Political Pasture
A Governmentality Analysis of Community-based Pasture Management in Kyrgyzstan

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to understand the development and implementation of the community-based pasture management policy in Kyrgyzstan, which transferred the responsibility for pasture-use planning from state administrative organs to local community-based organizations.

Using document analysis, this thesis contextualizes the emergence and evolution of the policy’s key premises, including the advantages of community-based management compared to state-centered management. Using interviews and observations, this thesis draws out individual experiences of herders, forestry service officials and the members of pasture committees with the implementation of the policy in the Kadamzhai district of Kyrgyzstan.

Findings suggest that historical continuities in pasture governance play an important role in the functioning of such policies. On the national level, the reliance of the state on the Soviet administrative and territorial division has reinforced pasture-use fragmentation, where different institutional actors struggle for authority over pastures. These struggles can be observed on the local level, where the implementation of policy is often challenged by forestry officials believing in the advantages of the Soviet fortress conservation, rather than community-based management.

Second, the local outcomes of policy depend on the compliant or resistant subject positions of individuals involved in pasture use. Policy implementation succeeded in the recruitment of compliant pasture committee chairmen, who claim to be interested in bringing good to the communities through steering the use of pastures. However, the procedures for the establishment of committees contributed to their top-down functioning, where herders often consider the committees as a state agency and find different strategies to avoid their imposed payments.

Keywords: Decentralization, environmentality, pastures, CBNRM, Kadamzhai, Kyrgyzstan

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Аннотация (Summary in Russian)

В данной диссертации исследуется развитие и внедрение общинального управления пастбищами в Кыргызстане. Эта система управления, введенная в 2009 году, передала ответственность за планирование и регулирование использования пастбищ общинальным организациям, объединением пастбищепользователей (ОПП), и их исполнительным органам, жайыт комитетам.

Основываясь на анализе документов, в диссертации рассматривается контекст возникновения и развития ключевых пунктов данной системы управления, в том числе важности определения границ пастбищ и преимуществ общинального управления по сравнению с управлением через государственные органы. Основываясь на методах интервью и наблюдения, в диссертации анализируется, как чабаны, работники лесного хозяйства и члены пастбищных комитетов взаимодействуют с осуществлением вышепомянутой системы управления в Кадамжайском районе Кыргызстана.

Основные выводы диссертации

1. Кыргызские пастбища следует понимать как имеющие политический характер.

Это определение означает, что пастбища – это не только земли покрытые травянистой растительностью, но и политическая категория землепользования, которая закреплена в законодательстве, отмечена на картах, физически обозначена на местности и охраняется специальными органами власти. В Кыргызстане люди обычно описывают пастбища как горные районы пригодные для выпаса животных. Люди также упоминают, что пастбища являются национальным культурным и экономическим достоянием. Это общераспространенное определение пастбищ отличается от их определения со стороны государственного аппарата. Во-первых, юридическая категория
пастбища относится, в первую очередь, к территориям, управляемым жайыт комитетами. Земли, управляемые Государственным агентством охраны окружающей среды и лесного хозяйства, часто используются для выпаса скота, но они не относятся к категории пастбища. В законодательстве для этих земель существует специальная категория, лесные пастбища. Во-вторых, некоторые земли, классифицированные как пастбища в юридических и картографических источниках, на практике физически недоступны для чабанов. Эти территории могут рассматриваться в качестве пастбищ де-юре, но не де-факто. Эти два примера иллюстрируют, как отнесение земель к категории пастбища зависит от различных практик со стороны государства, таких как написание законов и создание карт. С помощью подобных практик государство определяет политические пастбища; в том числе какие земли являются пастбищем (или нет), кому разрешено иметь доступ к ним, и каково должно быть их использование. Политические пастбища являются, по сути своей, частью усилий государства по осуществлению власти и приобретению суверенитета над территорией страны.

В исторической перспективе создание политических пастбищ зависело от различных деятелей (работников колониальной администрации, советских государственных чиновников, сотрудников НПО и международных организаций), пытавшихся решить предполагаемые пастбищные проблемы и улучшить жизни людей. Это явление можно наблюдать с советским государством, осуществлявшим насильственную модернизацию жизней кочевников через коллективизацию и оседание. Данное явление можно наблюдать и сегодня с международными организациями, которые выступают за общинное управление пастбищами как решение проблем неэффективного управления и ухудшения состояния окружающей среды. Общим знаменателем в советской коллективизации и текущем общинном управлении является власть, вмешивающаяся в жизни людей, которая достигается путем выявления конкретных проблем и предложения решений для них. Эта власть, определенная в данной диссертации как «власть попечителей», играет важную роль в создании политических пастбищ.
2. Историческая преемственность в пастбищной политике играет важную роль в функционировании общинного управления пастбищами.

В начале 2000-х годов международные донорские организации охарактеризовали государственное управление пастбищами как один из факторов их деградации, и предложили децентрализацию и общинное управление в качестве технического решения этой проблемы. Донорские организации выступали за децентрализацию на основе налоговых преимуществ и предполагаемого традиционного характера такой системы управления. Кыргызское государство реализовало систему общинного управления, смешив идеи децентрализации с целым рядом практик, созданных в советский период. Два момента представляют здесь особый интерес: отношение к исполнителям местного уровня и административно-территориальное деление пастбищ.

Что касается роли местных исполнителей, то в Кыргызстане существует две точки зрения о пастбищных комитетах. С одной стороны, международные организации считают, что комитеты являются основой для успеха управления пастбищами. С другой стороны, государственные чиновники часто считают, что они не справляются со своими обязанностями и не используют в полной мере полномочия, переданные им от государственных органов. Подобное видение местных исполнителей было характерно для государственных чиновников в советский период, где оно было связано с модернизационной ролью государства, которое должно было улучшить условия жизни кочевников. В измененном виде данная точка зрения сохранилась и сегодня, где она влияет на отношения госчиновников к комитетам и чабанам.

Аналогичная ситуация наблюдается с принципами категоризации земель, где практики из прошлого влекут на управление пастбищами сегодня. Использование советской системы административного деления способствовало фрагментарному использованию пастбищ. В советское время деление пастбищ между пользователями было проведено с целью так называемой рационализации для интенсивного, субсидируемого сельского хозяйства того периода. Это привело к большим, фрагментированным территориям (так называемая чересполосица), находившимся в использовании колхозов и совхозов. Кроме того, значительные площади, используемые как пастбища, были переданы под контроль государственной лесной службы.
Международные организации подчеркивали важность четко определенных границ в качестве неотъемлемого элемента общинного управления. Последующее определение границ было проведено на основе советского территориального деления. В этом случае новая система управления заново усилила фрагментацию использования пастбищ, и сегодня жайыт комитеты и лесхозы борются за власть над пастбищами. Власть лесхозов, установленная в советское время и являющаяся более организованной, зачастую оказывается более сильной, чем власть жайыт комитетов.

3. На местном уровне существуют различия в подчинении или сопротивлении различных групп принципам общинного управления пастбищами.

Через различные практики, такие как образование, мониторинг и определение границ, председатели жайыт комитетов были вовлечены в общинное управление пастбищ. Вследствие этих практик председатели комитетов стремятся на сегодняшний день действовать в соответствии с их обязанностями и принципами общинного управления. Ситуация отличается в случае чабанов и работников лесного хозяйства. Чабаны часто были исключены из процедур принятия решений, и, следовательно, не чувствуют себя вовлеченными в деятельность ОПП и жайыт комитетов. В такой ситуации, они находят различные стратегии, чтобы противостоять власти жайыт комитетов и избегать платежей за использование пастбищ. Что касается работников лесхозов, то они зачастую критически настроены к общинному управлению, так как они рассматривают ситуацию через призму советской природоохранной деятельности. Согласно советским принципам работники лесхозов имеют право направлять местное население к рациональному использованию ресурсов. Они знают, как функционирует лесная экосistema, и как она должна быть использована, в то время как жайыт комитеты не обладают подобными знаниями. Такие выводы в отношении чабанов и работников лесхозов не удивительны. Субъекты, подчиняющиеся определенным принципам управления, не появляются сразу с введением нового закона. Они формируются постепенно за счет целенаправленных усилий, в том числе информационных кампаний и непосредственного участия в природоохранной деятельности. Пренебрежение субъектными позициями может подорвать долгосрочную устойчивость общинного управления пастбищами в Кыргызстане.
Аннотация (Summary in Kyrgyz)

Бул диссертацияда Кыргызстанда жайыттарды коомчолор аркылуу башкаруунун киргизилиши жана анын өнүгүүсү изилденет. 2009-жылы киргизилген башкаруунун бул системасы жайыттарды пайдалануу пландаштыруу жана жоңго салуу жоопкерчилиги коомчолордун уюмдарына, жайыт пайдалануучулардын бирикмelerine (ЖПБ), жана жайыт комитеттерине, аткаруучу органдарына, жайыт комитеттерине откорлуп берилген.

Документтердин анализине таянуу менен бул диссертацияда башкаруунун бул системасынын пайда болуусуну жана оңуусунун туйундуу пункттарынын контексти, анын ичинде жайыттардын чек араларын аныктоонун маанилүүлүгү жана мамлекеттик органдар аркылуу башкарууга салыштырмалуу коомчолордун артыкчылыктары каралат. Интервью жана байкоолорду жүргүзүү методдоруну негизденип, бул диссертацияда чабандар, токой чарбасынын кызматкерлери жана жайыт комитеттеринин мүчөлөрү Кыргызстандын Кадамжай районунда жогоруда көрсөтүлгөн башкаруунун системасын ишке ашыруу боюнча оз ара аракеттенүүсү анализденет.

Диссертациянын негизи ыянактары

1. Кыргыз жайыттарын саясий мүнөзгө ээ катары туушунуу керек.
Бул туушунүк жайыттар чөп осумдуктору менен капиталган жер катары гана эмес, мойзамда бекитилген, карталарда белгиленген, аймакта түздөн түз көрсөтүлгөн жана бийиктин атайын органдары тарабына коргон жер пайдалануунун саясий категориясы эң көп сезимдүү билдирет. Кыргызстанда эл демейдө жайыттарды малды жайууга жарактуу тоолуу райондор катары мүнөздөшөт. Ошондой эле эл жайыттардын
улуттук маданий жана экономикалық мүлкү экендигин эске салышат. Жайыттардың бул жалпы таралган түшүнүү мәлдөүү маалымет түрткек маалымат жана аналық жана жөндөмө жогорку маалымат жана аналық жөндөмө жогорку маалымат жана аналық жөндөмө жогорку маалымат жана аналық жөндөмө жогорку маалымат жана аналық жөндөмө жогорку маалымат жана аналық жөндөмө. Жайыттардың бул жалпы таралган түшүнүү мәлдөүү маалымет түрткек маалымат жана аналық жана жөндөмө жогорку маалымат жана аналық жөндөмө жогорку маалымат жана аналық жөндөмө жогорку маалымат жана аналық жөндөмө жогорку маалымат жана аналық жөндөмө жогорку маалымат жана аналық жөндөмө.
аныктоо жана аларды чечүү учун сунуштар аркылуу жетишilet. Ушул диссертацияда “камкорчуулардын бийилги” катары аныктаалган бул бийлик, саясий жайыттарды тузуудө маанилуу ролду ойнoit.

2. Жайыт саясатындагы тарыхий мураскорлук жайыттарды коомчолордун башкаруусунун шитөсөндө маанилуу роль ойнoit.

2000-жылдардын башында эл аралык донордук уюмдар жайыттарды мамлекеттик башкаруууну алардын начарлоосуну фактөлөруунун бири катары мүнөздөгөн жана бул койгоийдүн техникалык чечилиши катары дөңгөлүүчөлүнө жана коомчолордун коомчаруусун сунуш кылышты. Донордук уюмдар дөңгөлүүчөлүнө салыктык артыкчылыктардын жана коомчаруунун мүнөздөгөн боло жокдордун салтуу мүнөзү учун чыгышкан. Кыргыз мамлекети дөңгөлүүчөлүнө идейсын совет мезгиилинде туулгөн бир катар практичкалар менен аралаштуруу менен коомчолордун коомчаруу системасын ишкө ашырды. Эки момент ушул жерде эзөчө өзүпкөчүлүк туудурат: жергиликтуу дөңгөлүүлүгө жатуу катары коомчарууларга мамиле жана жайыттардын административдик-аймактыйк болуунуу.

Жергиликтуу аткарууунун ролунда башкаруучулардын башкаруучулардын ролунда тиешелүү жагы болсо, Кыргызстанда жайыт комитеттери жөнүндө эки көз караш орун алган. Бир жагынан эл аралык уюмдар комитеттер жайыттарды башкарууда дайындык учун негиз болот деп эсептешет. Экинчи жагынан, мамлекеттик чиновниктер аларды эз мүндөрүн толук аткара алынчай, мамлекеттик органдар тарабынан откөрүлүп берилген бийимердеги укуктарды толук олчөмө пайдаланышпай деп эсептешет. Мүндөй жергиликтуу аткарууунун коомчаруу катарында жана коомчаруунун коомчарууларга мамиле жана жайыттардын административдик-аймактыйк болуунуу.

Өткөндүн практикасы жайыттарды бөгүнүкү күндө дагы эле сакталып келүү керек, мамлекеттик жана мамчын чиновниктерин коомчарууларга жана чабандарга болгон мамилесине тиитизет. Эч кандай практикасы жайыттарды бөгүнүкү күндө жөнүндө болгон тейин шарттарын жогоркулатуу ар байкалып жатат. Административдик болуунун сооцик системасын пайдалануу жайыттарды пайдаланууну фрагментациялоого
себепчи болдун. Совет мезгилinde пайдалануучулардын өртосунда жайыттарды болуу ошол мезгилдин интенсивдүү, субсидиялануучу айылы чарбасын рационалдаптыруу деген максатта жұруғу үлгі. Бул колхоздордун жана совхоздордун пайдалануусунда жаткан өңү, фрагментацияланган өймектердиң (аралаш тилкелүүлүк деп аталуучу) пайда болушуна алып келген. Мындан тышкары, жайыттар катары пайдалануу жөнүндө бир кыйлы аяныктар мамлекеттик токой кызматының көзөмөлүнүн откерилип берилген.

Эл аралык уюмдар коомчолордук башкаруунун жылыкысы элементи, катарын үзүп келгендей аяныктайы шөптеги, гана аралардын мааниси аркылуу жұруғу үлгі. Бул учурда башкаруу жана жаңы системасы қалыптастыруу үчүн өзүнде жүргүзилген. Бул ушундай практикалардын биянлык социалдык, экономикалык жана социальдык болгон бийлик учун қоршауу. Совет мезгилinde орнотулган жана жакшы уюштурулган токой чарбаларының бияны, өз ичинде жайыт комитеттери жана токой чарбаларының пайдалануунун фрагментациялоосун уламтыш жана бүгүнкү бийлигинен көзөмөлүнүн көзөмөлүнүн күзөмөлүнүн бөлүнүп жатат.

3. Жергиликтүү денгээлде жайыттарды коомчолор тараңынан башкаруу жөнүндө мөлшөрүнүн жеке негизи болууга өзігіз болуунуң өзүнде жүргүзилген. Бул ушундай принциптердин тәртүү жүрет. Ушундай практикалардын жеткілік кыздырары бүгүнгү басында башкарууга қолдау өзүнде жүрет. Совет мезгилинде пайдалануучуларының авы, олардын басты аяныктары менен болгон жаңы уюмдардына айымалы болуунуң өзүнде жүрет. Белгілі бір практика болуы мүмкін, алардын жеткілікті және техникалық, экономикалық және социалдық байлығын, алардын өзінде жүрет. Бұл өз бір ыңырымдалуу және, алардын жеткілікті және техникалық, экономикалық және социалдық байлығын, алардын өзінде жүрет. Бұл өз бір ыңырымдалуу және, алардын жеткілікті және техникалық, экономикалық және социалдық байлығын, алардын өзінде жүрет.
кырдаалды советтик жаратылышты коргоо ишмердигинин принциби аркылуу караашат. Советтик принципрерге ылайык, токой чарбаларынын кызматкерлери жергиликтуу калкты ресурстарды рационалдуу пайдаланууга багыттоого укуктуу. Алар токой экосистемасынын кандай иштей турганынын, ал кандай пайдаланылышты керек экенин билишет, ал эми жайыт комитеттери мыйндан билимдөргө ээ эмес. Чабандар менен токой чарба кызматкерлерине карата болгон мыйдай тынактар тан калыштуу эмес. Башкаруунун белгилүү принципрерине баш ийүүчү субъекттер жана уйымдар киргизилери менен эле пайда боло койбойт. Алар акырындап максаттуу багытталган өргөнүүчү болууга аркылуу алардын аракеттердин, аннанын ичинде маалыматтык кампаниялардын жана жаратылышты коргоо ишмердигинин тузден-туз катышуунун аркасында калыштырып, Субъекттик оңуттургө маани бербөө Кыргызстандагы жайыттарды коомчолор аркылуу башкаруу менен узак мөөнөттүү туруктуулугуң бузуусу ыктымал.
## Abbreviations

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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>Asian Development Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARIS</td>
<td>Community Development and Investment Agency</td>
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<td>CBNRM</td>
<td>Community-Based Natural Resource Management</td>
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<td>CPR</td>
<td>Common-Pool Resources</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Institutional Design Principles</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>PC</td>
<td>Pasture Committee</td>
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<td>PD</td>
<td>Pasture Department of the Ministry of Agriculture</td>
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<tr>
<td>PUA</td>
<td>Pasture User Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>Socio-Ecological System</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
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1 Introduction

This study is concerned with the efforts to reform the management of pastures in Kyrgyzstan with particular focus on the recent implementation of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) policy. It is a study about how this policy has emerged and evolved over time, how it has been deployed at the local level so as to influence the livelihoods of Kyrgyz people. This dissertation then explores the historical contingency of this policy in terms of how the use of pastures is problematized, and in terms of solutions offered. In doing so, the focus is on analyzing the complex genealogy of the statutory efforts to exercise authority over pastures.

The history of environmental policies in Kyrgyzstan has received relatively little attention in research. However, since the early 2000s there has been a growing interest in Kyrgyz natural resource management issues. For example, Svetlana Jacquesson’s paper highlights the importance of assumptions concerning Kyrgyz traditions in the deployment of CBNRM. According to Jacquesson, an integral part of the policy – decentralization of management – has been presented as a return to the supposedly traditional and sustainable practices, which existed before the modernization reforms by the Russian administration in the early 20th century. Through the research of archival sources, Jacquesson demonstrates that such understanding of traditional ways to manage pastures is largely erroneous. In my opinion, one of the most interesting issues, which Jacquesson raises, is the extent to which current state policies (i.e., the CBNRM scheme) are promoted through the use of specific narratives about pastures, which are based on the selective presentation of historical knowledge.

Besides the questionable narratives, the CBNRM scheme has also relied on the definition of pastures as a separate category in land legislation; on their demarcation in cartographic materials and delimitation in the landscape; on the establishment of specific institutions in charge of regulating their use. In sum, the state has (re-) created political pastures, which is “a political land use zone” with a distinct collection of social and political practices, which define the state perspec-

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1 Jacquesson, “Reforming Pastoral Land Use in Kyrgyzstan.”
2 This is inspired by work of Nancy Peluso and Peter Vandergeest in Southeast Asia. See Vandergeest and Peluso, “Political Forests.”
tive on what pasture is and how it is supposed to be used. From this perspective, Jacquesson demonstrated an inconsistency in the narrative practices about Kyrgyz political pastures. This study further develops this type of critical analysis and expands it to other elements that characterize political pasture.

There are several reasons to do a study of pasture policies in Kyrgyzstan. First of all, such a study illustrates how CBNRM schemes are implemented today and contributes with evidence, which can be used for comparisons with the earlier experiences. Kyrgyz pasture reform was launched in 2009, and its implementation is still ongoing. CBNRM schemes have a rather long history by now and it is valuable to compare whether or not today’s implementation differs from the earlier ones in other countries. Secondly, the study from Kyrgyzstan informs state officials, researchers and the employees of development agencies planning to introduce CBNRM schemes in other Central Asian countries. Despite all the uncertainties about the value of CBNRM, it is not likely that national governments and development agencies will stop deploying it. The evidence from Kyrgyzstan can guide the potential reformers in their actions. Thirdly, this study can be of value for Kyrgyz people, who earn their living through stock breeding. Given the importance of the livestock sector in Kyrgyzstan, this study can inform herders and livestock owners about the logic behind the policy, which influences their livelihoods.

Challenges to sustainable management of commons

For many years, Garret Hardin’s ideas concerning the tragedy of the commons have been influential on the state’s natural resource policies. According to Hardin, in a situation with increasing population and the absence of regulation, every resource user would seek to maximize his profits and this individual profit-seeking behavior would eventually lead to the over-exploitation and ruin of resources held in common. Hardin’s ideas provided the basis for the central government control of resources, which was supposed to limit the negative effects of irrational individual behavior. The research by Elinor Ostrom and others questioned Hardin’s conclusions and demonstrated that central government control is not the only solution for the sustainable management of common-pool resources (CPRs).³

³ Ostrom et al., “Revisiting the Commons: Local Lessons, Global Challenges.”
In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Ostrom defined eight institutional design principles (IDPs) enabling the capacity of resource users to successfully manage a CPR. These principles focus on issues such as resource and community boundaries (i.e., clearly defining who is allowed to use the resource in question), the existence of an effective monitoring system (i.e., having procedures for controlling compliance with the rules), the levels of local participation in the decision-making process (i.e., trying to build upon the existing rules and norms rather than imposing them in a top-down manner), the sanctions and the conflict-resolution mechanisms. One of the key messages was that there are many different varieties of CPRs and with locally appropriate institutions – norms and rules concerning the resource use – local communities can sustainably manage these resources. Evidence shows that IDPs are legitimate in ensuring better management.\(^4\)

The research on IDPs has been successful in influencing environmental policies around the world, particularly programs for so-called community-based natural resource management (CBNRM). In CBNRM policies, national governments assisted by international development agencies and NGOs transfer the responsibility for managing resources from central state agencies to local communities. In a typical CBNRM scheme, community organizations are created that take on the responsibility for allocating resource quotas, collecting users’ payments, monitoring compliance with resource use rules and adjudicating conflicts. This decentralized management system, which is supposedly anchored in local communities, is presented as a more effective alternative to management by the central state. Such schemes originated in a few African countries in the 1990s and after this development agencies gradually propagated them all over the world.\(^5\)

The study of CPRs and CBNRM schemes have occupied an important place in human geography and related social science disciplines, such as anthropology and rural development studies.\(^6\) In human geography, two principal lines of thinking can be identified. The first one is connected to critical geography researchers, who are influenced by the writings of Karl Marx and Karl Polanyi. The CBNRM schemes are analyzed as a neoliberalization of nature, where the point is to allow markets to regulate how natural resources are used. Au-


\(^6\) Bridge, “Resource Geographies II”; Heynen et al., Neoliberal Environments: False Promises and Unnatural Consequences; Forsyth, Critical Political Ecology.
thors in this field are often doubtful about the dogma of neoliberalism and the advantages of privatization, decentralization and deregulation of natural resources. They point out that promises of a sustainable and equitable use of natural resources often stay unfulfilled and that the neoliberalization schemes often lead to environmental degradation instead. The *Neoliberal Environments* edited volume is a good representative in this field of research.7

The second line of thinking is connected to the recent developments in political ecology. In analyzing the operation of natural resource policies, this research emphasizes the importance of understanding the role of local complexity, including dominant discourses, situated knowledge, local relations of power and subject positions.8 For example, a seminal paper by Pierce Blaikie demonstrates that there has been a persistent problem where CBNRM has been used as a blueprint; such schemes have been deployed in many countries, in different contexts and for different resources in more or less the same way. The consequence of this ubiquitous prescription has been an inevitable simplification of local complexity in terms of internal differences within the affected communities, the hidden agendas of various power-holders and the effects on marginalized social groups.9 Disregarding local complexity has often led to conflicts, exclusion of the affected population from the decision-making processes and the subsequent failure of CBNRM schemes to successfully regulate the use of natural resources.10

Ostrom herself admitted the tendency to use the IDPs as a “blueprint” and called it a “panacea problem”, which refers to a situation when the same solution is implemented for different problems. She suggested that the focus of scholars should be on the development of a diagnostic approach, where specific recommendations concerning resource use will be provided based on the nature of local complexity, rather than trying to pretend that this complexity does not exist.11

The socio-ecological systems (SES)12 framework has been suggested to contribute to the above-mentioned diagnostic approach. The framework provides an extensive list of nested variables related to CPRs, which can be considered by researchers in a particular situa-

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7 Heynen et al., *Neoliberal Environments: False Promises and Unnatural Consequences.*
8 Rocheleau, “Political Ecology in the Key of Policy.”
9 Blaikie, “Is Small Really Beautiful?”
11 Ostrom and Cox, “Moving beyond Panaceas.”
12 A socio-ecological system could be understood as a system which includes human-environment interactions.
tion. Depending on his/her theoretical stance, an individual researcher makes decisions about which variables are proportionately more important in a particular empirical case. This is the reason why the SES framework is not presented as an explanatory model in itself, but rather a way “to share a common vocabulary for the construction and testing of alternative theories and models that determine which influences on processes and outcomes are especially critical in specific settings.”

The current developments of the SES framework include efforts to account for the local complexity by systematizing and unifying the study of various contextual factors. Instead of providing guidelines or best practices, which can be used as a blueprint, “[t]he future of (effective) environmental management appears to be leaning increasingly towards the goal of matching policies to the social and ecological contexts of environmental problems.”

An appropriate way to study local contexts is to use the so-called governmentality studies approach, which focuses on

how different locales are constituted as authoritative and powerful, how different agents are assembled with specific powers, and how different domains are constituted as governable and administrable.

