseph M. Whitmeyer, “Two Approaches to Social Structure: Exchange Theory and Network Analysis,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 18, no. 1 (1992): 109–27.
wrongheaded to believe that any single example is “typical”: Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 21–23.
small facts speak to large issues: Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 23.
way[s] of acting, fixed or not: Émile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method and Selected Texts on Sociology and Its Method*, trans. W. D. Halls (New York: Free Press, 1982), 10.
Rustam, whom I first met: All names used are pseudonyms.
impossible to be Uzbek and not be a Muslim: See also Adeeb Khalid, *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
while smoking cigarettes: He smoked but abstained from drinking alcohol.
he became Muslim and Kyrgyz: David W. Montgomery, *Practicing Islam: Knowledge, Experience, and Social Navigation in Kyrgyzstan* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 5.
the “riot of exploration” about religious practice: Johan Rasanayagam, *Islam in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan: The Morality of Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 230.
material moral quality that is innate: Sarah Kendzior, “Reclaiming Ma’naviyat: Morality, Criminality, and Dissident Politics in Uzbekistan,” in *Ethnographies of the State in Central Asia: Performing Politics*, ed. Madeleine Reeves, Johan Rasanayagam, and Judith Beyer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 225.
search of a “golden mean” that lies between extremes: Maria Louw, “Even Honey May Become Bitter When There Is Too Much of It: Islam and the Struggle for a Balanced Existence in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan,” *Central Asian Survey* 32, no. 4 (2013): 514–26.

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government publication that “outlines acceptable garment: Farangis Najibullah, “What to Wear: A Style Guideline for Tajik Women,” *RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty*, April 28, 2018, <https://www.rferl.org/a/tajikistan-what-to-wear-a-style-guideline-for-women/29197855.html>.

importance of kin-related discourses: Edward Schatz, *Modern Clan Politics: The Power of “Blood” in Kazakhstan and Beyond* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004); Edward Schatz, “Reconceptualizing Clans: Kinship Networks and Statehood in Kazakhstan,” *Nationalities Papers* 33, no. 2 (2005): 231–54; Edward Schatz, “Kinship and the State in Kazakhstan’s Political Economy,” in *Challenges of the Caspian Resource Boom: Domestic Elites and Policy-Making*, ed. Andreas Heinrich and Heiko Pleines (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 89–101.

important not to reduce everything to kinship: David Gullette, “The Problems of the ‘Clan’ Politics Model of Central Asian Statehood: A Call for Alternative Pathways for Research,” in *Stable Outside, Fragile Inside? Post-Soviet Statehood in Central Asia*, ed. Emilian Kavalski (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010); Rico Isaacs, “Informal Politics and the Uncertain Context of Transition: Revisiting Early Stage Non-democratic Development in Kazakhstan,” *Democratization* 17, no. 1 (2010): 1–25; Aksana Ismailbekova, *Blood Ties and the Native Son: Poetics of Patronage*

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complex communities and elaborately networked individuals: Mark S. Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–80.

ability to earn a living in marketized conditions: For a discussion of how craft apparel producers in Kyrgyzstan navigate a changing marketplace as well as obligations to ethnic culture, see Aisalkyn Botoeva and Regine A. Spector, “Sewing to Satisfaction: Craft-Based Entrepreneurs in Contemporary Kyrgyzstan,” *Central Asian Survey* 32, no. 4 (2013): 487–500.

no jobs for which I trained: David W. Montgomery, “Relations Made over Tea: Reflections on a Meaningful Life in a Central Asian Mountain Village,” *Central Asian Survey* 32, no. 4 (2013): 475–86.

imperial power remained on the same vast landmass: On the implications of this overland expansion and contraction, see Mark R. Beissinger, “The Persisting Ambiguity of Empire,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 11, no. 2 (1995): 149–84.

establishing that (and how) legacies matter is no mean feat: Mark Beissinger and Stephen Kotkin, eds., *Historical Legacies of Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

How can I be post-Soviet if I was never Soviet?: Diana Ibañez-Tirado, “‘How Can I Be Post-Soviet if I Was Never Soviet?’ Rethinking Categories of Time and Social Change—A Perspective from Kulob, Southern Tajikistan,” *Central Asian Survey* 34, no. 2 (2015): 190.

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- an ethnofederal administrative structure:** Philip G. Roeder, “Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization,” *World Politics* 43, no. 2 (1991): 196–232. See also Mark R. Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Madeleine Reeves, *Border Work: Spatial Lives of the State in Rural Central Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014); Ronald Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993); Yuri Slezkine, “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism,” *Slavic Review* 53, no. 2 (1994): 414–52.
- rooted in historical and cultural commonality:** Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, UK: B. Blackwell, 1986).
- uncritically adopting categories of practice:** Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “Beyond ‘Identity,’” *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 5, emphasis in the original.
- reject “the conception of ‘ethnicity’ as an enduring essence”:** Nick Megoran, “On Researching ‘Ethnic Conflict’: Epistemology, Politics, and a Central Asian Boundary Dispute,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 59, no. 2 (2007): 253–77.
- among the most important defining elements:** I make this point in Edward Schatz, “Leninism’s Long Shadow in Central Asia,” in *Multination States in Asia*, ed. Jacques Bertrand and André Laliberté (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 244–62.
- large-scale contacts, especially in the extractive industries:** Steve LeVine, *The Oil and the Glory: The Pursuit of Empire and Fortune on the Caspian Sea* (New York: Random House, 2007).
- transnational political economic networks:** Alexander Cooley and John Heathershaw, *Dictators without Borders: Power and Money in Central Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017).
- they must come to terms:** Douglas W. Blum, *The Social Process of Globalization: Return Migration and Cultural Change in Kazakhstan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- encounter religious literature:** On the nexus of piety and publishing in Kazakhstan see Wendell Schwab, “Establishing an Islamic Niche in Kazakhstan: Musylman Publishing House and Its Publications,” *Central Asian Survey* 30, no. 2 (2011): 227–42.
- debate about Turkmen ethnic history:** See, for example, Shokhrat Kadyrov, “Natsiia” plemen: etnicheskie istoki, transformatsiia, perspektivy gosudarstvennosti v Turkmenistane (Moscow: RAN Tsentr tsivilizatsionnykh i regional’nykh issledovaniï, 2003).
- transnational communities that transcend physical space:** Alexander Sodiqov, personal communication.
- Central Asians are increasingly online:** “Internet Users by Country (2016),” Internet Live Stats, accessed January 12, 2017, <http://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users-by-country/>. This particular resource defines “internet user” as “an individual, of any age, who can access the Internet at home, via any device type and connection.”
- the world is not “flat”:** Thomas L. Friedman, *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (Macmillan, 2005).
- do indeed have greater access:** See Peter Rollberg and Marlène Laruelle, “The Media Landscape in Central Asia: Introduction to the Special Issue,” *Demokratizatsiya* 23, no. 3 (2015): 227–32.
- this brings different forms of sociability:**

- Guzel Yusupova and Eduard Ponarin, "Social Remittances in Religion: Muslim Migrants in Russia and Transformation of Islamic Practices," *Problems of Post-Communism* 65, no. 3 (2018): 188–200 (published online October 27, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2016.1224552>).
- social norms quite different:** Sergey V. Ryazantsev, Elena E Pismennaya, Irina S Karabulatova, and Sharif Y Akramov, "Transformation of Sexual and Matrimonial Behavior of Tajik Labour Migrants in Russia," *Asian Social Science* 10, no. 20 (2014): 174–83.
- global forms of connectivity and sociability:** Blum offers the clearest discussion of this variation in his Douglas W. Blum, *National Identity and Globalization: Youth, State, and Society in Post-Soviet Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- faithful to the social categories:** A now-classic statement of how societies construct/reify their own categories of belonging is Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966).
- ignorant of the labor provided by others:** On the politics of sight, see Timothy Pachirat, *Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialized Slaughter and the Politics of Sight* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011).
- logics of broader global markets:** For overviews of the Central Asian economies, see Richard Pomfret, *The Central Asian Economies since Independence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- source of social status and influence:** See Alena V. Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking and Informal Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- developed different social norms:** Alima Bissenova, "Post-socialist Dreamworlds: Housing Boom and Urban Development in Kazakhstan" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2012).
- instrumentality and moral obligation:** For an illuminating example from neighboring Afghanistan, see Noah Coburn, *Bazaar Politics: Power and Pottery in an Afghan Market Town* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011).
- common sense of appropriateness:** Of course, norm-guided behavior does not preclude creativity on an individual's part. That is, one could play "physician" in a variety of ways, and one can challenge prevailing norms through unorthodox behavior as a physician. Nonetheless, given the extent to which we in the West tend to assume that individuals are free agents only lightly constrained by their environments, it is important to focus our attention on the importance of roles, norms, and appropriateness.
- power-hungry behavior exhibited:** For one powerful exploration of how these elite competitions play themselves out across the globe, see Cooley and Heathershaw, *Dictators without Borders*.
- "horizons of the thinkable" are crucial:** Michael Schatzberg, *Political Legitimacy in Middle Africa: Father, Family, Food* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).
- a global normative environment:** Edward Schatz, "The Discourse is Getting Greener: Kazakhstan's Touted Environmental Shift," paper presented at the Central Eurasian Studies Society, November 6, 2016.
- emphasis often placed on social honor:** For a review, see Elvin Hatch, "Theories of Social Honor," *American Anthropologist* 91 (1989): 341–53.

15. Moral Structure

Maria Louw

An Ironic Cinderella: This introductory story is a modified version of a case story, which previously appeared in Maria Louw, *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia* (London: Routledge, 2007).

in honor of the female saint: I use the concept of *saint* as an approximate translation of the Uzbek term *avliyo*,

which refers to a person who is close to God, a friend of God. In Arabic, *avliyo* is the plural form of *wali*. In Uzbekistan, however, *avliyo* is commonly used as singular.

protector of home and family life: For descriptions and discussions of the ritual, see Deniz Kandiyoti and Nadira Azimova, "The Communal and the Sacred: Women's Worlds of Ritual in Uzbekistan," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 10, no. 2 (2004): 327–49; Annette Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität und Islamische Gesellschaft im Wandel. Studien über Frauenälteste (otin und xalfa) im unabhängigen Usbekistan* (Berlin: Klaus Schwartz, 2002); Louw, *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia*, 153–66; and Zufiya Tursunova, "Livelihood, Empowerment and Conflict Resolution in the Lives of Indigenous Women in Uzbekistan" (PhD diss., University of Manitoba, 2012).

helps an orphan girl escape: See Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität und Islamische Gesellschaft*, 183ff; Kandiyoti and Azimova, "Communal and the Sacred," 341; and Louw, *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia*, 157–58, for fuller versions of the story.

values and exemplars of various sorts: Cf. Joel Robbins, "Where in the World are Values? Exemplarity, Morality and Social Process," in *Moral Engines: Exploring the Moral Drives in Human Life*, ed. Cheryl Mattingly, Rasmus Dyring, Maria Louw, and Thomas Schwarz Wentzer (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017).

an idiom by which residents think: Morgan Liu, *Under Solomon's Throne: Uzbek Visions of Renewal in Osh* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).

an Uzbek cultural reservoir: Liu, *Under Solomon's Throne*, 105–13.

seen as a space of monitoring, accountability, and control: Liu, *Under Solomon's Throne*, 120.

ways we distinguish among various kinds: Michael Lambek, introduction to *Ordinary Ethics: Anthropology, Language, and Action*, ed. Michael

Lambek (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010); see also Veena Das, "Ordinary Ethics," in *A Companion to Moral Anthropology*, ed. Didier Fassin (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

made exemplary representations of values: Cf. Joel Robbins, "Ritual, Value, and Example: On the Perfection of Cultural Representations," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (2015): 18–29.

skilled balancing among various claims: Cf. Michael Lambek, "Towards an Ethics of the Act," in Lambek, *Ordinary Ethics*.

particular versions of the good life: Cheryl Mattingly, *Moral Laboratories: Family Peril and the Struggle for a Good Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 205.

emotions and moods that accompany: Maria Louw, "Haunting as Moral Engine: Ethical Striving and Moral Aporias among Sufis in Uzbekistan," in Mattingly, Dyring, Louw, and Schwarz Wentzer, *Moral Engines*, 83–99; Jason Throop, "Moral Moods," *Ethos* 42, no. 1 (2014): 65–83.

instances of "moral breakdown": Jarrett Zigon, "Moral Breakdown and the Ethical Demand: A Theoretical Framework for an Anthropology of Moralities," *Anthropological Theory* 7, no. 2 (2007): 131–50.

when the unreflective being-in-the-world is disturbed: Zigon, "Moral Breakdown and the Ethical Demand," 131–50.

develop virtues and reflect on moral issues: Caroline Humphrey, "Exemplars and Rules: Aspects of the Discourse of Moralities in Mongolia," in *The Ethnography of Moralities*, ed. Signe Howell (London: Routledge, 1997), 25–47; Robbins, "Where in the World are Values?"

created aksakal (elder) courts: Judith Beyer, *The Force of Custom: Law and the Ordering of Everyday Life in Kyrgyzstan* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016).

a moral and spiritual quality: Sarah Kendzior, "Reclaiming Ma'naviyat: Morality, Criminality, and

- Dissident Politics in Uzbekistan,” in *Ethnographies of the State in Central Asia: Performing Politics*, ed. Madeleine Reeves, Johan Rasanayagam, and Judith Beyer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 223–42.
- discussion and moral problematization:** I use the term moral *problematization* to refer to the ways certain phenomena become moral issues. Cf. Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990).
- trade was condemned:** Balihar Sanghera, Aibek Ilyasov, and Elmira Satybaldieva, “Understanding the Moral Economy of Post-Soviet Societies: An Investigation into Moral Sentiments and Material Interests in Kyrgyzstan,” *International Social Science Journal* 58, no. 190 (2006): 715–27.
- unproductive form of generating wealth:** Caroline Humphrey, *The Unmaking of Soviet Life: Everyday Economies after Socialism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 59; Louw, *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia*, 154; Sanghera, Ilyasov, and Satybaldieva, “Understanding the Moral Economy of Post-Soviet Societies,” 715–27.
- proliferation of images of transgression:** Jon P. Mitchell, introduction, in *Powers of Good and Evil: Social Transformation and Popular Belief*, ed. Paul Clough and Jon P. Mitchell (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001).
- have indeed resulted in changing moralities:** Sanghera, Ilyasov, and Satybaldieva, “Understanding the Moral Economy of Post-Soviet Societies,” 715–27.
- followers of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order:** see Louw, *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia*; and Louw, “Haunting as Moral Engine,” 83–99.
- recollection of God:** Central to Sufism is the *Dhikr*, i.e., the remembrance of recollection of God in the form of repetitive invocations of his names and various religious formulas. The Naqshbandiyya Sufi order, more particularly, is known for its inner or unspoken (*xufiyya*).
- cleanse it of its evil aspects:** Louw, “Haunting as Moral Engine,” 83–99.
- importance as a cash crop:** Gulzat Botoeva, “The Monetization of Social Celebrations in Rural Kyrgyzstan: On the Uses of Hashish Money,” *Central Asian Survey* 34, no. 4 (2015): 531–48.
- perceived as potentially dangerous:** Botoeva, “Monetization of Social Celebrations in Rural Kyrgyzstan,” 531–48.
- characterized by moral problematization:** Cf. Eliza Isabaeva, “Leaving to Enable Others to Remain: Remittances and New Moral Economies of Migration in Southern Kyrgyzstan,” *Central Asian Survey* 30, no. 3–4 (2011): 541–54.
- remittances from migrant labor:** Madeleine Reeves, “Staying Put? Towards a Relational Politics of Mobility at a Time of Migration,” *Central Asian Survey* 30, no. 3–4 (2011): 555–76.
- drastically changed family and community structures:** Isabaeva, “Leaving to Enable Others to Remain,” 541–54; Reeves, “Staying Put?” 555–76.
- transformative effects on family relations:** Reeves, “Staying Put?” 557.
- fewer opportunities for domestic mobility:** Reeves, “Staying Put?” 559.
- allies that could be mobilized:** Douglas Northrop, *Veiled Empire: Gender and Power in Stalinist Central Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 11–12.
- campaigns against Islam and the institutions of purdah:** Northrop, *Veiled Empire*; Marianne Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity and Unveiling under Communism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).
- process of women’s emancipation:** Shirin Akiner, “Between Tradition and Modernity: The Dilemma Facing Contemporary Central Asian Women,” in *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*, ed. Mary Buckley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 261–304; Marianne Kamp, “Between Women and the State: Mahalla Committees

and Social Welfare in Uzbekistan,” in *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, ed. Pauline Jones Luong (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 29–58; Kandiyoti and Azimova, “Communal and the Sacred,” 327–49.

promotion of patriarchal norms: Mohira Suyarkulova, “Fashioning the Nation: Gender and Politics of Dress in Contemporary Kyrgyzstan,” *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 2 (2016): 257.

dependent on the agency of outside forces: Rob Baum, “After the Ball is Over: Bringing Cinderella Home,” *Cultural Analysis* 1 (2000): 69–83; Anna Birgitta Rooth, *The Cinderella Cycle* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1951).

many women adopted strategies: Suyarkulova, “Fashioning the Nation,” 257.

many women had to work: Louw, *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia*, 163–66.

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enables a balanced existence: cf. Louw, “Even Honey May Become Bitter,” 514–26.

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16. Gender Structure

Svetlana Peshkova

solidified Russia’s rule over the region as a benevolent civilizer: Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

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justified further entrenching patronage politics: Eric McGlinchey, *Chaos, Violence, Dynasty: Politics and Islam in Central Asia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011).

wealth of information about gender and sexuality: e.g., Samuel Buelow, “The Paradox of the Kyrgyz Crossdressers: Ethno-nationalism and Gender Identity in Central Asia” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2017); Colette Harris, *Control and Subversion: Gender Relations in Tajikistan* (London: Pluto, 2004); Colette Harris, “State Business: Gender, Sex and Marriage in Tajikistan,” *Central Asian Survey Journal* 30, no. 1 (2011): 97–111; Joanna Pares Hoare, “Doing Gender Activism in a Donor-Organized Framework: Constraints and Opportunities in Kyrgyzstan,” *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 2 (2016): 281–98; Marianne Kamp, “Women’s Studies and Gender Studies in

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- unclear to what extent exactly human biology is related to gender:** Siddhartha Mukherjee, *The Gene: An Intimate History* (New York: Scribner, 2016), 352–90.
- labeling someone as a man or a woman is a social decision:** Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 3.
- only after becoming a mother:** Aksana Ismailbekova, "Migration and Patrilineal Descent: The Role of Women in Kyrgyzstan," *Central Asian Survey Journal* 33, no. 3 (2014): 375–89; Diana T. Kudaibergenova, "Project 'Kelin': Marriage, Women, and Re-traditionalization in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan," in *Women of Asia: Globalization, Development, and Social Change*, ed. Mehrangiz Najafizadeh and Linda Lindsey (Routledge, 2018), 379–90.
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- Germany's tripartite gender structure:** Jacinta Nandi, "Germany Got It Right by Offering a Third Gender Option on Birth Certificates," *Guardian*, November 10, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/nov/10/germany-third-gender-birth-certificate>.
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- precolonial gender structure was nondichotomous:** Vladimir Nalivkin and Maria Nalivkina, *Muslim Women of the Fergana Valley: A 19th-Century Ethnography from Central Asia*, ed. Marianne Kamp, trans. Mariana Markova and Marianne Kamp (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016). This text is based on *Ocherk bita jenshin osedlogo naseleniya Fergani* [Observations on the daily lives of women of the sedentary native population of Fergana], published in Kazan in 1886.
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- young feminine males received wide admiration:** E.g., Eugene Schuyler, *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand,*

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- reducing a complex gender identity of the bachcha:** Nalivkin and Nalivkina, *Muslim Women of the Fergana Valley*; e.g., V. U. Kushilevskij, [Кушелевский, Валериан Иустинович], *Materiali Dlya Meditsinskoy Geografii i Sanitarnogo Opisaniya Ferghanskoy Oblasti* [Материалы для медицинской географии и санитарного описания Ферганской области]: Novij Margeloan Ferganskaya Oblast' [Новый Маргелан: Ферг. обл.], 1891.
- gender identities erased through the efforts to "civilize":** Dan Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia: The Regulation of Sexual and Gender Dissent* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
- guided by a religious law:** Nalivkin and Nalivkina, *Muslim Women of the Fergana Valley*.
- polygyny was rarely practiced:** Nalivkin and Nalivkina, *Muslim Women of the Fergana Valley*.
- increasingly scorned local gender diversity:** Shoshana Keller, *To Moscow, Not Mecca: The Soviet Campaign against Islam in Central Asia, 1917–1941* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001); Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan*.
- criticism also informed local reformers:** Marianne R. Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling under Communism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998).
- complexity of local colonial gender identities:** Schuyler, *Turkistan*.
- even more variety of the early colonial masculinities:** V. A. Prischepova, "A View from the Outside: Urda, Jalab, Bachcha (By the Mae Ras Photograph Collections of 1870–1920)," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 12, no. 1 (2006): 43–68.
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- violently limited the power of religious leadership:** Keller, *To Moscow, Not Mecca*.
- facilitated women's entrance into a public:** Kamp, *New Woman in Uzbekistan*.
- Same sex practices were pathologized and criminalized:** Buelow, "Paradox of the Kyrgyz Crossdressers."
- some of the acceptable and respected feminine gender models:** Marianne Kamp, "The Soviet Legacy and Women's Rights in Central Asia," *Current History Journal* 115, no. 783 (2016): 270–76.
- Biological reproduction remains (minimally) rewarded:** Sophie Roche, "A Sound Family for a Healthy Nation: Motherhood in Tajik National Politics and Society," *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 2 (2016): 207–24.
- search for an authentic nationhood:** E.g., Laura L. Adams, *The Spectacular State: Culture and National Identity in Uzbekistan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
- source of competing discourses on gender and power:** Kudaibergenova, "Project 'Kelin,'" 379–90.
- motherhood is (also) simultaneously a Muslim woman's religious duty:** Roche, "Sound Family for a Healthy Nation," 207–24.
- continue to successfully resolve this paradox:** E.g. Ismailbekova, "Migration and Patrilineal Descent," 375–89.

individuals' performance of the as if helps: Harris, *Control and Subversion*.
local sexual diversity: Buelow, "Paradox of the Kyrgyz Crossdressers"; Hoare, "Doing Gender Activism in a Donor-Organized Framework"; Suyarkulova, "Becoming an Activist Scholar"; Wilkinson and Kirey, "What's in a Name?" 485–99.
high levels of sexual dissatisfaction: Harris, "State Business," 97–111.
heterosexual through concealment: Wilkinson and Kirey, "What's in a Name?" 485–99.
those who were and are in tema: Buelow, "Paradox of the Kyrgyz Crossdressers"; Suyarkulova, "Becoming an Activist Scholar."
those with an insider's knowledge: Stella, *Lesbian Lives in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*; Suyarkulova, "Becoming an Activist Scholar."
desire to be free from wage labor: Svetlana Peshkova, *Women, Islam, and Identity: Public Life in Private Spaces in Uzbekistan* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014).