This approach studies the current practices to regulate natural resources from a historical perspective. For example, a governmentality researcher would investigate how the state ownership of forests has emerged and evolved. This focus on historical evolution (or genealogy) often produces empirical evidence to challenge ideas taken for granted by demonstrating past struggles, which took place in the past to construct the seemingly immutable truth that forests are owned by the state. In sum, the governmentality studies approach provides an improved understanding of local contexts by showing the diachronic nature of natural resource governance; i.e., the fact that the governance is a historically continuous process, rather than a synchronic event taking place only here and now. The further details of this approach are discussed in Chapter 2.

15 Dean, Governmentality, 40.
16 Peluso and Vandergeest, “Genealogies of the Political Forest and Customary Rights in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand.”
Current agenda of Kyrgyz pasture reforms

One of the most recent countries to implement a CBNRM scheme is Kyrgyzstan, a post-Soviet country in Central Asia (see Figure 1). Agriculture is an important sector of the economy and 64% of the Kyrgyz population resides in the rural areas; agriculture represents around 20% of the country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employs 30% of the workforce. The role of agriculture has declined compared to the Soviet period, but it still occupies an important role and provides employment to a substantial portion of the population. Livestock sector contributes almost 50% of the agricultural sector’s GDP. The Kyrgyz livestock sector is important due to the climate and topography of the country; in a dry, mountainous landscape there are large grassland areas, and quite limited areas of arable land. In fact, 90% of the agricultural land in the country is classified as pasture.

International development agencies have assisted Kyrgyzstan in various reforms, as it is a poor country with an unstable economic system. One third of its 6 million people live in poverty, which is defined as US $2.50 per day. Today the GDP per capita is about US $1100. The defining characteristic of the Kyrgyz economy is its dependence on remittances. According to World Bank (WB) estimates, during the 2010s, worker remittances accounted for about 30% of the country’s GDP. This share of remittances is one of the highest in the world, comparable to the situation in other remittance-dependent countries such as Tajikistan, Lesotho, Nepal and Moldova. Another 10% of the GDP depends on one gold mine. The dependence on remittances and the industrial output of the mine makes the country particularly exposed to external shocks, such as economic downturns in the Russian Federation – the country receiving the majority of Kyrgyz migrants.

17 World Bank, “The Kyrgyz Republic: Poverty Profile and Overview of Living Conditions.”
20 World Bank, “Migrants from Developing Countries to Send Home $414 Billion in Earnings in 2013.”
21 World Bank, “Kyrgyz Republic.”
Since 1991, Kyrgyzstan has implemented numerous reforms guided by international agencies such as IMF, WB and Asian Development Bank (ADB). In the early 1990s, reforms focused on macroeconomic stabilization. Similarly to other countries, the loans from donor agencies came with conditions promoting market liberalization, deregulation and privatization. The Kyrgyz government duly committed to implement these measures.\textsuperscript{22} In agriculture, the most important reform was privatization, where legal ownership of land was transferred from state property to private property. The reforms also included a shift from production by large-scale collective farms to small-scale individual farms.\textsuperscript{23} In 2009, a measure to promote pasture management reform was launched in the country, the aim of which was to introduce CBNRM.

The impetus for the CBNRM in pastures was provided by the reports of international development agencies, which emphasized the importance of reforming the sector. In a 2007 WB report, the problems of Kyrgyz pastures were described as a matter of inefficient management.

With different institutions responsible for allocating use rights to different pastures, kolkhozes [collective farms] no longer organizing the seasonal transport of animals to distant pastures, and herd ownership scattered among

\textsuperscript{22} Baimyrzaeva, “Kyrgyzstan’s Public Sector Reforms,” 556.
\textsuperscript{23} Lerman and Sedik, “Agrarian Reform in Kyrgyzstan,” 2.
numerous small farmers, most individual farmers are today overusing pastures close to their homes and eschewing travel to more distant pastures where infrastructure and other facilities have become derelict.\textsuperscript{24}

The WB report also included concrete suggestions on how the reform of pasture management was supposed to unroll in order to address the identified problems. The solution was in the decentralization and participatory pasture management.\textsuperscript{25} These suggestions, which were based on the bank’s expertise, did not stay on paper. They were implemented through a range of pilot projects that were launched in the country. Eventually a law was adopted in 2009 that kept the state ownership of pastures, but transferred the responsibility for pasture management to local-level institutions – Pasture User Associations (PUAs) – and their executive bodies – Pasture Committees (PCs). All of this was in accordance with the prescriptions of the 2007 report.

Several researchers have investigated the implementation of the reform and reported various problems with the decentralization procedures and the current functioning of PCs. Firstly, the implementation of the CBNRM policy has failed to account for the socio-economic disparities present in rural areas. These disparities date back to the Soviet period and they increased during the disorderly process of privatization in the 1990s. Today, rich households have better access to pastures than poor ones, as they can bend formal regulations in ways that suit their interests. Less wealthy households are often unaware of the existing regulations and are excluded from the decision-making procedures.\textsuperscript{26}

Secondly, a recurrent theme in existing studies concerns the lack of transparency and accountability in PCs’ functioning, which results in the exclusion of the wider population from the decision-making process. Today people are often unaware of the activities of PCs and do not adhere to their management plans.\textsuperscript{27} The implementation of the reform has been highly uneven depending on local-level circumstances, which have not been accounted for in the planning of the

\textsuperscript{24} World Bank, “Kyrgyz Republic - Livestock Sector Review: Embracing the New Challenges,” 57.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 63–64.
\textsuperscript{26} Steinman, \textit{Making a Living in Uncertainty: Agro-Pastoral Livelihoods and Institutional Transformations in Post-Socialist Rural Kyrgyzstan}; Dörre, “Promises and Realities of Community-Based Pasture Management Approaches.”
\textsuperscript{27} Shigaeva et al., “Decentralizing Governance of Agropastoral Systems in Kyrgyzstan.”
CBNRM scheme. The top-down manner to establish local community organizations have resulted in a situation, where many pasture users are not aware of their existence and consequently do not follow their decisions. In practice, the use of pastures is regulated by a mixture of formal regulations and informal local practices.

These findings are not surprising given the fact that the majority of reforms in Kyrgyzstan have produced mixed results. Privatization, which was an unruly process, led to the seizure of assets by elites. Administrative decentralization resulted in the delegation of responsibilities to local self-government organizations without an adequate investment in the local capacities. The efforts to change administrative apparatus resulted in “state institutions with mutated features of the previous regime,” so that a Soviet formalistic and legalistic approach is still dominant. This means that the production of regulations is considered an ultimate goal, whereas there is little effort to ensure proper functioning of regulations. “Overall, it appears that much of the reform was produced and remained to please donors and continue securing their funds.”

Concerning pastures, the current situation is largely in line with the ideas of Ostrom-influenced SES research outlined in the preceding section; blueprint approaches fail to deliver sustainable management of natural resources. Shigaeva et al. state that the future is in bottom-up approaches, where successful management of pastures will be based on “taking communities’ and individuals’ perspectives into account, with a view to collaboratively working with them to identify and enable the best resource-use options.” This empirical finding from Kyrgyzstan is consistent with the researchers’ goal of developing diagnostic approaches which will allow for the tailoring of policies to local social contexts.

Aim and research questions

The discussion above has briefly outlined the latest efforts to transform Kyrgyz grasslands into political pastures; i.e., the land-use zone,
which is legislated, mapped and owned by the state, but managed by communities. Two research gaps related to political pastures can be identified. The first one concerns the logic behind the introduction of the CBNRM scheme. As mentioned earlier, such schemes have had, at the very least, inconclusive results in other countries of the world. Yet, the Kyrgyz CBNRM scheme has been introduced rather quickly, without comprehensive discussions about its pros and cons. We need to know more about how and why CBNRM became a state policy in Kyrgyzstan. This is a way to engage critically with the policy, which is likely to stay and expand in Kyrgyzstan.

Second, we know little about the local scale implementation of the policy, especially concerning individual perspectives on the new management practices. Given the fact that the CBNRM implies substantial responsibilities for local communities concerning resource management, the eventual practical outcomes largely depend on how people choose to participate or not in the pasture management schemes. Are there differences between different social groups concerning the compliance with the CBNRM principles? How do people start to collaborate with the new management institutions? The answers to these questions will provide an improved understanding of how the efforts to produce political pasture succeed or fail at the local level.

Consequently, the aim of this study is to examine Kyrgyz political pasture focusing on two aspects: (1) the evolution of the pasture policy with a particular focus on the CBNRM scheme; (2) the current methods to implement CBNRM at the local scale. The overarching aim can be reformulated in the following research questions:

1. How and why have the state, development agencies and other actors introduced the CBNRM scheme as a suitable policy in Kyrgyzstan?
2. What are the factors influencing the compliance with or resistance to CBNRM principles of various local-level actors involved in pasture use?

Disposition

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapters 1, 2, and 3 lay out the approach to the study of political pastures in Kyrgyzstan. Chapter 2 elaborates on the theoretical basis of this thesis, focusing in particular on how the governmentality studies approach has been (and can be) used in research on natural resource management. Chapter 3 is dedi-

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33 Blaikie, “Is Small Really Beautiful?”
cated to the methods. It demonstrates how pasture government can be researched through archival sources, interviews and observations. Chapter 4, which is the first empirical chapter, focuses on the historical continuities of Kyrgyz pasture policies. It establishes how specific narratives about the causes of crisis in pastures have been perpetuated from the 19th century to the present day. Chapter 5 shifts focus to the recent CBNRM policy and illuminates how the formulation of this policy has been influenced by a mixture of Soviet land use planning ideas alongside the decentralization principles promoted by the international development agencies. Whereas Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the formulation of pasture policies at the national level, Chapter 6 is dedicated to the implementation of the CBNRM policy at the local level. It demonstrates that the cooperation of people with the principles of CBNRM depends on the specificities of their interactions with new management practices. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of this thesis and discusses its relevance to future research.
2 Theoretical points of departure

The text below focuses on the advantages and disadvantages of a so-called governmentality studies approach, which has been popular in social sciences for studying environmental policies. The chapter demonstrates that the contribution of this approach, which is inspired by the works of French philosopher Michel Foucault, is that it allows for questioning of the ideas taken for granted in the policies. This questioning is instrumental in understanding how and why certain environmental issues are problematized and how and why specific solutions for these problems are suggested. The key focus of this approach is the genealogy of government practices, i.e., the historical and geographical emergence and development of today’s methods of managing pastures.

The “standard” governmentality studies research has usually been done by focusing on the development of national-level policies, laws and regulations. During the last decade, a number of researchers expanded the analysis to include the local level as well. This was done in order to address the fact that the cooperativeness or resistance of individuals involved in the management schemes is crucial for their success or failure. The key argument of this chapter is that a research project such as this one should include both types of analysis, i.e., at the national and the local levels.

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36 Evered, Empire and Education under the Ottomans; Evered and Evered, “Governing Population, Public Health, and Malaria in the Early Turkish Republic.”

37 Li, The Will to Improve; Birkenholtz, “Groundwater Governmentality”; Nightingale, “Beyond Design Principles”; Silva, “Foucault in the Landscape.”
Governmentality studies, genealogy and the role of knowledge

In governmentality studies, pasture management reforms can be understood as efforts to regulate the conduct of the population, i.e., the way people negotiate access to pastures, decide on seasonal migration, and resolve conflicts. Reforms aim to change current regimes of practices, which are:

[F]airly coherent sets of ways going about doing things. They are the more or less organized ways at any given time and place, we think about, reform and practise such things as caring, administering, counselling, curing, punishing, educating and so on.\(^{38}\)

Governmentality studies focus on the genealogy of these regimes of practices in an effort to destabilize the authoritative truths circulating in society today. The aspiration is to reveal their contingent character and deprive them of their “self-evident” status by going after their historical origins.\(^{39}\) The purpose is not necessarily to find an origin behind the phenomena, but rather to make it explicit how these contingent truths are influencing our thinking, our bodies and actions by defining what we think is possible and impossible.\(^{40}\) Past events are interesting to a genealogist insofar as they allow for the evaluation of present-day claims of authority.\(^{41}\) Governmentality studies focus on writing history, which “upsets the colonization of knowledge by those trans-historical schemas and teleologies which claim to be able to account for the truth of our present.”\(^{42}\)

Regimes of practices rely on the existing knowledge. For example, the way to organize public health policies depends on medical knowledge about diseases; the monetary policies depend on macroeconomic knowledge about growth and inflation.\(^{43}\) Similarly, CBNRM relies on the knowledge about the supposedly efficient ways to organize the use of common-pool resources. If one considers the implementation of CBNRM by the state as an exercise of power and authority, then it is in this sense that Foucault noted that “there is no

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\(^{38}\) Dean, *Governmentality*, 31.


\(^{40}\) Dean, *Governmentality*, 56.

\(^{41}\) Gutting, *Foucault*, 56.

\(^{42}\) Dean, *Governmentality*, 3.

\(^{43}\) Ibid., 31.
power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge.”

Governmentality studies emphasize that the arrangement of knowledge in a certain order determines what is considered to be true at a particular point in time and space. For example, the process of data collection by the scientists and the state is already a powerful act. Data collection leads to analysis and definition of problems and solutions. These solutions would suggest specific roles for the state apparatus, the scientists and the target population. In this intertwining of sciences with the authority of the state, certain “truth-claims” concerning the environment are created: Is the nature in crisis or not? Who is at fault for this crisis? Who is to pay the price? Answers to these questions provide another set of truth-claims concerning how state institutions and individual behavior should be in order to address the perceived problem of nature in crisis.

The “truths” created by knowledge affect not only the government today, but they can also play an important role over time. Knowledge itself creates a certain path dependence: specific truths created in the past and perpetuating into the present become normalized through people’s minds and spaces and this normalization alters the very understanding of what is possible, rational or legitimate. Individual subject positions are produced partly through the historical continuities in the truths related to someone’s socio-economic class, ethnicity and gender. The present-day rule is essentially “shot through with residues and traces of other external ideologies, perhaps survivals from earlier moments in the history.”

An example of such continuity is the history of forests in Southeast Asia. The territorial control of forests did not appear at once. The state proceeded from the declarations of state sovereignty, to the establishment of the forestry departments and initial forest surveys, and to the eventual restriction of access. There has been continuity in this process: the early colonial state relied on the pre-colonial ideas and practices through which the elites restricted access to and the use of forests. These practices were re-packaged and mixed with the civi-

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47 See Goldman, “Eco-Governmentality and Other Transnational Practices of a ‘green’ World Bank.”
48 Peluso and Vanderveest, “Genealogies of the Political Forest and Customary Rights in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand,” 766.
49 Probyn, “The Spatial Imperative of Subjectivity.”
lizing mission of creating order and bringing progress. Similarly today, the forest-related projects of private companies and NGOs rely on the state zoning practices from the first half of the 20th century.\textsuperscript{51} This kind of historical continuity is also present in Kyrgyzstan, where Soviet land zoning is the basis for both pasture and forest management today.

The interest in historical continuities challenges the perpetuity of ideas concerning nature-society interactions and calls attention to the genealogy of any type of knowledge.\textsuperscript{52} Such focus on destabilizing the truths is “the most compelling part of Foucauldian analysis… [because] if things are made rather than found, then the possibility exists for them to be unmade, or made differently.”\textsuperscript{53} Here, the governmentality studies approach does not provide alternatives; it does not propose better ways to govern. Researchers employing it deconstruct the current practices and create epistemological insecurity. But, this is precisely the point with governmentality studies: the destabilization challenges existing or proposed regimes of practices.

The construction of truth-claims is mostly associated with the policies of the central state, but it is not the only producer of knowledge about the environment. Today NGOs, international development organizations, think tanks and corporations are important actors in evaluating environmental change.\textsuperscript{54} This implies then that power is not exclusive to the state. This understanding of power as being de-centered from the state is the reason why the Foucault-inspired approach envisages power as capillary, where power circulates through various networks (or capillaries) rather than being possessed by the elites.\textsuperscript{55}

The view of power, as de-centered from the state, does not negate, however, “the scalar capacity of states – the capacity to mobilize landscape and resources on a very large scale.”\textsuperscript{56} Simply put, states are in the same playground with NGOs, customary authorities, individuals and other subjects when it concerns the questions of governance but, contrary to some of the other actors, states also have access to a different playground with loans from international organizations.

\textsuperscript{51} Vandergeest and Peluso, “Political Forests.”
\textsuperscript{52} Peluso and Vandergeest, “Genealogies of the Political Forest and Customary Rights in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand,” 763.
\textsuperscript{53} Rutherford, “Green Governmentality,” 305 (italics in the original).
\textsuperscript{54} See “IPCC - Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change”; Rutherford, “Green Governmentality,” 296.
\textsuperscript{55} Gregory et al., The Dictionary of Human Geography, 575; Rutherford, “Green Governmentality,” 296.
\textsuperscript{56} Bridge, “Resource Geographies II,” 120.
actions of trans-national corporations and nation-wide development programs.

The points made in this section concerning the omnipresence of power and the contingency of current government arrangements are similar to the core premises of political ecology. Foucault-inspired research is indeed considered to be part of recent developments in post-structuralist political ecology research. 57

Territorialization, knowledge and sovereignty

The environmental regimes of practices often rely on specific representations of space such as plans and maps. Geographers extend Foucault’s ideas to address the spatial aspects of the rule. 58 Consequently, geographers are interested in researching

[the] integral place of space in rationalities of government – how different kinds of spaces are constituted as objects and aims of government; how they figure in programmes and practices of government; and how material spaces and built forms are deployed as techniques of rule by multiple institutions of reform and control, which may or may not be linked to the state. 59

Several examples can be provided for the “integral role of space”. Firstly, it has been observed in colonial contexts how the territory of the modern state has often been constructed on the basis of the categorization of some areas as degraded (e.g., wild, aboriginal, restricted), others as productive, and through the ingraining of this categorization apparatus into the people’s minds. Here “[s]tate-building and subject-creating exercises...become mutually constitutive” 60 through the process of territorialization. Secondly, today the territorialization of space is used as a powerful technique by non-state actors. For example, it can be argued that the NGOs working on the climate change issues produce the truths about the connections between people all over the world. The global environmental space is created, 61 and people are urged to internalize the fact that the unsustainable practices in one particular location lead not only to local consequences (for example, deforestation), but also to global ones (i.e., changing climate).

57 Rocheleau, “Political Ecology in the Key of Policy.”
61 Rutherford, “Green Governmentality.”
The quote above emphasizes how “material spaces and built forms are deployed as techniques of rule.” This implies that space can be used directly as a tool in the exercise of power. For example, the authors, who write about pasture governance in Kyrgyzstan, often argue for the need of reforms in order to conserve pastures. They compare the current situation against a desired ideal, a normative landscape vision. This vision includes ideas about how the landscape should look like, how people can behave in it in an “ethically proper and morally right” manner. Such normative landscape visions could differ between actors. For urban residents, pastures can often be a place of aesthetic consumption where one reconnects with nature and traditions. For herders and livestock owners, pastures are also a place of production, where one earns money to live on. Conflicts appear, when one group imposes its vision on others. In sum, such visions – here, the normative ideas about the landscape – function as elements in regimes of practices by promoting certain truths about what landscape is and how it should be used.

The spatial aspect of government brings back the importance of analyzing maps, cadasters, and other representations of geographic knowledge, the contents of which are problematized by researchers of modernism such as Scott. According to Scott, the problematic character of cartographic materials is that they represent a perceptual, simplified version of reality. Thus, a forest map reflects, allegedly, only the mappers’ ideas and interests and neglects or even tries to suppress local knowledge and customary practices. With Foucault’s theory, this simplified character of maps does not represent a problem, because researchers would ask different questions. There is no point in trying to establish ‘reality’ of any kind (objective or subjective) through maps or any other sources of knowledge. The point is rather to understand how the government functions, how technologies of power are deployed towards specific ends, such as the sustainable management of pastures, and it is from this angle that geographic representations gain their importance again. Maps are representations of reality and good vehicles for analyzing mappers’ views on the environment and landscape. As Harley puts it, maps should be deconstructed, as they provide us with material artifacts testifying

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62 Walker and Fortmann, “Whose Landscape?”
63 Watts and Peet, “Conclusion.”
64 Mitchell, “Work, Struggle, Death, and Geographies of Justice.”
65 Walker and Fortmann, “Whose Landscape?” 482.
66 Scott, Seeing like a State.
67 See also Bridge, “Resource Geographies II,” 119.
68 Harley, “Deconstructing the Map.”
how the process of governing has been implemented and how carto-
graphic knowledge contributes to the control and transformation of
population. Maps provide “a spatial panopticon,” as they “facilitate
surveillance and control” by simplifying the landscape and making it
hierarchically organized.69 Certainly, this capacity of knowledge to be
involved in politics extends well beyond the confines of the map and
encompasses essentially any type of knowledge, which could be in-
olved in the art of government.

The importance of the spatial aspect of power could be exempli-
fied with the case of state forestry. Peluso and Vandergeest conclud-
ed that forest as used by the state is not only a biological entity, in that it
is not only trees, plants and animals, but it is also a process of con-
structing a “political forest” - which “exists because people under-
stand and define particular sets of material components on the
ground to constitute them.”70 Emphasizing the importance of politi-
cal forests to state sovereignty, Peluso and Vandergeest state that:

In state forestry, regularization and normalization were intended to facilitate
extraction and production of valuable forest products and facilitate the prac-
tice of scientific forestry. Ultimately, state forestry extended the broader
power of the entire colonial state as well as that of the state forest institu-
tions by changing the landscape, claiming forests as state property, and estab-
lishing new mechanisms of seeing and gaining access to it.71

In Kyrgyzstan, just like in many other countries, the power of the
state was extended with the help of its forestry (and other natural
resource sectors), the environmental crisis discourse and the subse-
quent need to regulate the access to forests.72 This regulation included
the development of legal principles, cartographic data, and the cre a-
tion of specific institutions such as forestry departments.

**Biopower and trustees**

Certain issues should be clarified further when it comes to the analy-
sis of how government of natural resources functions. In the issues
related to natural resources, the state, development agencies, NGOs
and other actors involve themselves in regulating specific human-

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69 Ibid., 287.
70 Vandergeest and Peluso, “Political Forests,” 162.
71 Peluso and Vandergeest, “Genealogies of the Political Forest and Customary
Rights in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand,” 802.
72 Schmidt and Doerre, “Changing Meanings of Kyrgyzstan’s Nut Forests from
Colonial to Post-Soviet Times.”
environment interactions (e.g., between herders and the grassland). The explanations given by them for the need for such interventions concern bringing “civilization”, “well-being” or “sustainability” to the affected population. In the governmentality studies, this phenomenon is addressed through the concept of biopower or biopolitics, which is “a form of power…that seeks…to legitimize authority through the claim that governance serves to enhance the health and vitality of the subject ‘population’…”

The biopower arises from the collection of various population statistics, as the knowledge about nativity, mortality, health and the like makes it possible to develop population-oriented policies and manage the population towards the desired ends. If Foucault included only human life in the definition of biopower, today geographers extend its definition to include nature in general. In this case, it is through the knowledge of nature (e.g., in the case of a forest: its area, species composition and productivity) that it becomes possible to manage it. Such knowledge is never neutral; instead it is always implicated in the art of government, in politics.

In the exercise of biopower, various agents take the role of an expert – someone who knows how to solve other people’s problems, often through the change of conduct. A good example here is the role of the international development agencies, which often assist developing countries such as Kyrgyzstan in resolving their environmental, social and economic problems. An appropriate way to understand the role of these agencies is through the concept of trustee. Tania Li uses this term to identify the actors who have the inner will to improve the situation through reforms, modernizations, projects and programs. As she puts it: “Many parties share in the will to improve. They occupy the position of trustees, a position defined by the claim to know how others should live, to know what is best for them, to know what they need.” In Kyrgyzstan, just like in Li’s Indonesia, there are many actors which could be identified as trustees: from colonial officers in the 19th century to the present day employees of the development agencies. This study will use the concept of trustees to emphasize the key role of these actors in devising changes to pasture management through development projects or state policies.

Trustees rely on their expertise in order to suggest new regimes of practices (or preserve existing ones). They do this through the tech-

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73 Fletcher, “Neoliberal Environmentality,” 175.
75 Rose-Redwood, “Governmentality, Geography, and the Geo-Coded World.”
76 Li, The Will to Improve, 4.
niques of *problematization* and *rendering technical*. The former is the process of identifying deficiencies in the current situation. In the case of environmental issues, it has often to do with the depiction of nature in crisis. The latter refers to the process of reworking the problem, so that it could be solved through technical interventions, through improved knowledge and expertise. These two techniques are examples of how government operates on a practical level. The pasture-related reports of development agencies, which were mentioned in Chapter 1, problematized Kyrgyz pasture management and suggested technical solution through CBNRM.

One of the key findings in Li’s work is that government strategies have been characterized by a perpetual divide between trustees and the target population. If someone challenges the authority of trustees to devise solutions, they try to regain their power at all costs by devising new projects and programs of improvement. “They do this by inscribing a boundary that separates those who claim to know how others should live from those whose conduct is to be conducted.”

The problem, which has been recorded many times in the developing countries’ context, is that the identification of technical problems (and their solutions) by trustees tends to be anti-political, i.e., socio-economic and political divisions within a given country are bracketed away from the development projects. For example, the decrease of forest cover may be discussed as an issue of inefficient policing and unclear tenure, rather than as the consequence of underlying socio-economic inequalities. This anti-political way of framing discussions influences what actually gets implemented by the countries with the help of development agencies.

There are several limitations to the concept of trustees. Trustees should not be understood as a homogenous group with a common vision of how government should be organized. Many development interventions are implemented because specific people with distinct ideas happen to work in certain countries. It might be so that CBNRM is deployed in Kyrgyzstan not because it is a way for trustees to regain power, but because a certain development agency official believes in its advantages.