Case IV-A. On Mothers- and Daughters-in-law

Julie McBrien

a pitied figure in Kyrgyzstan: On *kelins* and mothers-in-law, see Aksana Ismailbekova, "Migration and Patrilineal Descent: The Role of Women in Kyrgyzstan," *Central Asian Survey* 33, no. 3 (2014): 375–89; Aksana Ismailbekova, "Constructing the Authority of Women through Custom: Bulak Village, Kyrgyzstan," *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 2 (2016): 266–80.
frequently depicted as domineering: Ismailbekova, "Constructing the Authority of Women through Custom."
meaning "to enter, come, or arrive": Ismailbekova, "Migration and Patrilineal Descent," 383.

Part V. Contexts of Transformation

17. Religion

David W. Montgomery

views the pre-Islamic ancestors as Muslim: This points to how some have

adapted ancient practices to modern contexts. One such example is how Tengrism (Tengri is the ancient sky god) was adapted in Kyrgyzstan to political and national ends that are situated in the deep past, the Islamic milieu, and ethnic nationalism. See David W. Montgomery, *Practicing Islam: Knowledge, Experience, and Social Navigation in Kyrgyzstan* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 95, 144; Choiun Omuraly uulu, *Tengirchilik: uluttuk filosofianyn unggusuna chalgyn* (Bishkek: KRON firmasy, 1994); Asya Mukambetova, "Tengrianskyi calendar kak osnova nomadicheskoi tzivilizatzii," in *Istoria i Kultura Aralo-Kaspia*, ed. Serik Ajigali (Almaty: Academy of Science Press, 2001); Dastan Sarygulov, *Kirgizy: proshloe, nastoiashchee i budushchee* (Bishkek: Fond Tengir-Ordo, 2005); Gulnara Aitpaeva, "Kyrgyzchlyk: Searching New Paradigms for Ancient Practices," *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 17, no. 2 (2008): 66–83; Asel Murzakulova and John Schoeberlein, "The Invention of Legitimacy: Struggles in Kyrgyzstan to Craft an Effective Nation-State Ideology," in *Symbolism and Power in Central Asia: Politics of the Spectacular*, ed. Sally N. Cummings (London: Routledge, 2010), 144–63.
markers of some of these pre-Islamic traditions: See Richard Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Premodern Patterns of Globalization*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave, 2010).
world's oldest surviving religions: Some identify the use of fire in ancestral veneration and practices that connect to the spirits as remnants of Zoroastrian influence and even in art, especially in *suzani* textiles, the ubiquity of the sun motif shows the challenge in attributing remains of past traditions—some identify the sun as a legacy of Zoroastrianism and some understand it as "traditional" without making any broader connection. For more on Zoroastrianism in the region, see Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the*

- Turkish Expansion* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1996); and Patricia Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- few Buddhists remain:** Christopher I. Beckwith, *Greek Buddha: Pyrrho's Encounter with Early Buddhism in Central Asia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), argues that encounters with Buddhism in the region influenced Greek philosophy (notably skepticism), suggesting a dynamic relationship with thought and practice in the region.
- even less visible:** See Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Parables, Hymns, and Prayers from Central Asia* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993).
- once thriving Jewish community:** See Alanna E. Cooper, *Bukharan Jews and the Dynamics of Global Judaism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012).
- sites may be encountered with seasonal variation:** See Montgomery, *Practicing Islam*.
- Islam spread unevenly:** While the Qur'an was revealed to Muhammad through the archangel Gabriel from 610 CE until his death in 632 CE, the beginning of the Muslim era is marked by the *Hijrah*, when Muhammad and his followers migrated from Mecca to Medina to escape persecution in 622 CE.
- flux in people's religious engagement:** See Aba Bakr Mugamad ibn Ja'far Narshakhi, *The History of Bukhara*, trans. Richard N. Frye (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 2007).
- Islam was slower to take hold:** See, for example, Robert D. Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russian and Central Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).
- different forms of competition:** See, for example, Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela, eds., *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), for a narrative of changing Islamic Central Asia told through historical sources. Additionally, Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), offers a detailed account of Islamization across the region.
- nativized assimilation of practice and thought:** DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde*, 51ff.
- pre-Islamic practice was reframed:** Montgomery, *Practicing Islam*, 87.
- Sufi orders played an active role:** See Maria Elisabeth Louw, *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia* (London: Routledge, 2007), on Naqshibandi and Bukhara; Bruce G. Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan: Kazak Religion and Collective Memory* (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon, 2001), on Yassawi and Turkestan; and Benjamin Gatling, *Expressions of Sufi Culture in Tajikistan* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2018), on contemporary Sufis in Tajikistan.
- interpretive legal process that results in variation:** The four schools of jurisprudence (*madhhab*) within Sunni Islam—Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali—and two within Shi'ia Islam—Ja'fari and Zadi—that roughly characterize differing approaches to legal reasoning. This is, of course, an oversimplification; there is debate about the schools, with some seeing the “gates of *ijtihad*”—interpretational approaches to reasoning—as having closed in the tenth century, though most scholars see it as being more complex. Relatedly, some Sunnis do not accept the Shi'ia schools, some refer to Shi'ism as only one school, and still others believe there is broader diversity in jurisprudential reasoning. See David W. Montgomery, “On Muslims and the Navigation of Religiosity: Notes on the Anthropology of Islam,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Anthropology*, ed. Pamela J. Stewart and Andrew J. Strathern (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015),

227–53, for a broader discussion of anthropological approaches to studying Islam, including *fiqh* and Sufism.

Muslim modernist reform movement:

See Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

nationalism as central to their reform:

See Adeeb Khalid, “Backwardness and the Quest for Civilization: Early Soviet Central Asia in Comparative Perspective,” *Slavic Review* 65, no. 2 (2006): 231–51.

rituals becoming contextualized as tradition: See Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*.

established a hierarchical structure

in Islam: See Shoshana Keller, *To Moscow, Not Mecca: The Soviet Campaign Against Islam in Central Asia, 1917–1941* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001).

came to control education: See Adeeb

Khalid, *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

the Bakhautdin Naqshband Mausoleum

complex: See Louw, *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia*.

sought to transform and modernize

education: See Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*.

secularized frame set by the Soviets: See

Johan Rasanayagam, *Islam in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan: The Morality of Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Julie McBrien, *From Belonging to Belief: Modern Secularisms and the Construction of Religion in Kyrgyzstan* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017).

groups trying to convert people: See

David W. Montgomery, “Namaz, Wishing Trees, and Vodka: The Diversity of Everyday Religious Life in Central Asia,” in *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, ed. Jeff Sahadeo and Russell Zanca (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007). 355–70; Montgomery, *Practicing Islam*; Mathijs Pelkmans, ed., *Conversion after Socialism:*

Disruptions, Modernisms and Technologies of Faith in the Former Soviet Union (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009).

A demographic picture of religion: Based

on 2010 data from Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project, accessed June 14, 2019, <http://globalreligiousfutures.org/>. Population numbers for 2050 are based on trends of annual population growth rate between 2000 and 2010, respectively, at: Kazakhstan 0.7%; Kyrgyzstan 0.7%; Tajikistan 1.1%; Turkmenistan 1.1%; and Uzbekistan 1.0%. The CIA World Factbook gives similar distributions but notes: in Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, the Christian population is predominantly Russian (Eastern) Orthodox while in Kyrgyzstan, Orthodox Christians make up almost half of the Christian population. Most Muslims in the region are Sunni, though in Tajikistan, around 3% of the population is noted as Shia (though not subidentified as Ismaili Shi’a, which would be most.) See <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/central-asia/>.

what religion should look like: See also

Montgomery, “Namaz, Wishing Trees, and Vodka,” 355–70; David W. Montgomery, “Towards a Theory of the Rough Ground: Merging the Policy and Ethnographic Frames of Religion in the Kyrgyz Republic,” *Religion, State and Society* 42, no. 1 (2014): 23–45.

religious practice around sacred sites:

See Jeanne Féaux de la Croix, *Iconic Places in Central Asia: The Moral Geography of Dams, Pastures and Holy Sites* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2016); Gulnara Aitpaeva, ed., *Sacred Sites of the Southern Kyrgyzstan: Nature, Manas, Islam* (Bishkek: Aigine Research Center, 2013).

ancestors playing an active role: See Eva-

Marie Dubuisson, *Living Language in Kazakhstan: The Dialogic Emergence of an Ancestral Worldview* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), for a discussion on the active role ancestors play in contemporary Kazakh politics.

authority as (properly) Islamic: See Svetlana Peshkova, *Women, Islam, and Identity: Public Life in Private Spaces in Uzbekistan* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014), for a discussion of the role of women as Muslim leaders in their communities in Uzbekistan.

he complains about corruption: See David W. Montgomery, “Islam beyond Democracy and State in Kyrgyzstan,” *Central Asian Affairs* 2, no. 1 (2015): 35–50.

see religious space as transformed: See Pauline Jones, ed., *Islam, Society, and Politics in Central Asia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017); Marlène Laruelle, ed., *Being Muslim in Central Asia: Practices, Politics, and Identities* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

religion as not having an active role: Adeeb Khalid, “A Secular Islam: Nation, State, and Religion in Uzbekistan,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35, no. 4 (2003): 573–98.

support of Sufism made sense: See Louw, *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia*.

instantiated his own vision of “spiritual guidance”: Saparmyrat Türkmenbashi, *Ruhnama: Reflections on the Spiritual Values of the Türkmen* (Ashgabat: Güzel Sanatlar Matbaasi, 2002); Saparmyrat Türkmenbashi, *Ruhnama: The Spiritual Wealth of Turkmen*, vol. 2 (Ashgabat: Turkmen State Publication Services, 2004).

more as being an opposition party: See John Heathershaw, *Post-conflict Tajikistan: The Politics of Peacebuilding and the Emergence of Legitimate Order* (London: Routledge, 2009); Tim Epkenhans, *The Origins of the Civil War in Tajikistan: Nationalism, Islamism, and Violent Conflict in Post-Soviet Space* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016); Edward Lemon and Hélène Thibault, “Counter-extremism, Power and Authoritarian Governance in Tajikistan,” *Central Asian Survey* 37, no. 1 (2018): 137–59.

religious pluralism as a threat: See

Montgomery, “Islam beyond Democracy and State in Kyrgyzstan,” 35–50; David W. Montgomery and John Heathershaw, “Islam, Secularism and Danger: A Reconsideration of the Link between Religiosity, Radicalism and Rebellion in Central Asia,” *Religion, State and Society* 44, no. 3 (2016): 192–218; David Levy, “The Impulse to Orthodoxy: Why Illiberal Democracies Treat Religious Pluralism as a Threat,” *Religion, State and Society* 46, no. 3 (2018): 243–65.

who join Islamist movements: Noah Tucker, “What Happens When Your Town Becomes an ISIS Recruiting Ground? Lessons from Central Asia about Vulnerability, Resistance, and the Danger of Ignoring Perceived Injustice,” Central Asia Program Paper 209, July 1–18, 2018, <https://centralasiaprogram.org/archives/12497>; Montgomery and Heathershaw, “Islam, Secularism and Danger,” 192–218.

better understood in response to corruption: Emil Nasritdinov, Zarina Urmanbetova, Kanatbek Murzakhalilov, and Mametbek Myrzabaev, “Vulnerability and Resilience of Young People in Kyrgyzstan to Radicalization, Violence and Extremism: Analysis across Five Domains,” Central Asia Program Paper 213, February 2019, 1–59, <https://centralasiaprogram.org/archives/12825>; Montgomery, “Islam beyond Democracy and State in Kyrgyzstan,” 35–50.

value if it is an action of choice: Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na’im, *Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shari’a* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), makes a global argument for secularism from a Muslim perspective wherein being religious should be a choice one makes rather than is coerced or forced to do, i.e., for one’s faith to be meaningful, effort is required.

concerns of public and thus political space: See, for example, McBrien, *From Belonging to Belief*; Manja Stephan, “Education, Youth and

- Islam: The Growing Popularity of Private Religious Lessons in Dushanbe, Tajikistan,” *Central Asian Survey* 29, no. 4 (2010): 469–83; Manja Stephan-Emmrich and Abdullah Mirzoev, “The Manufacturing of Islamic Lifestyles in Tajikistan through the Prism of Dushanbe’s Bazaars,” *Central Asian Survey* 35, no. 2 (2016): 157–77; Judith Beyer, *The Force of Custom: Law and the Ordering of Everyday Life in Kyrgyzstan* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016); Rasanayagam, *Islam in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan*; Emil Nasritdinov and Nurgul Esenamanova, “The War of Billboards: Hijab, Secularism, and Public Space in Bishkek,” *Central Asian Affairs* 4, no. 2 (2017): 217–42.
- not merely restraining but liberating:** Maria Louw, “Even Honey May Become Bitter When There Is Too Much of It: Islam and the Struggle for a Balanced Existence in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan,” *Central Asian Survey* 32, no. 4 (2013): 514–26; Wendell Schwab, “Islam, Fun, and Social Capital in Kazakhstan,” *Central Asian Affairs* 2, no. 1 (2015): 51–70.
- religion to respond and adapt:** Montgomery, *Practicing Islam*; see also Mathijs Pelkmans, *Fragile Conviction: Changing Ideological Landscapes in Urban Kyrgyzstan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017).
- come to her with their personal and health issues:** See Peshkova, *Women, Islam, and Identity*; Dubuisson, *Living Language in Kazakhstan*.
- learn at the madrassa:** See David M. Abramson, *Foreign Religious Education and the Central Asian Islamic Revival: Impact and Prospects for Stability* (Washington, DC: Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Program, 2010); Svetlana Peshkova, “Teaching Islam at a Home School: Muslim Women and Critical Thinking in Uzbekistan,” *Central Asian Survey* 33, no. 1 (2014): 80–94; Stephan, “Education, Youth and Islam,” 469–83.
- the laws of custom and tradition:** See Beyer, *Force of Custom*.
- 18. Politics**
- John Heathershaw
- disdain for politics in general:** Colin Hay, *Why We Hate Politics* (London: Polity, 2008), 5.
- nostalgia for the Soviet Union:** Kelly McMann, “The Shrinking of the Welfare State: Central Asians’ Assessments of Soviet and Post-Soviet Governance,” in *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, ed. Jeff Sahadeo and Russell Zanca (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 233–47; Timur Dadbaev, “The Phenomenon of Nostalgia in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Oral Accounts of Everyday Life in Soviet Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan,” in Aysel Özdemir Çolak, *Soviet Legacy in Central Asia: Nation-Building, State-Building and Democracy*, LAMBERT Academic, May 10, 2011.
- belief in conspiracy theories:** John Heathershaw, “Of National Fathers and Russian Elder Brothers: Conspiracy Theories and Political Ideas in Post-Soviet Central Asia,” *Russian Review* 71, no. 4 (2012): 610–29; Scott Radnitz, “Paranoia with a Purpose: Conspiracy Theory and Political Coalitions in Kyrgyzstan,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 32, no. 5 (2016): 474–89; see also Ilya Yablokov, *Fortress Russia: Conspiracy Theories in the Post-Soviet World* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018).
- retreat from political participation:** Valeriy S. Khan, “On the Problem of the Revival and Survival of Ethnic Minorities in Post-Soviet Central Asia,” in *Prospects for Democracy in Central Asia*, ed. Birgit Schlyter (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2005), 69–80; Olivier Ferrando, “Manipulating the Census: Ethnic Minorities in the Nationalizing States of Central Asia,” *Nationalities Papers* 36, no. 3 (2008): 489–520; Michele Commercio, *Russian Minority Politics in Post-*

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19. Law

Judith Beyer

The first stage, “The Age of Enthusiasm”: Akbar Rasulov, “Central Asia and the Globalisation of the Contemporary

Legal Consciousness,” *Law and Critique* 25, no. 2 (2014): 169.

the second stage, “The Age of Skepticism”: Rasulov, “Central Asia and the Globalisation,” 170.

the third stage, “The Age of Resentment”: Rasulov, “Central Asia and the Globalisation,” 170.

including by some of the involved foreign experts: The German legal scholar Rolf Knieper, for example, who worked as a legal advisor in both Central Asia and the Caucasus, eventually adopted a more cautious approach to his earlier rather enthusiastic statements on the “transition” through legal reform which he helped engineer at the University of Bremen in cooperation with the German International Cooperation (GIZ) when arguing that “it seems obvious that a time span of 20 years is ridiculously short and certainly insufficient to judge on failure or success of a highly complex process.” Rolf Knieper, “Pulls and Pushes of Legal Reform in Post-Communist States,” *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 2, no. 1 (March 2003): 124; see also Daniel Berkovitz, Katharina Pistor, and Jean-François Richard, “Economic Development, Legality, and the Transplant Effect,” *European Economic Review* 47, no. 1 (February 2003): 165–95, for an earlier critique.

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a more general globalization of transnational modes: Rasulov,

“Central Asia and the Globalisation,” 164.

flattened out all traditional differences: Rasulov, “Central Asia and the Globalisation,” 173.

combines this critique with an ideological argument: Nicos Poulantzas, “Internationalization of Capitalist Relations and the Nation-State,” in *The Poulantzas Reader: Marxism, Law, and the State*, ed. James Martin, trans. Elizabeth Hindess (London: Verso, 2008), 220–57.

what “feeds” the diffusion of the contemporary legal consciousness: Rasulov, “Central Asia and the Globalisation,” 180.

spread of the distinctly US American (as opposed to, say, German or English) model: Rasulov, “Central Asia and the Globalisation,” 183.

particular critique of the US influence: For a critique see Lado Chanturia, “Recht und Transformation. Rechtliche Zusammenarbeit aus der Sicht eines rezipierenden Landes,” *Rabels Zeitschrift für ausländisches und internationales Privatrecht* 72, no. 1 (2008): 114–35 and Anders Aslund, *How Capitalism was Built: The Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 246.

with a human rights record that is “disastrous”: Human Rights Watch, “World Report 2016. Turkmenistan Events of 2015,” accessed September 14, 2016, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2016/country-chapters/turkmenistan>.

seeks to help achieve greater legal certainty: German Development Cooperation (GIZ), “Promotion of the Rule Of Law for Sustainable Economic Development. Turkmenistan,” accessed September 15, 2016 (link no longer accessible), <https://www.giz.de/en/downloads/giz2016-en-promotion-rule-of-law-central-asia-turkmenistan.pdf>.

destruction of the local legal landscape: Paul-Georg Geiß, “Andere Wege in die Moderne: Recht und Verwaltung

in Zentralasien,” *Osteuropa* 57, no. 8/9 (August/September 2007): 157; Paul-Georg Geiß, *Die Gemeinschaftsverbundenheit formaler und informeller Politik. Über die Implikationen von Rechtsgemeinschaft und politischer Vergemeinschaftung für die Entstehung von Parteienpluralismus in der außereuropäischen Welt*, Arbeitspapiere der Forschungsgruppen, Forschungsgruppe “Informelle Politik und politische Parteien im interregionalen Vergleich,” Arbeitspapier (Hamburg: Deutsches Übersetz-Institut, 2002), 149–70.

Overcoming the specific Soviet legal culture: Eugenia Kurzynsky-Singer, foreword to *Transformation durch Rezeption? Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Rechtstransfers am Beispiel der Zivilrechtsreformen im Kaukasus und in Zentralasien*, ed. Eugenia Kurzynsky-Singer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), v.

postulated a connection between Soviet law and the civil law tradition: See, for example, Lado Chanturia, “Recht und Transformation: Rechtliche Zusammenarbeit aus der Sicht eines rezipierenden Landes,” *Rabels Zeitschrift für Ausländisches und Internationales Privatrecht* 72, no. 1 (2008): 117–18.

some non-sedentary groups were not under effective state control: See Adrienne Edgar, *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), for the Turkmen in Transcaspiia.

work through the co-optation of “traditional leaders”: Olga Brusina, “Die Transformation der Adat-Gerichte bei den Nomaden Turkestan in der Zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Rechtspluralismus in der Islamischen Welt: Gewohnheitsrecht zwischen Staat und Gesellschaft*, ed. Michael Kemper and Maurus Reinkowski (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 227–53.

non-sedentary groups tended to rely on customary law: Throughout

the region, a wide variety of terms exist that could be translated with this concept. In the Kyrgyz context alone, I detected around ten different words whose meaning and legal or nonlegal overtone changes according to the situation and depending on who invokes it. As I have argued elsewhere, instead of trying to translate words like *salt*, *adat*, *urf-adat*, *nark*, *yrym-zhyrym* or others, and delineate them from one another, it is more fruitful to analyze them in their respective contexts in order to understand what actors achieve by their invocation. Judith Beyer, *The Force of Custom: Law and the Ordering of Everyday Life in Kyrgyzstan* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 8.

sedentary groups more often applied

Islamic law: see Paolo Sartori, *Visions of Justice: Sharīa and Cultural Change in Russian Central Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Islamic law was well-known: Allen

Frank, “A Month among the Qazaqs in the Emirate of Bukhara. Observations on Islamic Knowledge in a Nomadic Environment,” in *Explorations in the Social History of Modern Central Asia (19th–Early 20th Century)*, ed. Paolo Sartori (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 247–66.

Kazakh also possessed written legal

codes: Alexis de Levchine, *Description des hordes et des steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks ou Kirghiz-Kaïssaks* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1840), 401.

what the new authorities had gotten

rid of was a legal product: Virginia Martin, *Law and Custom in the Steppe: The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and Russian Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2001).

he does not, like your neighbor, live next door: John Furnivall, “The Fashioning of Leviathan,” reprinted from *Burma Research Society Journal* 29, no. 1 (1939): 52.

the force of customary law lies precisely in its capacity of being inextricable from everyday life: Beyer, *Force of Custom*; Francine Hirsch, *Empire of*

Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005); Nazif Shahrani, “‘From Tribe to Umma’: Comments on the Dynamics of Identity in Muslim Soviet Central Asia,” *Central Asian Survey* 3, no. 3 (1984): 27–38.

people managed to retain a sense of

legal autonomy: The second is “administrative assault,” by which he means mass action that often embodied extrajudicial mechanisms. The *hujum* (lit., “assault”), the unveiling of women in the streets, is the best-known one. See also Douglas Northrop, *Veiled Empire: Gender and Power in Stalinist Central Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia: Geopolitics and the Birth of Nations* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007). The third strategy was “systematic social engineering,” which was set in motion from 1928 onward and entailed a more cautious and long-term approach toward social and economic development. Gregory Massell regards this stage as a direct result of “the extraordinarily tenacious resistance of a Muslim traditional milieu to direct revolutionary manipulation.” Massell, “Family Law and Social Mobilization in Soviet Central Asia. Some Comparisons with Communist China,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne des Slavistes* 17, no. 2/3 (1975): 382; see also Gregory Massell, *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919–1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974): 186–91.

targeting the family, and particularly women and youth, was an attempt to transform: Massell, “Family Law and Social Mobilization,” 374–403.

forced emancipation led to an unintended consequence: Massell, “Family Law and Social Mobilization,” 382.

the Soviet regime relied on individuals to realize their revolutionary politics: Botakoz Kassymbekova, *Despite*

- Cultures: Early Soviet Rule in Tajikistan* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 12.
- The plan was to create a new “popular culture”:*** Karen Petrone, *Life Has Become More Joyous, Comrades: Celebrations in the Time of Stalin* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000): 15–16; see also Ali İğmen, *Speaking Soviet with an Accent: Culture and Power in Kyrgyzstan* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).
- they tended to blend law and religion:*** Joan Fitzpatrick, *Human Rights in Crisis: The International System for Protecting Rights during States of Emergency* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).
- amending the country’s constitution via a nation-wide referendum has been the standard way to react by new governmental powers:*** Judith Beyer, “Constitutional Faith: Law and Hope in Revolutionary Kyrgyzstan,” *Ethnos* 80, no. 3 (2015): 320–45.
- to transfer presidential powers to the position of the prime minister:*** When Karimov died in September 2016, the acting prime minister, Shavkat Mirziyoyev, became interim president.
- drawing on the rhetoric of “custom” and “tradition”:*** See Judith Beyer and Peter Finke, eds., *Practices of Traditionalization in Central Asia* (London: Routledge, 2020); Judith Beyer and Felix Girke, “The State of Custom: Gerd Spittler’s ‘Dispute Settlement in the Shadow of Leviathan’ (1980) Today,” *Zeitschrift für Rechtssoziologie – The German Journal of Law and Society* (2021).
- the daily Russian newspaper Moskovskii Komsomolets reported instead:*** *Moskovskii Komsomolets*, “Konstitutsiiu Tadjikistana perepisali, chtoby prezident mog pravit’ do smerti,” September 14, 2016, <http://www.mk.ru/politics/2016/09/14/konstitutsiyu-tadzhikistana-perepisali-htoby-prezident-mog-pravit-do-smerti.html>. The error was later corrected.
- the alternative to ‘revolution’ is ‘reform.’:*** Immanuel Wallerstein, *After Liberalism* (New York: New Press, 1995): 210.
- treaty ratification is treated as a de facto stand-in for the actual reforms:*** Rasulov, “Central Asia and the Globalisation,” 179.
- drafted during the civil war as a measure of control of oppositional forces:*** Tim Epkenhans, “Regulating Religion in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Some Remarks on Religious Association Law and ‘Official’ Islamic Institutions in Tajikistan,” *Security and Human Rights* 20, no. 1 (March 2009): 97.
- the virtual destruction of civil society:*** Erika Weinthal and Kate Watters, “Transnational Environmental Activism in Central Asia: The Coupling of Domestic Law and International Conventions,” *Environmental Politics* 19, no. 5 (2010): 793.
- NGO activists brought Kazakhstan before the Compliance Committee:*** Weinthal and Watters, “Transnational Environmental Activism in Central Asia,” 794.
- people’s capacity to turn instruments of power into weapons:*** James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987).
- defy the very instrumentalization of their everyday lives through law:*** While we do know how laws are being drafted in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, we know next to nothing about their implementation or what living under these laws means for the population in these countries as carrying out research in both countries independently has become increasingly difficult. The next section will therefore predominantly concentrate on the other Central Asian republics.
- scores of official records written on parchment:*** S. Frederick Starr, *Lost Enlightenment: Central Asia’s Golden Age from the Arab Conquest to Tamerlane* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 64.
- no choice but to adopt many Central***

Asian approaches: Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 93.

the Arabs ultimately succeeded in establishing Islamic law: See Sartori, *Visions of Justice*.

an early creative reinterpretation of Arab supremacy: Judith Beyer, "Customizations of Law: Courts of Elders (Aksakal Courts) in Rural and Urban Kyrgyzstan," *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 38, no. 1 (2015): 53–71; Beyer, *Force of Custom*.

he witnessed what he called a "praiseworthy custom": Ibn Battuta, cited in Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela, eds., *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 158; italics added by the author.

began taxing villagers twice as much: See Ol'ga Brusina, *Die Transformation der Adat-Gerichte bei den Nomaden Turkestans in der Zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 242–43, for examples from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

for Turkmenistan how the council of elders was turned into a popular court: Edgar, *Tribal Nation*, 30–31.

disillusioned with fellow villagers who took up positions within the Russian administrative system: Virginia Martin, "Engagement with Empire as Norm and in Practice in Kazakh Nomadic Political Culture (1820s–1830s)," *Central Asian Survey* 36, no. 2 (2017): 175–94; Martin, *Law and Custom in the Steppe*.

he argued that these courts had existed since ancient times: See Zaylagi Kenzhaliev, "Das kasachische Gewohnheitsrecht in sowjetischer und postsowjetischer Zeit," in Kemper and Reinkowski, *Rechtspluralismus in der Islamischen Welt*, 331–41; Russell Zanca, *Life in a Muslim Uzbek Village: Cotton Farming after Communism* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2011): 147–48.; Tommaso Trevisani, *Land and Power in Khorezm: Farmers, Communities, and the State in Uzbekistan's Decollectivisation* (Berlin: LIT, 2010): 62–63.

it allows them to perform their authority publicly: See Beyer, *Force of Custom*, ch. 4, for details

the archives of the colonial polities are filled with appeals: Sartori, *Visions of Justice*, 110–11.

the category of "custom" itself that proves most flexible: Beyer, *Force of Custom*.

elites' projects of traditionalization and those of ordinary actors: See Judith Beyer and Peter Finke, eds., *Practices of Traditionalization in Central Asia* (London: Routledge, 2020).

Kyrgyzstan's Council of Defense, an institution headed by the former president Almazbek Atambaev, released a document: *Decision of the Council of Defense on the State Policy in the Religious Sphere*, published February 7, 2014, in the national newspaper *Kabar*, available online at the president's homepage, accessed September 26, 2016, www.president.kg/ru/news/ukazy/3468_podpisan_ukaz_o_realizatsii_resheniya_soveta_oboronyi_kyrgyzskoy_respubliki_o_gosudarstvennoy_politike_v_religioznoy_sfere/.

He said that Atambaev had written a "fatwa": A fatwa is an authoritative legal opinion of an Islamic expert. It derives its authority from the person issuing it.

rumors of law often continue to be much stronger than state law itself: Julia Eckert, "Rumours of Rights," in *Law against the State: Ethnographic Forays into Law's Transformations*, ed. Julia Eckert, Brian Donahoe, Christian Strümpell, and Zerrin Özlem Biner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 147–70.

renders non-customary law understandable and locally practicable: See Susan S. Silbey, "After Legal Consciousness," *Annual Review of Law and Social Sciences* 1, vol. 1 (2005): 323–68, for a definition of the term "legal consciousness" from an anthropological perspective. Sartori, *Visions of Justice*, employs the term to explore how colonial forms of governance changed Islamic judicial practices and juristic reasoning in Muslim Central Asia.

even when authors are sympathetic toward the region: In Johan Engvall's *The State as Investment Market: Kyrgyzstan in Comparative Perspective* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), the index subentries for the term *judiciary* in the context of Kyrgyzstan, for example, are "effects of informal payments in"; "illicit uses of"; "influence of personal relationships in"; "job buying in."

the "progressive elites of the periphery": Kennedy, "Three Globalizations of Law and Legal Thought," 24.

have ended up in "Western peripheries" instead: Another example is Gulnara Isakova, a constitutional legal scholar from Kyrgyzstan who served as the ambassador of Kyrgyzstan in the UK until 2019, and was previously appointed country representative at the Human Rights Council in Geneva, Switzerland. Under the governments of both Askar Akaev and Kurmanbek Bakiev she had been a strong advocate of constitutional reforms and has published extensively on the subject, but was in the end "removed" from political processes to representative work in the West. Isakova was succeeded as ambassador to the UK by Edil Baisalov, a well-known politician and civil rights activist, who left Kyrgyzstan in 2007 after several attacks on his life.

20. Education

Martha C. Merrill

implementing Bologna Process reforms: Martha C. Merrill and Chynara Ryskulova, "Kyrgyzstan's New Degree System," *International Higher Education* 68 (2012): 18–20.

living beneath the poverty level: "Kyrgyzstan" in the *CIA World Factbook*, last updated June 20, 2018, and, for the current population figure, National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic, 2015, <http://www.stat.kg/en/>.

almost never designs material and workshop: The Ministry of Education clearly has many demands on its time and its funding. According to a 2018

article in *Fergana News*, for example, Bishkek schools were designed to accommodate 75,975 pupils yet in fall 2018 planned to enroll nearly twice as many: 147,160. "Бишкекские школы оказались двукратно перегружены учениками" [Bishkek schools have twice the load of students], *International news agency "Fergana,"* August 16, 2018, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/32069>.

remain in a prolonged transition: Dirlabo Jonbekova, "University Graduates' Skills Mismatches in Central Asia: Employers' Perspectives from Post-Soviet Tajikistan," *European Education* 47, no. 2 (2015): 178.

Process now has forty-nine members: As of 2019. European Higher Education Area, "Full Members," <http://www.ehea.info/pid34250/members.html>.

a small portion west of the Ural: "Kazakhstan (2018)," in *CIA World Factbook*, last updated October 17, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/kazakhstan/>.

cannot isolate itself from the demands: M. C. Merrill, "Higher Education in Kyrgyzstan: The Inevitability of International Actors," in *Politics, Identity, and Education in Central Asia: Post Soviet Kyrgyzstan*, ed. Pinar Akçalı and Cennet Engin-Demir (New York: Routledge, 2013), 190–91.

used in higher education admissions: Center for Educational Assessment and Teaching Methods, <http://www.testing.kg/eng/>; Zarrina Kadyrova, Zumrad Kataeva, and Czarina Nuridinova, *Overview of the Higher Education System: Tajikistan* (Brussels: European Commission Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, 2017), <https://op.europa.eu/mt/publication-detail/-/publication/61dc39ed-5565-11e7-a5ca-01aa75ed71a1/language-en/format-PDF/source-122252134>; National Testing Center (Kazakhstan), Unified National Test, <http://www.testcenter.kz/en/>; Kobil Ruziev and Umar Burkhanov, "Uzbekistan: Higher Education Reforms and the Changing Landscape since Independence," in *25 Years of Transformations*

- of *Higher Education Systems in Post-Soviet Countries: Reform and Continuity*, ed. Jeroen Huisman, Anna Smolentseva, and Isak Froumin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 435–59.
- a number of professors in Kyrgyzstan:** Personal communications, various dates.
- movement of educational policies:** D. Phillips and K. Ochs, “Processes of Policy Borrowing in Education: Some Explanatory and Analytical Devices,” *Comparative Education* 39, no. 4 (2003): 451–61; Gita Steiner-Khamsi, “Presidential Address: The Politics and Economics of Comparison,” *Comparative Education Review* 54, no. 3 (2010): 323–42.
- a “two-tier” (bachelor’s and master’s) system:** European Higher Education Area, *Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999*, http://www.ehea.info/media.ehea.info/file/Ministerial_conferences/02/8/1999_Bologna_Declaration_English_553028.pdf.
- to prepare students for employment:** Hans de Wit, *Internationalization of Higher Education in the United States of America and Europe: A Historical, Comparative, and Conceptual Analysis* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2002).
- many students left without a degree:** Barbara M. Kehm, *Higher Education in Germany: Developments, Problems, and Perspectives* (Wittenberg and Bucharest: Institute for Higher Education Research and UNESCO European Centre of Higher Education, 1999), 46, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001487/148731eo.pdf>.
- do not understand the system they are implementing:** Martha Merrill, Janara Baitugulova, and Chynarkul Ryskulova, “Faculty in Contemporary Kyrgyzstan: Reactions to Reforms,” *FIRE: Forum for International Research in Education* 7, no. 1 (2021): 97–114. Gulnara Y. Tampayeva discusses similar perceptions of educational authorities among faculty in Kazakhstan. Tampayeva, “The Implementation of the Bologna Process in Kazakhstan Higher Education: Views from Within” (PhD thesis, Brunel University, 2016).
- retain longer degrees:** Merrill and Ryskulova, “Kyrgyzstan’s New Degree System,” 18–20.
- wanted to destroy the strong Soviet system:** Merrill, Baitugulova, and Ryskulova, “Faculty in Contemporary Kyrgyzstan: Reactions to Reforms,” 97–114.
- discourses of nostalgia:** Tampayeva, “Implementation of the Bologna Process.”
- faculty struggling with mandates:** Merrill, Baitugulova, and Ryskulova, “Faculty in Contemporary Kyrgyzstan: Reactions to Reforms,” 97–114.
- teaching toward the achievement of learning outcomes:** Grant Wiggins, and Jay McGighe, *Understanding by Design*, 2nd ed. special ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Merrill Prentice Hall, 2006).
- participants were unable to implement:** Personal communications to Martha Merrill, May 2015.
- primary problem with the EU’s Strategy:** Martha C. Merrill and Askat Dukenbaev, “Youth and Higher Education,” in *The European Union and Central Asia*, ed. Alexander Warkotsch, 115–31 (New York: Routledge, 2011), 127. We see similar incongruencies between what is offered and what is needed, as Jonbekova notes on the Tajik case and Tampayeva notes of the Kazakh case. Jonbekova, “University Graduates’ Skills Mismatches in Central Asia,” 177; Tampayeva, “Implementation of the Bologna Process,” 144.
- incomplete higher education:** Anna Smolentseva, Jeroen Huisman, and Isak Froumin, “Transformation of Higher Education Institutional Landscape in Post-Soviet Countries: From Soviet Model to Where?” in Huisman, Smolentseva, and Froumin, *25 Years of Transformations*, 1–44.
- regulations now say:** Government of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, “Постановление об установлении двухуровневой структуры высшего профессионального образования”

[Decision on establishing a two-level structure of higher professional education], August 23, 2011, <http://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/act/view/ru-ru/92802>.

considered the bachelor's degree

inadequate preparation: Baitugulova, personal communication, 2017. The same issue exists in Tajikistan; see K. Hidoyatzoda, “Болонский процесс и проблемы реформирования системы образования в Таджикистане” [Bologna Process and problems of reforming the system of education in Tajikistan], Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting, September 30, 2016, <https://cabar.asia/ru/komron-hidoyatzoda-bolonskij-protsess-i-problemy-reformirovaniya-sistemy-obrazovaniya-tadzhikistane/>.

complained bitterly about the lowering of quality: Ryskulova, personal communication, 1999.

just like you American capitalists:

Personal communication, 1999.

complain about the additional expense:

Merrill, Baitugulova, and Ryskulova, “Faculty in Contemporary Kyrgyzstan: Reactions to Reforms,” 97–114.

not in a hurry for getting their girls

married: A. J. DeYoung, “Gender and the Pedagogical Mission in Higher Education in Tajikistan: From Leninabad Pedagogical Institute into Khujand State University,” *European Education* 44, no. 2 (2012): 20.

“choices” are influenced by contexts:

Readers interested in statistical data on all fifteen of the former Soviet nations are advised to consult Daria Platonova’s twenty-page appendix in Huisman, Smolentseva, and Froumin, *25 Years of Transformations*, 387–405, <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-3-319-52980-6>.

an ambitious agenda of university

reform: Nazarbayev Intellectual Schools, Information, <http://nis.edu.kz/en/about/ab/>.

a “world-class” English-medium

university: Elise S. Ahn, John Dixon, and Lariss Chekmareva, “Looking at Kazakhstan’s Higher Education Landscape: From Transition to

Transformation between 1920 and 2015,” in Huisman, Smolentseva, and Froumin, *25 Years of Transformations*, 199–227; Zakir Jumakulov, and Adil Ashirbekov, “Higher Education Internationalization: Insights from Kazakhstan,” *Hungarian Educational Research Journal* 6, no. 1 (2016): 35–55; Laura Perna, Kata Orosz, and Zakir Jumakulov, “Understanding the Human Capital Benefits of a Government-Funded International Scholarship Program: An Exploration of Kazakhstan’s Bolashak Program,” *International Journal of Educational Development* 40 (2015): 85–97; Laura Perna, Kata Orosz, Zakir Jumakulov, Marina Kishkentayeva, and Adil Ashirbekov, “Understanding the Programmatic and Contextual Forces That Influence Participation in a Government-Sponsored International Student Mobility Program,” *Higher Education* 69, no. 2 (2015): 173–88; Aida Sagintayeva, and Kairat Kurakbayev, “Understanding the Transition of Public Universities to Institutional Autonomy in Kazakhstan,” *European Journal of Higher Education* 5, no. 2 (2015): 197–210; Jason Sparks, Adil Ashirbekov, Aisi Li, Lynne Parmenter, Zakir Jumakulov, and Aida Sagintayeva, “Becoming Bologna Capable: Strategic Cooperation and Capacity Building in International Offices in Kazakhstani HEIs,” in *The European Higher Education Area: Between Critical Reflections and Future Policies*, ed. Adrian Curaj, Liviu Matei. Remus Pricope, Jamil Salmi, and Peter Scott (Heidelberg: Springer Open, 2015), 109–26.

educational reform and

internationalization: Nursultan Nazarbayev, “Address by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Leader of the Nation, N. Nazarbayev ‘Strategy Kazakhstan-2050’: New Political Course of the Established State, December 14, 2012, http://www.akorda.kz/en/addresses/addresses_of_president/address-by-the-president-of-the-republic-of-kazakhstan-leader-of-the-nation-nazarbayev-strategy-kazakhstan-

2050-new-political-course-of-the-established-state.

help to validate the quality: European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education (EQAR), <https://www.eqar.eu/>.

placed great emphasis on preschool education: “Ministry of Preschool Education Created in Uzbekistan,” October 2, 2017, *Tashkent Times*, <http://tashkenttimes.uz/national/1500-ministry-of-preschool-education-created-in-uzbekistan>.

argument behind the government’s choice: Ruziev and Burkhanov, “Uzbekistan,” 454–55.

surprisingly little emphasis on higher education: “Uzbekistan’s Development Strategy for 2017–2021 Has Been Adopted Following Public Consultation,” *Tashkent Times*, February 8, 2017, <https://tashkenttimes.uz/national/541-uzbekistan-s-development-strategy-for-2017-2021-has-been-adopted-following-discussion>.

need to expand higher education enrollments: Ruziev and Burkhanov, “Uzbekistan,” 441.

needed new skills and faculty preparation: Ruziev and Burkhanov, “Uzbekistan,” 457.

inviting universities abroad to set up branch campuses: Ruziev and Burkhanov, “Uzbekistan,” 435–59.

twenty-one international branch campuses were operating: Filial, “Филиал ВГИКа в Ташкенте откроется в 2020 году” [Filial VGIK in Tashkent will open in 2020], *International News Agency “Fergana”*, July 25, 2018, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/31522>.

majority of those institutions are Russian: In Uzbekistan, “В Узбекистане откроют филиал южнокорейского медицинского вуза” [In Uzbekistan, a branch of the South Korean Medical University will be opened], *International News Agency “Fergana”*, May 30, 2018, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/30235>; Mirziyoyev, “Мирзиёев одобрил открытие в Ташкенте филиала южнокорейского Университета Пучон”

[Mirziyoyev approved opening of branch of South Korean University Puchon in Tashkent], *International News Agency “Fergana”*, July 3, 2018, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/30931>; The third, “Третий за полгода южнокорейский вуз решил открыть филиал в Ташкенте” [The third in six months, the South Korean university decided to open a branch in Tashkent], *International News Agency “Fergana”*, April 6, 2018, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/29322>; In Uzbekistan “В Узбекистане откроется филиал российского университета «МИСиС»” [In Uzbekistan a branch of the Russian University “MISiS” will open], *International News Agency “Fergana”*, November 9, 2017, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/27214>; Wagdy Sawahel, “Branch campus is First Step in Building a US Presence,” *University World News*, Global Edition, Issue 484, November 24, 2017, <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20171124110639996>.