Additionally, the capacity of trustees to change the regime of practices is limited. Ferguson’s *Anti-Politics Machine* convincingly demonstrated how the development interventions of trustees failed, because of local resistance by resource users.

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77 Ibid., 282.
78 Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine*.
79 Bebbington, “Trusteeship, Ethnography, and the Challenge of Critique In/of Development.”
and local administrators who felt threatened by the changes brought by trustees.  

In this study, the concept of trustees is used in order to unite, under one umbrella term, different groups of people who tried to influence pasture management at specific historical periods; from colonial officials, to Soviet planners, to today’s environmental NGO employees. The concepts of problematization and rendering techniques guide my reading of various texts concerning pastures and help me in understanding the genealogy of current government.

**Governmentality modes as the exercise of biopower**

Problematization and rendering technical are instrumental in understanding how the need for technical interventions is established and specific solutions are suggested. They do not explain though how the proposed interventions are translated into practical outcomes on the ground. This exercise of biopower is addressed through the concept of *governmentality modes*, which refer to the strategies used to influence the behavior of people. There are four of these modes:  

- **Sovereign governmentality** achieves the desired conduct through the threat of violence. In natural resource governance, this can be the adoption of laws prohibiting certain actions, the introduction of penalties and the establishment of some form of surveillance. An example here is the forest guards, where a desired behavior is achieved through the authority to capture law perpetrators, impose fees and take the non-compliant ones to court.

- **Disciplinary governmentality** focuses on changing individual ethics. The desired conduct is achieved through moral considerations, rather than through the fear of penalties. An example here are educational activities, which aim to change people’s ideas about what is “a right thing to do” with respect to the environment. Children often learn in schools about the unethical character of leaving garbage, polluting water and breaking branches. This is how disciplinary governmentality operates.

- **Truth governmentality** is based on what is considered to be the “true” order of things: “prescriptions accord with

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80 Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine.*

81 Fletcher, “Neoliberal Environmentality.”
the fundamental nature of life and universe”. The example here is the demand of certain conduct as it complies with the natural (traditional, universal) order of things. For example, decentralization policies are often defended by appealing to their compliance with traditions.82

- Finally, neoliberal governmentality assumes that individuals are rational, profit-seeking actors, whose behavior could be regulated through economic incentives. The policies of fiscal and administrative decentralization of natural resource management are an example here. In these policies, the revenues from management (pasture-use fees, for example) accumulate at the local level and provide an economic incentive for managers to regulate the use of pastures, and eventually change the conduct of the population.

Separating these modes from each other can be difficult. Is decentralization beneficial due to its compliance with traditions or the economic benefits to the community? The answer here is that the exercise of biopower does not use only one type of government rationality, but rather all four of them. Pasture governance or any other type of governance can be understood as a combination of the four governmentality modes.

In the world we have known since the nineteenth century, a series of governmental rationalities overlap, lean on each other, challenge each other, and struggle with each other: art of government according to truth, art of government according to the rationality of the sovereign state, and art of government according to the rationality of economic agents, and more generally according to the rationality of the governed themselves.83

The overlap in the quote refers primarily to the temporal dimension: Foucault emphasizes that one mode does not substitute for another one.84 This overlap can be further extended to the spatial dimension, as different governmentality modes coexist in specific places. This temporal and spatial overlap can lead to governmentality modes acting in concert or conflicting with each other leading to fragmented or even contradictory efforts to regulate the conduct of a population.

82 Jacquesson, “Reforming Pastoral Land Use in Kyrgyzstan.”
83 Foucault, The Birth of Biopolitics, 313.
84 Foucault, “Governmentality.”
The governmentality modes are used in this thesis to understand how the technical interventions translate into practical changes in the interactions between people and pastures. Figure 2 illustrates the conceptual map linking these concepts together. Scientists, state officials and development agency professionals could act as trustees as they have claimed at different historical periods that they know how to properly use pastures and how pasture management should be organized. The trustees gain their power through being the ones who identify the problem and the need for an intervention (problematization). They translate the identified problems into specific activities (rendering technical). All of these steps lead to the technical interventions mediated through different governmentality modes. The practical outcomes such as the changes in the access to resources by different groups or adoption of new decision-making procedures can result in a challenge to the position of trustees (the feedback arrow), in

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85 In the Kyrgyz case see Schmidt and Doerre, “Changing Meanings of Kyrgyzstan’s Nut Forests from Colonial to Post-Soviet Times.” For other contexts see Peluso and Vandergeest, “Genealogies of the Political Forest and Customary Rights in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand”; Li, The Will to Improve.
which case they regain their power by devising a new technical intervention. It is important to note that trustees do not have all the power, which can be found at every level of society; from pasture micro-politics between herders to macro-politics of international organizations, where national governments promote their agendas on the management of natural resources.

Critiques of governmentality studies

To be sure, governmentality studies have not escaped critical remarks. The first one relates to the origins of the theoretical approach. Foucault developed his ideas in relation to the European history of nation states. The danger in applying this theory to other contexts was that its conceptual apparatus would be used as a blueprint; i.e., important social and political differences of non-European societies would be disregarded. “Such a move would not be without its own epistemological elements of Eurocentrism.”

Consequently, many writers, who used the concepts of biopower and governmentality, made intentional efforts to account for the specificities of governance in non-western contexts. The differences from the western model should not be considered as deviations, but rather included in the conceptual toolbox from the beginning of a research project.

This is the reason why the empirical part of this thesis starts with the investigation of the Kyrgyz historical context (Chapter 4).

The governmentality studies can also be criticized for the simplification of the development work. As stated before the governmentality studies approach has been particularly popular in researching environmental management issues in developing countries. In these countries, international development agencies such as the World Bank occupy an important role, as they are usually the driving force behind projects and reforms which change regimes of practices. In the governmentality studies, these agencies are presented as a rational actor with a preset plan, something that I have already mentioned in the discussion about trustees. For the students of international relations and political science, this would be reminiscent of a neorealist school of thought, where national states are presented as homogenous actors which act based on calculations of pros and cons. Allison and Zelikow’s classic demonstrated that behind the façade of intentional

86 Walters, Governmentality, 71.
87 Ibid; Lemke, “An Indigestible Meal?,” 46.
88 Allison and Zelikow, Essence of Decision.
state actions, there are often agendas of different agencies and individual employees. Additionally, some actions are made purely out of institutional inertia, where state agencies act based on standard operating procedures. Allison and Zelikow argued for a more nuanced, evidence-based thinking about international relations. Similar, more humble and more nuanced thinking is necessary about the action of development agencies and other trustees. Social relations within these agencies can be more important for the implementation of new projects such as CBNRM.

The oversimplification of the trustees’ work stems from the methods, which are conventional in governmentality studies. Genealogy of government often means the reading of texts such as laws, reports, and policies. There is a tendency for:

reading off of actors' intentions from institutional texts and the effects of institutional interventions; a more nuanced treatment of diversity and dynamics within village life and politics than within development organizations…

Addressing this issue of “reading off of actors’ intentions” is difficult, as it requires insider knowledge about trustees. In this study, I take a modest position towards trustees. In the empirical chapters (particularly Chapters 4 and 5) I abstain from interpreting the intentions from textual sources, when there is no additional evidence to support doing so.

Finally, another major line of critique during the last ten years concerns the importance of the local scale. The theoretical framework described so far addresses the genealogy of large-scale phenomena, such as the formulation of state-level policies. Governmentality studies have been criticized for being “anemic” about the situated practices or the “social relations through which politics and technologies of power are shaped, exercised and contested”. The success or failure of technical interventions depends on a number of local factors. Different state departments can promote conflicting rationalities leading to confusion and conflict. Local-scale executives may lack the necessary managerial capacity to ensure the acceptance of the programs by the affected population. Even the reliance on expert knowledge can backfire against government programs, as the experts can be

90 Silva, “Foucault in the Landscape,” 398.
91 Ferguson, The Anti-Politics Machine.
considered as not “really knowing the terrain, thereby creating absurd rules for the uses of land.”

A researcher interested in power dimensions should “combine attention to the rationale of improving schemes with the investigation of what happens when these schemes entangle the world they would regulate and transform.” Through focus on the local contexts and politics as well as the lived experiences of the people, it is possible to better understand how collaborations and resistances to the improvement programs such as pasture management appear. There is a need to address the local-level “messiness” and this can be done through the concept of subject position, which is discussed in the next section.

Shifting to the local level

Every individual could be cooperative with or resistant to different resource-use rules depending on the particular mix of his or her positions (gender, ethnicity, socio-economic class) in the networks of power, which are space- and time-specific. This subject position could be both oppressive and productive: People can simply follow the rules under the fear of punishment (sovereign governmentality), or they can be good environmental citizens who are ready to take responsibility for the use of natural resources (disciplinary governmentality).

Subject position is produced through interactions, practices such as talking with others and being talked about, seeing and being seen. It is in interactions that someone is hailed into his/her class, gender or ethnicity. The range of subject positions to which individuals are ‘hailed’ is quite limited, and the ‘interpellation’ with a particular subject position does not happen at once, out of nowhere; it takes time and numerous repetitions for someone to be hailed into a specific subject position. With the example of gender in mind, Probyn says:

the ideas that society has about what is feminine or masculine, what is ‘normal’, etc. do not just seep into our heads; these ideas are reproduced over

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93 Silva, “Foucault in the Landscape,” 403.
94 Li, The Will to Improve, 270.
95 Nightingale, “Beyond Design Principles.”
97 Agrawal, “Environmentality.”
and over again through the practices defined by different apparatuses, and then in our own practices.\(^98\)

If subject positions are produced in interaction with someone else, they are also produced somewhere, in some specific locations, and thus space becomes important, as it “presses against our bodies, and out of necessity touches at our subjectivities.”\(^99\) In this case, the interaction with space can act in a way, which is reminiscent of an interaction with a person. For example, in the offices of authorities, individuals often become “resource users” or “degraders.”\(^100\) Consequently, space and subject position “are mutually interdependent and complexly structured entities.”\(^101\)

In this study, the concept of subject position and its interactive character are used to understand the functioning of pasture government on the local level. The subject positions of individuals involved in the management can be analyzed in relation to different governmentality modes. How and why do the herders comply with or resist the authority of the pasture committees? How do the pasture committee chairmen take responsibility for planning the use of pastures and collecting the fees from herders? These are the types of questions which could be answered with the help of this concept.

**Conclusions**

The analysis of governmentality should start with the research of historical sources in order to better understand the logic of today’s situation, how truths have been constructed, used and reused (see Figure 3 on page 48). It should focus on the development of policies and the translation of government principles into specific laws and plans. The analysis should continue with the current government practices: how various truths concerning pastures circulate in society, including the visions for territorialization and landscape. Both of these stages of research are on the national level,\(^102\) with trustees such as state officials, international development agencies, NGOs and think tanks.

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\(^{98}\) Probyn, “The Spatial Imperative of Subjectivity,” 298.

\(^{99}\) Ibid., 294.

\(^{100}\) Nightingale, “Beyond Design Principles.”

\(^{101}\) Probyn, “The Spatial Imperative of Subjectivity,” 295.

\(^{102}\) In this case the word “scale” refers to the so-called “scale as level” understanding. See Sayer, “Scale.”
The final stage of the analysis should focus on the day-to-day, mundane practices and spaces, which constitute the flesh-and-bone of pasture governance. This is the scale, where people plan the use of pastures, control the compliance and, in the end, herd animals. Analysis on this scale allows understanding of how individuals become cooperative with or resistant to the resource governance schemes.

The next chapter discusses the methods which are used in this thesis to perform such multi-scalar historical analysis. It presents document analysis as a relevant method for national scale research. Ethnographic methods, on the other hand, are instrumental in studying the local scale processes.
3 Methods and data

For achieving the research objectives, it is necessary to analyze current regime of practices on two different levels. Firstly, this study should identify the genealogy of pasture government in order to situate current policy from a historical perspective, to demonstrate how the key principles of this policy have been gradually constructed as truths taken for granted. Secondly, this study should analyze how the policy has been implemented at the local level in order to understand how subject positions are produced, which is necessary for the functioning of the CBNRM policy. This chapter presents the tools that were used for these analyses. I argue that qualitative research methods such as document analysis, cartographic analysis, interviews and observations are relevant for achieving the research aim.

Methodological choices

The first question to address here is the choice of qualitative research methods. I search for the context of state policies: how they are framed in texts, the ideas that guide people in identifying a problem and devising a solution to it, the practices that make people want to be part of pasture committees and guide others towards the proper use of pastures. The detailed descriptions are needed for such contextual understanding. Qualitative methods are more relevant for such study, as they “attempt to gather, verify, interpret, and understand the general principles and structures that quantitative methods measure and record.”

In any type of research, there is always a risk that only corroborating data is presented and conscious and unconscious omissions are made. This issue is addressed through the following strategies: (1) a broad range of documents is included in the analysis; (2) the coding

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103 Winchester, “Qualitative Research and Its Place in Human Geography,” 17. At the same time, many authors have been working with the issues similar to the ones of this study, and in some cases the use of quantitative research methods have worked well in governmentality studies. See Birkenholtz, “Groundwater Governmentality.”
and analytical procedures are described in detail in this chapter; (3) the research findings have been evaluated with other researchers and research participants.

Selection of field-study areas

The Kadamzhai district of Kyrgyzstan (see Figure 4) is selected as a field-study area for a number of reasons. First of all, many existing studies on pastoralism in Kyrgyzstan have been performed in the north of the country (often the Naryn and Issyk-Kul regions), while few studies of pastoralism have been made in the south. Secondly, it is a relatively small, densely populated district. The competition for pastures is pronounced in Kadamzhai, and the governance practices such as conflict resolution, monitoring and cooperation between the committees can be observed.

The choice of Kadamzhai also posed certain challenges for this study. In many municipalities of the district, pastoralism is rather a marginal income-generating activity. Due to the specificities of the Soviet-era land management and post-Soviet privatization some municipalities have relatively small area of pastures and large area of cultivated land. What one could see in Kadamzhai is certainly not representative of areas situated at higher altitudes, with vast pastures and large flocks. This problem with the representativeness of the data was partially addressed by comparing the results of this study with the results of researchers who have worked in other regions of Kyrgyzstan.
Figure 4. Kadamzhai district of Kyrgyzstan. The map indicates the location of principal land plots in the municipalities where the data was collected. The territories, which are not named, are: (1) secondary plots of the case study municipalities (see an explanation on the next page); (2) municipalities where the data was not collected; (3) forest fund lands; (4) the Shakhimardan enclave of Uzbekistan Source: © OpenStreetMap contributors, Kadamzhai, Department of Cadastre and Registration of Rights to Immovable Property, Kadamzhaiskiy raion [The Kadamzhai District]; NASA LP DAAC, “ASTER GDEM.”
The Kadamzhai district is part of the Batken Oblast in south-western Kyrgyzstan. This densely populated area is located in the northern foothills of the Alai mountain ridge and partly spans into the Fergana valley, where the district has a border with Uzbekistan. The district has a mixed ethnic composition with Kyrgyz, Uzbeks and Tajiks living next to one another. Conflicts related to natural resources have taken place in the region. Activities by the Uzbek and Kyrgyz national governments, such as the militarization of the border and the countries’ large infrastructural projects often interfere with the livelihoods of local populations and the use of natural resources.  

More specifically, the data was collected in Ak-Turpak, Kyrgyz-Kyshtak, Alga, Halmion, Birlik, Orozbekov, Kotormo, Maidan and Markaz rural municipalities (aiyl aimak in Kyrgyz). In all of these municipalities, PCs were established between 2009 and 2010. It is important to note that the biophysical conditions are different in these municipalities. Two groups could be defined; the first group, the lowland group (elevation between 600 and 800 m a.s.l.), is located in the dry area along the water irrigation channels built during the Soviet period. The upland group (elevation above 1000 m a.s.l.) is located in the foothills area close to rivers.

The households in the lowland group are more dependent on the revenues from the cultivation of fruits and vegetables, while stock-raising is relatively less important. The situation for the households in the upland group is reversed. All rural municipalities have central asphalt roads connecting them to the bigger settlements and markets. The lowland group is particularly close to regional markets.

All rural municipalities in the case study area use several plots, which are categorized as pastures in state regulations. These plots are located at different elevations (up to 3000 m a.s.l.) and are interspersed with the territories of other municipalities. Territories of a given rural municipality often resemble an archipelago, where residents might have to travel considerable distances in order to use “their” pastures (it is common with distances of 80 kilometres or more). This fragmentation, which is characteristic of Kyrgyzstan, is the consequence of Soviet agricultural policies. I will further discuss the details of this issue in Chapter 4.

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104 Murzakulova and Mestre, “Natural Resource Management Dynamics in Border Communities of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.”
105 Ak-Turpak, Kyrgyz-Kyshtak, Alga, Halmion, Markaz
106 Birlik, Orozbekov, Kotormo, Maidan
Fieldwork

All in all, I spent more than six months in the field. The study undertook five rounds of fieldwork. The very first one in 2012 had a pilot character, where several regions of Kyrgyzstan were visited and the pasture management issues were investigated. During this fieldwork the research project was discussed with the Pasture Department (PD), members of PCs and researchers in Kyrgyz universities. Various books, reports, maps and research papers were collected as well. From 2013 and onwards the Kadamzhai district was the primary study site. All fieldwork rounds included archival work, interviews and observations. During the final fieldwork in 2016, the respondent validation was implemented: the preliminary results of this thesis were presented to the research participants and local experts. Their comments were collected and addressed in the text. This cross checking of interim findings served as one of the procedures to ensure the rigor of qualitative research.\footnote{Barbour, “Checklists for Improving Rigour in Qualitative Research”; Bradshaw, “Contracts and Member Checks in Qualitative Research in Human Geography.”}

During the rounds of fieldwork, I cooperated with a number of bilingual (Kyrgyz/Russian) research assistants. I am relatively fluent in Kyrgyz, but I still needed the help of an assistant to conduct long and sometimes quite technical interviews as well as to transcribe them. But, my knowledge of Kyrgyz was sufficient to ask complementary questions during the interviews and check the transcripts against the records. There is no reason to think that much was lost in translation.

All of the assistants were recruited in Bishkek. They received training from me on conducting individual interviews. They relied on interview guides, but they were relatively free in asking complementary questions and rearranging the order in which the questions were asked. I often consulted with them concerning the clarity and coherence of the interview guides. Overall, the involvement of assistants was advantageous, as it allowed me to have a small research team work on this project.

There were disadvantages to using research assistants as well. First of all, they had some experiences with qualitative interviews, but there was a tendency to ask guiding questions based on the supposedly desirable answers. I dealt with this issue through briefings, where we discussed the conducted interviews, the problematic character of guiding questions, and the (dis)advantages of open questions. Over the course of the fieldwork, I have learned about how to instruct and train research assistants. I consider that the interviews conducted
during the later stages of this project are of better quality compared to the “early” interviews. This does not influence the overall quality of interview data, as the majority of the respondents were re-interviewed during the latter stages of this study.

Additionally, there was an issue of positionality. Both myself and the assistants were Kyrgyz, as was the majority of interviewees, but it was obvious that there were stark differences between us. We (I and the assistants) spoke different dialects, wore different clothing, and had different levels of education as compared to the people we worked with. I was aware of this issue and addressed it through longer fieldwork, and a substantial amount of time invested in participating in everyday life. We were still outsiders, or rather some sort of half-insiders, which is typical for transnational research. I consider the influences of the positionality issue as being rather minor, as other studies both in Kyrgyzstan and other countries corroborate the findings of this thesis.

Document analysis

In practical terms, a genealogical research approach infers a meticulous scrutiny of archival data related to political rationality, but the exact set of data can vary case by case. I started the research on the genealogy of political pasture by identifying the political (ideological) and legal principles that guided the present-day state pasture policies. I first read the reports produced by the major development agencies (the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank) in Kyrgyzstan, since they focused on pastures, discussed the causes of degradation and the ways to address it. Also, WB and ADB are the major donor agencies in the country. They have the resources to implement their recommendations into reality, as was indeed the case for the reform of Kyrgyz pasture management. I also read legal documents, newspapers and web resources discussing pasture-related issues in Kyrgyzstan. The list of documents is presented in Table 1.

108 Miraftab, “Can You Belly Dance?”
109 Gutting, *Foucault*, 47.
110 Braun, for example, scrutinized maps, reports and other materials from a geological survey in Canada (Braun, “Producing vertical territory: geology and governmentality in late Victorian Canada”). Evered and Evered analyzed the evolution of public health posters (Evered and Evered, “State, peasant, mosquito: The biopolitics of public health education and malaria in early republican Turkey.”
Table 1. Publications included in the analysis. For the full list of publications see Appendix 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Land Code of Kyrgyzstan\textsuperscript{111}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Forest Code of Kyrgyzstan\textsuperscript{112}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Country Pasture/Forage Resource Profile (FAO)\textsuperscript{113}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Kyrgyz Republic Natural Resource Sector Study (ADB)\textsuperscript{114}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Kyrgyz Republic – Livestock Sector Review: Embracing the New Challenges (WB)\textsuperscript{115}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Making a Living in Uncertainty\textsuperscript{116}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Various          | • Books and reports dealing with the issues of pasture management from the Kyrgyz National Library  
|                  | • Archival funds from the Kyrgyz State Archive for the period between 1917 and 1940, the State Land Management Agency “Kyrgyzgiprozem” for the post-war period (late 1940s to present). The majority of documents in these archives were of the following types: the protocols from the meetings of state administration at the district, regional and national levels; reports by state officials; land management plans and maps at different scales  
|                  | • Clippings from the principal state newspaper Slovo Kyrgyzstan for the post-independence period (1991 to present)  
|                  | • Relevant newspaper and web resources                             |

There were several challenges related to the archival data. In working with the documents derived from the state, there is always an issue of credibility, i.e., the accuracy of the documents that describe the situation.\textsuperscript{117} In this study, this issue is less important, as I focus on how the regimes of practices are promoted and implemented by the state. In this case, I do not take the documents as representations of reality, but rather as examples of how government operates.

Another challenge concerns the nature of documents as a source of data, specifically the documents produced by various departments of the state. It can be misleading to assume that documents produced by a given organization provide us with an understanding of

\textsuperscript{111} Jogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic, “Zemel’nyi kodeks Kyrgyzskoi Respubliki [Land Code of the Kyrgyz Republic].”
\textsuperscript{112} Jogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic, “Lesnoi kodeks Kyrgyzskoi Respubliki [Forest Code of the Kyrgyz Republic].”
\textsuperscript{113} Fitzherbert, “Country Pasture/Forage Resource Profile.”
\textsuperscript{114} ADB, “Kyrgyz Republic Natural Resource Sector Study.”
\textsuperscript{115} World Bank, “Kyrgyz Republic - Livestock Sector Review: Embracing the New Challenges.”
\textsuperscript{116} Steinman, Making a Living in Uncertainty: Agro-Pastoral Livelihoods and Institutional Transformations in Post-Socialist Rural Kyrgyzstan.
\textsuperscript{117} Bryman, Social Research Methods, 550.
that organization’s reality. Reliance on the documents leads to the “reading off of actors’ intentions from institutional texts…”

In this study, this issue was addressed through three different strategies. In working with the archival data, an effort was made to find the reports of local-level officials such as land managers working in villages. These reports often provide information about local level difficulties and conflicts in the implementation of policies, which often disappear from the reports produced at the national level. The second strategy was to use the newspaper clippings as a source of complementary data. For the most recent period, the information from the archives was compared to interviews. In this way I complemented the analysis of documents with other sources of data.

Cartographic analysis

Political pasture is defined not only in legal documents and reports by international organizations and state agencies, but also in the maps representing pastures as a separate land-use zone. In analyzing cartographic materials, I was interested in “deconstructing the map,” which meant seeing its role in facilitating the implementation of state policies, as:

[These all [maps] make it possible to ‘picture’ who and what is to be governed, how relations of authority and obedience are constituted in space, how different locales and agents are to be connected with one another, what problems are to be solved and what objectives are to be sought.]

On a practical level, I focused on the establishment and changes of administrative boundaries as well as land use categorization. I started by analyzing the post-war (Great Patriotic War) territorial division based on the maps from Kyrgyzgiprozem (at the scale of 1:10,000 for populated areas and 1:25,000 for pastures). These maps were parts of various land management reports, where the logic behind the categories and border changes (e.g., the visions of landscapes described in Chapter 2) in the maps were explained. It was a relatively straightforward...

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118 Ibid., 554.
120 Harley, “Deconstructing the Map.”
121 Dean, Governmentality, 41.
122 The term Great Patriotic War is used in many former Soviet countries to describe the conflict between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany and its allies between 1941 and 1945.
ward process to relate the categories from these maps to the land management principles (e.g., state ownership, categorization based on the intended use) stated in relevant laws and scientific publications.

I then compared the post-war division with the current one based on the maps from the Pasture Department (GIS-based maps at 1:25,000). I could see the changes (e.g., the additions or subtractions of territories) and I used this information as a basis for the further investigation. I checked with the archival data and the respondents for the logic behind these changes. Why did the area change? What were the procedures for taking the decision about the change? These were the guiding questions for me.

Compared to the Soviet period, one finds many more map producers today – from NGOs to state agencies. This leads to the heterogeneity of the maps. For example, the Pasture Department maps mentioned above have been produced by various consulting firms, which resulted in the varying quality of map details. I evaluated the present-day maps against the ones produced during the Soviet period and saw that the quality of the maps was sufficient for the purposes of the study. The exact location of certain features (roads, rivers, and infrastructure) does not affect the research findings.

Finally, the older maps from the Resettlement Agency (ca. 1:300,000) and the administrative division maps from atlases (1:1,000,000) were used to understand the context for the initial land policies in the country during the tsarist and the Soviet periods. The small scale of these maps prevented me from analyzing the exact developments in the Kadamzhai district. However, the maps (alongside the accompanying texts) explained the principles of the administrative division, as well as the problems faced by the planners and the cartographers.