International agencies are also concerned: OSI 2002, as cited by Alan J. DeYoung, Zumrad Kataeva, and Dilrabo Jonbekova, “Higher Education in Tajikistan: Institutional Landscape and Key Policy Developments,” in Huisman, Smolentseva, and Froumin, 25 *Years of Transformations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 378–79.

destroyed much of the educational infrastructure: DeYoung, Kataeva, and Jonbekova, “Higher Education in Tajikistan,” 368. As Jonbekova elaborates: “Visits to universities, both in Khorog and Dushanbe, confirmed employers’ claims related to the shortage of resources. Laboratories were almost empty, with most equipment appearing to be left over from the Soviet era, largely nonfunctional and used primarily for demonstrations during lectures.” Jonbekova, “University Graduates’ Skills Mismatches in Central Asia,” 177.

necessitates the use of Tajik as the medium of instruction: Mehriniso Nagzibekova, “Language and Education Policies in Tajikistan,”

- International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 11, no. 3-4 (2008).
- many teachers must find additional work:** Zumrad Kataeva, "Tajikistan: University Challenges and the Professoriate," *International Higher Education* 89 (2017): 12.
- ensuring that no locally educated students were prepared:** Martha C. Merrill, "Turkmenistan: Fixing Decades of Damage," *International Higher Education* 56 (2009): 23-24, <https://doi.org/10.6017/ihe.2009.56.8436>.
- system is simple, if laborious:** Naz Nazar, "How Turkmenistan Spies on its Citizens at Home and Abroad," *OpenDemocracy*, August 16, 2018, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/naz-nazar/how-turkmenistan-spies-on-its-citizens>.
- school system was restructured:** Victoria Clement and Zumrad Kataeva, "The Transformation of Higher Education in Turkmenistan: Continuity and Change," in Huisman, Smolentseva, and Froumin, *25 Years of Transformations*, 387-405.
- Presidential decrees established:** Kelly Lee Gaynor, "Transformations in Turkmen Higher Education: Current Opportunities and Challenges at a New University," *Central Asian Survey* 36, no. 4 (2017): 473-92.
- lacked faculty with qualifications:** Gaynor, "Transformations in Turkmen Higher Education," 480.
- problems presented then still remain:** "Эксперты предупредили о крахе школьной системы Кыргызстана" [Experts warned about the collapse of the school system in Kyrgyzstan], *International News Agency "Fergana"*, September 5, 2018, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/32505>; Alan J. DeYoung, "Problems and Trends in Education in Central Asia since 1990: The Case of General Secondary Education in Kyrgyzstan," *Central Asian Survey* 25, no. 4 (2006): 499-514; Alan J. DeYoung, Madeleine Reeves, and G. K. Valyayeva, *Surviving the Transition? Case Studies of Schools and Schooling in the Kyrgyz Republic since Independence* (Greenwich, CT: Information Age, 2006); Ruslan Kalmatov and Farangis Najibullah, "As Danger Lurks, Kyrgyz Schools Set to Open in Yurts," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, September 1, 2018, <https://www.rferl.org/a/kyrgyz-schools-set-to-open-in-yurts/29465325.html>; Tatyana Kudryavtseva, "Children in Kyrgyzstan Go to School on Foot in 40-Degree Frost," *24.kg*, January 12, 2017, <http://www.eng.24.kg/vlast/183686-news24.html>; Sarfaroz Niyozov, and Duishon Shamatov, "Trading or Teaching: Dilemmas of Everyday Life Economy in Central Asia," *Inner Asia* 8, no. 2 (2006): 229-62; Duishon Shamatov and Keneshbek Sainazarov, "The Impact of Standardized Testing on Education Quality in Kyrgyzstan: The Case of the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2006," *International Perspectives on Education and Society* 13 (2010): 145-79; Nurbek Teleshaliyev, "Leave Me Alone—Simply Let Me Teach," *European Education* 45, no. 2 (2013): 51-74; USAID, Ministry of Education of the Kyrgyz Republic, and UNICEF *Assessment of Safety in School and Pre-School Education Institutions in the Kyrgyz Republic. Summary Report: The Three 'R's' of the Kyrgyz Republic: Retrofitting, Repair and Reconstruction*, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), June 2013, https://www.unicef.org/kyrgyzstan/media/1721/file/Schools%20and%20pre-schools%20safety%20assessment%20Summary%20Report_eng.pdf%20.pdf; Christopher M. Whitsel, "Family Resources, Sitting at Home and Democratic Choice: Investigating Determinants of Educational Attainment in Post-Soviet Tajikistan," *Central Asian Survey*, 28, no. 1 (2009): 29-41.
- list of the problems of schools:** DeYoung, "Problems and Trends in Education in Central Asia since 1990," 499-514; Shamatov, and Sainazarov, "Impact

of Standardized Testing on Education Quality in Kyrgyzstan,” 145–79.

funding for education in Soviet times: DeYoung, “Problems and Trends in Education in Central Asia since 1990,” 499–514.

most Ministry of Education staff were trained to administer: DeYoung, “Problems and Trends in Education in Central Asia since 1990,” 499–514.

donors have their own priorities: Merrill and Dukenbaev, “Youth and Higher Education,” 115–31; Iveta Silova and Gita Steiner-Khamsi, “Introduction: Unwrapping the Post-Socialist Education Reform Package,” in *How NGOs React: Globalization and Education Reform in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Mongolia*, ed. Iveta Silova and Gita Steiner-Khamsi (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2008), 1–42.

“fitness for purpose” in the local context: Lee Harvey, and Diana Green, “Defining Quality,” *Assessment and Evaluation in Higher Education*. 18, no. 1 (1993): 9–26.

a wake-up call about the quality: Shamatov and Sainazarov, “Impact of Standardized Testing on Education Quality in Kyrgyzstan,” 145–79; Duishon Shamatov, “Education Quality in Kyrgyzstan and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA),” in *Qualities of Education in a Globalised World*, ed. Diane Brook Napier (Rotterdam: Sense, 2014), 43–63.

put in the untenable situation: Madeleine Reeves, “Academic Integrity and Its Limits in Kyrgyzstan,” *International Higher Education* 37 (2015): 22–24.

may find individual solutions: Stephen P. Heyneman, “Three Universities in Georgia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan: The Struggle against Corruption and for Social Cohesion,” *Prospects* 37, no. 3 (2007): 305–18; Stephen P. Heyneman, Kathryn Anderson, and Nazym Nuraliyeva, “The Cost of Corruption in Higher Education,” *Comparative Education Review*. 52, no. 1 (2008): 1–25.

Some employers have started to complain:

See Jonbekova, “University Graduates’ Skills Mismatches in Central Asia,” 173–74. In my own interviews in 2018, the teacher at one elite public school in Bishkek said parents pay \$1,000 for their children to be admitted; another said some children were admitted because of calls from “top” people.

Case V-B. Spectacular Politics at the World Nomad Games

Mathijs Pelkmans

These games just can’t get any better:

Colin Ward-Henninger, “Look: The World Nomad Games Are a Crazier, Cooler Version of the Olympics,” *CBS Sports.com*, September 6, 2016, <https://www.cbssports.com/olympics/news/look-the-world-nomad-games-are-a-crazier-cooler-version-of-the-olympics/>.

understand their nation’s greatness:

Laura L. Adams, *The Spectacular State: Culture and National Identity in Uzbekistan* (Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2010), 38.

learning about the history of nomads:

Vechernyi Bishkek, September 3, 2016.

storied history as a rugged nomadic tribe:

Shaun Walker, “Welcome to the World Nomad Games: ‘If Genghis Khan Were Alive, He’d Be Here,’” *Guardian*, September 4, 2016.

we have carried our culture, traditions, and games:

Official promo video of the World Nomad Games 2016, <http://www.worldnomadgames.com/en/video-galleries/?gallery=Official-promo-video-of-the-World-Nomad-Games-2016-25>.

overwhelmingly impressed and

astonished: *Megapolis*, September 9, 2016.

the country had crossed the Rubicon:

Slovo Kyrgyzstana, September 9, 2016.

wild Olympics: *Megapolis*, September 9,

2016.

battle for control of a decapitated goat

carcass: Walker, “Welcome to the World Nomad Games,” *Guardian*, September 4, 2016.

he would be a kok-boru captain: Stephen

Lioy, @slioy, September 4, 2016.

Case V-C. Displacement and Belonging in Eurasia

Jennifer S. Wistrand

The ethnographic material upon which this case study is based was collected in Azerbaijan in Azerbaijani, Russian, and English in ninth-, tenth-, and eleventh-grade history, civics, and constitution classes at an IDP school on the outskirts of Baku and at a regular (non-IDP) school in central Baku over the course of twenty-two months between January 2006 and April 2008. The author returned to Azerbaijan in April and May of 2017 and in November of 2019 as a consultant to the World Bank for a project concerning Azerbaijan's IDPs. The author's work for the World Bank is not represented in this case study, however, and the author's views do not necessarily represent those of the World Bank.

shared written languages and religions:

Thomas de Waal, *The Caucasus: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 20.

most well-known displaced peoples:

Yaacov Ro'i, "The Transformation of Historiography on the 'Punished Peoples,'" *History and Memory* 21, no. 2 (2009): 153. The "charges" against these peoples were varied. However, the greater share was accused of being members of "enemy nations" who might collaborate with the Nazis; see Ro'i, "Transformation of Historiography on the 'Punished Peoples,'" 153–58.

transformation of arid steppes: Olivier Ferrando, "Soviet Population Transfers and Interethnic Relations in Tajikistan: Assessing the Concept of Ethnicity," *Central Asian Survey* 30, no. 1 (2011): 39.

struggled to develop a Kazakhstani

national identity: Alexander Diener, "Homeland as Social Construct: Territorialization among Kazakhstan's Germans and Koreans," *Nationalities Papers* 34, no. 2 (2006): 201–35.

displaced within rather than outside of:

According to Article 1 of the 1951

United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, a "refugee" is defined as an individual who, "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it." According to the introduction to the 1998 United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, "[I]nternally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border" (emphasis added).

working in Azerbaijan since 1992: The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the part of the UN that is responsible for protecting and assisting refugees and other "persons of concern."

On the Armenian side: Nora Dudwick, "The Cultural Construction of Political Violence in Armenia and Azerbaijan," *Problems of Post-Communism* 42, no. 4 (1995): 20.

progressive narrative transformation: Rauf Garagozov, "Narratives in Conflict: A Perspective," *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 5, no. 2 (2012): 101–6.

prompted a mass departure: Michael Croissant, *The Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict: Causes and Implications* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 25–28; de Waal, *Caucasus*, 111; Thomas de Waal, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*

(New York: New York University Press, 2003), 15–22, 32–37, 40–41.
fighting between Azerbaijan and Armenia: de Waal, *Black Garden*, 285.
Armenia controls Nagorno-Karabakh:

Geographer Richard Rowland offers a more precise definition of the disputed territory. He writes: “The current rayons [regions] or parts thereof which comprise the former Nagorno-Karabakh A.O. [Autonomous Oblast] include the following: all of Khojaly (including Khankendi city), Khojavend, and Shusha rayons; the eastern roughly one-third of Kelbajar Rayon; and the western roughly four-fifths of Terter Rayon (Azerbaijan, 1997, p. 26). The current rayons or parts thereof that comprise the even larger Occupied Zone [OZ] (Nagorno-Karabakh and adjacent areas) include the following: all of Khojaly (including Khankendi city), Shusha, Kelbajar, Lachin, Gubadly, Zangilan and Jebail rayons; virtually all (roughly 90 percent) of Khojavend Rayon (only the small extreme eastern part is beyond the OZ); the western roughly 70 percent of Aghdam Rayon; the western roughly three-fifths of Terter Rayon; and the western roughly one-fifth of Fizuli Rayon (Azerbaijan, 1997, p. 26). Thus, overall, the OZ essentially comprises the southwestern part of Azerbaijan ‘proper’ (that is, excluding Nakhichevan A.R. [Autonomous Republic]).” Richard Rowland, “National and Regional Population Trends in Azerbaijan,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 45, no. 4 (2004): 287. Note: following the April 2016 “four-day war” between Azerbaijan and Armenia, land changed sides for the first time since the ceasefire, with Azerbaijan regaining control of Jojug Marjanli village in Jabrayil. Laurence Broers, *The Nagorny Karabakh Conflict: Defaulting to War*, Research Paper, Chatham House, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Russia and Eurasia Programme, 2016.

not very familiar with the distinctions: Throughout this case study, the term

“IDP” is used to refer to Azerbaijan’s IDPs unless there is a reference to an ethnographic example where the word *refugee* is used. Then the word *refugee* is used.

poor and dependent on the state: There are other stereotypes of Azerbaijan’s IDPs. This is just one example, albeit one that predominates.

Part VI. Contexts of Work

21. Resources

Jeanne Féaux de la Croix and David Gullette

scattered unevenly with small, decorative symbols: Asian Development Bank map appears with permission, previously published at Asian Development Bank, *Central Asia Atlas of Natural Resources*, Central Asian Countries Initiative for Land Management (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2010), 64, <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/27508/central-asia-atlas.pdf>.

sheepskins, which had a huge impact on local markets: Wolfgang Holzwarth, “Mittelasiatische Schafe und russische Eisenbahnen: Raumgreifende eurasische Lammfell- und Fleischmärkte in der Kolonialzeit,” in *Nomaden in unserer Welt: die Vorreiter der Globalisierung: von Mobilität und Handel, Herrschaft und Widerstand*, ed. Jörg Gertel and Sandra Calkins (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011), 88–97.

boom and bust of fishing on the Aral Sea: William Wheeler, “The USSR as a Hydraulic Society: Wittfogel, the Aral Sea and the (Post-)Soviet State,” *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 37, no. 7 (2019): 1217–34.

expanded agricultural sector in the lowlands: Unfortunately, most statistics on these (e.g., as percentages of gross domestic product) are not reliable and difficult to collate, so we have omitted them.

Cotton-growing plantations still dominate: On the relationship between water policy and expanding irrigation, and the problematic consequences see Alexander Morrison, “Irrigation and Colonization: Water and the Politics of

- Pereselenie,” paper given at Lingnan University, May 2016, at the conference Empires of Water: Water Management and Politics in the Arid Regions of China, Central Eurasia and the Middle East (16th–20th Centuries); Beatrice Penati, “What Flows? What Stays? Continuities and Novelties in Early Soviet Law-Making about Central Asian Water,” paper given at Lingnan University, May 2016, at the conference Empires of Water: Water Management and Politics in the Arid Regions of China, Central Eurasia and the Middle East (16th–20th Centuries). Cotton is also an important resource in Tajikistan.
- natural resources are not just “there”:** The vocabulary to describe a valuable asset as a “resource” seems to be colonizing other domains, as in “human resources”—fields which we do not have space to engage with here.
- other economic sectors left underdeveloped:** Indra Overland, Heidi Kjaernet, and Andrea Kendall-Taylor, eds., *Caspian Energy Politics: Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan* (London: Routledge, 2010); Boris Najman, Richard Pomfret, and Gaël Raballand, eds., *The Economics and Politics of Oil in the Caspian Basin: The Redistribution of Oil Revenues in Azerbaijan and Central Asia* (London: Routledge, 2008).
- assumed that land would only generate income:** Virginia Martin, *Law and Custom in the Steppe: The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and Russian Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2001); Isabelle Ohayon, *La sédentarisation des Kazakhs dans l’URSS de Staline* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2006).
- As in other colonial contexts:** William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983).
- sophisticated indigenous knowledge of how to manage:** Jeanine Dağyeli, “Agricultural Crisis at the End of the Little Ice Age? Towards an Integration of Meteorological Data and Local Weather Knowledge in the Social History of Central Asia” (unpublished manuscript, 2018); Svetlana Jacquesson, *Pastoréalismes: anthropologie historique des processus d’intégration chez les Kirghiz du Tian Shan intérieur* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2010). Artemy Kalinovskiy, “A Bottomless Gift of Nature? Soviet Institutions and the Management of Water Resources in Tajikistan,” Workshop Paper: Development and Modernization in the Soviet Periphery, Leiden University, 2015.
- helpful to think about “resource complexes”:** Anke K. Scholz, Martin Bartelheim, Roland Hardenberg, and Jörn Staecker, eds., *Resource Cultures: Sociocultural Dynamics and the Use of Resources—Theories, Methods, Perspectives* (Tübingen: University of Tübingen, 2017), 15.
- organizations have to be created to export:** Koray Çalişkan, *Market Threads: How Cotton Farmers and Traders Create a Global Commodity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).
- Central Asia does not rank very high in water stress indexes:** Asian Development Bank, *Asian Water Development Outlook 2016: Strengthening Water Security in Asia and the Pacific* (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2016). There are pockets of relative dearth, particularly in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.
- rights to drinking water were a common good:** Jacquesson, *Pastoréalismes*; James Roe, “Naming the Waters: New Insights into the Nomadic Use of Oases in the Libyan Desert of Egypt,” in *The Archaeology of Mobility: Old World and New World Nomadism*, ed. Hans Barnard and Wendrich Willeke (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 2008), 487–504.
- extensive irrigation networks were developed:** Akifumi Shioya, “Who Should Manage the Water of the Amu-Darya? Controversy over Irrigation Concessions between Russian and Khiva, 1913–1914,” in *Explorations in*

- the Social History of Modern Central Asia (19th– Early 20th Century)*, ed. Paolo Sartori (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 111–36; Sebastian Stride, Bernardo Rondelli, and Simone Mantellini, “Canals versus Horses: Political Power in the Oasis of Samarkand,” *World Archaeology* 41, no. 1 (2009): 73–87.
- lost vast swathes of these wetlands:** Michael Thurman, “Natural Disaster Risks in Central Asia: A Synthesis,” United Nations Development Programme, Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, 2011, <http://www.eurasia.undp.org/content/dam/rbec/docs/Natural-disaster-risks-in-Central-Asia-A-synthesis.pdf>.
- tapped for irrigated agriculture:** International Crisis Group, *Water Pressures in Central Asia*, Central Asia Report 233, September 11, 2014, 2, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/central-asia/233-water-pressures-central-asia>.
- arterial canal system was vastly extended:** Jeremy Allouche, “The Governance of Central Asian Waters: National Interests versus Regional Cooperation,” Central Asia at the Crossroads Disarmament Forum (2007), 46.
- long protested new dam infrastructures upstream:** Sonoko Ito, Sameh El Khatib, and Mikiyasu Nakayama, “Conflict over a Hydropower Plant Project between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan,” *International Journal of Water Resources Development* 32, no. 5 (August 2015): 692–707. Although in 2017 Uzbekistan’s foreign minister, Abdulaziz Komilov, took a softer tone, noting that in the developments of dams the interests of both upstream and downstream countries should be taken into consideration. “Uzbekistan Breaks Silence on Tajik Giant Dam Project,” *Eurasianet*, July 8, 2017, <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/84281>.
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- rusting hulls on a now polluted desert seabed:** Bruce Pannier, “Pink Floyd and the Aral Sea,” *RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty*, November 13, 2014, <http://www.rferl.org/content/pink-floyd-video-aral-sea-kazakhstan-uzbekistan/26690106.html>.
- increasing human demands on Central Asian rivers:** Wilhelm Hagg, C. Mayer, A. Lambrecht, D. Kriegel, and E. Azizov, “Glacier Changes in the Big Naryn Basin, Central Tian Shan,” *Global and Planetary Change* 110, part A (2013): 40–50.
- transboundary water issues have been under extensive scrutiny:** Asian Development Bank, *Climate Change and Sustainable Water Management in Central Asia*, ADB Central and West Asia Working Paper Series, no. 5, 2014; E. Herrfahrdt et al., *Water Governance in the Kyrgyz Agricultural Sector: On its Way to Integrated Water Resource Management?* (Bonn: German Development Institute, 2006); International Crisis Group, *Water Pressures in Central Asia*; INTAS, *The Rehabilitation of the Ecosystem and Bioproductivity of the Aral Sea under Conditions of Water Scarcity. Summary Report*, IWHW-BOKU, 2007; K. L. Valentini, E. E. Orolbaev, and A. K. Abylgazieva, *Water Problems of Central Asia* (Bishkek: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2004), accessed August 18, 2020, <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/zentralasien/50116.pdf>.
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- Including the STTs, Swiss Development Corporation Funded Integrated Water Resources Management Ferghana Valley Project, SIC ICWC-IWRM, 2012; Jenniver Sehring, "Irrigation Reform in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan," *Irrigation and Drainage Systems* 21, nos. 3–4 (December 2007): 277–90, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10795-007-9036-0>; Kai Wegerich, Jusipbek Kazbekov, Nozilakhon Mukhamedova, and Sadorbek Musayev, "Is It Possible to Shift to Hydrological Boundaries? The Ferghana Valley Meshed System," *International Journal of Water Resources Development* 28, no. 3 (2012): 545–64, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07900627.2012.684316>; Resul Yalcin and Peter Mollinga, "Water Users Associations in Uzbekistan: the Introduction of a New Institutional Arrangement for Local Water Management," in *When Policy Meets Reality: Political Dynamics and the Practice of Integration in Water Resources Management Reform*, ed. Peter Mollinga, Anjali Bhat, and S. V. Saravanan (Berlin: LIT, 2010), 97–126.
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- water systems are diverse arrangements of life:** Rohan D'Souza, "Filling Multipurpose Reservoir with Politics: Displacing the Modern Large Dam in India," in *Large Dams in Asia: Contested Environments between Technological Hydroscares and Social Resistance*, ed. Marcus Nüsser (Heidelberg: Springer, 2013), 70.
- ambitious plan of development through electricity:** In Vladimir Lenin, "On Foreign and Domestic Position and Party Tasks (21 November 1920)," in V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th English ed. (Moscow: Progress, 1965), 31:408–26.
- republics had access to electricity:** Information according to the World Bank, "Access to electricity (% of population)," accessed May 26, 2016, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EG.ELC.ACCS.ZS?page=5>.
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- access often facilitated through informal networks:** These networks were often referred to in Russian as *poblatsu*. Anna, Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking and Informal Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- energy was widely experienced as abundant:** Information according to the World Bank, "Access to electricity (% of population)," accessed May 26, 2016, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EG.ELC.ACCS.ZS?page=5>.
- interest from neighboring countries:** According to the United States Energy Information Administration in 2018, Kazakhstan has proven crude oil reserves of 30 billion barrels, making it the eleventh largest reserve in the world. Turkmenistan has proven gas reserves of 265 trillion cubic feet in 2016, making it the fifth largest reserves in the world and Kazakhstan has around 85 trillion cubic feet of proven gas reserves, making it fourteenth among world gas reserves. For more information, see US Energy Information Administration, Country analysis "Kazakhstan," <https://www.eia.gov/international/analysis/country/KAZ>, and "Turkmenistan," <https://www.eia.gov/international/analysis/country/TKM>.
- explored as export potential:** Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan export electricity through the Central Asia South Asia Electricity Trade and Transmission project (CASA-1000).

compare this period to the “Great Game”:

Lutz Kleveman, *The New Great Game: Blood and Oil in Central Asia* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003).