The data included the maps from Kyrgyzgiprozem, the Resettlement Agency, administrative division maps, topographic maps and GIS-based maps produced by the Pasture Department. The full list of the maps is provided in Appendix 3.

Interviews

Once the general outline of pasture governance in Kyrgyzstan was understood, a list of questions was formulated, which served as a basis for 45 semi-structured interviews. The primary goal with these interviews was to understand how the modern operation of political pastures relied on the production of compliant subject positions. The
list of questions used during the pilot fieldwork in 2012 is presented in Appendix 1; the full list of informants (including those who were interviewed during the later fieldworks) can be seen in Appendix 2.

I used my existing networks in Kyrgyzstan to contact the Pasture Department officials in 2012. This was my initial entry into the pasture sector. These officials introduced me to committee members from two municipalities and district state officials in Kadamzhai. From these first respondents, I obtained the contacts of other people in the district involved in the pasture management.

Pasture users (herders and livestock owners) were recruited through convenience sampling. I visited pastures, approached pastures users, explained the nature of the project and asked for permission to interview them. Those who agreed to be interviewed were asked whether they knew someone else who might be interested in answering the questions. This approach can be considered as snowball sampling, where new research participants are recruited through the social networks of the existing ones.\footnote{Bryman, \textit{Social Research Methods}, 424.}

In total, the interviews were conducted with:
- 14 Members of the pasture committee
- 24 Herders present on municipality pastures
- 7 State officials (the local employees of the forestry agency, state cadaster agency and land management agency).

The interviews with these three groups were of serial character: the respondents were interviewed several times during the subsequent fieldwork. The interviews continued until saturation was achieved, i.e., the interviews stopped bringing qualitatively different information. Towards the final stages of this study (i.e., fieldwork during 2015 and 2016), I followed a purposeful sampling strategy, whereby I intentionally recruited informants whose views on the issues differed from the others. This was done in order to include diverse views within the population and to let all groups involved in pasture management express their views on the issue. Such purposeful sampling is a common technique to enhance the credibility and the rigor of the study.\footnote{Baxter and Eyles, “Evaluating Qualitative Research in Social Geography”; Barbour, “Checklists for Improving Rigour in Qualitative Research.”}

Semi-structured interviews were used in this study. All interviewees were informed that this was a research interview, and they had a right not to participate in it.\footnote{This is in line with the good research practices recommended by the Swedish Research Council. See Hermeren, “Good Research Practice.”} The interviews were tape-recorded.
when informants allowed it. All interviews were conducted in Kyrgyz and transcribed by research assistants. Some of the interviews were performed while I walked or drove together with key informants. The idea here was to have a discussion, while the environment itself functioned as a part of a person’s spatial aide-memoire; the informants related their answers to the specific features of the landscape such as rivers, mountain tops and pasture plots. This way of doing walking interviews (also called go-alongs) allowed an improved understanding of the landscape. At the same time, it helped the respondents with their answers in that “[n]avigating familiar environments full of personal landmarks in many ways resembles going through the pages of a personal photo album or diary”.

During the fieldwork, I took pictures of the landscape, the herders, the members of the committee and their offices. I used these pictures in the analysis for two different purposes. Firstly, they served as an aide-memoire during the coding of the interview transcripts. They reminded me of the conditions under which the interviews were conducted. Secondly, I used them as the illustrations for the processes that I describe in this thesis.

The use of qualitative research methods described above presented a number of challenges and the participation of women was a major one. As seen in Appendix 2, only six women agreed to participate. There was an effort to recruit more as well because that would have provided a more complete understanding of the rural livelihoods in the case study area. However, in the case study site, there were conservative views on women’s participation in public space such as the meetings of pasture committees or women talking to men. This was addressed by interviewing household members together. Certainly, male voices were dominant in these interviews, but this was the only feasible option given the circumstances.

There was also an issue with the power positions in the interviews. Pasture users might have perceived us as being associated with the state and hence may have felt obliged to answer our questions. In this case, there was a conscious effort to diminish the effects of power positions and establish relationships based on trust. It was done through re-interviewing; some people were interviewed several times and their answers from the different occasions were compared.

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126 Kusenbach, “Street Phenomenology the Go-along as Ethnographic Research Tool”; Carpiano, “Come Take a Walk with Me”; Evans and Jones, “The Walking Interview.”
127 Kusenbach, “Street Phenomenology the Go-along as Ethnographic Research Tool,” 472.
128 Mullings, “Insider or Outsider, Both or Neither.”
Field observations

During the fieldwork, I had a chance to observe the local scale operation of political pastures by attending various events related to pasture management. For example, I was invited several times to the training workshops organized by an NGO for the members of pasture committees. I also participated in the pasture monitoring organized by pasture committees, where the objective was to visit all herders present on the committee’s land and control the livestock numbers.

In the case of the workshops, I paid specific attention to the discussions about land degradation and the committees’ role in addressing this issue. I was interested in the use of language and the references to authoritative sources used by trustees in order to support the statements. In the case of the monitoring, I observed the interactions of the committee members with herders; whether the interactions were based on respect or not, what kind of questions were asked and how they were asked.

I recorded my observations in the field diary and later analyzed the notes using the same coding system as for the interview data. The findings from the observations are mostly used in Chapter 5, when I talk about people’s subject positions. Throughout the text, I also use this data in order to provide brief illustrations of how pasture management functions in Kyrgyzstan.

Structured questionnaire

Reliable socio-economic data about the rural population is scarce in Kyrgyzstan. Consequently, I decided to perform a survey in the case study area focusing on: (1) awareness about the activities of the pasture committee and attitudes towards the pasture committee; (2) evaluation of pasture conditions; (3) socio-economic data about the household including income sources, assets and marital status. The survey used a simple structured questionnaire (see Appendix 4), which was based on questionnaires from similar research projects in other countries.129

The survey was carried out over the summer 2015. 262 respondents (Kyrgyz; Uzbek; Tadjik) were selected for the survey. Particular

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129 Collomb et al., “Integrating Governance and Socioeconomic Indicators to Assess the Performance of Community-Based Natural Resources Management in Caprivi (Namibia).”
attention has been made to including women in the survey. Sampling was done by following the main village streets and interviewing respondents in their houses (convenience sampling).

The survey results were used as a data source for the diagrams, which are presented in the empirical chapters. These diagrams provide the reader with an overview of how rural livelihoods are in the case study area, specifically: (1) the relative importance of livestock as a livelihood source (compared to other agricultural activities, employment and migrant remittances); (2) General awareness about the existence and activities of pasture committees. Survey results largely corroborated the findings from the qualitative methods. Nevertheless, reading of these diagrams should be cautious. Small sample size and the convenience sampling mean that these results are not necessarily representative of the larger population.

Integrated analysis

With the exception of maps, all of the collected data has been treated the same way. The documents (archival data, newspaper clippings), interview transcripts, field diary notes and images have been transferred into the Atlas Ti software, which is designed for the analysis of qualitative data. The initial analysis included reading the documents and interview transcripts. Pieces of text and related images were coded using descriptive codes, which related to factual information (dates, locations, names of people).

In the beginning of the work with the archival data, the focus was on the evolution of legal documents, which are listed in Appendix 3. These documents were read and the provisions used in them were compared to each other. First, I have read the documents to get an overview. Second I created a coding system, which included analytical codes based on the theoretical framework. For example, the codes included: “pasture degradation”, “state ownership”, “decentralization” and “causes of crisis”. The documents were annotated with the help of these codes.

An example is instrumental here. In reading the scientific publication on pasture degradation, I focus on the passages, where authors try to explain why the crisis is happening or why the intervention is needed. I include such passages under the “pasture degradation” code. I search for the persuasion techniques; what does an author say to convince the reader that the explanation is true? Often these techniques include a reference to scientific data or traditions, and such
references serve as indicators of how government of pastures operates. I also search for inconsistencies in the texts. For example, the scientific data is used in the reports to persuade the readers of the importance of addressing the issue. At the same time, the authors admit the fact that there are problems with the degradation data collection in the country.

The list of analytical codes changed over time, specifically after each round of fieldwork. Towards the end stages of the research, project the codes were fairly stable. They were grouped under broader subjects, which provided the preliminary structure for the chapters of the thesis. Later there were substantial revisions of the subjects and chapters during the writing process.

The analysis of interview transcripts and field diary notes had a separate coding system, which developed following the same process as the one used for the archival data. As presented before at the local scale, the interest of this thesis has been in the subject positions of the PC chairmen and herders. In the transcripts, the indicators for subject positions were discussions about the sense of duty (i.e., the reasons people care about their responsibilities), their views on the purposes of pasture management and their own role in it.

The real names of the informants are not used in this thesis. They are referred by two-letter acronyms, such as CA stands for chairman A. The occupation, gender and age of the respondents are available in Appendix 2. In the quotes from the interviews, the acronyms IT and TS refer to the research assistants, while MM is an acronym for me.

The data has been re-analyzed once more during the writing process. In this case, the writing served as a method to scrutinize the data once more, question the analysis and search for the support or refutation of the research findings in the existing literature. This use of writing as a research method is widespread and acknowledged in qualitative research.\footnote{Richardson and Adams St. Pierre, “Writing: A Method of Inquiry”; Lindeborg, \textit{Where Gendered Spaces Bend}.}

**Conclusions**

The research objectives of this study and the choice of governmentality studies’ theoretical framework largely defined the design of the research methodology and choices of methods. Genealogical research is usually done through the analysis of archival sources, as was the case for this thesis. The interest in the local-level functioning of pas-
ture governance was the reason for the choice of ethnographic research methods such as interviews and observations. The analysis of the collected data was a continuous process: it took place during the fieldwork periods and the writing periods in Sweden.

In the text that follows, the analysis of the collected data resulted in three separate empirical chapters. While Chapter 4 deals primarily with the state pasture policies in the 20th century, Chapter 5 focuses on the government practices employed in the introduction of the CBNRM scheme. Alternatively, Chapter 6 relies primarily on interviews, observations and survey data in presenting the modern operation of political pastures on a local scale and the production of subject positions in the Kadamzhai district.
4 Situating political pastures

The aim of this chapter is to situate the historical context of Kyrgyz political pastures. I will analyze the major milestones in Kyrgyz history, especially in relation to land management, from the second half of the 19th century to the present day. The chapter revolves around several key themes: land ownership, administrative and territorial division, and the procedures for accessing pastures. I also discuss how researchers reported the functioning of different policies: their perceived “successes” and “failures.” The sources for the chapter are various legal documents and research papers.

In reading this chapter, it is helpful to analyze the historical geography of Kyrgyz pastures in terms of two sliding scales. The first concerns the level of state involvement in the management of pastures: state involvement increased during the Soviet period, decreased during the first decade of independence and increased again during the last 15 years. There were fluctuations between a disinterested and nearly absent administration relying on customary institutions and practices to a highly involved administration based on the application of science. While tsarist authorities essentially left the administration of pasture use to the Kyrgyz people, Soviet authorities tried to regulate every single moment of day-to-day activities. After the fall of the Soviet Union, there was a temporary retrenchment of the state’s involvement, and the subsequent return, which was supported by financial and technical assistance of the international development agencies.

The second scale concerns the degree of legal centralism. Pasture management went from legal pluralism to legal centralism and back to pluralism again. During the tsarist period, customary law coexisted with Russian legislation, while during the Soviet period there was an accelerating shift towards centrally crafted universal laws and regulations, which were supposed to be enacted in a similar fashion from the westernmost Soviet territories in the Baltics to the southernmost regions of Central Asia. During the post-independence period, pluralism became stronger again. Today, due to the weakness of

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131 On the concept of *legal pluralism* see Tamanaha, “Understanding Legal Pluralism.”
the central state, formal legislation coexists with the locally specific customs.

**The arrival of the empire and the initial efforts to regulate land use**

Researchers usually describe the livelihoods of the Kyrgyz people before the arrival of Russians as being related to nomadism. The most prominent feature of Kyrgyz animal husbandry was the vertical seasonal migration. People stayed in the highlands during summers and migrated to the lowlands or snow-free areas during winter. In addition to vertical migration, Kyrgyz people migrated horizontally during cyclically occurring harsh periods, when there was a lack of winter pasture and the danger of a plague.\(^{132}\)

The institution of private property in land (in its western understanding) was not widespread among Kyrgyz nomads. There were no formally fixed rules concerning the ownership of pastures, but the recurrent use by the same group served as a condition for a de facto preferential use right. This type of tenure was typical for the nomadic areas of the country, while on the small areas of cultivated land in the south, specifically in the fertile Fergana valley, the land was regularly sold, exchanged and inherited.\(^{133}\)

During the colonization of Kyrgyzstan, Russian authorities tried to replace the rules that governed the lives of the Kyrgyz people. The reform aimed to territorially bind the use of pastures and introduce quasi-formal pasture management institutions, which would be in charge of planning and regulating the use of pastures.

Additionally, the authorities introduced several statutes which declared the state the sole owner of land; although pastures were already the property of the state by the end of the 19th century, the nomads had enjoyed perpetual usage rights.\(^{134}\) Secondly, the authorities created an administrative territorial division in the region. Based on the nomads’ winter quarters, Russian administrators grouped together aïyls (households migrating together) into larger territorial and administrative units - volost’s (1,000-2,000 households). Volosts can be considered the early predecessors of the present-day local-level territorial

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\(^{133}\) Kenensariev, *Ekonomicheskaia politika tsarizma v Kirgiizii v kontse XIX - nachale XX veka* [The economic policy of tsar Russia in Kyrgyzstan in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20 centuries].

units. Several volosts constituted an uezd (the predecessor of the present day district level), while several uezds formed the largest administrative unit – an oblast (regional level).  

According to Russian legislation, the use of pastures was supposed to be organized in accordance with the new territorial division. The winter quarters were allocated to the local-level units (volosts) and the migration of nomads was restricted to the territory of a district (uezd), where their volost was situated. The land allocation and conflict adjudication mechanisms were also made consistent with the new administrative division: various assemblies of delegates were charged with the resolution of disputes, distribution of land and establishment of land use rights according to common law. Through this system, the colonial administration tried to distance itself from the decision-making that related to pasture management. Such distancing was characteristic of the European colonial empires in their efforts to establish ‘indirect rule’ over the remote populations where extending European law was costly and impractical.

This supposedly self-governing and territorially bound pasture use system faced a number of problems. As reported by various researchers, the distancing of the colonial state from pasture administration led to the instability of volost’s and volost’ assemblies as their decisions were often challenged by traditional Kyrgyz power holders, who coordinated the use of pastures and migrations. This situation led to the eventual decline of the volost assemblies’ role in regulating the use. Secondly, the pasture use system based on volosts had to struggle with the conflicts between the nomads and the peasant settlers – Slavic migrants (pereselentsi), who came to Central Asia after the Russian conquest, and often settled on the most fertile lands in the inter-mountain valleys. Their fields often obstructed migratory routes and water access, leading to recurring conflicts with nomads.

136 Dzhaparov, Traditsionnoe skotovodstvo i sosial’naia organizatsiya u kyrgyzov [Traditional Herding and Social Organization of Kyrgyz], 109.
137 Tamanaha, “Understanding Legal Pluralism,” 382.
138 Jacquesson, “Reforming Pastoral Land Use in Kyrgyzstan.”
139 See Ossendowski, Asiens Underbara Värld.
The socialist revolution and the implementation of the “high modernism” principles (from the 1920’s to the late 1930’s)

For Bolsheviks, the land policy was on the top of the political agenda, so during the revolution in 1917, one of the first legal documents was the Decree on Land, by which the land in the country was nationalized. This decree, together with a range of subsequent legal documents adopted in the late 1910s and the 1920s, fixed a new policy: land became state property, which was supposed to be used equitably and expediently in compliance with the Bolsheviks’ guidance. In order to implement this policy the forced seizure and redistribution of landholdings in rural areas took place, generally from rich landowners to landless peasants. In Kyrgyzstan the implementation of the Bolshevik land policy – the Land and Water Reform – differed slightly from that of Russia proper: in Kyrgyzstan, the redistribution was accompanied by the restitution to the Kyrgyz people of usage rights to land, which was confiscated by European peasants, and by the sedentarization of nomads.\textsuperscript{140} The reform also included a water management component, the purpose of which was to provide equal access to water to the European peasants and the Kyrgyz nomads; during the tsarist period, the Europeans often seized the control over the water resources.\textsuperscript{141}

The implementation of the reform was supported by a new legislation developed during the 1920s, since the Decree on Land did not cover all the complexities of the land policy. The major document was the 1922 Land Code. This code fixed the exclusive land ownership of the state and introduced a new model for land categorization. The tsarist legislation had the land ownership status as the basis for categorization. Soviet legal documents, on the other hand, defined categories based on the intended or actual uses. Generally, all land in the country constituted the joint state land fund, which was in its turn divided into the following categories: the forest fund, the agricultural fund, the lands of cities, the lands used for special purposes, and the state estate.

The Land Code also introduced the principles of a conditional land use, wherein the state decided on who had the right to use the land, and how the land was supposed to be used. Soviet land managers – \textit{zemlenstroitel}i – were responsible for ensuring the expedient use of the land.

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \footnotemark[141] Ibid., 40.
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of the land intended for the realization of socialism in rural areas. This role of land managers explains why a whole chapter of the 1922 Code is dedicated to different rules regulating land management, which was defined as making an order in the current landholdings and organizing new landholdings in accordance with the goals of expediency.\textsuperscript{142}

The changes introduced by the reforms covered mostly the plough lands and also partly the winter quarters of herders, while the summer pastures of Kyrgyzstan were effectively unreachable to the authorities in the first decade of the union’s existence. In fact, until the second half of the 1920s, Soviet authorities had very limited influence on, interest in or understanding of the herding in Kyrgyzstan. The high-mountain pastures (jailoo) were still governed by traditional elites in accordance with customary law. This situation started to change with the establishment of jailoo soviets (pasture councils) in 1927 and onwards, which was as a first effort by the Soviet state to directly administer the mountainous areas of Kyrgyzstan. These were seasonal state administrations, which were physically present on summer pastures and charged with a range of responsibilities including police, judiciary and fiscal functions. These administrations undermined the power of the traditional elites, who now lost their privileges in allocating land and collecting taxes.\textsuperscript{143} The efforts to disrupt the traditional elites and practices intensified during the implementation of the collectivization policy in Kyrgyzstan in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Collectivization

Mass-scale collectivization started in Kyrgyzstan in the winter of 1930, and with the temporary retreats and slowdowns, the process continued until 1933, when most of the rural inhabitants were members of collective farms – kolchozi. The Kyrgyz collective farms were often organized along clan lines, with the clan leaders defending their groups’ interests.\textsuperscript{144} As in other parts of the Soviet Union, collectivization was a violent process and faced a widespread resistance.\textsuperscript{145} For Kyrgyzstan, the collectivization also meant a sedentarization of the nomads, the Soviet officials considered nomadism the primary obsta-

\textsuperscript{142} VTsIK, “Zemel’nyi Kodeks RSFSR [Land Code of the RSFSR]” art. 165.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid., 336; Fleming, Herders and Reformers in Central Asia’s “Island of Democracy”: Post-Soviet Institutional Change in Pastoral Kyrgyzstan, 39.
\textsuperscript{145} Conquest, The Harvest of Sorrow; Scott, Seeing like a State.
cle towards the intensification of agriculture. The sedentarization was supposed to go through the creation of permanent bases, where the majority of the population was supposed to reside and take care of grain and winter fodder cultivation, while large herds with professional herders were created through the confiscation or collectivization of animals.\textsuperscript{146}

The initial results of these efforts were disastrous. As elsewhere in the Soviet Union collectivization often served as an excuse for pillaging and impoverishing the rural population.\textsuperscript{147} There was insufficient provision for the construction of housing and farm infrastructure, and the location of permanent bases was often in very inconvenient locations. Moreover, the state officials tended to create bases of an extraordinary size in order to speed up the process; several hundred households were put together. All in all, “[b]ecause of the confluence of sedentarization and socialization, the crisis in animal husbandry in Kyrgyzstan was far worse than in the Soviet Union as a whole.”\textsuperscript{148}

In this combined sedentarization/collectivization policy, the land managers played an important role. Generally, the land management authorities now received almost unlimited rights in the withdrawal, distribution and redistribution the land.\textsuperscript{149} They decided on the places for the settlement and the allocation of pastures to the collective farms.\textsuperscript{150} The role of the land management was further reinforced through the tenure arrangements introduced in the 1930s: the land management documents and the measurement of the boundaries were the preconditions for receiving the state act of tenure, which fixed the permanent land use by the farm.\textsuperscript{151} At the same time, land management was a chaotic process; various researchers reported that there was widespread land use fragmentation, faulty measuring, assigning the same area to different collective farms and other problems.\textsuperscript{152}

\textsuperscript{147} Pianciola, “The Collectivization Famine in Kazakhstan, 1931–1933.”
\textsuperscript{149} TsIK USSR, “Obshie nachala zemlepol’zovaniia i zemleustoistvva [Common Principles of Land Use and Land Management]” art. 16.
\textsuperscript{150} Zhukov, \textit{Zemleustoistvo v gornykh usloviiakh [Land Management in Mountainous Conditions]}, 16.
\textsuperscript{151} Sovnarkom of the USSR, “Primernyi ustav sel’skokhoziastvenoi arteli [Example Statute of an Agriculture Cooperative]” art. 2.
\textsuperscript{152} Zhukov, \textit{Zemleustoistvo v gornykh usloviiakh [Land Management in Mountainous Conditions]}, 20; Ibragimova, “Zemleustoistvo kazakhskogo naseleniia v I treti XX veka [The Land Management of Kazakh Population in the First 30 Years of the 20th Century].”
Overall, the first 20 years of the Soviet Union were a turbulent period with many policies being implemented at the same time. The characteristics of these policies' implementation in Kyrgyzstan were: (1) the difficulties in the application of Soviet legislation on summer pastures where the traditional elites and customs continued to govern land use; (2) the disorganized land management leading to extremely complex land use patterns. In the 1940s, further efforts of the Soviet authorities to align Kyrgyz rural livelihoods to socialist standards were delayed by the beginning of the Great Patriotic War.

Post-war period: introducing a greater level of technical details

After the war a second wave of collectivization initiatives was launched in the 1950s and continued to the late 1960s; collective farms were now united into bigger farms. In parallel to the second wave of collectivization, livestock production was intensified across the Soviet Union. Kyrgyzstan went through a transformation: between the 1960s and the late 1980s, the livestock population more than doubled, and by 1989 it reached a stunning 17.8 million heads in sheep equivalent.153

The intensification described above faced a problem, though: there was simply not enough winter pastures to sustain the large flocks. This led to the widespread practice of sending people away to prepare the winter feed in areas with abundant grasslands, or to buy winter fodder. It was not only hard to feed the flocks, but also taxing for the economy and the environment. In economic terms, collective farms were constantly subsidized by the state through petrol, bank loans, and other subsidies. The land management authorities continuously reported that the animal husbandry was an unprofitable occupation.154 In term of the environment, another result of the intensification was overstocking and the perceived pasture degradation, which meant the decrease in the dry matter production and encroachment

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153 This is a widely-used term in the Soviet literature, when it describes animal husbandry. The term has been used in order to calculate the carrying capacity of the pastures. In the literature there are discrepancies concerning the conversion ratios: one horse, cow or yak is equal to 5 or 6 sheep. Despite the inconsistencies this term and ratios are still used in Kyrgyzstan by the authorities and the development agencies.

154 Kyrgyzgiprozem, “Proekt vnutiirkhoziaistvennogo ustroistva sovkhoza ’50 Let Oktiabria’ Frunzenskogo raiona, Oshskoi oblasti [The Project of the Intrafarm Land Management for the 50 Years of October State Farm, Frunze District, Osh Oblast].”
by hardy and unpalatable species. Land managers tried to address these issues through seasonal rotation, seeding, and artificial fertilization. 

As far as legislation is concerned, during the post-war period the state gradually changed it, and it became similar to the present day legislation in Kyrgyzstan. During the 1950s, the legislation that was created in the early decades of the Soviet Union was criticized for being inconsistent. The land categorization system introduced with the 1922 Land Code created a controversial situation: on the one hand, the land was supposed to be categorized by its intended use; on the other hand, the Code categorized land on the basis of the state agencies, to which the land was transferred (such as the forestry authority or the agricultural authority). This led to a situation where the land, used de facto for the same purposes, applied to different legal regimes depending on which authority used it. To address this issue the new Principles of Land Legislation was adopted in 1968. According to the latter, all land in the country was divided into 6 categories irrespective of users: (1) the agricultural lands; (2) the settlement lands; (3) the lands used for non-agricultural purposes including industry, transportation, infrastructure etc.; (4) the lands of the state forestry fund; (5) the lands of the state water fund; (6) the lands of the state reserve fund. Based on the 1968 Principles, the Kyrgyz SSR adopted its own land code in 1971, which was in force until 1990.

The collective and state farms primarily used the lands under the agricultural lands category, but they also received parts of the forestry fund and the reserve fund lands as pastures. They received the lands from these two categories into short-term (up to 3 years) or long-term (3 to 10 years) uses. Additionally, the national level authorities often provided the farms with a special category of lands – seasonal remote pastures (otgonnye pastbishcha in Russian), which were situated at considerable distances from the farm centers and used

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156 Aksenenok, Zemel'nye pravootnosheniiia v SSSR [The Land Juridical Relations in the USSR].
158 The state reserve fund included the lands not transferred into permanent or long-term use. This could be considered as a “leftover” category: mountain tops, uninhabited or unreachable areas etc.
only in summer. The maximum term for the use of this category was 25 years.160

The land management continued to be an important part of the Soviet land policy. Kyrgyz Land Management Institute – Kyrgyzgiprozem – was established in 1961. The 1971 Land Code specified that:

[the goal of the state land management was to organize the most comprehensive, rational and efficient use of lands, as well as to increase the culture of cultivation and land stewardship.161

In cooperation with the farms, as well as the local and regional state authorities, Kyrgyzgiprozem’s specialists regularly developed obligatory land use and land management projects, which included both current land uses, as well as the suggested uses aimed to improve the profitability of the farms, achieve certain environmental objectives, increase the value of certain lands through melioration etc. One of the key prescriptions in these projects was the need for seasonal and yearly pasture rotation (pastbishcheoborot) according to the scientifically defined classifications. Soviet researchers considered this rotation as a necessary measure for improving productivity.162

Despite the new planning efforts and regulations, the Soviet researchers considered the land management system described above as facing a number of issues. First of all, the system suffered from land use fragmentation with uneven distribution of pastures among farms and the land division, where herders did not respect the borders defined by the land management specialists. Secondly, the users did not actually follow the plans developed by Kyrgyzgiprozem, which prescribed rotation and rational use of pastures.

Independence and the decentralization

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the independence of Kyrgyzstan resulted in changes of Kyrgyz agriculture. A new Land Code was adopted in 1991. This code was very similar to the one from 1971 except for one major difference – the introduction of the individual right to land. Every citizen of the Kyrgyz Republic had a right

160 Ibid. art 11, 64, 68.
161 Ibid. art 178.
to receive a land plot for a life-long possession. The state retained formal ownership of land, but it could now also grant land into possession, rent, or use to individual citizens and organizations. The principles of paid ownership and use were introduced: land owners were obliged to pay tax, while the users were obliged to pay rent.

A new land reform was launched in the country, which consisted of many components including the privatization of land use and means of production, and the introduction of market economy for agricultural products. In 1991 all citizens of the country were granted the right to establish a peasant farm, consisting of family members or relatives. If kolkhoz employees decided to establish a peasant farm, it is the respective kolkhoz, which was obliged to transfer part of its land and production means to the peasant farm. This transfer included arable lands and pastures, which could be given either into permanent or temporary use (up to 10 years).

In parallel to the privatization program, the state also launched an administrative reform, the aim of which was to decentralize decision-making. The Soviet system of administration was gradually transformed into one with four tiers of decision-making: national, regional (oblast'), district (raion) and local (aiyl okrug). The local level territorial units were created in the mid-1990s and their spatial extent largely coincided with the extent of collective and state farms. Within these units, the self-government system was created. It consisted of legislature (aiyl kenesi) and an executive body (aiyl okmotu). Additionally, the structures of traditional self-government were introduced in rural areas such as aksakal courts (courts of elder men) and women councils. Both of these self-government structures were charged with the resolution of minor issues at the local level.

Peasant farms, collective farms and individuals could rent pastures. The land code specified the four-tiered procedure of decision-making regarding matters of pasture rental, which depended on the classification of pastures by location. The local-level (aiyl okrug) authorities could allocate pastures from the village lands. District authorities managed the lands, which were not included in the village lands. Regional authorities managed the lands located between several districts.

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164 Ibid., art. 39.
165 For the reviews of the reform implementation at different stages see Bloch, Delehanty, and Roth, “Land and Agrarian Reform in the Kyrgyz Republic”; Lerman and Sedik, “Agrarian Reform in Kyrgyzstan.”
166 INTRAC, “Decentralization in Kyrgyzstan.”
Finally, if the land was located between several oblasts, it was managed by the national government.\footnote{Government of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, “Polozhenie o poriadke predostavleniia i ispol’zovaniia prisel’nykh i otgonnykh pastbishch v Respublike Kyrgyzstan [Statute on Allocating and Using Village Adjacent and Seasonal Pastures in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan].”} There is a clear tendency towards the decentralization of decision-making: the national government now had a right to allocate and withdraw lands, but only after consultation with the regional, district and village authorities. In the Soviet Land Code of 1971, the authority of the national government concerning land was unlimited.

In 1998 Kyrgyzstan carried out a constitutional reform, which allowed private property of arable land (but not pastures, which could only be leased from the state). There was a need to adjust other legislative acts to the new constitution, and as a result, a new Land Code was adopted in 1999. Observers noted that in the absence of coherent state regulations, the use of pastures was subjected to a process of fragmentation, with local practices varying considerably across the country. The Land Code of 1998 was one of the major efforts aimed at establishing order in pasture management.\footnote{Steinman, \textit{Making a Living in Uncertainty: Agro-Pastoral Livelihoods and Institutional Transformations in Post-Socialist Rural Kyrgyzstan}, 68.} The Code stipulated the division of pastures into three geography-based categories: village-adjacent pastures, pastures in the zone of intensive agriculture and remote pastures used for seasonal grazing. Village-adjacent pastures were under the authority of the local authorities, pastures in the zone of intensive agriculture were under the authority of district-level authorities and the remote pastures used for seasonal grazing were transferred to the regional authorities. Each municipality was assigned certain pastures under each of the categories.

The subsequent legislation specified the procedures to be followed in the pasture-leasing process. The users could lease a pasture through the participation in a bidding process organized at an appropriate administrative level, depending on the category of pastures. For example, if a potential user would like to rent a plot at a distant pasture, the bidding process was supposed to be organized at the regional level. The same system of different administrative levels applied to the revenues from the leases: the revenues from remote pastures were primarily transferred to the oblast authorities, revenues from intense pastures to rayon authorities and revenue from village-adjacent pastures to local-level authorities.

In practice the complicated, multi-tiered and multi-organizational legal framework described above led to a substantial red tape, and
was mostly followed by wealthy people with large flocks. The use of pastures was rather fluid and depended on individual preferences of herders, so it did not correspond to the static territorial definitions of village-adjacent, intense, and remote pastures. The inapplicability of laws and regulations was also caused by the state officials’ inability to supervise and participate in the pasture allocation and conflict adjudication processes. Moreover, this system of pasture allocation and management created numerous conflicts related to access to pastures, distribution of revenue and the activities of mining companies. The state often did not have the capacity to resolve the conflicts, and as a consequence there were many ad hoc arrangements. As a result, the use of pastures was regulated by a mixture of formal and informal institutions.

2009 Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) reform

There are numerous reports produced during the 2000s that describe how the lease system led to the decreased mobility of herders, overuse the village-adjacent pastures and underuse the remote ones. The general opinion of the international development agencies, which funded the production of the reports, was that the fragmentation of pasture use was not consistent with the ecological needs of pasture ecosystems, nor with the needs of herders. In response to these reports, the Kyrgyz Republic introduced new legislation in 2009. The legislation entailed three principal components: 1) the abandonment of the system wherein the allocation of pastures was divided between different levels of state administration; 2) the abandonment of the lease system, and the introduction of per animal pasture tickets; 3) almost complete devolution of the administration and management authority to rural communities.
The authority over the remote, village-adjacent and intensive pastures was transferred to the local governing bodies. Pasture users were supposed to establish pasture user associations (PUAs) and subsequently elect their representatives to the executive organs – pasture committees (PCs). These unions could then rent the pastureland within the limits of former collective and state farms from the state on a long-term basis. PCs, which also included members of local administration, were put in charge of pasture use and management planning taking into consideration economic and environmental issues. Regional and district-level authorities can no longer interfere with the use of pastures. PUAs were considered to be part of the local self-government.

The CBNRM reform introduced to the principle of per animal pasture tickets (pastishchelnyi biliet). Before the CBNRM reform, herders payed per hectare of rented pastures. There have not been national standards on how much an individual herder is supposed to pay, as this is left at the discretion of pasture committees. A widespread practice in the case study area has been that members of a given PC set a target for the yearly revenues and then divide this amount by a number of animals in the municipality. In line with the sheep equivalent principle, which was mentioned earlier, a ticket for a cow is five times more expensive than the one for a sheep.176

Researchers reported a number of issues with the implementation of the new law. Even though one of the primary goals of the new legislation was the increase of users’ participation in the administration and management of pastures, the practice showed mixed results. The implementation of the law was characterized by standardized approaches failing to address local complexity.177 These approaches resulted in a “hybrid institutional arrangements comprising aspects of the existing formal legislation and local-specific formal regulations.”178 The biggest issue in the implementation of the law has been the involvement of the population in the activities of PUAs and PCs. In the beginning, the state authorities failed to properly inform the population and many herders did not manage to participate in the creation of PUAs.179 In the most recent evaluations, there is a clear message that local pasture users still do not have the sense of owner-

176 During the fieldwork period in 2015 pasture ticket for a sheep was about 25 som (about US 0.4), while the one for a cow was around 125 som (about US $2).
177 Dörre, “Promises and Realities of Community-Based Pasture Management Approaches.”
178 Ibid., 74.
ship over PUAs and PCs, which are largely regarded as extensions of the central state.  

Conclusions

This chapter has outlined the basis for the understanding of how the government of pastures has operated from the colonial period to the present day. Based on the findings of this chapter, Kyrgyz pastures have all the qualities to be referred to as political pastures, as it is not just grass, but rather:

political land-use zones meant to remain in permanent [pasture]… defined by the scientific bureaucratic and institutional practices of [pasture management]… designated, legislated, demarcated, mapped and managed by state… institutions, although, more recently…, formed, protected and managed by non-state institutions…  

The making of political pastures has been a gradual process (see the right side of Figure 5 on page 78 for a summary), which included the following practices: the declaration of state ownership, the enactment of specific regulations, and the establishment of institutions in charge of planning and regulating the use of pastures. There has always been continuity in the making of political pastures. The trustees have reused prior legal, cartographic and institutional practices in defining political pastures. This historical continuity can be clearly seen with the state ownership of pastures, which stretches back to the colonial domain declaration and the Soviet nationalization of all lands in the country. The state ownership of pastures has been reinforced in the modern CBNRM scheme too. In this case, prior domain declaration sustains the new policy. The point here is that there is a big repertoire of knowledge and practices concerning pasture use, which is formalized into maps, laws and scientific publications. Any new efforts of improvements need to relate to this repertoire and the next chapter discusses this process in greater detail for the most recent pasture management reforms.

181 Vandergeest and Peluso, “Political Forests,” 162.
182 This is similar to the findings by Vandergeest and Peluso, “Political Forests.”
This chapter has also demonstrated that the production of political pastures has been a contingent process. This is particularly clear in the case of the territorial and administrative division. The boundaries of collective farms were initially created through a chaotic collectivization/sedentarization process. The later efforts by the Soviet land managers did not manage to resolve landuse fragmentation which resulted from collectivization. This division is not immutable, as it mostly reflects Soviet land managers’ ideas about optimal land use.
Yet, today this division is often presented as the only possible option. This issue is discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

The discussion about the administrative and territorial division illustrates another point—the fact that the regulation of pastures has always had a spatial component (the left side of Figure 5): the zoning of certain areas as pastures and their assignment to specific administrative and territorial units. It was a material process too; road, housing, electric and water infrastructures have been built; pasture territories have been demarcated in the landscape. Today, demarcation signs allow PCs to establish, at least in practice, the spatial extent of their authority to regulate pasture use. The historical evolution of political pastures has produced spatial contexts, the traces of which influence the modern CBNRM scheme in the same way that Soviet legislation does. This spatial perspective on change is discussed in in the next chapter as well.

Finally, I contend that political pastures have been an important element in the state’s claims on territorial sovereignty. In Kyrgyzstan, where the area occupied by pastures is substantial, state pasture management has created legal and technical practices for the control of the territory and population. The role of political pastures for sovereignty can be seen through the historical changes in the levels of state involvement in their management, which reflected the overall capacity of the state to exercise authority. It increased during the Soviet period, decreased during the first decade of independence and increased again during the last 15 years.

The role of political pastures for sovereignty is also reflected in the discrepancy between formal regulations and reality. From the tsarist period to the present day, the use of pastures displays a mixture of formal and informal institutions. The proportional weight of formal regulations varied over time. Legal centralism was more prominent during the Soviet period, while after independence, pluralism became stronger again. Today due to the weakness of the central state (as compared to the Soviet period), formal legislation coexists with the locally specific customs.

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184 This is similar to political forests in Southeast Asia.
5 New political pastures of CBNRM

In 2012, when I initiated my study of Kyrgyz pastures, I quickly understood the key message of the CBNRM scheme: there has been a crisis in pastures which needed to be addressed through decentralization. The argument was that degradation of pastures was caused by the lack of herders’ mobility, as they did not migrate to the distant pastures and stayed on close to village pastures instead. The principal problem was in their inefficient management by the state. The solution was in the transfer of management responsibility to the local level.

In this chapter, I analyze political pastures through the lens of the current government practices where there are two authorities regulating pasture use: pasture committees (PCs) and forest enterprises. Then, I explore how state and development agencies presented PCs as a solution to the perceived inefficiency of the central state in addressing environmental degradation. I also investigate the role given to the forestry agency, which is supposed to conserve forests and at the same time regulate the use of forest pastures. The chapter focuses on the historical evolution of this situation, where there are two pasture-regulating authorities in Kyrgyzstan.

The key characteristic of the current stage in the making of political pastures is the importance of various international development agencies rather than the Kyrgyz state. These agencies act as trustees in defining the problems, suggesting the technical solutions and implementing the latter through a range of projects.

The practices of government are also based on the knowledge and landscape elements from the preceding historical periods. Soviet and even pre-Soviet narratives, maps and laws are reused today. This mixture of new and old elements influences the pasture government. This influence can be observed in the view of the local-level managers among trustees. On the one hand, the development agencies consider them an essential element of the management who are in need of the agencies’ support. On the other hand, the state officials think of them as failing to seize the opportunities provided by the state. I explain this phenomenon by tracing the genealogy of the current view
of the local-level executives as being the cause of the problems witnessed in the Soviet period.

The extent of historical continuities in regimes of practices can vary within a country with regard to different natural resources. In this chapter, this is demonstrated by contrasting the current pasture government with the government of the forests. The Soviet approach of state-centered conservation remains largely intact in forestry compared to community-based pasture management. This difference between forests and pastures illuminates the point concerning the spatial and temporal overlap of governmentality modes. Today, forest governance relies mostly on the sovereign governmentality mode, while in pastures there is a shift towards the disciplinary one.

The implementation of the 2009 law

As described in chapter 4, the 2009 Law on Pastures follows the World Bank’s (WB) recommendations and fixes decentralization, mapping and continued state ownership of pastures. The law abolished the previous arrangement, which gave individual persons the possibility to rent pastures. Local communities are put in the center of pasture management. They are supposed to establish pasture user unions (PUAs) and subsequently elect pasture committees (PCs). PUAs can rent the pastureland from the state on a long-term basis, whereas the state remains the sole proprietor of pastures in Kyrgyzstan. In line with the disciplinary governmentality mode (see Chapter 2), PCs receive a range of responsibilities including the planning of pasture use and pasture management, collection of pasture-use fees and policing the compliance of the users with the rules.\footnote{185}

The law also stresses the importance of establishing the borders of pastures between different municipalities. It specifies that “[t]he external borders of pastures should be established within the borders of former state and collective farms, taking into consideration the existing administrative-territorial entities.”\footnote{186} This passage means that the state required the nationwide mapping of pastures.

\footnote{185}{The full list of responsibilities included: development of the pasture management and yearly pasture-use plans; implementation of the pasture management and yearly pasture use plans; monitoring; issuing pasture tickets to the users; setting and collecting the pasture use fees; settlement of arguments concerning the pastures within the limits of the committee’s responsibilities; and management of revenues derived from the payments for pasture use. See Jogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic, “O pastbishchakh [Pastures Law].”}

\footnote{186}{Ibid. article 3.}
Development agencies have assisted on the enactment of the law. For example, the Community Development and Investment Agency (ARIS) have distributed the financial support from the World Bank to each and every pasture committee in the country. Newspapers reported the alleged successes of the new pasture management. This is how a 2011 article reports on the issue.

Nowadays the owner of pastures is the pasture committee. Herders know: the more territory they clean from the garbage, the bigger is the area for the grazing animals. 500 hectares of mountain slopes, which earlier remained unused, are used now; herders themselves control the ecology and care about pasture productivity.\textsuperscript{187}

The overall responsibility for the implementation of the mapping was on the PD, which was assisted by the World Bank as well. In this mapping, Soviet maps were used as a basis, and the pasture boundaries were mapped anew. The eventual map of the municipal pastures was presented to the concerned pasture committee as well as the committees from the neighboring municipalities. The neighbors were supposed to approve the map, which was a procedure for conflict resolution. This turned out to be a complicated process which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

The decentralization reform primarily concerned pastures, which were categorized as collective farm pastures during the Soviet period. The legislation preserved the principle, where the State Agency on Environment Protection and Forestry (SAEPF) regulates the access to a substantial portion of the country’s pastures. This is done through the concept of \textit{forest pastures}, which are “the lands of the forest fund covered by grass and used for grazing purposes without any damage to forests.”\textsuperscript{188} Forest pastures occupy a third of the lands included in the forest fund category.\textsuperscript{189} In practice, herders interact with two different authorities to get access to grazing lands: pasture committees and forest enterprises (\textit{leskhozs}) – the local-level forest management and protection units.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{187} Luneva, “Svetloe nachalo [A Good Beginning].”
\item \textsuperscript{188} Jogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic, “Lesnoi kodeks Kyrgyzskoi Respubliki [Forest Code of the Kyrgyz Republic]” art. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{189} World Bank, “Kyrgyz Republic - Communities Forests and Pastures.”
\end{itemize}
Pasture crisis and the need to intervene

The exploration of the pasture government’s genealogy calls attention to the reports of international development agencies. In post-independence Kyrgyzstan there were publications discussing pasture management as early as the 1990s. However, during that decade, this issue was not prominent given the scope of the socio-economic problems faced by the country. The true impetus for the discussions about pastures came in the mid 2000s following the publications by the major development agencies. Of interest here are the three reports from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO), the World Bank (WB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB).

The key feature of these reports is the emphasis on the importance of pastures for the country. In the 2000 report, an FAO consultant writes that “[t]ogether with water, the natural pastures and grazing lands of the Tien Shan mountains comprise the Republic’s most valuable natural resource.” This is a recurring point in the reports: the intervention into the pastures is necessary, they claim, as it is essential for the country’s economy. In the beginning of the 2007 ADB report, it is stated that “[n]atural resource-dependent sectors continue to be a major component of the economy despite the growing role of services (some of which depend on land resources) in recent years.”

The economic arguments are often mixed with notions that pastures are important because herding is a traditional occupation for Kyrgyz people. Traditions are secondary to the economic reasons in the reports, but they are very prominent in newspapers and interviews undertaken with politicians. The 2007 WB report notes that “continuing a long Kyrgyz tradition, the livestock sector is one of the strongest components of the rural economy.” Here, traditions are mentioned only as a background to rural economy. This is different from the following descriptions in a newspaper article from 2009.

The swaying of the dense, juicy grass on the mountain slopes, the herdsmen with his herd, the smoke swirling above his yurt… This is a familiar picture, which is close to the heart of every citizen of Kyrgyzstan. This is how we

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want to conserve our home, which is traditionally connected to animal grazing, for our descendants.\textsuperscript{194}

Here the economic aspects of pastures are not prominent. The focus is instead on the romanticized landscape vision, which is supposedly familiar to everyone in Kyrgyzstan. It is as if nobody would dare to argue against this vision as it is “close to the heart of every citizen of Kyrgyzstan.” Figure 6 and Figure 7 illustrate such landscape. This is a characteristic romanticized representation of Kyrgyz nature with vast meadows and high mountains. Such images are often used by tourist companies and state agencies to promote the natural beauty of the country.

\textsuperscript{194} Luneva, “Vmesto dzhailoo - kamenistye Skaly, a v mest o pashni - pustynia? [Rocks instead of Summer Pastures, Desert instead of Cultivated Land?]”
Figure 6. The “desired” landscape as used in a newspaper article about pastures. State agencies, newspapers and tourist companies often use such idyllic images to emphasize the natural beauty of the country. *Source: Igor Sapozhnikov*

Figure 7. A header of an online article concerning pasture degradation. While the image shows a landscape similar to the one in Figure 6, the title says, “An ecologist: the ancestors will not forgive our treatment of pastures.” *Source: Tabyldy Kadyrbekov*  

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195 Sputnik, “Ekolog: predki ne prostiat nam otnosheniia k pastbishcham [An ecologist: the ancestors will not forgive our treatment of pastures].”
Figure 8. An illustration of possible effects of pasture degradation. Figure 6 and Figure 8 are used as illustrations in the same newspaper article. There are apparent differences in the scale of two images. This patch of dried land can be located anywhere, with or without grazing animals. Source: Igor Sapozhnikov

Figure 9. An image used for a UNDP news article concerning activities aiming to address pasture degradation. The image shows only short-term changes in grass cover, which will quickly disappear if the use of the dirt road is stopped. Source: www.undp.kg.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ Umanova, “Electronic Pasture Management in the Pilot Rural Areas of Batken and Osh Oblasts.”
Problematization of the management system

Once the importance of pastures is established, the problematization technique (see Chapter 2) comes into play. There is a need to act, as pastures are in danger of degradation. The scientific data produced by various state agencies is used to demonstrate the extent of the problem. Typical degradation data is exemplified in Table 2.

The reliability of this data is questionable. For example, the ADB report states that “[t]he category “wind-eroded” in that source [government report written together with ADB] is omitted because its quantification presents serious methodological difficulties.” If ADB is somewhat critical of the data produced by the state agencies, then other authors are not. In the report by the WB, degradation is stated simply as a fact, without any discussion about the methods of data collection in the country.

Table 2. An example of the data used by international development agencies to demonstrate the extent of pasture degradation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Pasture</th>
<th>Hectares</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Extent of Degradation (%) in 1985</th>
<th>Extent of Degradation (%) in 2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summer pastures</td>
<td>4 129 000</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring-Autumn pastures</td>
<td>2 955 000</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter pastures</td>
<td>2 063 000</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total pastures</td>
<td>9 147 000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Authors of reports and news articles also use photos to illustrate degradation. Examples of such images are shown below. Figure 8 and Figure 9 illustrate the consequences if the crisis on pastures is not addressed. Such images should be treated with caution though, as they can mislead a reader. Figure 8 is taken on a very different scale compared to Figure 6 and Figure 7. Such a patch of dried land can be located on pastures or anywhere else, with or without grazing animals. Figure 8, on the other hand, is problematic because it shows short-term changes in grass cover. If the use of the dirt road stops, then the supposed degradation will disappear from a medium-term perspective.

197 ADB, “Kyrgyz Republic Natural Resource Sector Study,” 44.
The rigid and complicated management system is identified as the cause of the degradation. It was mentioned in Chapter 4 that before 2009, the allocation of pastures was divided between three different levels of administration depending on their geographic categorization. The ADB report describes this system as follows:

Often a herder operates on all three types of pastures [categorized by distance] and, thus, has to deal with three different levels of administration. This situation... conspires against integrated management of herds and pasture resources. There is broad agreement that the leasing process needs to be simplified and otherwise reformed to improve pasture management. 198

The administration and leasing process is categorically defined as a key problem in the quote. To address the problem, an alternative landscape vision is communicated. This vision or the ethical way to use pastures (see Chapter 2) is based on rotation, planning and payments. The credibility for this vision is achieved by saying that it is sustainable 199 or rational. 200 The goal of this vision is to achieve the management of pastures, which “demands that pasture rotation be built into a multiple-user grazing system and that prominence be given to correct rates of stocking.” 201

Decentralization as a primary technical solution

The primary technical solution to achieve sustainable vision is the decentralization of management. The weight of traditions is used here again, as was the case when showing the importance of pastures and herding in the first place. If the decentralized decision-making is a traditional and sustainable way of managing pastures then, it is, allegedly, a good idea to restore it. 202 Below I present quotes from three different sources, which refer to traditions in defending the decentralization. The first quote is from the WB report, which was published two years before the introduction of the law.

198 Ibid., 50.
199 Ibid., 66.
200 There is a separate discussion about the differences between “sustainable” and “rational” approaches. See Wolfram, Shigaeva, and Dear, “The Research-Action Interface in Sustainable Land Management in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.”
202 This idealization of traditional pasture management was shown to be not true by Jacquesson, “Reforming Pastoral Land Use in Kyrgyzstan.” The so called traditional system was not based on decentralized democratic institutions, but rather on the decisions made by traditional elites. The management of pastures became chaotic and conflict-ridden when the Russian administration took away the power of elites at the end of the 19th century.
It is important to understand the traditional way of managing and using pasture resources, because its major features remain important and have re-emerged in recent years. Positive elements of traditional pasture management that remain or are coming into use should be emphasized and supported, and other, particularly decentralized decision-making, that remain suppressed should be revived…

The authors of the WB report present decentralization as being advantageous, because it is a traditional way of managing pastures. Several years later, the connection to traditions is used by other authors to defend the success of the law.

The successful introduction of the new law has been facilitated by a range of factors. New legislation has been accepted by the population and politicians, as it is based on local traditions and the needs of the majority. From the very beginning, the decentralization of pastures has aimed to ensure the fair distribution of pasture use rights among all residents and not only livestock owners.

Another extremely important factor was that rural communities wholeheartedly supported this reform which brought management of land and resources into the hands of its users, and reflected customary practices, taking traditional knowledge into account.

Here, the discussion about traditions and customs completes a full cycle. First, it is used to argue for decentralization and after several years it serves as an indicator of success.

The importance of defined boundaries and maps

The suggestion about decentralization is accompanied by the propositions concerning the mapping of territories, as up-to-date maps are essential for sustainable management.