British and Russian empires competed:

It should be noted, however, that the images the “Great Game” conjures can be misleading. As Alexander Morrison has argued, “It suggests a set of mutually-understood rules, clear strategic and economic goals, and a mixture of adventurousness and rational calculation in pursuit of these goals. Above all, it suggests that *only* the ‘Great Powers’ had or have any agency in Central Asia.” Alexander Morrison, “Central Asia’s Catechism of Cliché: From the Great Game to Silk Road,” *Eurasianet*, July 25, 2017, <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/84491>. As before, it suggests that other states, such as China and Russia, are using Central Asia for their power games and the republics are somewhat at their mercy. This is an incorrect view, as Central Asian republics advance their own politics and through energy projects and insert themselves through these projects in interstate relations beyond the region.

the president’s family circle sparked

demonstrations: Amanda E. Wooden, “Kyrgyzstan’s Dark Ages: Framing and the 2010 Hydroelectric Revolution,” *Central Asian Survey* 33, no. 4 (2014): 463–81. It should be emphasized that energy was only one (if prominent) dissatisfaction among a whole range of grievances, in a context of mounting resistance not only by angry citizens but also by other politicians sensing an opportunity.

This was combined with people’s shock:

Wooden, “Kyrgyzstan’s Dark Ages,” 466.

the city’s architecture still stands in stark

contrast: The Kazakh government has recently begun efforts to distribute oil wealth and attention also to the rural and agricultural economy.

Police made mass arrests of people

demonstrating: Joanna Lillis, “Kazakhstan: Land Issue Fueling Social Discontent,” *Eurasianet*, May

24, 2016, <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/78901>. As a result of the protests, the land reform was postponed for five years. “In Rare Climbdown, Kazakh Leader Delays Land Reforms for 5 Years,” *Voice of America*, August 18, 2016, <https://www.voanews.com/a/rare-climbdown-kasakh-leader-delays-land-reforms-five-years/3471001.html>.

erodes people’s trust in the government:

Tristram Barrett, “Notes on the Moral Economy of Gas in Present-Day Azerbaijan,” *Central Asian Survey* 33, no. 4 (November 2014): 517–30.

a calculated attempt by the majority:

Melissa Kerr Chioyenda, “The Illumination of Marginality: How Ethnic Hazaras in Bamyan, Afghanistan, Perceive the Lack of Electricity as Discrimination,” *Central Asian Survey* 33, no. 4 (December 2014): 449–62.

pollution at the mine site may still

affect people: Cf. Gulzat Botoeva on conflicts over local rights to mining and simultaneous fear of damage to pastures in Naryn, Kyrgyzstan. Gulzat Botoeva, “Mining and Resource Conflicts in Kyrgyzstan,” in *Handbook: The World of Central Asia*, ed. Jeanne Féaux de la Croix and Madeleine Reeves (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

large portions of the population could be

at risk: International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), “Safe Management for Residues from Former Mining and Milling Activities in Central Asia,” Project Results, Phase 1 (2005–2006), Draft Report, 2007.

strategic resource that is under significant

scrutiny: David Gullette, *Conflict Sensitivity in the Mining Sector of the Kyrgyz Republic*, OSCE Academy in Bishkek, 2014, http://www.osce-academy.net/upload/file/Mining_report_final.pdf.

concerns for their health and

environment: This is the central theme of the documentary film *Flowers of Freedom* (2014), directed by Mirjam Leuze.

Regulation on extractive industries:

Ryskeldi Satke, “Protests over

Weakening Glacier Protections in Central Asia,” *GlacierHub* (blog), November 21, 2017, <http://glacierhub.org/2017/11/21/protests-weakening-glacier-protections-central-asia/>.

disputes on the expected returns: It

is important to note that Kumtor, as the largest mining enterprise in Kyrgyzstan, is subject to a number of negative media campaigns. Questions related to whether the mine should be nationalized are in constant focus. As with the example from protests over land legislation in Kazakhstan, some people feel that they may be losing their country’s resources to foreign companies and individuals who do not have the interests of the country and people at heart.

conflicts, and forms of activism: Beril Ocaklı, Tobias Krueger, and Jörg Niewöhner, “Shades of Conflict in Kyrgyzstan: National Actor Perceptions and Behaviour in Mining,” *International Journal of the Commons* 14, no. 1 (2020): 191–207.

enables mining projects to go forward:

R. D’Souza, “Filling Multipurpose Reservoirs with Politics: Displacing the Modern Large Dam in India,” in *Large Dams in Asia: Contested Environments between Technological Hydroscapes and Social Resistance*, ed. M. Nüsser (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 61–74; Gisa Weszkalnys, “Geology, Potentiality, Speculation: On the Indeterminacy of First Oil,” *Cultural Anthropology* 30, no. 4 (November 2015): 611–39.

expected financial returns influence

the market: Asel Doolot, and John Heathershaw, “State as Resource, Mediator and Performer: Understanding the Local and Global Politics of Gold Mining in Kyrgyzstan,” *Central Asian Survey* 34, no. 1 (2015): 93–109.

access to drinking and irrigation water:

In the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, there is much evidence that while water access was always precious and occasionally conflictual, there were workable methods and recognized sources of local authority such as

the “mirob” position in each village to deal with these. While they probably rarely guaranteed complete “fairness”—for example, between wealthy and less influential families or villages—these disputes rarely led to more wide-scale or violent conflict.

lived out in its most radical form: Anna

L. Tsing gives a very persuasive analysis of rainforest exploitation in Indonesia, for comparison. Anna L. Tsing, “Natural Resources and Capitalist Frontiers,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 38, no. 48 (November 29, 2003): 5100–5106.

22. Economics

Elmira Satybaldieva and Balihar Sanghera

part of the military industrial complex:

Roman Mogilevsky, “Is Accession to the World Trade Organization Worthwhile? The Experience of Kyrgyzstan,” *Problems of Economic Transition*, 47, no. 2 (2004): 68–73.

employment for all citizens: David

Lane, and Martin Myant, *Varieties of Capitalism in Post-Communist Countries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

economic problems facing the region:

Martin Myant, and Jan Drahokoupil, *Transition Economies: Political Economy in Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

based on highly abstract moral values:

Timothy Mitchell, “Dreamland: The Neoliberalism of Your Desires,” *Middle East Report* 210 (Spring 1999): 28–33.

legitimizes extraction-based and debt-led strategies: Balihar Sanghera and

Elmira Satybaldieva, “The Other Road to Serfdom: The Rise of the Rentier Class in Post-Soviet Economies,” *Social Science Information* 59, no. 3 (2020): 505–36.

the individualization and

commodification of welfare: Susanne

Soederberg, “The Mexican Debtfare State: Dispossession, Micro-Lending, and the Surplus Population,” *Globalizations* 9, no. 4 (2012): 561–75.

exploited host countries' desperate need: Michael Hudson, *The Bubble and Beyond: Fictitious Capital, Debt Deflation and the Global Crisis*, 2nd ed. (Dresden: ISLET, 2014).

making money from money rather than production: Andrew Sayer, *Why We Can't Afford the Rich* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2015).

Debtfarism relieves the pressure to redistribute income and wealth: Milford Bateman, *The Age of Microfinance: Destroying Latin American Economies from the Bottom Up*, Working Paper 39, Austrian Foundation for Development Research, 2013.

in the past was criticized for being parasitic: Baliyar Sanghera and Elmira Satybaldieva, "Selling Debt: Interrogating Moral Claims of Financial Elites in Central Asia," *Capital and Class* (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309816820943174>. Baliyar Sanghera and Elmira Satybaldieva, *Rentier Capitalism and Its Discontents: Power, Morality and Resistance in Central Asia* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-76303-9>.

facilitated public corruption and looting: John Heathershaw and Alexander Cooley, "Offshore Central Asia: An Introduction," *Central Asian Survey*, 34, no. 1 (2015): 1–10.

favor the interests of the powerful propertied class: Baliyar Sanghera, "Justice, Power and Informal Settlements: Understanding the Juridical View of Property Rights in Central Asia," *International Sociology* 35, no. 1 (2020): 22–44. Sanghera and Satybaldieva, *Rentier Capitalism and Its Discontents*.

Production cooperation is partly a legacy: Julian Cooper, "The Russian Economy Twenty Years after the End of the Socialist Economic System," *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 4, no. 1 (2013): 55–64.

crisis of overaccumulation of capital: Tim Summers, "China's 'New Silk Roads': Sub-national Regions and Networks of Global Political Economy," *Third*

World Quarterly, 37, no. 9 (2016): 1628–43.

23. Property

Eric McGlinchey

least corrupt of the Central Asian states, nevertheless ranks in the bottom third: Transparency International, "Corruption Perceptions Index 2017," February 21, 2018, https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017.

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When meeting with senior government officials, avoid giving gifts: US Department of Commerce, "Uzbekistan Country Commercial Guide," July 18, 2017, accessed March 29, 2018, <https://www.export.gov/article?id=Uzbekistan-Business-Customs>.

2016 presidential elections spent, combined, more than one billion dollars: Christopher Ingraham, "Somebody Just Put a Price Tag on the 2016 Election. It's a Doozy," *Washington Post*, April 14, 2017.
average winning Senate candidate had spent \$10.4 million: Soo Rin Kim, "The Price of Winning Just Got Higher, Especially in the Senate," *OpenSecrets* (blog), November 9, 2016, <https://www.opensecrets.org/news/2016/11/the-price-of-winning-just-got-higher-especially-in-the-senate/>.

US House of Representatives are a comparative bargain: Kim, "Price of Winning Just Got Higher."

rushed to claim their assets: Steven Lee Solnick, *Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 7.

incentives to block further advances

- in reform*: Joel S. Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions," *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (1998): 232–33.
- affixing of seals—for private gain*: Stephen Kotkin, "Stealing the State," *New Republic*, April 1998, 32.
- offer individuals protections in return for paying a "predictable tax"*: Mancur Olson, *Power and Prosperity: Outgrowing Communist and Capitalist Dictatorships* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 8.
- provide small businesses protection guarantees in return for a cut of profits*: Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 9.
- spirited 1.6 tons of Kyrgyz gold to Zurich*: Zamira Sydykova, *Za Kulisami Demokratii Po-Kyrgyzski* (Bishkek: Res Publica, 1997).
- a \$13.8 million line of credit*: Leyla Boulton, "The Soviet Insider, the Gold, and Kyrgyzstan's Political Innocents," *Financial Times*, January 4, 1994.
- \$4 million of the credit had "went missing"*: Boulton, "Soviet Insider, the Gold, and Kyrgyzstan's Political Innocents."
- netted state elites many millions of dollars*: Ryskeldi Satke, n.d., "Asia Times Online: Central Asian News and Current Affairs, Russia, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan," http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Central_Asia/CEN-01-100914.html.
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- few local relationships to build on*: Pope, "Undeadly Cyanide Spill."
- pressed for "company investments in the community"*: Amanda E. Wooden, "Images of Harm, Imagining Justice: Gold Mining Contestation in Kyrgyzstan," in *ExtrACTION: Impacts, Engagements, and Alternative Futures*, ed. Kirk Jalbert, Anna Willow, David Casagrande, and Stephanie Paladino (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2017), 174.
- \$3 million in 2005 to be distributed to residents*: Wooden, "Images of Harm, Imagining Justice," 174.
- establish what they believed to be appropriate relationships*: Regine A. Spector, *Order at the Bazaar: Power and Trade in Central Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 2.
- Traders and owners sought to create respectful and honorable social relationships*: Spector, *Order at the Bazaar*, 15.
- returning from migrant labor jobs abroad, to give up their "vices"*: David W. Montgomery, *Practicing Islam: Knowledge, Experience, and Social Navigation in Kyrgyzstan* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 78.
- able to diffuse ethnic violence that had gone unchecked by the state*: Alisher Khamidov, Nick Megoran, and John Heathershaw, "Bottom-Up Peacekeeping in Southern Kyrgyzstan: How Local Actors Managed to Prevent the Spread of Violence from Osh/Jalal-Abad to Aravan, June 2010," *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 6 (2017): 1130.
- agreed to use this advance to renovate*: Interview with Natalia Lozitskaiya and Victor Lozitsky, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, 2015.
- misappropriating someone else's property by fraud*: Dinara Kalkanova, "Pod Lichinoi' Chestnosti I Kristal'noi' Chistoty," *Slovo Kyrgyzstana*, October 2008.
- to pressure officials in the Bishkek*: Kalkanova, "Pod Lichinoi' Chestnosti I Kristal'noi' Chistoty,"
- charges led to visits from the Kyrgyz financial police*: Irina Stepkicheva, "Bender V Podmetki Ne Goditsia," *Slovo Kyrgyzstana*, May 2008.
- legal challenges began to seesaw*: Stepkicheva, "Bender V Podmetki Ne Goditsia."
- allowed "the goat into the garden"*: Irina Stepkicheva, "Sekret Nepotopliaemosti," *Slovo Kyrgyzstana*, October 2008.

venue for resolving the investment

dispute: Vladislav Kim et al. v. Republic of Uzbekistan—Decision of Jurisdiction, No. ICSID Case No. ARB/13/6 (International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes March 8, 2017), <https://www.italaw.com/sites/default/files/case-documents/italaw8549.pdf>.

case provides a rare window: Publicly available on the ICSID website, <https://icsid.worldbank.org/>.

government would lower asset share

prices: Raj Aggarwal and Joel T. Harper, “Equity Valuation in the Czech Voucher Privatization Auctions,” *Financial Management* 29, no. 4 (2000): 83–84.

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Gregory Gleason, *Markets and Politics in Central Asia* (London: Routledge, 2003), 41.

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Part VII. Contexts of Vision

25. Media

Svetlana Kulikova

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dependency on its neighbor's infrastructure: "Young Women Build Kyrgyzstan's First Satellite," Voice of America, November 6, 2018, <https://www.voanews.com/a/young-women-build-kyrgyzstan-s-first-satellite-/4647893.html>.

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no strong and resilient society without free and independent media: Harlem Désir, "Opening Speech at the Central Asia Media Conference in Astana, Kazakhstan," Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, November 8, 2018, <https://www.osce.org/representative-on-freedom-of-media/402323>.

Part VII. Contexts of Vision

27. Environment

Amanda E. Wooden

dense and famously green city: Morgan Y. Liu, *Under Solomon's Throne: Uzbek Visions of Renewal in Osh* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).

the realm of grassroots environmentalist efforts: Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

allowed to function in more authoritarian places: Douglas R. Weiner, *A Little Corner of Freedom: Russian Nature Protection from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); See Laura A. Henry, *Red to Green: Environmental Activism in Post-Soviet Russia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell

University Press, 2010) for a parallel discussion of Russian grassroots, profession-alized, and government affiliate organizations. These categories apply well to the Central Asian contexts. However, capital city professionalized organizations have sometimes been more influential and less critical of the state and private sector in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan than they seem to be in Henry's account of Russian professional organizations, because of somewhat different reactions to Western donor support of NGOs. Additionally, new forms of environmentalism have emerged over the last decade in Central Asia. Thus, in this chapter I refer to these organizational processes as dynamic and reflect this by pluralizing environmentalist approaches and organizations, as "environmentalisms."

stories of grassroots environmental efforts: Examples include Kloop.kg, Adamdar.ca, Ferghana.ru, and the ecological magazine *Ливень - Living Asia*, <https://livingasia.online/>.

Nature is heterogenous, complicated, and social: I pluralize to indicate the wide diversity of things environmental that people often misunderstand as homogenous: environmentalism/s, nature/s, knowledge/s, and understanding/s. This is to indicate to the reader that there are various ways of being an environmentalist, having knowledge or understanding, perceiving Nature, etc. That is, Nature is social as well as complex and plural.

meanings that people express about places: Jeanne Féaux de la Croix, *Iconic Places in Central Asia: The Moral Geography of Dams, Pastures and Holy Sites* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2016).

social as well as material: In order to reflect what I and other scholars of political ecology argue are socially shaped ideas, for the rest of this chapter I will capitalize *Environment* and *Nature* instead of using quotation marks. Political ecology is the name of the field, from critical geography, that seeks to help us understand the various ways in which the social (human)

and the natural (other than human) are intertwined and inseparable. See Noel Castree and Bruce Braun, eds., *Social Nature: Theory, Practice, and Politics* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001); Arturo Escobar, "Construction Nature: Elements for a Post-structuralist Political Ecology," *Futures* 28, no. 4 (1996): 325–43; Arturo Escobar, "After Nature: Steps to an Antiessentialist Political Ecology," *Current Anthropology* 40, no. 1 (1999): 1–30; Paul Robbins, *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction*, vol. 16 (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2011); and Richard Peet, Paul Robbins, and Michael Watts, eds., *Global Political Ecology* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

encompassing environmental issues we face in Central Asia: This chapter draws on extensive field research I conducted over approximately forty-five months of field research since 2000 (in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan) in participant observation, in-depth interviews, public opinion survey, news and social media content analysis, and photographic ethnography.

Geographic and Socio-Environmental Conditions: For the purposes of this chapter, I consider Central Asia to be the area bounded by geographical formations rather than just current political boundaries: from the Caspian Sea to the Tien Shan and Pamir mountain ranges and Tarim/Altishahr basin, the watersheds of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya. In this way, the region includes Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, parts of Afghanistan, Iran, and northwest China. See Anning Huang, Yang Zhou, Yaocun Zhang, Danqing Huang, Yong Zhao, and Haomin Wu, "Changes of the Annual Precipitation over Central Asia in the Twenty-First Century Projected by Multimodels of CMIP5," *Journal of Climate* 27, no. 17 (2014): 6627–46, for a detailed description of the region's hydrological and ecosystem range.

reflect not just human attempts to control nature: Maya K. Peterson, *Pipe Dreams: Water and Empire in Central*

Asia's Aral Sea Basin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 6. **meaning beyond just where we live and work:** See Féaux de la Croix, *Iconic Places in Central Asia*, 28–41, for a theoretical discussion of the concepts of place, landscape, space, environment, and nature in a Central Asian context.

range of geographical and social considerations: Environmental studies scholars in the humanities and social sciences have for many decades shifted the focus of inquiry beyond places we conceive of as "wild" (i.e., without humans) and beyond conservation and pollution problems. Thus, I use the terms *place*, *landscape*, and *socionature* in this piece to likewise broaden our nonspecialist conversations about these topics.

Its ecosystems include deserts: For a more detailed and wider ranging overview of regional environmental issues, see Eric Freedman and Mark Neuzil, eds., *Environmental Crises in Central Asia: From Steppes to Seas, from Deserts to Glaciers* (London: Routledge, 2015).

notable large saline and alpine lakes: The Caspian and Aral, although named seas both in Russian and in English, are actually endorheic lakes. Because of evaporation, and their formation in depressions with no outflowing rivers, these bodies of water become salty. Thus, they are commonly referred to as "seas."

human-impacted life-diverse areas: Gulnaz Jalilova and Harald Vacik, "Local People's Perceptions of Forest Biodiversity in the Walnut Fruit Forests of Kyrgyzstan," *International Journal of Biodiversity Science, Ecosystem Services and Management* 8, no. 3 (2012): 204–16; Jürgen Blaser, Jane Carter, and Donald Allan Gilmour, eds., *Biodiversity and Sustainable Use of Kyrgyzstan's Walnut Fruit Forests* (Gland, Switzerland: IUCN, 1998). For extensive treatment of the biodiversity issue for the mountainous areas of the region, see *Ecosystem Profile: Mountains of Central Asia Biodiversity Hotspot*, Critical Ecosystem Partnership Fund,

August 27, 2017, <https://www.cepf.net/sites/default/files/mountains-central-asia-ecosystem-profile-eng.pdf>.

industrialization in a variety of spheres:

For further reading, see recent historical scholarship on engineering, science, industrialization and the environment in Central Asia, such as: Moritz Florin, “Emptying Lakes, Filling Up Seas: Hydroelectric Dams and the Ambivalences of Development in Late Soviet Central Asia,” *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 2 (2019): 237–54; Artemy M. Kalinovsky, “Not Some British Colony in Africa: The Politics of Decolonization and Modernization in Soviet Central Asia, 1955–1964,” *Ab Imperio* 2013, no. 2 (2013): 191–222; Artemy M. Kalinovsky, “A Most Beautiful City for the World’s Tallest Dam: Internationalism, Social Welfare, and Urban Utopia in Nurek,” *Cahiers du monde russe* 57, no. 4 (2016): 819–46; Maya Karin Peterson, “Technologies of Rule: Empire, Water, and the Modernization of Central Asia, 1867–1941” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2011); Maya K. Peterson, “Engineering Empire,” *Cahiers du monde russe* 57, no. 1 (2016): 125–46; Peterson, *Pipe Dreams*; Niccolo Pianciola, “Stalinskaja ‘Ierarija Potreblenija’ I Velikij Golod 1931–1933 gg. V Kazhstane,” *Ab Imperio* 2018, no. 2 (2018): 80–116; Patryk Michal Reid, “Managing Nature, Constructing the State: The Material Foundation of Soviet Empire in Tajikistan, 1917–1937” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2016); Patryk Reid, “‘Tajikistan’s Turksib’: Infrastructure and Improvisation in Economic Growth of the Vakhsh River Valley,” *Central Asian Survey* 36, no. 1 (2017): 19–36; Flora Roberts, “A Controversial Dam in Stalinist Central Asia: Rivalry and ‘Fraternal Cooperation’ on the Syr Darya,” *Ab Imperio* 2018, no. 2 (2018): 117–43.

leaching into drinking water supplies:

See Tinatin Doolotkeldieva, Maxabat Konurbaeva, and Saykal Bobusheva, “Microbial Communities in Pesticide-Contaminated Soils in Kyrgyzstan and Bioremediation Possibilities,” *Environmental Science and Pollution*

Research 25, no. 32 (2017): 1–15, on poorly stored obsolete pesticides leaching into water supplies; Viktor Novikov and Otto Simonett, *Waste and Chemicals in Central Asia: A Visual Synthesis*, Zoï Environment Network, 2013, https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/7538/Waste_and_chemicals_in_Central_Asia_a_visual_synthesis-2013Waste_Chemicals_CA_EN.pdf.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y, a report about hazardous wastes in the five post-Soviet Central Asian countries; and Rakhmanbek M. Toichuev, Liudmila V. Zhilova, Timur R. Paizildaev, Madina S. Khametova, Abdygapar Rakhmatillaev, Kyialbek S. Sakibaev, Zhanyl A. Madykova, et al., “Organochlorine Pesticides in Placenta in Kyrgyzstan and the Effect on Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Newborn Health,” *Environmental Science and Pollution Research* 25, no. 32 (2018): 31885–94; and Rahmanbek Mamatkadyrovich Toichuev, D. S. Mirzakulov, and T. R. Pajzildaev, “Rasprostranennost’ besplodija muzhchin, prozhivajushhih v uslovijah zagriznenija okruzhajushhej sredy hlorganichestskimi pesticidami” [The prevalence of infertility in men living under environmental pollution conditions with organochlorine pesticides], *Gigiena i sanitarija [Hygiene and sanitation]* 94, no. 6 (2015): 97–99, about male fertility, pregnancy, and newborn health problems among people living in communities with former pesticide storage dumps or agricultural airstrips.

the oil and gas industry: Philipp Frank Jäger, “Flows of Oil, Flows of People: Resource-Extraction Industry, Labour Market and Migration in Western Kazakhstan,” *Central Asian Survey* 33, no. 4 (2014): 500–16.

Caspian Basin water pollution: For an analysis of the legal and institutional frameworks in operation regarding the Caspian Sea, see Barbara Janusz-Pawletta, *The Legal Status of the Caspian Sea: Current Challenges and Prospects for Future Development* (Berlin: Springer, 2016).

notorious for long-term health damage:

See Madeleine Reeves, *Border Work: Spatial Lives of the State in Rural Central Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014) for discussion of the ways Moscow provisioning, Soviet industrialization projects and deindustrialization, and border delimitation have shaped ideas about Soviet-era industrial sites, narratives of conflict about canals now crossing newly securitized borders, and how these narratives and infrastructure shape daily lives of residents in the border zones and enclaves.

pressed for closing and remediating

this site: in May 2019 the unionized workers at the Aiderken Mercury Plant were on strike against efforts by the Global Environmental Fund to shut down the facility. “V Ajdarkene tretij den' bastujut rabotniki Hajdarkanskogo rtutnogo kombinata,” *Economist.kg: Finansovoe izdatel'stvo*, March 15, 2019, <https://economist.kg/2019/05/15/v-ajdarkene-tretij-den-bastujut-rabotniki-hajdarkanskogo-rtutnogo-kombinata/>. This case provides a good example of how some people working in polluted sites may choose to resist changing these work conditions, or may be unaware of or in denial about the full extent of health damage from these exposures.

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community conflicts: For example, see Asel Doolotkeldieva, “Social Mobilizations, Politics, and Society in Contemporary Kyrgyzstan” (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2015), in particular chapter 5, on antimining mobilization in Aral, Talas province.

processes around oil touch many levels: Jäger, “Flows of Oil, Flows of People,” 500.

animal husbandry and irrigated

agriculture: Nicolas Lescureux and John D. C. Linnell, “The Effect of Rapid Social Changes during Post-Communist Transition on Perceptions of the Human-Wolf Relationships in Macedonia and Kyrgyzstan,” *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* 3, no. 1 (2013): 4.

An important social rubbing point:

Mining in places where livelihoods are primarily based on animal husbandry and irrigation-based agriculture may lead to land lost to mining facilities or impacts on water quality. The fear of such damage raises questions about income lost and compensated by new jobs in mining, the temporality of boom-and-bust extractive economies, and the emotional toll of losing a place and way of living. Resident opposition to mining based on these livelihood concerns sometimes surprises national officials and international corporate executives who focus on new jobs or secondary employment created, not on the meanings of these places or the importance of the work displaced. See Irène Mestre, “When Shepherds Mine Mountains: The Impact of Artisanal Mining on Agropastoral Systems in Kyrgyzstan. Case Study of Naryn Province,” *Journal of Alpine Research/Revue de géographie alpine* 105, no. 1 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.4000/rga.3611>, for comparison of industrial and so-called artisan mining in agropastoral communities in Naryn, and interaction between mining and livestock herding.

labor migration and the rapid urbanization:

See Jäger, “Flows of Oil, Flows of People,” 500–516, for a discussion of Kazakhstan’s labor dynamics in the energy extraction sector and internal migration driven by this work.

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purchases: For discussion of changes in Bishkek and the social consequences for those nostalgic of the old city and for new migrants trying to fit in, see Philipp Schröder, “Avoidance and Appropriation in Bishkek: Dealing with Time, Space and Urbanity in Kyrgyzstan’s Capital,” *Central Asian Survey* 35, no. 2 (2016):

218–36. About shifting ideologies in moments of anxiety and change in Kyrgyzstan, with a case study of a former coal mining town, see Mathijs Pelkmans, *Fragile Conviction: Changing Ideological Landscapes in Urban Kyrgyzstan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017).

mass destruction of green spaces: Aidai Erkebaeva, “‘Privet, drug! Ja—dub’: Kak derev’ja ‘Zagovorili’ s bishkekchanami” [“Hello, friend! I am an oak tree”: How trees “began speaking” with Bishkek residents], *kloop*, June 10, 2017, <https://kloop.kg/blog/2017/06/10/privet-drug-ya-dub-kak-derevya-zagovorili-s-bishkekchanami/>; Aidai Erkebaeva, “Vyrubka derev’ev, marshrutki i zastrojka. Chem byli nedovol’ny uchastniki mitinga v Bishkeke” [Cutting of trees, minibuses, and construction. What were the concerns of the meeting participants in Bishkek], *kloop*, April 3, 2018, <https://kloop.kg/blog/2018/04/03/vyrubka-derev-ev-marshrutki-i-zastrojka-chem-byli-nedovolny-uchastniki-mitinga-v-bishkeke/>; “Zhiteli Uzbekistana pozhalovalis’ na novuju volnu vyrubki derev’ev” [Residents of Uzbekistan complained about a new wave of tree cuttings], *Ferghana News*, January 23, 2018, <https://www.fergananews.com/news/28002>; Nikita Makarenko, “Hvatit rubit’!” [Stop hacking!], *Gazeta.uz*, May 8, 2018, <https://www.gazeta.uz/ru/2018/05/08/trees/>; “Aktivisty v Bishkeke projudut marshem protiv vyrubki derev’ev” [Activists in Bishkek march against tree felling], *Radio Azattyq*, May 4, 2018, <https://rus.azattyq.org/a/29207721.html>; Aleksandra Titova, “Kak hudozhnik prizyvayet borot’sja s vyrubkoj derev’ev v Bishkeke” [How an Artist fights tree cutting in Bishkek], *kloop*, May 21, 2017, <https://kloop.kg/blog/2017/05/21/aleksej-klimenko-fotograf-hudozhnik-i-borets-s-vyrubkoj-derev-ev/>; Danil Usmanov, “Foto: Kak bishkekchane pytalis’ ostanovit’ vyrubku derev’ev po ulice Toktonaliev” [Photo: How Bishkek residents tried to stop the cutting of trees on Toktonaliev Street], *kloop*, June 2, 2017, <https://kloop.kg/>

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- prominent and revived discussions of these geological bodies:** Wooden, "Images of Harm, Imagining Justice," 169–83.
- ## 28. Development
- Noor O'Neill Borbieva
- articulated by President Harry Truman:** See William Easterly, *The Tyranny of Experts: Economists, Dictators, and the Forgotten Rights of the Poor* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), for a discussion of the history of this vision.
- improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas:** Quoted in Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, trans. Patrick Camiller, 3rd ed. (London: Zed Books, 2008), 71–72.
- on the stages of economic development:** W. W. Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth," *Economic History Review*, n.s., 12, no. 1 (1959): 1–16.
- including repairing irrigation systems:** Ian Murray Matley, "Agricultural Development (1865–1963)," in *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview*, ed. Edward Allworth (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 267.
- expanded the production of cash crops:** Matley, "Agricultural Development"; Ian Murray Matley, "Industrialization (1865–1964)," in Allworth, *Central Asia*, 309–48.
- over-investment in heavy industry and resource extraction:** Katherine Verdery, "What Was Socialism, and Why Did It Fall?" in *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 19–38.
- High levels of social spending:** Jane Falkingham, Jeni Klugman, Sheila Marnie, and John Micklewright. "Household Welfare in Central Asia: An Introduction to the Issues," in

- Household Welfare in Central Asia*, ed. Jane Falkingham, Jeni Klugman, Sheila Marnie, and John Micklewright (New York: St. Martin's, 1997), 7.
- scored highly on many health indicators:** Eric W. Sievers, *The Post-Soviet Decline of Central Asia: Sustainable Development and Comprehensive Capital* (London: Routledge, 2003), 51.
- experienced a period of hyperinflation:** Richard Pomfret, *Central Asia since 1991: The Experience of the New Independent States*, Capacity Building and Competitiveness Research Programme on Market Access: OECD Development Centre, July, 2003, 44.
- left their jobs to join the informal economy:** E.g., Alexia Bloch, *Sex, Love, and Migration: Postsocialism, Modernity, and Intimacy from Istanbul to the Arctic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017); Anna Cieřlewska, "From Shuttle Trader to Businesswomen: The Informal Bazaar Economy in Kyrgyzstan," in *The Informal Post-socialist Economy: Embedded Practices and Livelihoods*, ed. Jeremy Morris and Abel Polese (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis, 2013); Regine A. Spector, *Order at the Bazaar: Power and Trade in Central Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017).
- health indicators worsened:** Sievers, *Post-Soviet Decline of Central Asia*.
- goals of this aid are varied:** Sievers, *Post-Soviet Decline of Central Asia*.
- achieved through "structural adjustment" reforms:** Gregory Gleason, *Markets and Politics in Central Asia: Structural Reform and Political Change* (London: Routledge, 2003); Sievers, *Post-Soviet Decline of Central Asia*; Wumaier Yilamu, *Neoliberalism and Post-Soviet Transition: Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- in reality the results were mixed:** Simon Commander and Richard Jackman, *Providing Social Benefits in Russia: Redefining the Roles of Firms and Government*, Policy Research Working Paper, World Bank, 1993; Falkingham, Klugman, Marnie, and Micklewright, "Household Welfare in Central Asia."
- they object to the neoliberal ideology:** e.g., Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty* (New York: Crown, 2012); Noor O'Neill Borbieva, *Visions of Development in Central Asia: Revitalizing the Culture Concept* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2019); Alexander Cooley and John Heathershaw, *Dictators without Borders: Power and Money in Central Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017); John Harriss, *Depoliticizing Development: The World Bank and Social Capital* (London: Anthem, 2002); Julie Hemment, *Empowering Women in Russia: Activism, Aid, and NGOs* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Michele Rivkin-Fish, *Women's Health in Post-Soviet Russia: The Politics of Intervention* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Yilamu, *Neoliberalism and Post-Soviet Transition*.
- invested in high-profile infrastructure projects:** Marlène Laruelle and Sébastien Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia: Geopolitics and the Challenges of Economic Development* (London: Routledge, 2013), 27–42.
- turned off by the paternalistic tone:** Laruelle and Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia*, 76.
- quickly gained a reputation for excellence:** See, e.g., Bayram Balci, "Fethullah Gülen's Missionary Schools in Central Asia and Their Role in the Spreading of Turkism and Islam," *Religion, State and Society* 31, no. 2 (2003): 151–77; M. Hakan Yavuz and John L. Esposito, eds., *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Gülen Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003).
- the funding of Islamic infrastructure:** e.g., Julie McBrien, *From Belonging to Belief: Modern Secularisms and the Construction of Religion in Kyrgyzstan* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), 131–50.
- implemented some structural adjustment reforms:** Yilamu, *Neoliberalism and Post-Soviet Transition*, 99–106.

ability to profit from its mineral wealth:

Steven Sabol, "Turkmenistan: Flawed, Fragile and Isolated," in *Stable Outside, Fragile Inside? Post-Soviet Statehood in Central Asia*, ed. Emilian Kavalski (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 191; Martin C. Spechler and Dina Spechler, "The International Political Economy of Central Asian Statehood," in Kavalski, *Stable Outside, Fragile Inside?* 76.

implemented some free market reforms:

Yilamu, *Neoliberalism and Post-Soviet Transition*, 84–98.

government retained control of the

financial sector: e.g., Scott Radnitz, *Weapons of the Wealthy: Predatory Regimes and Elite-Led Protests in Central Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 55.

the republic remains dependent

on cotton production: see, e.g., International Crisis Group, *The Curse of Cotton: Central Asia's Destructive Monoculture*, Report 93, Europe and Central Asia, February 28, 2005, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/central-asia/tajikistan/curse-cotton-central-asias-destructive-monoculture>.

promote a policy of mustaqillik, or "self-

reliance": Bernardo Teles Fazendeiro, "Uzbekistan's 'Spirit' of Self-Reliance and the Logic of Appropriateness: TAPoich and Interaction with Russia," *Central Asian Survey* 34, no. 4 (2015): 484; Bernardo Teles Fazendeiro, *Uzbekistan's Foreign Policy: The Struggle for Recognition and Self-Reliance under Karimov* (London: Routledge, 2018).

In the immediate wake of these reforms

and loans: William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 67

main sources of revenue were the drug

trade: Laurance Markowitz, "The Limits of International Agency: Post-Soviet State-Building in Tajikistan," in Kavalski, *Stable Outside, Fragile Inside?*, 158.

development community viewed a

vibrant civil society: Michael Walzer,

"The Idea of Civil Society: A Path to Social Reconstruction," *Dissent* 38 (1991): 293; see also Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), on "social capital"; and Christian Welzel, *Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and the Quest for Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), on "social movement activism."

about building the size and

sustainability: Sada Aksartova, "Promoting Civil Society or Diffusing NGOs? U.S. Donors in the Former Soviet Union," in *Globalization, Philanthropy, and Civil Society: Projecting Institutional Logics Abroad*, ed. David C. Hammack and Steven Heydemann (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009); Jeanne Féaux de la Croix, "How to Build a Better Future? Kyrgyzstani Development Workers and the 'Knowledge Transfer' Strategy," *Central Asian Survey* 32, no. 4 (2013): 448–61.

NGO leaders met with interested citizens:

Féaux de la Croix, "How to Build a Better Future?" 448–61.

focus on capacity building fostered

a circularity: According to Sada Aksartova, early interest among donors in "building civil society" was partly a pretext to create a funding distribution system that would allow aid money to bypass untrustworthy state agencies. In this environment, international donors were focused before all else on "absorptive capacity"—the sector's ability to absorb the money they needed to distribute—rather than actual democratic activism. Aksartova, "Promoting Civil Society or Diffusing NGOs?"

Gorbachev had appealed to citizens:

S. Frederick Starr, "Civil Society in Central Asia," in *Civil Society in Central Asia*, ed. M. Holt Ruffin and Daniel Waugh (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

citizens could no longer devote time to volunteer: Sievers, *Post-Soviet Decline of Central Asia*, 103.

few NGOs founded before independence still existed: Sievers, *Post-Soviet Decline of Central Asia*, 106–8.

the new “independent” sector: E.g., Noor O’Neill Borbieva, “Empowering Muslim Women: Independent Religious Fellowships in the Kyrgyz Republic,” *Slavic Review* 71, no. 2 (2012): 288–307.

projects that included mandatory testing: Laëtitia Atlani-Duault, *Humanitarian Aid in Post-Soviet Countries: An Anthropological Perspective*, trans. Andrew Wilson (London: Routledge, 2007); see also Svetlana Ancker and Bernd Rechel, “‘Donors Are Not Interested in Reality’: The Interplay between International Donors and Local NGOs in Kyrgyzstan’s HIV/AIDS Sector,” *Central Asian Survey* 34, no. 4 (2015): 516–30.

failed because they were based on a misunderstanding: Madeleine Reeves, “Locating Danger: *Konfliktologiia* and the Search for Fixity in the Ferghana Valley Borderlands,” *Central Asian Survey* 24, no. 1 (2005): 67–81; see also Madeleine Reeves, *Border Work: Spatial Lives of the State in Rural Central Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).

Donors’ interests change quickly: E.g., Ilya Levine, *US Policies in Central Asia: Democracy, Energy, and the War on Terror* (London: Routledge, 2016).

shifts encourage donors to favor short-term projects: Aksartova, “Promoting Civil Society or Diffusing NGOs?” 182–83; Ancker and Rechel, “‘Donors Are Not Interested in Reality,’” 516–30.

acknowledges that US foreign assistance has two purposes: United States Agency for International Development, “Who We Are,” accessed June 20, 2018, <https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are>.

Freedom Support Act explicitly connects economic growth: FREEDOM Support Act of 1992, Pub. L. No. 102-511, 106 Stat. 3320 (1992),

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-106/pdf/STATUTE-106-Pg3320.pdf>

development money stays in the developed world: Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 166; see also Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian, 1998).

the sector is highly professionalized:

For a more positive assessment of the important contributions of NGO activists, see Atlani-Duault, *Humanitarian Aid in Post-Soviet Countries*, 108–9; Borbieva, “Empowering Muslim Women,” 288–207; Féaux de la Croix, “How to Build a Better Future?” 448–61; and Maija Paasiaro, “Home-Grown Strategies for Greater Agency: Reassessing the Outcome of Civil Society Strengthening in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan,” *Central Asian Survey* 28, no. 1 (2009): 59–77. These works explore the ways local activists adapt development initiatives to local needs.

surveys suggest that Kazakhstani

citizens prefer authoritarianism:

Kirill Nourzhanov, “International Democratic Norms and Domestic Socialization in Kazakhstan: Learning Processes of the Power Elite,” in Kavalski, *Stable Outside, Fragile Inside?* 115.

imperative that wealthy nations and individuals give: E.g., Jeffrey D.

Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

every wealthy nation should dedicate a minimum: Angus Deaton, *The Great Escape: Health, Wealth, and the*

Origins of Inequality (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 276.

aid to poor states with very little to show: Easterly, *White Man’s Burden*, 4.

development aid may actually hinder economic growth: Deaton, *Great Escape*, 288.

growth decreases as aid increases:

Easterly also finds that if you control

for effective governance, aid itself has a minimal to negative impact on growth. More specifically, at up to 8 percent of GDP, aid has a small positive impact on growth, but at 8 percent it has no impact and above 8 percent it has a negative impact.

Easterly, *White Man's Burden*, 48–50.

distorts the relationship between states and their citizens: Deaton, *Great Escape*, 278, 285.

undermines this delicate relationship: Deaton, *Great Escape*, 295.

elites able to steal incoming aid: Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 443–55.

serves poor countries better than foreign aid: Deaton, *Great Escape*, 280.

the value of remittances: World Bank, “Migration and Remittances Data,” <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data>.

aid to these republics is much less in comparison: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, “Statistics on Resource Flows to Developing Countries,” last updated March 18, 2021, <https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/statisticsonresourceflowstodevelopingcountries.htm>.

because of existing regimes’ reputations for corruption: E.g., Cooley and Heathershaw, *Dictators without Borders*.

reduce corruption, these figures might improve: Asian Development Bank Institute, *Connecting Central Asia with Economic Centers* (Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute, 2014), 42–61.

basic economic indicators for the five republics: CIA World Factbook, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/>.