No ayil okmotu [local level self-government] or oblast [regional] administration satisfies the Regulations’ requirement calling for comprehensive pasture management plans. Since ayil okmotus lack basic information about the pastures they manage – such as borders, location of infrastructure and carrying capacity – to be able to draw up meaningful management plans, planning at this level is limited to projecting likely income from pasture lease fees. Maps used (if they are available at all) in rural municipalities and state administra-

204 Robinson, “Upravljenie pasbishchami v Tsentral’noi Azii [Pasture Management in Central Asia],” 56.
205 Undeland, “Commons in Action | IASC-COMMONS.”
tions at the raion [district] and oblast levels are often very old and outdated. This lack of crucial information leads to a kind of “blind” pasture allocation and cannot provide the basis for sustainable pasture use.206

The message here is that no sustainable use is possible without up-to-date maps. Detailed information about the landscape (borders, infrastructure and carrying capacity) is considered crucial for “meaningful” pasture management. Here the trustees gain power by identifying the causes of problems and at the same time creating areas of intervention for themselves. If there are no maps today, then their creation will need the expertise and resources of trustees.

Preserving the status quo concerning ownership and forest conservation

The technical solutions (decentralization and mapping) suggested by the trustees did not include changes to the status quo concerning the state ownership of pastures.207 This is an issue which is not open to discussion. The Program for Pastures Development (the document developed by the PD in 2012) describes ownership as follows:

The land can be in private, municipal and other forms of ownership, with the exception of pastures, which could not be in private ownership. This emphasizes the social importance of pastures for the people of Kyrgyzstan, in particular to the rural population of the Kyrgyz Republic, for whom having livestock is the dominant factor of wellbeing. Consequently, the future development of agriculture and the increase of farmers’ revenue is in direct dependence of the effective and rational use of pasture resources.208

There is distrust in the capacity of private ownership to ensure “effective and rational use.” This stands in direct contrast to how the ownership of arable land is regarded, where private property is considered to be a prerequisite for achieving sustainable use. The privatization of pastures is impossible as the state protects the interests of the majority against land grabbing. This is how the former president of the country commented on the issue of privatization:

The question of private ownership of pastures is being raised. Thank God that in the constitution there is a clear point that pastures are a strategic resource, and I think that it should stay like that. In case of the introduction of private ownership, then the best plots will be privatized, the passage of the communal livestock will be hindered, and an important link in the ecological nomadism will be broken.209

A specific landscape vision is communicated here again. Private ownership of pastures simply does not comply with the vision in which one tries to preserve “ecological nomadism” and “the social importance of pastures.”

Similarly to the issue of ownership, the state has preserved status quo concerning forestry lands, where fortress conservation principles guide state policies. An essential part of today’s forest government is the knowledge about the importance of forests for the country. There are pragmatic motives in preserving forests, as their existence provides important benefits to the population.

It [forest] has an enormous [sic] role in supporting the hydrologic regime of rivers, in preventing soil erosion and deflation, in fighting sukhoveys [a wind with high temperature and low humidity]210

Forest legislation of the Kyrgyz Republic is intended for the protection, conservation, and reproduction of forest and hunting funds; providing rational and inexhaustible use [of forests], which is based on the country’s goals of [1] managing forest and hunting funds effectively, [2] preserving biological diversity of forest ecosystems, [3] increasing ecological and economic potentials of forests, [4] satisfying society’s needs in forest and hunting resources…211

Within these excerpts from the Forest Code, there is an evident instrumental view of forests. Their management aims to satisfy “society’s needs” and protect this society from soil erosion and deflation. The knowledge about the instrumental value of forests includes not only the benefits to the Kyrgyz population, but also to the global one.

Due to their unique character and big ecological importance Kyrgyz forests are very important for the global processes of environmental regulation and the mitigation of the negative effects of climate change. Because of that all forests in the Kyrgyz Republic are believed to have a protective function.

209 Tolkanov, “Otunbaeva protiv privatizatsii pastbishch i Peredachi ikh v upravlenie organov MSU [Otunbaeva Is against the Privatization of Pastures and Their Transfer to the Local Self-Government].”
211 Ibid. art. 3.
They have important environmental, sanitary, hygienic and public health functions.\textsuperscript{212}

This passage from a SAEPF report demonstrates how the role of forests is reimagined as being carbon sinks. Similarly to other countries, the state, international development agencies and environmental NGOs emphasize forests’ role in the global efforts to combat climate change.\textsuperscript{213} This new role of forests reinforces the argument for the importance of continued forest conservation guided by the state.

### Historical continuities in pasture government

It is easy to regard the degradation of pastures as a recent phenomenon; yet, the crisis debate can be traced back to at least the 1920s. Back then, the state commissioned a group of scientists from various disciplines to survey the territory of Kyrgyzstan. The task included the evaluation of pastures. In the 1934 report based on the data from this expedition, the scientists reported how the previous mode of pasture use led to a crisis as a consequence of the extensive nature of capitalist production:

> Such complex use of different grasslands existed during the previous feudal-capitalist system of Kyrgyz farming, but it inevitably resulted in extensive nomadic herding, based on the exploitation of the poor by bays [the rich] and manaps [the traditional elite].\textsuperscript{214}

In the same report the scientists depict a bleak picture of how the environmental conditions were on certain pastures.

> Grazing of tremendous stock on the territory of Santas led to the degradation of natural plant cover in respect of its nutritional qualities. The proportion of unpalatable and poisonous species increased tremendously as a consequence of grazing. These species outcompeted the palatable ones. The harvest of useful feed decreased by 25-70\% in many areas as a consequence of the propagation of these unpalatable and poisonous species.\textsuperscript{215}

\textsuperscript{212} SAEPF [State Agency on Environment Protection and Forestry of the Kyrgyz Republic], “Kompleksnaia otsenka prirodnikh resursov Kyrgyzstana 2008-2010 [Complex Assessment of Natural Resources in Kyrgyzstan 2008-2010].”

\textsuperscript{213} Vandergeest and Peluso, “Political Forests.”

\textsuperscript{214} Abolin et al., Gornyje pastbishcha Kirgizii i ikh rekonstruktsiia [The Restauration of Kyrgyz Mountain Pastures], p. 20.

\textsuperscript{215} Ibid., p. 40
In another report by the same group of scientists there is a cultural undertone of primitive people in need of guidance to modernization.

The curtailed Kyrgyz cow continues to use rich mountain pastures in a non-productive manner, while neighboring German colonists possessing less productive pastures have been conducting intensive butter and cheese-focused farming for a long time, based on pedigree meat and milk varieties of cattle. There are rich summer pastures, but animals continue to starve during winter months, as the local population does not use all possibilities in acquiring hay…

The message here is that Kyrgyz people simply do not know how to use pastures. Local level human-environment relations need to change in order to achieve the landscape vision of using pastures in a productive manner. The dominance of scientific voices is extreme in this case. This dominance became obvious in the 1930s, with the resistance against collectivization and sedentarization policies (see Chapter 3).

During the post-war period, various researchers continued to report the crisis in relation to overstocking. As presented in Chapter 4, Soviet agricultural policies aimed at increasing the output of the livestock sector at all costs. The increasing livestock population, however, led to a number of undesired consequences. Scientists reported decreasing pasture productivity, soil compaction and the proliferation of unpalatable species. The Kyrgyz Academy of Sciences published a small book in 1976, where it reported that the melioration of pastures is necessary for Kyrgyzstan, where the process of pasture degradation is widespread. The authors of the book quote Soviet Kirgiziya (present day Slovo Kyrgyzstana) – the principal state newspaper in stating that circa 40% of the pasture area is degraded to such an extent that the degradation process became almost irreversible and hard to fix.

In later publications concerning the pasture degradation, the problem is no longer explained with reference to “primitive people.” Yet, the crisis is still ascribed to the local-level human-environment relations. This is how an agricultural researcher described the causes of degradation in a book published in 1982:

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216 Abolin and Sovetkina, Gornye pastbishcha Talas-Sursesamirskogo regiona Kirgizskoi ASSR [Mountain pastures of Talas-Sursesamir region of the Kirgiz ASSR], p. iv.

217 Nusupov et al., Problemy kolkhoznogo, zemel'nogo, i vodnogo zakonodatel'stva Kirgizskoi SSR [The Problems of the Collective Farm, Land and Water Legislation in the Kirgiz SSR], 80.
There are many factors contributing to the decreasing productivity – absence of pasture rotation; unsystematic grazing, which does not consider plants’ biological qualities; absence of a proper care of pastures…

The mentioned causes for the decreasing productivity have something to do with the local level – the decisions by the collective farms and herders. Decreasing productivity is a problem, which could be solved if only people made more effort to rotate pastures and organize systematic grazing. Nothing is said about the agricultural policies in the country, leading to historically unprecedented numbers of animals.

This government practice of focusing on the local level continues to influence the present-day pasture government. In the reports by the development agencies, the authors are careful to emphasize that the shortcomings at the local level are due to low capacity, and inappropriate institutional structure. For the state officials, on the other hand, pasture-related problems often stem from the inability of locals to implement the policies properly. This is how a 2008 newspaper article reports on the issue.

The central role [in using all agricultural lands] is given to local self-government, since the land tax and the rent for the use of agricultural lands are part of their budget. These revenues decrease the poverty levels in the villages. The law gave the heads of ayil okmotu [local self-government] rights, but not all administrators are ready to assume the responsibility, make an order in the use of agricultural lands. Financial decentralization, which was announced already in 2000, had a goal of rational the use of agricultural lands, as well as the increase in the local revenues through the rent of agricultural lands.

The advantages of decentralization are clear to the author above. At the same time, local administrators are blamed for not being active enough in taking advantage of the current framework, which the state has created for them. This is a widespread attitude among the state executives in Kyrgyzstan, which can be traced to the Soviet modernization ideals in the 1920s.

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218 Bozgunchiev, Puti osvoeniia i ratsionalnogo ispol’zovaniia pochv vysokogornykh pastbishch Kirgiizii [The Ways of Rational Use and Development of the Soils on High Mountain Pastures in Kirghizia], 3.

219 I participated in a seminar, where the head of district administration was present (akim). During that seminar, the members of PCs reported the successes in collecting the payments. The reaction from the head of district administration was to reprimand them for failing to collect reasonable amounts and threaten that PCs could be abolished if they continue to collect such low amounts.

220 Luneva, “Broshennykh zemel’ ne dolzhno byt’ [There Should Not Be Abandoned Lands].”
Other examples of historical continuities include the legal and cartographic principles inherited from the Soviet Union. As it was discussed in Chapter 4 these principles were developed for the sake of conditional and supposedly rational land use. The enactment and enforcement of these principles was done through the institution of land managers (zemlenstroitel’), whose power relied on the ultimate threat of withdrawing the right of using the land. Today the authority of land managers is largely gone, and the pasture committees took over the responsibility for the enforcement over more or less the same territories, as the ones used by the collective farms.

An example of is illustrative here. In 1967 the state farm which existed on the territory of the current Markaz and Maidan municipalities was divided into two divisions (otdelenie) by land managers. The first division used mostly the lands in the lowland zone and was primarily responsible for arable agriculture (e.g., cotton production). The second division used the lands in the intermediate elevation and the highland zones, where there were large areas of pastures, and very little arable land. This one was primarily responsible for stock-raising. This specialization of divisions was quite typical for Soviet agriculture after the second wave of collectivization in the 1960s.  

The deep specialization and cooperation in production allows using natural and economic conditions with the biggest efficiency… Rational placement and specialization of agriculture should promote most efficient use of land, labor… of agricultural enterprises.

In the early 1980s the land use of the farm was reorganized again. Given that cotton production was not sufficiently profitable, the land managers suggested a complete switch to tobacco production for the first division. The second division was supposed to continue with animal husbandry, but make improvement in pasture rotation, fertilization and re-seeding in order to take the stock-raising out of its chronic crisis.

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221 Humphrey, *Marx Went Away - but Karl Stayed Behind*.

Figure 10. The approximate land use of the state farm “50 Years of October” in 1981 and the Markaz and Maidan municipalities in the 2010s. This map illustrates how present-day administrative and territorial division is continuous with the Soviet one, producing a peculiar, “archipelago”-like territory of the municipality. Source: Sotnikova, S.A. Kormovo-botanicheskia karta sovkhoza “50 let Oktiabria” Frunzenskogo raiona [The Botanic and Forage Map of the 50 Years of October State Farm]; Pasture Department, Maidanskii ayl okmotu [The Maidan Rural Municipality]; Pasture Department, Markazskii ayl okmotu [The Markaz Rural Municipality].

In the early 1990s the members of the state farm decided to separate from one another and the split was done along the lines of the state farm internal divisions: the first division became Markaz rural municipality and the second division became Maidan rural municipality. Figure 10 illustrates the lands of the Markaz and Maidan municipalities today and compares them to the Soviet period. The lands of municipalities are mostly within the borders of the state farm lands. In Markaz the areas outside of the former state farm are from: (1) another state farm, which was merged with Markaz; (2) forest fund lands leased by the municipality. In Maidan the areas excluded from the current use, as compared to the 1981 use, are forest fund lands returned to the district forest enterprise. The continuity of the present-day administrative and territorial division with the Soviet predecessor results in the fragmented territory of the municipality, which resembles an archipelago.

A state official (SD) commented on this continuity of administrative and territorial division as follows:
We built the new municipal governments based on the old collective and Soviet farms. We made the inventory of these [of collective and state farms] lands and conducted the general reform, those who lived [at the farms] took their shares based on that [on the inventory], based on those materials we made it [defined the borders of pastures]. If we would have decided to change that, at all, in short, we would never have never finished it [the reform].

The quote and the history of the Markaz and Maidan rural municipalities are illustrative of how the Soviet territorial division was reused without major changes. This division was designed to support intensive and large-scale agriculture. Today the reuse of the division leads to a situation where the lands belonging to municipalities are fragmented and far away from each other.

Historical continuities in forest government

The situation with forest management is in many respects similar to the one with pasture management. According to Schmidt and Dorre, the current forest conservation practices can be traced all the way back to the colonial administration, when the regulated use of forests was introduced. The colonizers regarded forests as being important for water conservation, and the macroeconomic stability of the region, as local agriculture depended on water. The Soviet Union built upon this pragmatic understanding of forest conservation and added its own management aspect: the intense use of forests for economic gains. Only in the post-war period was there a growing appreciation of its ecological value, but even then the focus on ecological issues was important mostly because of their potential influence on the future economic development.

The separation of forest land in a separate land category, which is owned by the state, plays an important role in the current situation, where the access to pastures is regulated both by PCs and forest enterprises. Forests were declared state property during the tsarist period and the colonial forestry administration was charged with their protection. This was the first step towards constructing political forests (see Chapter 2). Tsarist administration relied on the practices, which had existed in Kyrgyzstan before the Russian conquest, where all lands were in the ownership of khans, who bestowed groups with

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223 Schmidt and Doerre, “Changing Meanings of Kyrgyzstan’s Nut Forests from Colonial to Post-Soviet Times.”
224 Vandergeest and Peluso, “Political Forests.”
the rights of use. After the conquest, colonial administration took over this sovereign right of deciding on land-use rights.\textsuperscript{225} The next step was made after the Bolshevik revolution and the publication of the On Forests decree from the 27\textsuperscript{th} of May 1918. In that decree, forests were declared state property. An important consequence of the socialist revolution was the absence of a need – so important in many other countries – to justify the separation of forests from the local population, despite the fact that forests were used privately for generations before the country’s colonization.\textsuperscript{226} The decree introduced the zoning based on the intended use categories. The further refinement of the legislation took place with the publication of the 1924 Forest Code, which included more details about the intended use categories, the responsibilities of forest users and the forestry service. The code established the hierarchy necessary for the management and protection of forests, including the paramilitary forest guards and forest officers. This forestry service is still responsible for the management of the forests today. The later Soviet and even the post-Soviet legislation could be considered as a continuation of the 1924 Forest Code. As it stands today:

State forest fund is in the exclusive ownership of the Kyrgyz Republic. The right of ownership of the forests in the Kyrgyz Republic is exercised by the government of the Kyrgyz Republic, state organs of forest management, and local state administrations… \textsuperscript{227}

The status of forests is fixed not only in laws, but also in maps. Current forest territorial units are often the same as the Soviet ones. An illustrative example is the Uch-Korgon forestry in Kadamzhai. There the initial measurements of the forest area were performed in 1896 and 1904-1905, followed by a more detailed survey in 1937, when the area of forestry was calculated. But the actual full scale mapping took place only after the war, when the developments in aerial photography allowed for relatively quick and comprehensive mapping procedures. A range of surveys was performed in 1954, 1965 and 1981 in Uch-Korgon. The most recent survey was performed in 1998.\textsuperscript{228}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{225} Iliasov, \textit{Zemel’nye otnosheniia v Kirgizii v kontse XIX - nachale XX vv. [Land Relations in Kyrgyzstan in the Late 19th Century and the Early 20th Century].}
  \item \textsuperscript{226} Schmidt and Doerre, “Changing Meanings of Kyrgyzstan’s Nut Forests from Colonial to Post-Soviet Times.”
  \item \textsuperscript{227} Jogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic, “Lesnoi kodeks Kyrgyzskoi Respubliki [Forest Code of the Kyrgyz Republic]” art. 11.
  \item \textsuperscript{228} Uch-Korgon Forest Enterprise, “Organizatsiia territorii leskhooza. Ob”em i kharakter vypolnennnykh rabot [The Organization of the Forest Enterprise Territory. The Volume and Character of Completed Works].”
\end{itemize}
The forest boundaries were fixed not only in the maps but also in the landscape. Forest management implied the installation of wooden poles for demarcation (kvartal’nye stolby), planting new forests, and installing the fire breaks (mineralizovannaja polosa). Figure 11 shows a demarcation pole in the case study area. Political forest was fixed in the landscape and today trees, poles and fire breaks make the identification of the forest lands much easier than the identification of the pastures managed by the PCs.

In sum, the discussion about forests demonstrates how historical continuities have been stronger in their government compared to pastures. In forestry, the same state agency has been responsible for the management of the country’s forests. The activities of this agency are supported by the legislation, which is similar to the Soviet predecessor. Nearly the same easily identifiable territorial units are used today as in the past. Finally, the decentralization ideas have not yet become dominant even though there were efforts by development agencies and NGOs to introduce them.229 The Soviet fortress conservation persists and mixes today with the modifications introduced by the development agencies.

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229 Ulybina, “Participatory Forest Management.”
Conclusions

This chapter discussed the presentday pasture government. The knowledge about the environmental crisis has been the driving force behind the trustees’ actions. The reasons such as economic importance and traditional status have been evoked by journalists, authors of reports and politicians in order to emphasize the importance of addressing the current crisis in pastures. The state administration of pastures was problematized by international development agencies, and the suggested technical solution was decentralization. The solution also included an explicit territorial aspect, where the trustees considered the mapping of pastures an important element to achieve sustainable management.

Chapter 4 has demonstrated the extent of historical continuities in the making of political pastures during the 20th century. This chapter, on the other hand, has illustrated this point in the case of the CBNRM scheme. Today the trustees mix Soviet period government practices with present day ideas. The state ownership of pastures and forests persists in the law. The Soviet administrative and territorial division defines what is conceivable in the implementation of the new reforms – the boundaries of current municipalities are based on the division for collective and state farms. The same truth-claims are used when it comes to the environmental crisis and the role of the local level administrators in addressing it.

Another finding of this chapter is that different governmentality modes can overlap temporally and spatially. The government of political forest is still largely based on the sovereign governmentality mode, where the exercise of authority depends on the penalties and surveillance by the forest agency. Political pastures, on the other hand, shift towards the disciplinary mode, where local communities are supposed to take on the responsibility of controlling the conduct of their own members. These differences can be explained by the stronger historical continuities in forest government, where the Soviet ideas and practices of fortress conservation remain largely intact.

Today both of these modes create visible and invisible boundaries in the landscape, which in turn influence herders’ access to pastures. These boundaries can be understood as a consequence of interactions between political forests and political pastures. Continuous grazing lands are fragmented into administrative and territorial units with substantially different regimes of practices.

The next chapter proceeds from this national scale analysis of how power operates to individual experiences by focusing on subject positions. The type of subject that is relevant to present-day governance
is the type that is proactive, independent and conveys environmental consciousness. I will discuss the production of such subject positions in the case of the PC chairmen, forestry officials and herders.
6 Subject positions on political pastures

The aim of this chapter is to investigate how the government of pastures is articulated at the local level. The chapter will discuss the subject positions of pasture committee chairmen, herders and forestry officials. The concept of subject position refers to the individual positions in the networks of power. Through interviews and observations, I show how the chairmen are subjected by the government rationality of decentralized pasture management. I also examine how herders accept or reject the authority of the chairmen. Finally, I investigate the functioning of the state forestry service and how it interacts with pasture management.

The chapter starts with a brief description of the procedures for the establishment of the committees. I demonstrate that these procedures were important factors which contributed to the situation where a PC chairman is often a representative of the rural elite. The chapter proceeds to the discussion about practices, in which the subject position of a chairman is formed. I argue that the chairmen start to act in compliance with the CBNRM policy during the social interactions such as summoning people to the committee offices, participating in seminars as well as monitoring and mapping the pastures. In these interactions, the chairmen accept to perform their duties and internalize the ideas concerning the degradation and the benefits of the CBNRM.

The subjection is mostly limited to the chairmen. Many herders do not regard themselves as being involved in the work of the PCs and often challenge the latter’s authority. Similar resistance to CBNRM principles can be observed among forestry officials. Many officials were educated during the Soviet period, when the fortress conservation approach was dominant. This approach was built on rational use ideas, where forests were in need of protection from, allegedly, the irrational locals. Such landscape vision is still prevalent among forestry officials today.

This is similar to Nightingale, “Beyond Design Principles,” 127.
Establishment of the committees

The rural administrative apparatus did not change substantially in Kyrgyzstan after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. As reported by other researchers, the position of elites actually strengthened, as they had the control over the implementation of land reforms and often used that position to their personal advantage. In almost all visited municipalities, the chairmen were men in their late 50s – early 60s, former kolkhoz professionals and often educated as veterinarians. The similarities between the chairmen can be explained by the procedures followed by the municipal administration after the adoption of the 2009 law, when there was a nationwide prescription to municipal and district authorities to establish pasture committees. This prescription often resulted in an assignment for a municipal employee to find someone with the experience in livestock – the chairmen to be. The following quote is illustrative, where an employee of the municipality describes the committee establishment as follows:

SF: Then pasture committees were established. We established them, but no one participated. It was my task back then, as the head of the municipality put me in charge. I told this, I told that, but in the end this person came… who agreed to be in charge…

MM: from having no choice…

SF: My primary goal was to get rid of this task. I was asked every day whether we had established it or not. I was given the regulations from the district authorities about how we were supposed to do it and how we were supposed to establish it [the committee]. But no one participated, then in the end this person came, he probably likes the action, and we transferred this task in five minutes.

The procedure in the other municipalities of the Kadamzhai district was fairly similar to the one described above. Former kolkhoz employees, friends and acquaintances of the active self-government officials were asked to become the chairmen. Regular chairman elections have been held since then, but in the majority of the cases, the person who was elected or appointed at the establishment of the committee, is still in charge today.

See Satybaldieva, “Political Capital, Everyday Politics and Moral Obligations,” for the discussion of the state capture by rich elites, who often are former nomenklatura officials.
This is different compared to the other regions of Kyrgyzstan, where, during the first two years of the committees’ existence, there was a high turn-over of the chairmen. The difference is likely to be explained by the importance of stock-breeding as an income source in the case study area. As mentioned in Chapter 2, stock-breeding is relatively less important in Kadamzhai compared to other more mountainous parts of the country. In fact, in the survey performed for this study, there were 43% of respondents who did not indicate livestock as a primary income source. These respondents indicated “land cultivation” (35%) or “other” (8%) instead (see Figure 12).

People also explain the low turn-over by referring to a low chairman salary, where it is difficult to attract younger people to the activities of the committee.

CC: Before me there were two or three other people [chairmen]. Then they brought me. But there is no money. They gave me the salary of 3000-4000 [US $50], they gave me the people. They told me to do the job and I have been doing it… Here nobody could work. Then I was forced to take this job…

There was only one case where a younger person was a chairman. He got invited by the head of the municipality to participate in the work as a member of the PC and was elected chairman when the first one stepped down. In this municipality, several pasture-related projects have been taking place, so the chairmanship implies additional bene-

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Figure 12. Primary income sources of survey participants. The diagram shows the proportion of respondents (out of a total of 262) who indentified a given source as a primary one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47%</td>
<td>Land cultivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35%</td>
<td>Livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11%</td>
<td>Equally from livestock and cultivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8%</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fits, such as travelling to the seminars, being given a computer, interacting with the employees of the PD and NGOs. His motives to participate in the management of pastures did not differ substantially compared to his older peers: there is a need to guide herders, as the uncontrolled use of pastures leads to their degradation.

Elections and yearly meetings

After the establishment of the committees, the elections of their members have been conducted at regular meetings. During such meetings people from different villages elect their representatives to the PC. The electoral procedure is described as follows:

CD: Approximately 70 people came. After he [the former chairman] had presented the report, he said that he wanted to quit. After the meeting, every district [villages of the municipality in this context] reelected the members of the PC, 21 people in total... Then the chairman of the deputies suggested me [as a new chairman of the PC] saying this guy has been participating for 4 or 5 years in the work. If we elect a new one, it will take another one or two years. This guy knows the work, he should do the job. Two people were nominated and I won the elections with just two votes. The elections were tough.

The “70 people” in the quote refer mostly to livestock owners. The process of summoning people to the meeting is the one where it is decided who is to influence the management of pastures. Quite often, the rural elite representatives are called. However, this way of selecting the meeting participants makes some herders feel excluded from the decision-making process. In such a situation, it is not surprising that many herders do not accept the power of the PCs to regulate the pasture use. I will discuss the attitudes of herders and their strategies to avoid payments later in this chapter.