Case VII-A. Governing Extremism through Communities in Tajikistan

Edward Lemon

Young people are trying to keep the peace: “Donishjuyoni DTT: ‘Tojikiston

Istiqloliyatī Ideālī Dorad va Hamai Huquqhoi Shahrivandon in jo Hifz Meshavad” [Students of TTU:

“Tajikistan has an ideal independence and the rights of citizens are protected here”], *Khovar*, September 23, 2016, <http://khovar.tj/2016/09/donish-yoniddt-to-ikiston-isti-loliyati-ideal-dorad-va-amai-u-u-oi-sha-rvandon-dar-in-o-ifz-meshavand/>.

the process by which individuals are radicalized: Adeeb Rashid, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (London: Penguin, 2001); Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives* (New York: Basic Books, 1997); Nancy Lubin and Barnett Rubin, *Calming the Ferghana Valley: Development and Dialogue in the Heart of Central Asia* (Washington, DC: Council of Foreign Relations, 1999); Anna Zelkina, “Islam and Security in the New States of Central Asia: How Genuine Is the Islamic Threat?” *Religion, State and Society* 27, no. 4 (1999): 355–72; Ariel Cohen, *Hizb ut-Tahrir: An Emerging Threat to U.S. Interests in Central Asia*, The Heritage Foundation, May 30, 2003, <https://www.heritage.org/europe/report/hizb-ut-tahrir-emerging-threat-us-interests-central-asia>; Didier Chaudet, “Hizb-ut-Tahrir: An Islamist Threat to Central Asia?” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 26, no. 1 (2006): 113–25. Cf. David W. Montgomery and John Heathershaw, “Islam, Secularism and Danger: A Reconsideration of the Link between Religiosity, Radicalism and Rebellion in Central Asia,” *Religion, State and Society* 44, no. 3 (2016): 192–218.

sovereign power and disciplinary power: Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *The Will to Knowledge* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1981).

part of a new type of governing: Sven-Olov Wallenstein, “Introduction: Foucault, Governmentality and Biopolitics,” In *Foucault, Governmentality and Biopolitics*, ed. Jakob Nilsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein (Stockholm: Södertörn Philosophical Studies, 2013), 17.

the most important component for public safety: Saimummin Yatimov, “Shuuri Jam’iyati va Amniyati Jam’iyati (Shuuri Muqaqari)” [Social consciousness and societal security], *Jumhuriyat*, December 17, 2015, http://www.jumhuriyat.tj/index.php?art_id=22409.

They must always be vigilant:

Emomali Rahmon, “Payomi Tabriki ba Munosibati Idi Saidi Fitr” [Congratulatory speech on the occasion of Ramadan], *President.tj*, July 16, 2015, <http://president.tj/node/9428>.

guide the young people toward a democratic society: M. Shaidullozoda, “Terrorizm va Javononi Firebkhirda” [Terrorism and the deception of youth], *Jumhuriyat*, July 28, 2015, http://jumhuriyat.tj/index.php?art_id=20134.

instill the values of ‘nation,’ ‘people’ and ‘reconciliation’: Peshohang, “Muttahidiyu Yakdili Bar Ziddi Terrorizmu Ekstremizm” [Unity in the fight against terrorism and extremism], *Peshohang*, December 24, 2015, <http://www.tja.tj/index.php/tj/amniyati-omea-va-avonon/68-mutta-idiyu-yakdil-bar-ziddi-terrorizmu-ekstremizm.html>.

every citizen is responsible: Nasri Asadzoda, “Dasisakori Vatandori Nest!” [In this work there is no patriotism], *Jumhuriyat*, July 26, 2017, http://jumhuriyat.tj/index.php?art_id=30215.

prevent the creation of an alien culture: “The Group of Vanguard: Its Beginning, the Activities and Achievements,” *Avangard*, January 8, 2016, <http://www.tja.tj/index.php/en/e-odijoti-avonon/215-the-group-of-vanguard-its-beginning-the-activities-and-achievements.html>.

Power is employed and exercised: Michel Foucault, “An Interview with Michel Foucault,” in *Power*, ed. James Faubion (New York: The New Press, 2000), 239–97.

human beings turn themselves into subjects: Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, ed. Paul Rabinow and Hubert Dreyfus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

fight the false interests: “Mahmadali Safolzoda: Mardumi Tojik Mardumi Solhoi 90-um Nestand” [Mahmadali Safolzoda: The Tajik people are not the same as they were in the 1990s], *Khovar*, September 23, 2016, <http://khovar.tj/2016/09/mu-ammad-safolzoda-mardumi-to-ik-mardumi-sol-oi-90-um-nestand/>.

the ultimate achievement of Soviet

individualization: Oleg Kharkhordin, *The Collective and the Individual in Russia: A Study of Practices* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 251.

stories of ordinary citizens going on with their lives: T. Alimov and S. Urunov, “Ekstremizmu Nyet!” [No to extremism!], *Kommunist Tadjikistana*, February 21, 1990, 1; *Kommunist Tadjikistan*, “Budem Zhit!” [We will live!], *Kommunist Tadjikistana*, February 21, 1990, 2.

a mixture of responses from citizens:

Till Mostowlansky, “‘The State Starts from the Family’: Peace and Harmony in Tajikistan’s Eastern Pamirs,” *Central Asian Survey* 32, no. 4 (2013): 462–74; John Heathershaw, *Post-conflict Tajikistan: The Politics of Peacebuilding and the Emergence of Legitimate Order* (London: Routledge, 2009); Edward Lemon and Hélène Thibault, “Counter-extremism, Power and Authoritarian Governance in Tajikistan,” *Central Asian Survey* 37, no. 1 (2018): 137–59; Johan Rasanayagam, “Counter-extremism, Secularism, and the Category of Religion in the United Kingdom and Uzbekistan: Should We Be Studying Islam at All?” in *Constructing the Uzbek State: Narratives of Post-Soviet Years*, ed. Marlène Laruelle (New York: Lexington Books, 2017), 151–168.

there is resistance: Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 95.

Case VII-B. Customary Governance and the State in Central Eurasia

Jennifer Brick Murtazashvili

basis of legitimacy is rooted in tradition: Jennifer Brick Murtazashvili, *Informal*

Order and the State in Afghanistan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

organizations are not static: Olivier Roy, *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

importance of governance that occurs outside: Peter T. Leeson, *Anarchy Unbound: Why Self-Governance Works Better than You Think* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

self-governance is a purposeful strategy: James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

“neighborhood” or simply “local.”: In urban areas, the term *gozar* or *nohiya* is used to signify a neighborhood (subsection) within a mahalla. The author has conducted village-based research across all three countries.

Community governance arrangements are defined: Arun Agrawal and Clark C. Gibson, “Enchantment and Disenchantment: The Role of Community in Natural Resource Conservation,” *World Development* 27, no. 4 (1999): 629–49.

used to signify their esteemed status: Other terms include *oq soqol* (“white beard,” Uzbek), *rish safed* (“white beard,” Persian), *mu-ye safed* (“white hair,” Persian), *arbob*, or *amin*. In addition to the term *rais*, in Afghanistan communities are increasingly using the term *namayenda* (“representative,” Persian).

a self-governing organization that has a range of responsibilities: Anna Cieřlewska, *Community, the State and Development Assistance Transforming the Mahalla in Tajikistan* (Krakow: Archeobooks, 2015), 1.

organized on the principle of solidarity groups: Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia: Geopolitics and the Birth of Nations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

place where groups come together: Cieřlewska, *Community, the State and Development Assistance*;

Murtazashvili, *Informal Order and the State*.

Customary leaders were killed in large numbers: Roy, *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan*.

traditional roles these bodies played were modified: Sergei Poliakov, *Everyday Islam: Religion and Tradition in Rural Central Asia* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1992).

mahallas have taken on substantial administrative roles: Eric W. Sievers, “Uzbekistan’s Mahalla: From Soviet to Absolutist Residential Community Associations,” *Chicago-Kent Journal of International and Comparative Law* 2, no. 1 (2002): 91–158.

targets those of Central Asian ethnicities: John Micklewright and Sheila Marnie, “Targeting Social Assistance in a Transition Economy: The Mahallas in Uzbekistan,” *Social Policy and Administration* 39, no. 4 (2005): 431–47.

suspicion that targeted welfare assistance: Victoria Koroteyeva and Ekaterina Makarova, “Money and Social Connections in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Uzbek City,” *Central Asian Survey* 17, no. 4 (1998): 579.

formal mahalla committee members can play important roles: Johan Rasanayagam, *Islam in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan: The Morality of Experience* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

not been done in practice: Authors’ field observation.

more citizens believed that mahallas were accountable: According to the survey 37 percent said mahalla leaders are accountable to citizens; this contrasts with 9 percent for jamaot council members, 6 percent for the jamaot council, and just 5 percent for the district administration.

mahalla committee had provided guidance to people in the community: Jennifer Brick Murtazashvili, “Evaluation Baseline Report: Tajikistan Local Governance Project Impact Evaluation,” internal document, United States Agency for International Development, Washington, DC, 2013.

Women are also leading mahalla committees: Murtazashvili, *Evaluation Baseline Report*.

assumed it had withered away: Barnett R. Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).

vehicle to rebuild the social fabric: MRRD, “The Most Important Achievement of the NSP to Date,” accessed May 27, 2010, <http://www.nspafghanistan.org/Default.aspx?Sel=103>.

distinct set of decision makers: In local languages, these elders, or “white beards,” share similar names to those in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (*rish safid, mu-ye safid, oq soqol*, and *arbob*). In addition, Pashtun titles include *malik* and *khan*). Although these titles differ, over time there has been convergence in the role these individuals play in community and political life. Murtazashvili, *Informal Order and the State in Afghanistan*.

resilience of customary governing organizations: Jennifer Brick Murtazashvili, *Survey on Political Institutions, Elections, and Democracy in Afghanistan* (Washington, DC: Democracy International and United States Agency for International Development, 2012).

took their dispute to customary community leaders: Individuals turned to *shuras* and elders (34.9 percent) or *maliks* and other customary leaders (22.6 percent). The Asia Foundation, *A Survey of the Afghan People: Afghanistan in 2017* (Washington, DC: The Asia Foundation, 2017), https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/2017_AfghanSurvey_report.pdf.

Part VIII. Contexts of Aesthetics

29. Music

Will Sumits

speak a Turkic language: These include Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Turkmen,

Karakalpak, Tatar, Bashkir, Uyghur, and others.

cultural pluralism that had long characterized the region: Islam took root in much of Transoxiana, including Bukhara, Samarkand, and Kokand, from the eighth to the tenth century. The spread of Islam to nomadic peoples of the Central Asian steppes began with the Qarakhānid dynasty in the tenth century, but only became well established as the major religion of the area during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See John Schoeberlein, “Islam in Central Asia and the Caucasus,” in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Islamic World*, ed. John L. Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press: 2009), 98–107.

early Soviet era sought to suppress both clan-based tribal identities: Identity construction in pre- and post-Soviet-era Central Asia is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon. National and ethnic identities have been especially vulnerable to the changing political aims of policy makers. For a succinct overview of ethnic identity construction and revision, see Dávid Somfai Kara, “The Formation of Modern Turkic ‘Ethnic’ Groups in Central and Inner Asia,” *Hungarian Historical Review* 7, no. 1 (2018): 98–110.

Music became a powerful medium in actualizing these objectives: Soviet strategists made a sharp distinction between “nationalism” and their own “Nationalities Policy.” According to the Soviet cultural ideology, “nationalism” was an imminent threat associated with separatism that could undermine the creation of the Soviet state. See Theodore Levin, “The Music and Tradition of the Bukharan Shashmaqām,” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1984), 76. For a cogent survey of the role that music played in the early Soviet “Nationalities Policy,” see Marina Frolova-Walker and Jonathan Walker, *Music and Soviet Power: 1917–1932* (New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2012).

maqām refers to a musical mode: Here the term *mode* is not used in the conventional European sense but rather as the concept of mode common to western and South Asia, whereby a musical mode is identified not only by its scale type, intervallic structure, and tonic but also by its characteristic melodic movements, intervallic motifs, and other associated traits that imbue it with a distinct musical character and modal identity.

performance of art music: The term *maqām* appears in various local forms: *muğam* in Azerbaijan, *muqam* in Eastern Turkestan, *makam* in Turkey, *maqām* in the Arab world, etc. In Central Asia today, the term is transliterated as *maqom*. In this chapter *maqom* is used to refer to the classic traditions in Central Asia since the late eighteenth century, and *maqām* will refer to *maqām* theory and performance in the greater Middle East and Central Asia from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century.

today, maqom refers to a suite form: Here the term *suite* refers to a compound musical form that joins together multiple autonomous instrumental and vocal pieces into a multipart performance that is sequentially ordered according to traditional guidelines. The *maqom* suite is drawn from a repertoire of pieces that has accumulated over the past two centuries, perhaps longer. The instrumental pieces are performed first, and are drawn from a repertoire of instrumental pieces known as *mushkilot*. These are then followed by the vocal repertoire, known as *nasr*. The performance of a *maqom* suite in its entirety, with all associated repertoire, would take between one and two hours, but often shorter *maqom* suites will be performed, drawing on select pieces from the repertoire of a *maqom*.

central to the “science of music”: That music was considered a “science” in treatises up through the seventeenth century is indicative of the primary importance placed upon music theory.

Its classification alongside other of the mathematical and natural sciences likely occurred through the translation of Greek and Syriac treatises, which had in turn incorporated much of their mathematical musical theory from Akkadian and Sumerian cuneiform sources of ancient Mesopotamia. See Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, “The Discovery of an Ancient Mesopotamian Theory of Music,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115, no. 2 (1971): 131–49.

the “Systematist school” of music theory: The theorists of the Systematist school includes Safī ad-Dīn Urmawī (d. 1296), Qutb ad-Dīn Shirāzī (d. 1310), and ‘Abd al-Qādir Marāghī (d. 1435 in Herāt) and several others who were active in the Timurid court in Herāt through the end of the fifteenth century.

musicians active in Bukhara during the rule of the Shaybānīd dynasty: Najmuddīn Kavkabī, a Bukharan astronomer and musician who had studied music in Herāt, tells us in his treatise on music (c. 1535) that he learned the “science of music” in Herāt from the well-known musician Khoja Yūsuf Burhān. The anonymous author of the *Nihāl al-Aswāt* (sixteenth century) also claims to have learned the “science of music” from musicians that were active in Herāt during the second half of the fifteenth century.

consists of six large suites of music: The term *shashmaqom* (*shash* is Persian for “six”) first appears in mid-nineteenth-century poetry compilations (*bayoz*) that contain song texts of the six suites of the *shashmaqom* repertoire.

consists of four primary suites and a body of other “classic” songs: *Chormaḡom* (Persian *chahārmaqām*, where *chahār* means “four”) is a common folk epithet for the tradition in Ferghana Valley. This name may be a vestige from the nineteenth or eighteenth century, as the current repertoire is more diversified and consists of many small suites that may have previously been parts of four larger suites prior to the twentieth century.

assimilated into the Khivan tradition:

According to the Khorezm Musiqī Tarikhchasi (1925) by Mulla Bekjon Rahmoni Og'li and Muhammad Yusuf Devonzoda, the Khivan musician Niyāzjān Khoja learned the entire shashmaqom tradition in Bukhārā and brought it back to Khorezm, where he taught it to his pupils and thus began the transmission of the shashmaqom to the next generations of the people of Khorezm. The authors of the Khorezm Musiqī Tarikhchasi make frequent reference to the shashmaqom tradition in Khorezm. They also acknowledge that after the recognition of a seventh, or at least ½ maqom, it began to be referred to as the *yedi maqom*, or *alti-yarim maqom* (Uzbek for “six and a half” maqom).

consist almost exclusively of Persian poems:

There are a few isolated examples of Turkic verses included in some of the bayoz compilations, but the overwhelming majority of the poetic texts are in Persian. This does not suggest that the musicians and singers were necessarily Persian/Tajik, but it is indicative of the long-standing importance of Perso-Tajik as a literary language and reflects the substantial presence of the Persian/Tajik population of Bukhara.

aims of these efforts was the creation of a national “Uzbek” identity:

Theodore Levin, “The Reterritorialization of Culture in the New Central Asian States: A Report from Uzbekistan,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 25 (1993): 51–59.

developed and implemented concepts of cultural and musical “heritage”:

Alexander Djumaev, “Musical Heritage and National Identity in Uzbekistan,” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 14, no. 2 “Music and Identity in Central Asia” (Nov. 2005): 168. Djumaev suggests the Soviet concept of “musical heritage” may have been introduced into academic usage in Uzbekistan by the Russian ethnographer Viktor Uspenskiy (1879–1949).

expression of the historically nomadic cultures:

Oral tradition is used here

to refer to customs and traditions transmitted orally, aurally, visually, and tactilely. For a general survey of the concept of “oral tradition” in music, see Anne McLucas, “Oral Tradition,” in *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Grove, 2001).

the epic consisted of more than five hundred thousand lines:

Elmira Köchümkulova, “The Kyrgyz Epic Manas,” in *The Music of Central Asia*, ed. Theodore Levin, Sadia Daukeyeva, and Elmira Köchümkulova (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 52–69.

competitions are the domain of a type of bard:

In the past, this type of bard was not nominally distinguished from the epic singers known as *ırchı* (Kyrgyz), or *zhynrau* (Kazakh), but the term *aqın* was adopted in the nineteenth century from Persian (*ākhūn*). The term was further distinguished into two categories of *aqın*. Those who composed written poetry were called *jazgich aqın*, while those who improvised oral poetry were called *tökmö aqın*. See Elmira Köchümkulova and Jangül Qojakhmetova, “Aqyns and Improvised Poetry Competitions among the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz,” in Levin, Daukeyeva, and Köchümkulova, *Music of Central Asia*, 149–79.

impart their own style as they craft the melody:

For a detailed discussion of Kyrgyz *terme*, see Elmira Köchümkulova, “Kyrgyz Wisdom Songs: Terme Yrlary,” in Levin, Daukeyeva, and Köchümkulova, *Music of Central Asia*, 139–49. For further information on the *terme* of Kazakhstan, see János Sipos, *Kazakh Folksongs from the Two Ends of the Steppe* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2001).

guided their expressive culture:

To get a better understanding of the complex interaction of constructing ethnic and religious identities in Soviet and post-Soviet independent Kyrgyzstan, see Baris Isci Pembeci, “Religion and the Construction of Ethnic Identity in Kyrgyzstan,” *Region* 6, no. 1 (2017): 133–52.

a tradition of written poetry began to be cultivated: Köchümkulova, “Kyrgyz Epic Manas,” 151.

mass sedentarization of pastoral communities: For a more detailed discussion of musical change in Kazakhstan during the twentieth-century Soviet period, see Asiya Ibadullaevna Muhambetova, “The Traditional Musical Culture of Kazakhs in the Social Context of the 20th Century,” *World of Music* 37, no. 3 (1995): 66–83.

30. Art

Aliya de Tiesenhausen

Chinese Central Asia and the Timurid and Turkmen dynasties: David J. Roxburgh, *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600*, exhibition catalog (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005).

part of the Venice Biennale: Ulan Džaparov and Viktor Misiano, eds., *Art from Central Asia: A Contemporary Archive*, exhibition catalog accompanying the Central Asian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale (Bishkek: Kurama Art, 2005).

British Museum opened a highly acclaimed exhibition: St John Simpson and Svetlana Pankova, eds., *Scythians—Warriors of Ancient Siberia*, exhibition catalog (London: British Museum and Thames & Hudson, 2017).

one of the biggest concentrations of petroglyphs: Renato Sala and Jean-Marc Deom, *Petroglyphs of South Kazakhstan* (Almaty: Laboratory of Geoarchaeology, 2005), 13.

well-known Russian Orientalist painter: Inessa Kouteinikova, “Vasily Vereshchagin’s War and Peace,” in *Russia’s Unknown Orient: Orientalist Painting, 1850–1920*, ed. Patty Wageman and Inessa Kouteinikova, exhibition catalog (Groningen and Rotterdam: Groninger Museum and NAI, 2010), 87.

Eastern influence on the Russian avant-garde: John E. Bowl, Nicoletta Misler, Evgenia Petrova, *The Russian Avant-Garde: Siberia and the East*,

exhibition catalog accompanying the exhibition held at Palazzo Strozzi, Florence (Milan: Skira, 2013).

problematical relationship with the West:

Jane A. Sharp, “Beyond Orientalism, Russian and Soviet Modernism on the Periphery of Empire,” in *Russian Art and the West: A Century of Dialogue in Painting, Architecture and the Decorative Arts*, ed. Rosalind P. Blakesley and Susan E. Reid (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2007), 113.

mentor to an entire generation of painters: John E. Bowl, “A Silken Whirlwind of Unbridled Colors,” in *Alexander Volkov: Sun and Caravan*, ed. Valery Volkov, Alexander Volkov, and Andrey Volkov (Moscow: Slovo, 2007), 8.

founders of the Uzbekistan School of Art: Andrey Volkov, “Alexander Volkov. His Art and Life,” in *Alexander Volkov: Of Sand and Silk*, ed. Meruyert Kaliyeva and Andrey Volkov, exhibition catalog (London: Christie’s, 2012), 10.

film about The State Art Museum of the Republic of Karakalpakstan: Amanda Pope and Tchavdar Georgiev, *The Desert of Forbidden Art* (Desert of Forbidden Art LLC, 2010), film.

works from Nukus was staged in France: Anne Coldefy-Faucar and Emmanuelle Dormoy, eds., *Les Survivants de Sables Rouges: Art russe du Musée de Nukous. Ouzbekistan, 1920–1940*, exhibition catalog (Paris: L’Inventaire and Conseil Regional Basse-Normandie, 1998).

shown in the artist’s solo exhibition: Nadim Samman and Aliya Abykayeva-Tiesenhausen, *Rustam Khalfin: Seeing through the Artist’s Hand* (London: White Space Gallery, 2007).

in the context of group exhibitions: Enrico Mascelloni and Valeria Ibraeva, Rosa Maia Flavo, eds, *A Est di niente: arte contemporanea dall’Asia postsovietica/Contemporary Art from Post-Soviet Asia*, exhibition catalog (Turin: Intergraph, Mappano, 2009). Dominik Czechowsky, *Between Heaven and Earth: Contemporary Art from the Centre of Asia*, exhibition catalog (London: Calvert 22, 2011).

added to this grouping: At the *Crossroads 2: Contemporary Art from Istanbul to Kabul*, a selling exhibition (London: Sotheby's, 2014).

to characterize the period in Central Asian art: Alex Ulko, *Key Trends and Figures in Contemporary Art in Central Asia*, presentation at the Research Forum of the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, June 11, 2018.

exhibited in a private Azerbaijan pavilion: YARAT is a not-for-profit organization dedicated to nurturing an understanding of contemporary art and creating a hub for artistic practice, research, and thinking in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the surrounding region. Based in Baku, Azerbaijan, YARAT (meaning "Create" in Azerbaijani) was founded by Aida Mahmudova in 2011. YARAT realizes its mission through an ongoing program of exhibitions, educational events, and festivals. YARAT facilitates exchange between local and international artistic networks, including foundations, galleries, and museums. YARAT: Contemporary Art Space, accessed January 17, 2019, <http://www.yarat.az/index.php?lang=en&page=17&cyrtMaincatID=18&cyrtSubcatID=20>.

dedicated to organizing exhibitions abroad: Unfortunately, although the exhibitions themselves attracted attention and discussion, the bureaucratic structures involved have collapsed, resulting in court cases and social media campaigns to return some of the works or cover the damage of others. Following the dissolution of the contemporary art department at the National Museum, the future of productive collaboration between contemporary artists and the state remains uncertain.