Committee’s office

An important step in the establishment of the committee was in finding an office. In every village, the office was placed in the local administration building constructed during the Soviet period, and which is easily recognizable by anyone who has visited the post-Soviet countryside. These buildings unite under one roof the entire rural state administration, including local social security officers, land officers, statisticians and other representatives of rural bureaucracy. They are
placed on central roads in the proximity of local police stations, hospitals and other state-related agencies (see Figure 13). Inside of the pasture committee room there is a desk with documents, sometimes there is a computer. There are official maps of pastures on the walls with the emblems of different state agencies (see Figure 14).

The placement of the PCs in these buildings was a seemingly logical decision. If anything, it was considered as a part of the state apparatus by everyone involved. This placement was also promoted by the international development agencies. A chairman describes the advantages of being in this building as follows:

CD: We mix with the population. Then, the village leaders come here [to the local administration building]. Then, it is easier to distribute the knowledge about the committee to the people working in the administration and the residents of this village. A lot of people come to the administration. When you have a separate office and you ask them to come, and then they will come. Then, the people, who are curious, can pass by. The general population does not know [about the committee]. If they come to the administration, then they learn about us. We put an advertisement outside. They read it and it is good.

The placement in the building allows the committee to advertise about its activities. More importantly this placement also contributes to the chairman’s exercise of authority, mentioned in the quote as “you ask them to come, and they will come.” Here, the authority to summon people depends partially on having an office, on being associated with the administration. However, this association has its negative side effects as well. The original intention with the committees was to position them as the executive organs of the community-based Pasture User Association. In practice, people, who know about the committee’s existence, do not consider them as community organizations, but rather as a branch of the state apparatus (see Figure 15 on page 108). Being under the same roof with the local administrative apparatus makes it hard for people to distinguish the exact status of the committee.
Figure 13. A rural administration building. Buildings such as this one are typical for post-Soviet countryside in Kyrgyzstan. These centrally placed buildings usually unite the entire rural state administration under one roof. Source: author

Figure 14. A wall in the office of a pasture committee. The information placards demonstrate pasture improvements made by the committee. On the other wall, which is not shown here, there are maps demonstrating the territory of the committee. This is a fairly typical interior for a pasture committee meeting room. Source: author.
Training programs and knowledge transfer

Recruiting the chairmen and providing them with the offices were only the first steps in the local level implementation of the CBNRM. There was a need to transfer very specific knowledge to the local level: the knowledge about the importance of community-based management, the need to plan the use of pastures. The PC members needed to consent to caring about the pastures and enforcing the rules such as payments and mandatory migration. As in many other countries, education through seminars and workshops has been employed to achieve this consent. These educational activities can be considered as a part of the disciplinary governmentality mode, where the aim is to change the individual ethics of the subjects.

I participated in a seminar organized by an NGO for the committee members of the rural municipalities of Markaz and Maidan. The guiding theme of the seminar was conflict resolution in pasture management. The employees of the NGO asked the seminar participants to divide themselves into working groups and discuss the questions concerning the functioning of the committees, the present and potential conflict situations and to come up with suggestions to solve the problems (see Figure 16 and Figure 17).

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233 See for a discussion on securing the consent Birkenholtz, “Groundwater Governmentality.”

234 For a discussion on the role of education and modern state see Scott, Seeing like a State; Evered, Empire and Education under the Ottomans.
Figure 16. The seminar organized by the NGO. Summer 2012. Guided by NGO facilitators committee members identify problems in the current pasture management system. Source: author

Figure 17. The chairman of a PC discussing management with the help of a pasture map. Maps are an essential element of PC’s authority. Source: author
There was a distinct pattern to how the seminar was organized. People worked in a managerial fashion by focusing on identifying problems, solutions and their own roles. During this seminar I heard the words “pasture degradation”, “soil erosion” and “conflict resolution” many times. The seminar functioned as an opportunity to emphasize the idea that it was the responsibility of the PCs to resolve conflicts, to manage pastures and to collect and spend money efficiently.

The NGO mentioned above is just one of many that have been active in the country. As described in the previous chapter there are many organizations that have been involved in the deployment of decentralization. Activities similar to this seminar have been organized in other municipalities by the state, by development agencies and by NGOs. Interviews with the committee members indicate the success of the efforts, as the chairmen appear to care about the “proper use of pastures”.

CC: It is necessary to guide people towards good directions, right. Times are different today. The state is helping people with the land they live on, the state is saying that the money will be distributed; the state is also educating us. So we should also bring good to people – to build roads on pastures. We are interested in this.

The ideas present in the quote above are typical for all chairmen: for them it is necessary to guide people on how to use pastures “appropriately,” an accepted rationality, which they received through their formal education during the Soviet period, as well as the recent workshops and seminars. The responsibility of the committee is to facilitate the lives of herders through the management of pasture use, implementing veterinary controls, building roads and water points. At one point, one of the interviewed chairmen showed us the photographs of a watering point built by the money collected from the herders. He was proud to emphasize that the watering points of this quality have not been built for a long time in the municipality.

This knowledge transfer is perhaps the biggest difference between the members of the PCs and herders. Only selected people participate in such events: quite often relatively rich livestock owners and local self-government officials. During these events the participants learn about the advantages of CBNRM, which requires herders to pay for pasture use. However, there are no such events for herders. As a result, this latter group appears less convinced about decentralization as the appropriate solution to the pasture crisis.
Chairmen subject position and mapping

The next practice, which has been important for the subject position of the chairmen, is mapping. As presented earlier, the state-led process of defining pasture boundaries aimed at updating the administrative and territorial division of the country. This mapping was in line with the idea that rational use of pastures was not possible without up-to-date maps. Funded by the donor agencies, the PD mapped the boundaries of all 450-odd municipalities in Kyrgyzstan. In this process, a range of private contractors travelled to the municipalities, allegedly updated the maps, and then these maps were supposed to be approved by the municipality and its neighbors. This approved map was to become an official map, backed by the state.

In many areas, the mapping (re-)ignited the border and territory-related conflicts between the municipalities, the forest agency and the herdsmen. The issues, which were often created during the Soviet period, resurfaced and mixed with the financial interests, as larger territory of the municipal pastures also meant more money for a committee to collect.²³⁵

What became clear during the interviews with the chairmen is that in trying to solve such territorial disputes, often by referring to different historical maps from the Soviet period the necessity for the committee members to act crystallized.

CF: The border [of municipal pastures] is not exact. We had arguments about it before, and there was an argument this year as well. I was given a map this year and based on this map I went to Aidarken [a regional city], where such areas as Borotu, Uuru, Ak Kayin entered in our map. I went there and told them [the herdsmen]: You pay me now; you should make accounts with me!!!

Whenever I would start talking about pasture management, the discussion inevitably ended up with the maps and the rights of the committees over certain territories. The insistence of the PD on establishing the territorial boundaries of the committees framed the chairmen’s own understanding of their power as being based on specific, official maps. The map became an essential element in the legitimacy of someone’s rule over a certain territory and certain people, in acting not as a person, but as a committee representative, as someone with power. The quote above is a little stronger in its formulation

²³⁵ These issues included: (1) The long-term land leases by municipalities from each other; (2) Land fragmentation due to the Soviet planning decisions. (3) Intensification and specialization policies, which resulted in a situation, where the areas that did not specialize in livestock, ended up with very few pastures.
compared to the general attitude of the chairmen, but it shows the meanings attributed to maps quite effectively.236

Monitoring

The key practice for the chairmen to exercise their authority is the monitoring of field visits to pastures. During these visits, the chairmen and herdiers come into direct contact. The chairmen check the compliance with the rules and collect the payments. The herdiers comply with this authority or resist it through a range of strategies.

In the summer of 2013, I participated in a monitoring activity. On the appointed date, we (me, my assistant, the members of the pasture committee, and the representative of the state forestry agency) left the village and drove for one-and-a-half hours to the summer pastures assigned to the committee. We made our first stop in front of a small hut, which was the summer residence of a herder.

The chairman of the pasture committee summoned the herder and announced to him that this was the monitoring. He then took a small notebook out of his bag, which turned out to be the register of the municipality’s livestock. Then he checked with the herder if the reported number of animals under the herder’s stewardship was correct. Once they came to an agreement concerning the number, the chairman asked about the pasture use fees to be paid by the herder. When they came to an agreement concerning the payment, the chairman asked the herder to put a signature in his notebook in order to acknowledge the number of animals and the pasture use fees to be paid. During the following two days, the same procedure repeated itself numerous times: the chairman questioned herdiers, or, in their absence, their wives or their children (see Figure 18).

The monitoring was done within the limits of the mapped units, and reinforced the herdiers’ visual understanding of these territories. During the monitoring, one of the herdiers complained about the fact that his animals were chased away by another herder from certain pastures. The chairman responded that these actions were justified, as those pastures were rented out by the forest enterprise. Even after a longer explanation, the herder refused to understand the differences between committee pastures and forest pastures. In this case chair-

236 Certainly, not all maps serve the purpose of showing someone’s authority. In discussions addressing territorial conflicts, chairmen pick maps which confirm their viewpoint, and reject other ones which contradict it. They challenge the knowledge of Bishkek-based cartographers, who lack the knowledge of the field in their view. This questioning of the experts is also reported in Silva, “Foucault in the Landscape.”
men communicate the territoriality of Kyrgyz pasture management to herders. This role of communicating the spatiality becomes even more evident if we look at the documents which are controlled during the monitoring. One of these documents is a map with a stamp showing the area, where a herder is supposed to be during the season (see Figure 19).

Figure 18. The PC chairmen inspecting the papers of a herder. Source: author

Figure 19. The map given to herders showing the area, where they are supposed to be during the summer period. Source: author.
During the monitoring activities such as the one described above, the chairmen need to find different methods to either force or convince herders to comply and to pay. There is willingness to avoid conflicts and at the same time to be a successful chairman. A mixture of location-specific practices results from this.

MM: What if they [herders] do not pay?

CC: They signed the contract and signed off on the price. If they decide not to pay, after the end of a month, we will add a certain percentage.

MM: In the contract?

CC: Yes, in the contract. If they disagree with the contract, there is a court. If we say that we will go to court, everyone immediately agrees.

MM: Were there cases like that?

CC: Yes, there was a case this year.

MM: The court of elders or the district court?

CC: No, no we make them fear a little bit. We use a little policy...

This quote illustrates the significance of monitoring for the development of chairman’s subject positions. He is the one who needs to “use policy,” which means to using fear as a manipulative practice and to find ways to convince or to force herders to pay. The quote below illustrates this point well.

CC: Let me tell you one thing. The first year we asked here [about the number of animals]; when we asked he [a herder] said that he had 150 sheep and goats. We said that is OK. I asked if it was correct, and he said that it was. I asked if he did not lie, and he answer that he had never lied. Then, we checked it three days later. We loaded two horses in a Porter [small truck] and went there. We rode horses there and at seven o’clock we entered his court, when the animals had not moved yet. When we counted, there was 550 sheep. “Here,” I said, “we came for a control... Give us cash”. I said that we had a plan. Then we made him to sign and to write... This is how I did policy. The first year was difficult. [Herders told me] that I can do what I am able to [to force them to pay]...

The collection of payments and monitoring is not an easy task, as herders have often been reluctant to pay. It is evident in the quote that collecting payments becomes something personally important for the chairman. One needs motivation in order to organize early morn-
ing controls of a supposedly underreporting herder. Through monitoring activities, chairmen start to care about pastures and the compliance of herders with the resource-use rules.237

The subject position of herders

The text above concentrated on the PC chairmen, but it also provided some insights concerning the herders. Herders primarily interact with the PC during the livestock controls and the monitoring sessions. They often do not understand its status or agenda.

TS: In your opinion is there an understanding of what a pasture committee is?

HB: There is no understanding of justice. There is no justice. We have it like this...without limits; there is no [proper] behavior. In an area which is enough for 100 cows, they put 1,000. Only Allah knows if the pasture committee is aware of this or not. We cannot question that. You pay the committee irrespective of whether you want it or not.

TS: Is the pasture committee related to the state or is it separate?

HB: Well, the state should take care [about pastures]. I do not understand if it [the committee] is part of the state or separate. They take the money in any case.

Two messages can be understood from this quote. The first one concerns the capacity of the committee to collect the money irrespective of herders’ opinions. This is a widespread phenomenon: herders might disagree with the need of having committees, but in the majority of cases, they comply with the committees’ authority, which is often achieved through the fear of administrative penalties. Here, the herders’ subject position is produced through the sovereign power of the committees.

The second message from the quote concerns herders’ lack of awareness about how exactly the given committee manages pastures. As mentioned earlier, in the survey performed for this study, the majority of respondents were either not aware of the existence of PC or considered it as a state agency. This is similar to the results of Shigaeva et al. from the Naryn region of Kyrgyzstan, where the top-down process of establishing the institutions of decentralization led

237 Agrawal, “Environmentality.”
to the general unawareness among people about the function of PUA and PC. Today “unclear rules have led to misunderstanding, different interpretations, and consequently distortion of the ideas of participation and local decision-making.” This situation can be exemplified with the following quote.

MM: Would you participate if you were called [to the yearly meeting]?

HA: We would go if we were called. Why wouldn’t we go? If they would explain the history, clarify things, we would say “Okay, this is how things are.” They say that they do work in the southern part, that they fixed roads, help herders to travel, help with water infrastructure if there are problems, deliver salt. But we don’t know as we haven’t seen that with our own eyes.

MM: Is it only the owners who participate then?

HA: Deputies participate, as well as the important people [the word used is raiistar].

The herder is unaware of the activities of the committee. Such a situation is characteristic of many herders, who associate committees with the fees, and not with the community-based management. This can be considered a failure to produce the compliant subjects through the disciplinary mode of governmentality. Even though many herders do agree with the benefits of pasture rotation and regulated use, they often do not consider paying the committees an ethical thing to do. This is the consequence of low inclusion and the lack of transparency in the committee’s activities.

Under these circumstances herders find different strategies to avoid the payments. The fragmentary and inconsistent character of Kyrgyz pasture governance provides many opportunities for doing so. For example, municipal pastures are often located in proximity to forestry lands, which are de facto used as pastures as well (see Chapter 5). For herders, it is often easier to use the lands of the forestry, as the authority of the foresters is more established and paying them the fees is considered normal.

IT: Have you heard about the pasture committee?

HA: Yes, we know about it. Where do they have their pastures? For example, here it is all hayfield, here it is a river and we pay taxes… We don’t know

how many pastures the pasture committee has. The leskhoz [forest enterprise] drew the border with the tractor right over there. Have you seen it?

MM: The animals do not go there?

HA: If they enter then you are on the leskhoz [forest enterprise] lands. People do not care about the committee. If you pay to leskhoz and you pay for your plot [hayfield], then you ask where the committee’s lands come from. Only the people that do not come to their hayfields pay [the committee].

The mention of hayfields in the quote illustrates another strategy to avoid payments. In such a case, herders refer to the existing land categorization system in order to avoid the payments. They can claim that they use hayfields, which is their private property, for pastures.

HX: We go to our own pastures.

IT: Your own pastures… How did it happen that these pastures became yours? Does anyone else compete with you [for pastures]?

HX: No, this is our plot.

The plot, which is mentioned here, refers to the hayfields, which were transformed into private property during the reforms of the 1990s. Today, the owners of hayfields often use them for double purposes (i.e., hayfield and pasture). In practice, hayfields are often situated in the proximity of committee pastures. Some years herders can stay on their privatized hayfields and other years they can use committee pastures.

Ultimately, the spatial mobility of herders allows them to be relatively independent of PCs and forestry officials.

CD: I checked the documents, and he had not paid for the last three years. I told him, “You have not paid for three years. There is a pasture user [association] and yearly payments. If you go [to pastures] according to the rules, if you come back [from them] according to the rules, then the pastures are yours.” When I told him that, the aksakal [an elderly man] became offended and left to Chon Alai. He said “I will not come to your pastures and will not pay you.” He has left without paying this year too… Instead of paying 20 som to us, that person prefers to pay 50 som to Chon Alai [pasture committee]…

If there is a conflict with one pasture-related authority, then herders often can negotiate access to pastures with another one.

All of the practices described above are not uniform; they vary from one pasture area to another. The general patter is that, if a
herder decides not to pay, then the fragmented land management with forest pastures, committee pastures, and hayfields provides a certain degree of freedom to do so.

The subject positions of forestry officials

Forestry officials are the third group who need to act in accordance with the propositions emanating from CBNRM. Their cooperation or resistance play an important role in the local-level pasture government: they grant access to herders for the use of forestry lands; they interact with chairmen concerning the territorial control.

In the interactions between the forestry officials and the chairmen, an important issue at stake is the territorial authority and the right to collect the fees. One of the main tasks for PC chairmen has been the collection of pasture use fees. The functioning of forest enterprises is also dependent on the revenues from the fees. In this situation, forestry officials reassert themselves in the current decentralized management, where the source of their revenues is threatened. In one of the meetings with a senior forestry official, he emphasized how much the management of pastures depends on him personally, and that he allows or forbids the renting of forestry pastures.

Generally, the authority of the forestry officials is stronger compared to that of the committees. They have a para-military status, where the organizational structure with dispersed forest guards helps in demonstrating that this territory is “forest” and belongs to the forestry service (and, by extension, to the state). It is also easier to identify the territorial boundaries of forests compared to pastures, as forests are clearly demarcated in the landscape (see Chapter 5).

The subject positions of the forestry officials are produced not only as a response to the competition over the territorial control. The influence of the Soviet conservation ideas plays an important role as well. As described before, today there are many similarities with the Soviet period in the ways forests are mapped, legislated and enforced. For example, the chain of command in the forestry is very similar to its Soviet predecessor. A majority of the foresters that I met began their careers during the late Soviet Union, where they received their professional education. They are committed to the ideas of fortress conservation, where forests need to be protected from the alleged irrational use by locals.

SA: These [pasture committee members] do not have the understanding of what forestry is, what “specially protected [status]” means… For example,
the firewood… we indicate that you take this much from this area… But these ones [PC] do not know such things, they cut everything down, they just let people go in. The goal of the pasture user association is only to collect money. They do not think about the future… They are only interested in money. Nothing else interests them, for example they are not interested in degradation. Do they herd goats or sheep? They just collect money and let them [animals] go…

The quote effectively illustrates the logic behind forestry officials’ actions. They feel that they have the legitimate right to exercise their authority over the lands described as forests as this resource is threatened by the irrational actions of people. At the same time, they position themselves differently from the PCs: forestry officials protect forests and care about “future”, while the PCs are guided by the financial interests.

Here, the subject positions of PC chairmen (to serve the people, to build roads) face the ones of the foresters (to manage rationally, to protect nature). In such an environment, there is a tendency for misunderstandings and friction. The quote below by a PC chairman exemplifies the frictions between the PC and the leskhoz.

CF: …the leskhoz was established earlier. They say the land is ours and they use it. However, we actually look bad in this situation. They were given a uniform and they wear it, they have the state funding, they have laws. But what is a pasture committee? We have a rubberstamp. If we go [to meet them], then I go as a chairman, and I take six people with me...

MM: They say: ‘Who are you?’

CF: They say “Who are you?” But, when we count the animals, we are the important ones, as we do the agriculture. Simply, as they say in Russian, the foresters go for free [nakhaliavu], they rob us, as they have the power, according to the documents…

In the case of PC, a new institution has been built, where government intervention is relatively recent and the authority is weak. The forestry service, on the other hand, has a more important status and a longer history of exercising authority. The forestry officials are conscientious about that as well.

SA: When you tell the truth, without boasting, we, the forest enterprise, have been working here for 40 years. We know which lands belong to the forestry fund, the lands of which belong to the municipality. Sometimes people from the committee or Giprozem give the lands [to people]. We have proved to Girpozem that they were wrong… that the land belongs to the forest enterprise. They [Giprozem officials] simply left after that.
The quote exemplifies once again the subject positions of the forestry officials. They control the actions of the unknowledgeable committee chairmen and Kyrgyzgiprozem employees. In this case, the pasture management reform has not achieved the production of the positions compliant with the CBNRM. The decentralization, new laws and maps, community involvement – all this comes as challenges to the forestry officials’ authority.

Conclusions

This chapter discussed how the government practices are articulated on the local level and how compliant or resistant subject positions are produced among chairmen, herders, and forestry officials. There are mixed results in the case study area concerning this issue.

The chairmen can be called a success story of the reform. By having an office in the rural administration building, by participating in various educational and training venues, chairmen start to associate themselves with the need to manage the use of pastures. Their subject position is also produced in the practices of mapping and monitoring. Going to the pastures, collecting the money, frightening the non-payers – these are the practices, where the difference between the herders and the chairman becomes clear. Today, many chairmen understand the need in management as a personal duty, as a way of doing something good for the community. They can be considered as subjects of disciplinary governmentality mode who are compliant with the new regime of practices.

The situation is different when it comes to herders. The practical implementation of CBNRM in Kyrgyzstan implied top-down approaches, where many people continue to be unaware about the pasture reform. The exclusion of many people from the meetings and the activities of the PCs lead to questioning of their authority. Many herders do not feel the ownership of the PUA and PCs, which are associated with the state apparatus, rather than community organization. Those, who comply with the authority of the PCs often do so in response to the perceived penalties and the sovereign authority of PCs. As the sense of ownership is lacking among herders, they do not understand the payments as an ethical or a moral thing to do. In this situation, they find different ways to challenge the authority using the fragmented character of Kyrgyz land management.

The same can be said concerning forestry officials, who are largely not compliant with the ideas of CBNRM. Their case exemplifies how
it is difficult to change an established regime of practices. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, forest conservation is characterized by distinct historical continuity with Soviet conservation ideas. This continuity also includes “statuses, capacities, attributes and orientations [which] are assumed of those who exercise authority…” In line with the fortress conservation principle, forestry officials have subject positions, where they have authority to guide the local population towards rational resource use. They know what a forest ecosystem is and how it should be used, while committees lack such knowledge.

These findings concerning herders and forestry officials are not surprising. Compliant subjects do not appear at once with the introduction of a given law. They are formed gradually through targeted efforts including outreach campaigns and the direct involvement of resource users in conservation practices. Neglecting the subject position aspect of pasture government can undermine the long-term sustainability of CBNRM in Kyrgyzstan.

Similarly to Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, this chapter illustrated the importance of historical continuities in the operation of political pasture. Despite the rhetoric of “novel policies” and “reform”, the current stage in the making of political pasture relies on the reuse of the structures emanating from earlier historical periods. The CBNRM scheme created new management institutions – PCs, but they were placed in the administrative buildings, which were originally built for the needs of the Soviet state. It can be argued that people do not perceive PCs as local-interest institutions if the latter operate from sites and buildings associated with central state administration and employ maps that display territorial divisions rooted in the past. Put another way, the confusion and incoherence which is experienced today is caused by the mismatch between rhetoric of change and novelty, and the continuity of past government practices.

239 Dean, Governmentality, 43.
240 Birkenholtz, “Groundwater Governmentality.”
241 Agrawal, “Environmentality.”
I began this study in order to research the rapid changes in Kyrgyz pasture governance during the late 2000s – early 2010s. The original intention was to understand better the causes for and the effects of introducing the community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) scheme. After the preliminary research, a knowledge gap was identified. I contended that the role of context in pasture governance have garnered little attention among researchers in Kyrgyzstan. I focused on one specific contextual factor – the operation of government – how various actors (e.g., the state, international development agencies, pasture committees) gain and exercise their authority. In this perspective, the aim of this study was to examine Kyrgyz political pasture focusing on two aspects: (1) the evolution of the pasture policy with the particular focus on the CBNRM scheme; (2) the current ways to implement CBNRM at the local level.

Based on the aim, the following research questions were defined in Chapter 1:

1. How and why have the state, development agencies and other actors introduced the CBNRM scheme as a suitable policy in Kyrgyzstan?
2. What are the factors influencing the compliance with or resistance to CBNRM principles of various local-level actors involved in pasture use?

In the text below, I discuss the findings of this study. I start by summarizing the key messages of each preceding chapter, except Chapter 1. After the summary, I relate my research findings to the broader context of resource governance studies both in Kyrgyzstan and beyond.

Thesis summary

This thesis starts with a brief introduction in Chapter 1, where the study is framed in relation to natural resource studies in geography and to pasture studies in Kyrgyzstan. After the introduction, Chapter
2 discusses the theoretical framework and demonstrates how the government operates through specific regimes of practices, which have both temporal and spatial aspects. The temporal aspect means that the current regimes of practices have specific, contingent histories, where the ideas that we take for granted today often conceal various past struggles. The spatial aspect means that government practices include specific ways to territorialize space and produce landscape visions. These characteristics of government are particularly prominent on a national scale, where resource policies are developed, laws are adopted and the programs by the international development agencies are introduced.

When it comes to the local level, compliant or resistant subject positions influence the functioning of government. These subject positions also have specific history and geography. They are not produced at once by fiat (i.e., a law or a new policy). Continuous, place-specific interactions with actors claiming authority produce subject positions. A given subject position can persist over time; for example, resource users comply with the authority of actors, whose right to regulate the access to a given resource was established long time ago. In sum, a given policy (for example, CBNRM) can succeed or fail on its own terms depending on the subject positions of people involved in resource use.

I conclude Chapter 2 by stating that a research project aiming to understand the operation of government should include two types of analysis. First, at the national level, there is a need to analyze the genealogy of government practices – i.e., how the ideas that are taken for granted today came into being. Second, at the local level, the understanding of power should focus on subject positions – how people accept or reject the authority of various institutions.

Chapter 3 discusses the methods which are relevant for achieving the aims of the study. I demonstrate how the genealogy of political pasture can be researched through the analysis of archival data such as newspaper articles, legal documents, reports and maps. Conversely, the local scale realities can be researched through a combination of ethnographic methods such as interviews and observations. Close involvement with the research participants allows for better understanding of how subject positions are formed, how and why people start to cooperate or resist pasture management institutions.