31. Literature

Rebecca Ruth Gould and Amier Saidula

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considering the Uyghur an amalgamation: See James A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (London: Hurst, 2007); Hodong Kim, *Holy War in China: The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864–1877* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004); Susan J. Henders, ed., *Democratization and Identity: Regimes and Ethnicity in East and Southeast Asia* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006).

alphabet may have been in use since the fourth and fifth centuries BCE: Ghayratjan Osman, *Uyghur Klassik Edebiyati Qisqiche Tarikhi* (Urumqi: Xinjiang Marip Nashiryati, 1992), 64.

evolved into the modern Yugur: Wang Penglin, *Linguistic Mysteries of Ethnonyms in Inner Asia* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018), 190.

composed in the Old Uyghur alphabet: Qurban Wali, "Turpandin Tepilghan milady 5- asirdiki Uyghur Yeziqi," in *Madanyet Yadikarliqliri*, vol. 1 (Urumchi: Xinjiang Halq Nashiryati, 1981).

Mongol, Khitan, and Manchu alphabets were also based: Osman, *Uyghur Klassik Edebiyati Qisqiche Tarikhi*, 63.

provides detailed accounts of the ingredients used: Mahmud Kashgari, *Divan Lughat-al-Turk* [modern Uyghur version translated and edited by Abdusalam Abbas et al.] (Urumqi: Xinjiang Khalq Nashiyati, 1988), 1:559.

reports on cuisine, kinship, and folk medicine: Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment: Central Asia's Golden Age from the Arab Conquest to Tamerlane* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 312.

appointed to rule over mankind: Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 310.

given to him by heaven: Kashgari, *Divan Lughat-al-Turk*, 1:455.

a mirror for princes who taught political wisdom: Yusup Khass Hajib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilik): A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, trans. and ed. Robert Dankoff

- (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
- In the hands of ignorant dynasties fall:** *Kutat-ku bilik*, verse 2027, in Yusup Khass Hajib, *Kutat-Ku Bilik*, parallel text: transcription and translation into modern Uyghur by Abdurehim Otkur, Ahmad Ziyayi, and Memetimin Yusup (Urumchi: Xinjiang Halq Nashiryati, 1985).
- even the timid become fearless:** *Kutat-ku bilik*, verse 2045, in Hajib, *Kutat-Ku Bilik*, parallel text.
- Suppression is fire:** *Kutat-ku bilik*, verse 2032, in Hajib, *Kutat-Ku Bilik*, parallel text.
- If you wish to rule forever:** *Kutat-ku bilik*, verse 2033, in Hajib, *Kutat-Ku Bilik*, parallel text.
- in our language this is the only one:** *Kutat-ku bilik*, section B, verse 73, in Hajib, *Kutat-Ku Bilik*, parallel text.
- remember praying for me:** *Kutat-ku bilik*, section B, verse 75, in Hajib, *Kutat-Ku Bilik*, parallel text.
- Like a nightingale on the rosebush at dawn:** Rudaki, Abu ‘Abd Allah Ja‘far ibn Muhammad, *Divan Rudaki Samarqandi*, ed. Sa‘id Nafisi (Tehran: Negah, 1997), 65.
- This literature is without counterpart:** On Mas‘ud-i Sa‘d, see Sunil Sharma, *Persian Poetry at the Indian Frontier: Mas‘ud Sa‘d Salmân of Lahore* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001). On the Persian prison poem genre, see Rebecca Gould, “Wearing the Belt of Oppression: Khāqānī’s Christian Qaṣida and the Prison Poetry of Medieval Shirvān,” *Journal of Persianate Studies* 9, no. 1 (2016): 19–44.
- Georgian poets who imitated Persian:** For the Georgian *khamisa* of Teimuraz (which includes Georgian versions of *Leyla and Majnun* and *Khusrow and Shirin*), see Rebecca Gould, “Sweetening the Heavy Georgian Tongue: Jāmī in the Georgian-Persianate Ecumene,” in *Jāmī in Regional Contexts*, ed. Thibaut d’Hubert and Alexandre Papas (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 802–32.
- Kashgari tried to persuade his ruler and patron:** Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 305.
- composed under the influence of his patron:** Turkhan Ganjah’i, 1387/2008–9, “Muqaddimeh-i mutarjem,” in *Muhakamat al-lughatayn*, ed. Turkhan Ganjah’i and Ruqayyah Nuri (Tehran: Intisharat-i Andishah-i Naw), 12.
- love for his native language:** Ruqayyah Nuri, 1387/2008–9, “Muqaddimeh,” in *Muhakamat al-lughatayn*, 6.
- they should have composed most in their own tongue:** Mir ‘Ali Shir Nawa’i, 1387/2008–9, in *Muhakamat al-lughatayn*, 45.
- Abai’s ethnographic orientation is paralleled in Uyghur:** Mollah Musa Sayrami, *Tarikhi Aminiya* (Urumqi: Xinjiang Halq Nashiryati, 2000); Mollah Musa Sayrami, *Tarikhi Hamidi* (Beijing: Milletler Nashiryati, 2007).
- circulated widely throughout the Soviet period:** Sadriddin ‘Ayni, *Yoddosbtho*, vols. I–IV (Stalinabad: Nashriethi Davlatii Tojikiston, 1949–54).
- the first major scholarly research on this text:** Osman, *Uyghur Klassik Edebiyati Qisqiche Tarikhi*, 39.
- a watershed moment in Soviet Central Asian literature:** Keith Hitchins, “CENTRAL ASIA xv. Modern Literature,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 3, 235–40, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/central-asia-xv>.
- arrested and executed at the height of Stalin’s purges:** For English translations of these authors, see William L. Hanaway, ed. *Evading Reality: The Devices of ‘Abdalrauf Fitrat*, *Modern Central Asian Reformist*, trans. and ed. Edward A. Allworth (Leiden: Brill, 2002); and Abdulhamid Sulaymon o’g’li Cho’lpon, *Night and Day*, trans. and ed. Christopher Fort (Boston: Academic Studies, 2019).
- in an effort to evoke Stalin’s purges and in an allusion:** Zaynab Mukhammad-Dost, interview with Hamid Ismailov, “On ‘The Devils’ Dance’ and Other Works,” *Voices on Central Asia*, April 18, 2018, <http://voicesoncentralasia.org/hamid-ismailov-the-devils-dance-and-other-works/>.

the country's linguistic loneliness: Syed Hamad Ali, "Tajikistan, In Other Words," *Guardian*, October 16, 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/oct/16/tajikistan-russian-language-identity>.

great affairs in the order of the world: 'Aruzi, Nizami, *Chahar maqala*, ed. M. Qazwini (Berlin, 1927), 30.

32. Film

Michael Rouland

Central Asian film is rich and complicated: This chapter is based in part on my "An Historical Introduction," in Michael Rouland, Gulnara Abikeeva, and Birgit Beumers, eds., *Cinema in Central Asia: Rewriting Cultural Histories* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 1–30. Additionally, Jean Radvanyi, ed., *Le Cinéma d'Asie Central Soviétique* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1991) and Gul'nara Abikeeva, *Kino tsentral'noi Azii, 1990–2001* (Almaty: IREX, 2001) offer valuable overviews of Central Asian film.

most important of all the arts: Vladimir Lenin, "Iz zapisok V. I. Lenina po kino-delu," January 17, 1922, in *Kinonedelia* 4 (January 21, 1925), 6; V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress, 1971), 42:388–89.

organize movie theatres in the villages and in the East: Aleksandr Gak, ed., *Samoe vazhnoe iz vsekh iskusstv: Lenin o kino* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1963), 42.

images of the "Soviet East" as abundant but backward: *Kul'turfi'lm* (also *kul'turfi'lma*), or culture film, played a particularly import role in Soviet cinema as a popular genre of educational films. See Denise J. Youngblood, "The Fate of Soviet Popular Cinema during the Stalin Revolution," *Russian Review* 50, no. 2 (1991): 148–62.

The most famous Soviet directors: Between 1942 and 1944 TsOKS produced many of the important films of the war, including Vera Stroeva, *Son of a Soldier*; Grigorii Roshal', *Batyrs*

of the Steppe (1942); Konstantin Iudin, *Antosha Rybkin* (1942); Boris Barnet, *Priceless Head* (1942); Fridrikh Ermler, *She Defends the Motherland* (1943); Dmitrii Vasil'ev and Vsevolod Pudovkin, *In the Name of the Fatherland* (1943); Georgii and Sergei Vasil'ev, *The Front* (1943); Abram Room, *The Invasion* (1944); and Sergei Eisenstein, *Ivan the Terrible, Part I* (1944).

Soviet critics applauded his balance of Uzbek: Kamil Iarmatov, *Vozvrashchenie: kniga vospominanii* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1980), 242–58; *Sovetskoe kinoiskusstvo* 14 (1948).

a very strong student movement: Abikeeva, *Kino tsentral'noi Azii*, 157.

a new genre of Soviet "Easterns": See Sergei Lavrent'ev, *Krasnyi vestern* (Moscow: Algorithm, 2009) for discussion on Soviet adventure films in the "east."

the next wave would be from Soviet Kazakhstan: Forrest S. Ciesol, "Kazakhstan Wave," *Sight and Sound* 1 (1989/1990): 56.

going the Bollywood way: Gulnara Abikeeva quoted in Deana Kjuca and Shukhrat Babajanov, "Uzbek Film Industry Blossoms, but Quality Takes a Hit," *RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty*, October 20, 2012, <https://www.rferl.org/a/uzbekistan-film-industry-quantity-versus-quality/24745666.html>.

strongly spurred us on: Arman Asenov quoted in Joanna Lillis, "Kazakhstan: TV Epic Promises Game of Thrones-Style Thrills," *Eurasianet*, January 25, 2016, <https://eurasianet.org/kazakhstan-tv-epic-promises-game-of-thrones-style-thrills>.

forming the movement Partisan Cinema: Olga Klimova, "Zhasulan Poshanov: Toll Bar (*Shlagbaum*, 2015)," *KinoKultura* 51 (2016), <http://www.kinokultura.com/2016/51r-shlagbaum.shtml>. Also, Svetlana Romashkina, "Manifest 'Partizanskogo kino' god spustia," *Vlast*, July 30, 2015, <https://vlast.kz/filmy/12234-manifest-partizanskogo-kino-god-spusta.html>, Tulegen Baitukenov, "Nashe

iskusstvo bezopasno dlia vlasti,” *Vremia*, December 9, 2015, <https://time.kz/articles/tulegennaya-inzheneriya/2015/12/09/adilhan-erzhanov-kinorezhissier-nashe-iskusstvo-bezopasno-dlja-vlasti>, and Roman Raifel’d, “Kino bez deneg,” *Kapital*, March 3, 2016, <https://kapital.kz/gosudarstvo/48359/kino-bez-deneg.html>.

Case VIII-A. Soviet Cultural Construction and Its Afterlives

Artemy M. Kalinovsky

theatrical productions will raise the spiritual and moral level: “‘Все в театр!’ Рахимзода обязал сотрудников милиции посещать театры,” *Радио Озоди* April 11, 2017, <https://rus.ozodi.org/a/28422694.html>.

nationalized and acquired a xenophobic component: Mana Kia, *Persianate Selves: Memories of Place and Origin Before Nationalism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020.)

ongoing quest to transform themselves: Michael David-Fox, “What Is Cultural Revolution?” *Russian Review* 58, no. 2 (1999): 201.

transforming external and internal features: Vadim Volkov, “The Soviet Concept of Kul’turnost’: Notes on the Stalinist Civilizing Process,” in *Stalinism: New Directions*, ed. Sheila Fitzpatrick (London: Routledge, 2000), 216.

turning peasants into good urban citizens: See, for example, David Hoffmann, *Peasant Metropolis: Social Identities in Moscow, 1929–1941* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).

ideas of how to fit an individual in society: Catriona Kelly and Vadim Volkov, “Directed Desires: Kul’turnost’ and Consumption,” in *Constructing Russian Culture in the Age of Revolution, 1881–1940*, ed. Catriona Kelly and David Shepherd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 295.

It was a question of politics: Adeeb Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation,*

Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 181.

a Muslim anthropology of man: Ira M. Lapidus, “Knowledge, Virtue, and Action: The Classical Muslim Conception of Adab and the Nature of Religious Fulfilment in Islam,” in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 39.

main site of transmission was the school: Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 21.

intended to form a good child, mother and father: Anke von Kügelgen, “Moral Education in Central Asia, 19th–21st Centuries: The Foundations for Sufi, Jadīd, Soviet, National, and Islamist Ethics,” in *The Piety of Learning: Islamic Studies in Honor of Stefan Reichmuth*, ed. Michael Kemper and Ralf Elger (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 79.

Moral education became a “subject of its own”: Von Kügelgen, “Moral Education in Central Asia,” 85.

commitment to the national language and to national culture: Artemy M. Kalinovsky and Isaac Scarborough, “The Oil Lamp and the Electric Light: Progress, Time, and Nation in Central Asian Memoirs of the Soviet Era,” *Kritika* 22, no. 1 (2021): 107–36.

inheritance of world culture needs to be used: Transcript of a Meeting Regarding the Office of Arts in Tajikistan, 1939. Russian State Archive of Contemporary History (RGANI), F. 962, op 3, d. 581.

this music comes from the people: Transcript of a Meeting Regarding the Office of Arts in Tajikistan, 1939. RGANI, F. 962, op 3, d. 581.

fought for the creation of a conservatory: Archive of the Communist Party of Tajikistan (ACPT) F3, op 205, d. 69, 25.

petitioned for music schools, theaters, and resources: Records of such requests are abundant in the archives

of the Ministry of Culture. See, for example, Central State Archive of the Republic of Tajikistan (CSAT) F 1483, op 4, d. 100.

Tajik artists and directors opened new theaters: See A. Sayfulloev, ed., *Ednomai Mahmud Vohidov* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1982).

think of themselves as part of a cultural sphere that extended: On the Persian “cosmopolis,” see James Pickett, *Polymaths of Islam: Power and Networks of Knowledge in Central Asia*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020).

more people were learning the Arabic: RGANI, f 5., op 35, d. 225, ll. 5–10.

Moscow gives orders and you just follow: Asozoda Khudoinazar, *Afghonistoni shoby* (Dushanbe: Devashtich, 2002), 286.

beliefs were not without influence: Khudoinazar, *Afghonistoni shoby*, 291.

adopting the more formal literary language: Kalinovsky and Scarborough, “Oil Lamp and the Electric Light.”

Case VIII-B. Sound, Aesthetics, and Instrumental Variance in Dutar Ensembles in Tashkent

Tanya Merchant

manifestations of the dutar: For more information on the Turkmen dutar, see David Fossum, “Westernizing Reform and Indigenous Precedent in Traditional Music: Insights from Turkmenistan,” *Ethnomusicology* 59, no. 2 (2015): 202–26. For more information on the Karakalpak dutar, see Frederic Leotar’s liner notes in G’ayrat O’temuratov and Azat Seyilxanov, *Music of the Golden Sands: Songs and Melodies from Karakalpak Bards* (2012), Pan (Ethnic Series) 2117, 2012, compact disc.

except in Afghanistan, where innovations have led: In Afghanistan, those dutars that have added strings on them are not renamed for their new string number. I believe this stems from the fact that *chortar* (four-string) and *panjtar* (five-string) are already

instrument names, as well as the fact that the dutar began in all of these countries and contexts as a two-stringed instrument. Adding strings does not change its original identity. For more information on Afghan versions of the dutar, see John Baily, “Recent Changes in the Dutar of Herat,” *Asian Music* 8, no. 1 (1976): 29–64 and J. S. Baily and J. A. R. Blacking, “Research on the Herati Dutar,” *Current Anthropology* 19, no. 3 (1978): 610–11.

two silk strings that are plucked and strummed: For a more thorough account of the traditional and reconstructed versions of the dutar, see Tanya Merchant, *Women Musicians in Uzbekistan: From Courtyard to Conservatory* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

for use in Soviet concert halls: For more information on the creation of instruments for Uzbek folk orchestras, see A. Odilov, *O’zbek Xalk Cholg’ularida Ijrochilik Tarixi* [The history of Uzbek folk orchestral performance], (Tashkent: O’qituvchi, 1995).

who perform the dutar and sing: Multiple musicians explained to me that dutarists in the state ensemble are encouraged to take positions in other ensembles, like the state folk orchestra, once they are in their thirties and no longer considered young, so the associations of dutar ensembles with youth and femininity are explicitly created and controlled.

no consequence to their masculinity: For further discussion of this phenomenon in Afghan and other cultures, see Veronica Doubleday, “Sounds of Power: An Overview of Musical Instruments and Gender,” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 17, no. 1 (2008): 3–39.

traditional tuning or equal temperament: Equal temperament has been the standard tuning system used in Western art music (and later, popular music) since the early nineteenth century.

necessary not to separate: Personal interview, August 5, 2009.

Roza opa’s arrangement of “Ayvon”: R. M. Hodjayeve (Hozhieva), arranger

1999. “Ayvon” [Patio] by T. Zhalilov, in *Dutorim Sozim Manim* [My dutar, my instrument], (Tashkent: O’qituvchi, 1999), 57–60.

Case VIII-C. Translating Art into Politics through Central Asian Feminist and Queer Fantasy

Georgy Mamedov

clear distinction between Fascism and

Communism: Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Epoch of Its Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969).

most notable of those archaeological

studies: Georgy Mamedov and Oksana Shatalova, eds., *Bishkek Utopicheskii. Sbornik tekstov* (Bishkek: IITAB-Press, 2015).

tracking the traces of the Soviet concrete

utopia: Owen Hatherley provides a detailed account of STAB’s research and artistic projects exploring the Soviet utopia in Central Asia in the chapter “‘Where Our Tomorrow is Already Yesterday’: Bishkek,” in his *The Adventures of Owen Hatherley in the Post-Soviet Space* (London: Repeater Books, 2018).

collection of feminist and queer science

fiction: Oksana Shatalova and Georgy Mamedov, eds., *Sovsem Drugie. Sbornik feministskoi i kvir-fantastiki* (Bishkek: IITAB-Press, 2018).

impossible even to imagine a coherent

alternative: Mark Fisher, *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?* (London: Zero Books, 2009), 2.

Resistance and change often begin in art:

From Ursula Le Guin’s speech at the National Book Awards ceremony, 2014.

a vision of a society that is not

antagonistic: Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso, 2009), 142.

Ideological fantasy strives to eliminate

any contradictions: Žižek, *Sublime Object of Ideology*, 142.

attacked a Women’s Day rally before it

even started: International Women’s Day, celebrated around the world on

March 8, commemorates the women’s rights movement. First organized in 1909 by the Socialist Party of America, it was a Soviet national holiday after 1917 and the United Nations began celebrating it in 1977.

We have our own culture, our traditions:

“Deputat Tazabek Ikramov o provokatorah na mitinge feministok 8 marta,” 24.kg, March 13, 2019, <https://24.kg/vlast/111644-deputat-tazabek-ikramov-oprovokatorah-namitinge-feministok-8marta/>.

It [homosexuality] is not ours: “Deputat

Skripkina prizyvaet obshchestvo ‘otchuzhdat’ gomoseksualnost,” Kloop Media, May 25, 2014, <https://kloop.kg/blog/2014/05/27/deputat-skripkina-prizy-vaet-obshhestvo-otchuzhdat-gomoseksual-nost/>.

tendencies latent in reality: Darko Suvin,

Metamorphoses of Science Fiction: On the Poetics and History of a Literary Genre (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979).

free development of each is the condition:

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (New York: Verso, 2012), 62.

Translating Contexts to Policy

David M. Abramson, Laura L. Adams, and David W. Montgomery

Nota bene: The ideas expressed in this chapter reflect those of the authors’ personal views and do not necessarily represent those of the US government or any institution with which they are affiliated.

which of the things doesn’t fit here:

Aleksandr R. Luria, *Cognitive Development: Its Cultural and Social Foundations*, trans. Martin Lopez-Morillas and Lynn Solotaroff (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 57–58.