After discussing the theory and the methods of this study, I proceed to the empirical material. Chapters 4 and 5 answer the first research question concerning the emergence and evolution of political

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242 Lund, “Fragmented Sovereignty.”
pasture. Chapter 4, in particular, focuses on the historical developments of pasture-related policies from the late 19th century to present day. I conclude that during this period there is a recurring pattern of trustees (e.g., the actors who aim to improve the situation) employing the strategies of problematization and rendering techniques. Every effort to improve the use of pastures was negotiated against previous knowledge and practices, where trustees have been deciding what to keep and what to discard. The importance of trustees’ expertise in defining what pastures are and how they should be used leads me to the conclusion that it is beneficial for researchers to understand Kyrgyz pastures as political pasture. This understanding means that they are not just grass, but rather political land-use zones, which “exists because people understand and define particular sets of material components on the ground to constitute them.”

Chapter 5 continues answering the first research question by focusing on present-day pasture governance. I demonstrate how the international development agencies, which have been the most important trustees lately, problematized the state administration of pastures through the language and imagery of environmental crisis and degradation. The trustees suggested decentralization and CBNRM as technical solutions in order to create efficient committees managing clearly defined territories and cooperating with forest enterprises.

Chapter 5 shows inconsistencies in the key government practices of the CBNRM scheme. First, the scheme has effectively reinforced the Soviet fragmented administrative and territorial division, which was created for the sake of intensive, large-scale agriculture. Second, the scheme’s focus on decentralization has created opportunities for state officials to attribute the responsibility for pasture management problems, including the environmental degradation, to pasture committees. This strategy of identifying the local level as a problem can be traced to the earlier efforts of defining political pasture during the 20th century. Third, the implementation of the CBNRM scheme has reinforced the fragmentation between political pasture and political forest, where herders need to negotiate the access to pastures with different authorities according to two separate sets of regulations. This situation is due to stronger historical continuities in forestry, where Soviet governmentality largely persists.

In Chapter 6, I shift to answering the second research question by focusing on the local scale dynamics of pasture governance. I demonstrate that through various practices such as education, monitoring and mapping the chairmen have been “hailed by” the CBNRM ideas

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243 Vandergeest and Peluso, “Political Forests,” 162.
and today they are eager to act in compliance with their responsibilities. The situation is different, when it comes to herders and forestry officials. Herders have often been excluded from the decision-making procedures, and, consequently do not feel the ownership of the PUA and PC. In such situations, they find different strategies to resist the authority of the PC and avoid pasture-use payments. Concerning forestry officials, they often view the situation through the prism of Soviet fortress conservation, where natural resources should be protected from the irrational local population. Based on the differences between these three groups, I conclude that the implementation of the CBNRM scheme has been influenced by the cooperative or resistant subject positions, which can be understood better by focusing on how people interact with government practices.

Theoretical conclusions

This study had two departure points: history and geography. The interest in history led me to the understanding of pastures as being political. An interest in geography led me to the focus on sovereignty and subject positions. Below I elaborate on each of these points in greater detail. While these points can be considered to be rather well established in the research about forests in Southeast Asia, this study provides evidence from another context.

Questioning the genealogy of Kyrgyz political pasture

This study illuminates the role of the history in pasture government. A new resource policy suggests a set of truths concerning the resource. It provides answers to the question: What is an optimal way to manage resources in order to achieve desired goals? In any country of the world, such policy builds upon the existing repertoire of government practices, including: (1) ways of seeing and perceiving (i.e., maps); (2) ways of thinking and questioning (i.e., scientific reports); (3) ways of acting, intervening and directing (i.e., improvement schemes); (4) means of forming subjects. Genealogical research allows us to trace how this way of governing emerges and evolves over time. Most importantly, such research provides the basis for showing the contingent character of these practices, i.e., it strips them of their status of being taken for granted.

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Dean, *Governmentality*, 33.
Kyrgyz pastures have been produced through specific practices, most notably through the technical and often violent policies of the Soviet Union. Similarly to the seminal work on political forest in Southeast Asia, there is a need to continue questioning political pastures in Kyrgyzstan (and Central Asia at large). Such questioning allows demonstrating that the ways one understands what pasture is, how it is measured, managed and problematized are contingent.

Showing the connections of the practices of current regimes to colonial and oppressive policies is a way to provide the basis for the discussions about new interventions. This thesis demonstrated how the narratives of local users unable to implement well-intentioned policies, which are still present in pasture government, can be traced back to the colonial, racialized visions of primitive Kyrgyz people. In implementing new reforms, there is a need to remember that in Kyrgyzstan, major environmental problems were often caused by the actions of the state, rather than irrational local users. Genealogical research provides evidence and language for the proactive engagement with the policies. Such evidence has already served as the basis for effective resistance by local populations to the central state policies in other countries.

At the same time, this study showed that genealogical research should pay attention to the geography of resource management. The process of creating political pasture in Kyrgyzstan has included not only changes in the regimes of practices, but also the material landscape itself, ranging from the construction of the state administration buildings in villages to the installation of demarcation signs, as well as water and road infrastructure on pastures. Every new pasture reform turns out to be “spatial negotiation” about which material elements of the preceding political pasture can or should be reused (as in the case with the administration buildings in Kyrgyzstan).

Fragmented sovereignty as a challenge for the authority of new institutional actors

This study also emphasizes the spatial character of government, where pasture reforms have tried to establish a new institutional actor (PCs) to exercise authority over pastures’ territory. This effort can be

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245 Peluso and Vandergeest, “Genealogies of the Political Forest and Customary Rights in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand”; Vandergeest and Peluso, “Political Forests”; Li, The Will to Improve; Lund, “Fragmented Sovereignty.”
246 See Devine, “Community Forest Concessionaires.”
247 This is similar to Maandi’s findings concerning property rights reforms in Estonia. Maandi, “The Silent Articulation of Private Land Rights in Soviet Estonia,” 463.
considered to be partially successful. Despite all the problems described in the empirical chapters, PCs do exercise authority over pastures by collecting fees and enforcing pasture use rules. Consequently, PCs are de facto sovereigns of pastures.

At the same time, this study presented several cases of conflicts and competition between different herders, forestry officials and the chairmen. These conflicts are due to the competition for the right to decide who is allowed to use the land and who is allowed to regulate its use. The current situation in Kyrgyzstan illustrates the fragmented sovereignty of the state, where the sovereignty over pastures is divided between pasture committees and the forestry agency.

By referring to such sovereignty as fragmented, we should not think of a once-coherent whole, which is subsequently pluralized and fragmented. Rather, we are dealing with a range of competing institutions, endowed with different resources...These competing institutions may integrate and become mutually reinforcing as they form alliances, or they may dominate one another. 248

Fragmented sovereignty helps us to understand that some actors have the capacity to exercise their authority more effectively than others. Forestry officials’ sovereignty has been established during the Soviet period with the help of the resources provided by the state. Pasture committees’ face the same challenges as the Soviet state during the early years of its existence, when it needed to compete with the customary institutions for the right to rule over pastures. This is a process, which will take time and efforts, as it is connected to the subject positions of herders and forestry officials. These two groups need to recognize the authority of committees over political pastures.

Practical implications for future research

There are several implications stemming from this study for future research. I contend that the same framework of analysis could be extended in relation to other natural resources in Kyrgyzstan. In the case of mineral resources, for example, there is also a strong continuity with Soviet regulations. According to the law, all mineral resources in the country belong to the state and the decisions about mining licenses are made by the national government. The state sovereignty over mineral resources dates back to Soviet legislation. Today this sovereignty is often challenged when local populations reject the

rights of mining companies to operate despite their licenses issued by
the central state. The current approach in producing compliance is
very bureaucratic: the central state demands that local administration
ensures the smooth functioning of mining companies by “transferring
the land and right of temporary use…” and ensuring that the
company has the unhindered access to the resources. It is also the
local administration which is responsible for performing the work
among the local population concerning the “illegal interventions into
the work of resource users.”

In this case, future research can ex-
tend the governmentality approach to the wider context of resource
management in Kyrgyzstan (beyond pastures and forests) in an effort
to understand how and why resistances to mining operations appear.

This type of research will correspond to the new reforms suggest-
ed by the international development agencies. In 2015 WB performed
a study to evaluate the forest, pasture and water policies in Kyrgyz-
stan. The authors of the study concluded that there was a need to
integrate these policies, as numerous reforms concerning these re-
sources contributed to the fragmented and inconsistent resource
governance. The authors suggested extending community involve-
ment into forest management. As the implementation of this sugges-
tion is likely, the continued research on the governmentality of all
natural resources in Kyrgyzstan will provide the basis to analyze new
policies, laws and reforms.

In the new efforts to improve the Kyrgyz countryside, the factor
of subject positions should be reckoned with. These efforts should
concentrate on clearly explaining the logic of new reforms; on making
PCs more transparent, inclusive and accountable to the local popula-
tion; on devising methods for people to accept the authority of the
PCs or other institutional actors that will be responsible for the inte-
grated resource management.

Beyond the Kyrgyz context, this study contributes to the existing
literature on the role of local context in resource governance. Since
the late 2000s, there has been a growing appreciation of the im-
portance of context for the successful functioning of resource gov-
ernance schemes such as CBNRM. Discourses were suggested as

Law,” art. 9.
250 World Bank, “Kyrgyz Republic - Communities Forests and Pastures.”
251 This finding is interesting given the fact that it was often the WB, which suppor-
ted the implementation of these reforms in the first place.
252 Clement and Amezaga, “Conceptualising Context in Institutional Reforms of
Land and Natural Resource Management”; Epstein et al., “Institutional Fit and the
Sustainability of Social–ecological Systems.”
one of the important contextual factors, since the efficiency and social acceptance of resource-related institutions depends on how discourses frame the environmental issue at hand. This study provides the evidence for the importance of discourses or rather regimes of practices from the Central Asian context and emphasizes their spatial character. Practices concerning space such as territorial divisions, land categorizations and related subject positions are essential for the functioning of resource-related policies. Reforms such as CBNRM need to evaluate the logic behind such spatial practices, and analyze how they contribute or undermine their desired goals of sustainable resource management.

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Appendix 1: interview guides

2014 fieldwork

Questions for rural residents

1. Did you work at the collective farm before 1991? Can you tell us please about Soviet land use? Which pastures were used during summer? Did you use remote pastures in Alai? Where was the livestock kept during the winter? Who made the decisions concerning the use of certain pastures? Were there any conflicts related to pasture use? If there were conflicts, how were they resolved?

2. Tell us please about the post-independence period. What took place here in this municipality? How quickly did privatization of agricultural lands happen? How was the Land Redistribution Fund established? What happened with the hayfields? What happened with the pastures? Did people start to rent them or use them without any official documents? What happened with the state forest and reserve lands?

3. A new Land Code was introduced in 1999, which allowed private property on cultivated lands. Do you recall any changes taking place at that time? The Land Code introduced a system where village administration (ayil okmotu) was responsible for the areas close to village pastures, district administration was responsible for the intensive pasture, and the oblast administration for seasonal pastures. Did pasture use change during that time? Did you rent pastures during that time?

4. In 2009, the state changed the pasture-use system. The system with pasture associations, committees and tickets was introduced. Do you participate in the work of the association and the committee? Are there differences between the system today and the one before where you could rent pastures?

5. During the last 25 years, the pasture-use system changed several times. First, there was the system with state planning, then there was the system with leases and finally the system with pasture
tickets. What are your own views on using pastures properly? Why do you think so?

Questions for state employees

1991 Land Code
1. Why was the right to ownership of land introduced in the 1991 land code?
2. Why was the exclusive ownership of the state preserved over pastures from the Soviet period to present?
3. Why was the decision-making power shifted from the national government to the local level in 1991? District-level and village-level governments received most of the power concerning the withdrawal and distribution of land (art 46 and 47 of the Code). The national government was supposed to consult with village and raion authorities (art 48).
4. Why was the separation between the rights of raions and oblasts in distributing pastures limited only to the lands within raion (art 46, 47)? Why specify this in the law?
5. Why was the responsibility of mandatory pasture rotation introduced in 1991 (check in comparison to 1971)?
6. Why was the category of particularly valuable lands introduced in 1991? The 1971 land code didn’t have such a category. It had highly productive land (art 63). In art 49 there was protection for irrigated and drained lands, land plots, perennial plantations and wineries, forest of category 1 only by the decision of the national-level government. In neither of these categories are pastures explicitly mentioned. Why was it introduced in 1991?
7. What was the idea behind preserving the category of particularly valuable lands (art 31 in 1991, art 20, 17, 70 in 1999)

1999 Land Code
1. What was the reasoning behind the introduction of the rental system for pastures in 1999?
2. What was the reasoning in separating the allocation of pastures into different administrative levels and strict categorization of pastures?
3. Why were the powers over allocation and planning given to local level organizations, and the raion, and oblast authorities basically cut out from the land use administration and planning?
2009 “On pastures” law
1. What was the logic in transferring the right of pasture management to local administration?
2. Why was there so much stress on borders of former collective and state farms in defining the borders of the PUU?
3. What was the reasoning behind the scraping of the rental system?
4. What was the logic in making PUC’s as a mix between users and the local government officials?
5. What was the logic in adding the word “exclusive” property of the state in the later versions of the law?
6. What was the logic in mandatory registration of pasture tickets that had been in use for more than 3 years (art 16)?

2015 fieldwork

Questions for committee members
1. Main livelihood activities
   a. What are the main livelihood activities (income sources) in your area? Is it agriculture, livestock or anything else?
   b. What are main agricultural products? How are they used? Are they sold or used for domestic needs?
   c. What are the main livestock in this area? For what purposes are they used?
   d. What are the important dates for pasture-related activities (start of the herding season, end of the herding season)?
2. Opinion about the changes in the pasture condition
   a. How many hectares of pastures does the committee have? Did it increase or decrease as compared to the Soviet period?
   b. How far are the pastures of the committee? How much time does it take to reach there (by car, or walking)? What types of pastures are they? Which pastures do people mostly use?
   c. Do people from your municipality use pastures from the Forestry Fund? How far are these pastures? What kind of pastures are they?
   d. Could you tell us about the changes taking place in the condition of pastures? If degraded, what are the reasons for degradation?
   e. Why do you think it is necessary to manage the use of pastures?
f. If you think that there are environmental issues connected with the pasture use, will you be able to define when these problems became serious?

g. What do you do or would like to do to address the problems connected with the pasture use?

3. Committee characteristics and the logic behind becoming a member of a pasture committee

a. When was the committee formed? Who were the leading players at the formation state and what role had they played in forming the committee?

b. How many people are there in the committee and in the association? What are the compositions of the committee and the association (male&female, livestock owners&herders, rich&poor)? Could you tell us how the committee was established? Was it a government decision or people decided to participate voluntarily? How was the chairman of the committee elected?

c. Who are eligible for the committee membership (anyone in the village, only the herders)?

d. How were the boundaries of committee pastures defined? Who participated in defining the boundary? Were there any other pasture users, who used the committee pastures before? Do they still use the pastures? Were there any disputes over the committee pasture boundary?

e. Could you tell us how you became a member of pasture committee? Did you choose it yourself or you were assigned by someone (local administration, district administration)?

f. Were you a member of the committee since it was established or did you become a member later? Was there any rotation in the committee?

g. Could you tell us about the members in the pasture committee? What are their backgrounds? Why did they decide to participate in the work of the pasture committee?

h. How do you decide about the committee budget? Do people from the villages participate in the budget formulation (construction of the roads, bridges etc.)? Do people participate in the yearly meetings of the association?

4. Information about people who don’t comply with the rules.

a. How was the use of pastures planned during the Soviet time? Who told you which pastures you were supposed to use? What happened if someone didn’t follow the rules and used other pastures, for example? How were the trespassers pun-
ished? What were the mechanisms for the enforcement of the rules?
b. Today how do you decide which herder uses which pastures?
c. Who pays for the tickets? Is it herders or livestock owners?
d. How do you control that the number of animals is the same as the one reported by the herders? Do you control only once or several times?
e. How do you use the maps in the work of pasture committee?
f. Were there any people who didn’t comply with the rules? What do you do with the people, who don’t comply with the rules?
   i. Did you use the “court of elders” or any other solutions in order to enforce the rules (fees)? If you did, did people pay the imposed fees?
   ii. If it is done through the court of elders, are there any registers concerning the imposed fees, and were the fees actually paid?
   iii. Are there any instructions by the state how the fees are supposed to be collected?

5. Planning
   a. How frequent does the committee has to prepare a plan?
   b. How many days does it take to prepare a plan?
   c. Do you have the pasture management and use plans? How were they written? How did you define the goals for the plan? Did the community participate in its formulation?
   d. What is included in a plan?
      i. Village map?
      ii. Timeline?
      iii. Rotation plan?
      iv. Inventory of pastures?
      v. Municipality population?
      vi. Settlement expansion?
      vii. Mining issues?
      viii. Forest pastures?
   e. How is the plan implemented (external help, work of the association members)?

6. Fee collection efficiency
   a. What are the fees per animal collected in the municipality?
   b. What were the levels of fees achievement
      a. in 2014, 2013 and 2012? Is the information about the fees missing?
Questions for pasture association members

1. Changes between before and after the creation of the association and condition of pastures
   a. Can you describe how pastures were managed and used before the PC?
   b. Can you describe how pastures are managed and used after the PC?
   c. Could you tell us about the changes taking place in the condition of pastures? If degraded, what are the reasons for degradation?
   d. Why do you think it is necessary to manage the use of pastures?
   e. If you think that there are environmental issues connected with the pasture use, will you be able to define when these problems became serious?
   f. What do you do or would like to do to address the problems connected with the pasture use?

2. Participation in the association
   a. Could you tell us how and why you became a member of pasture association? Did you choose it yourself or you were assigned by someone (local administration, district administration)?
   b. Were you a member of the association since it was established or did you become a member later?
   c. How many times a year do you have a meeting? What do you discuss at these meetings? Who participates in the meetings (herders, livestock owners, other people)? Are there any changes in the membership over time? Were there any conflicts over membership?
   d. How are the minutes kept? Is there any archive of meetings? Is it available to the members of the association?

3. Formalization of the Pasture Committee (PC) and its revenues
   a. How was the committee formed? Was it a local initiative, initiative by the state or NGO, self-chosen?
   b. Were there any discussions on how the committee is supposed to be formed?
   c. Who were the leading players at the formation stage and what role they had played?
   d. When were elections of chairperson conducted? How was it conducted? Have chairperson been changed?
   e. What are sources of PC revenue? How much revenue is generated by PC every year?
f. How was the boundary of pastures defined? Were there other pasture users who do not belong to your municipality before? Do they still use the pastures? Were there any conflicts (with forestry agency, for example) concerning the use of pastures?
g. How are the revenues used? How is it decided how the revenues will be used? Are there any records of revenue distribution?

4. Rules that guide the use of pastures, mobility, and attitude to pasture committee
   a. Have you heard about the management plan? Who participates in making a management plan? Is it committee chairman, members of the association? How do they participate (commenting, writing)?
   b. What kind of works should be done under a plan? How are the plans implemented? Are people hired or is it the members of the association, who help with the plan? How does the PC make sure each work to be implemented according to a plan?
   c. What rules are created related to pasture activities? How do you decide these rules?
   d. Were there any restrictions posed on the use of pastures?
   e. What will happen if someone breaks the rules? Were there any people who didn’t comply with the rules? What do you do with the people, who don’t comply with the rules? Were there any penalties? What kind of penalties? Who are the people that are commonly violating the rules?
   f. How does the PC forces people to pay the penalties?
   g. Is there any conflicts concerning pasture use? If yes, how are they resolved?

Questions for herders

1. Livelihood activities
   a. Does your principal income come from cultivated agriculture? Does your principal income come from livestock-related activities (diary, meat sales, animal sales)? Can you describe your livelihood activities throughout the year?

2. Rules that guide the use of pastures, mobility, and attitude to pasture committee
   a. How long have you been camping at this particular location?
b. How do you choose the place and the pasture, where you reside during the season?

c. Did you change your location after the creation of pasture committee?

d. Do you always camp at the same place and use the same pastures or do you move from one place to another? Are there any rules by the committee? What would you do if someone would take over your place?

e. Are there any signs or physical barriers that mark your pastures? What happens if someone else’s livestock trespasses the border your pastures? Do you protect them from the others?

f. What would you do if someone will use pastures in a bad way? Did you ever discuss with others how pastures are supposed to be used?

3. Opinion about the changes in the pasture condition

a. How was the use of pastures planned during the Soviet time? Who told you which pastures you were supposed to use? What happened if someone didn’t follow the rules and used other pastures, for example? How were the trespassers punished? What were the mechanisms for the enforcement of the rules?

b. Can you describe how pastures were managed and used before the PC?

c. Can you describe how pastures are managed and used after the PC?

d. Could you tell us about the changes taking place in the condition of pastures? If degraded, what are the reasons for degradation?

e. Why do you think it is necessary to manage the use of pastures?

f. If you think that there are environmental issues connected with the pasture use, will you be able to define when these problems became serious?

g. What do you do or would like to do to address the problems connected with the pasture use?

h. Can you share your views on how the work of pasture committee impacted pasture condition? (Saito_Jensen)

i. How did the work of pasture committee impacted your way of living?

4. Information about the pasture management
a. Who are the local authorities in this community (both formal and informal) (ref Cameroon)?

b. Who is responsible for pasture management? How are the decisions made in the community as to how the pastures are used (ref Cameroon)?

c. Could you tell us how the association was established? Was it a government decision or people decided to participate voluntarily? How was the chairman of the committee elected?

d. Do you participate in the work of the pasture association? If yes, why? If no, why? (Saito_Jensen) How do you participate (commenting, being present)?

e. Could you tell us about the members in the pasture committee? What are their backgrounds? Why did they decide to participate in the work of the pasture committee? How were the chairperson and accountant elected?

f. Are you aware about the pasture management and use plans? How were they written? How did you define the goals for the plan? Did you or your friends or relatives participate in its formulation?

g. How do you decide about the committee budget? Do people from the villages participate in the budget formulation (construction of the roads, bridges etc.)?

h. Did the committee introduce any restrictions on pasture related activities? (Saito_Jensen)
   i. Temporal closure of pastures
   ii. Mandatory migration
   iii. Others

   i. What do people say about the work of the committee? Do they participate in the yearly meetings?

5. Position in relation to the resource.

a. Have you ever been in the meetings organized by pasture committee, NGO’s or the state connected to pastures? If yes, how do you feel about these meetings? Do you still have memories on how it felt of being in these meetings?

b. Are there any differences in how you feel, when you are on the committee pastures, forest agency pastures and far away pastures?

c. Have you ever had any misunderstanding with the pasture committee?

d. Have you ever heard about conflicts with the pasture committee? Can you say why did this conflicts emerge and how did they get resolved?
Questions for policy-makers

1. The logic behind the law
   a. Was it actually community-based pasture management or the collaborative pasture management?
   b. What was the logic of the law adoption by the parliament and the state?
   c. Who lobbied and how did the discussions go in the parliament, when the law was discussed and adopted?
   d. How did the establishment of pasture committees go? How did they manage to recruit people? Were people motivated to participate in the work of the department?
   e. Are there breaches of the management rules and how do the committees deal with such breaches?
Appendix 2: details of interviewees

1. Pasture committee members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Interviewed in</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CA ♂</td>
<td>chairman</td>
<td>2012, 2013, 2014 and 2016</td>
<td>&gt; 50 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB ♂</td>
<td>chairman</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC ♂</td>
<td>chairman</td>
<td>2015, 2016</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CD ♂</td>
<td>chairman</td>
<td>2015, 2016</td>
<td>&gt; 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CF ♂</td>
<td>chairman</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG ♀</td>
<td>committee member</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH ♀</td>
<td>member</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CI ♂</td>
<td>member</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ ♂</td>
<td>member</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CK ♂</td>
<td>member</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL ♂</td>
<td>chairman</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM ♂</td>
<td>member</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CN ♂</td>
<td>member</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
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2. State officials

<table>
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<th>Position</th>
<th>Interviewed in</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA ♂</td>
<td>forestry agency employee</td>
<td>2014, 2015 and 2016</td>
<td>&gt; 50 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB ♂</td>
<td>forestry agency employee</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC ♂</td>
<td>forestry agency employee</td>
<td>2014, 2015</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD ♂</td>
<td>Kyrgyzgiprozems employee</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE ♂</td>
<td>Gosregistr employee</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF ♂</td>
<td>municipal administration employee</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG ♂</td>
<td>former municipal administration employee</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
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3. Herders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Interview Year(s)</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HA ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>interviewed in 2015</td>
<td>&gt; 30 years old</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HB ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014, 2016</td>
<td>&gt; 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HC ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HE ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HG ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>&gt; 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HK ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL ♀</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 30</td>
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<td>HM ♀</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 20</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>HN ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 70</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HO ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HP ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HQ ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>&gt; 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HT ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>&gt; 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HU ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>&gt; 20</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>HV ♀</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>&gt; 30</td>
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<tr>
<td>HW ♀</td>
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<td>2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>HX ♂</td>
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<td>HY ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
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<td>&gt; 40</td>
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<td>HZ ♂</td>
<td>herder</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>&gt; 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3: analyzed materials

Legal documents
Sovnarkom of the USSR. “Primernyi ustav sel’skokhoziastvennoi arteli [Example Statute of an Agriculture Cooperative],” 1935.
TsIK USSR. “Obshchie nachatla zemlepol’zovaniia i zemleustroistva [Common Principles of Land Use and Land Management],” 1928.
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Kyrgyzgiprozem. “Proekt vnutchokhoziaistvennogo ustroistva sovkhoza ‘50 let Oktyabria’ Frunzenskogo raiona, Oshskoi oblasti [The Project of the Intrafarm Land Management for the 50 Years of October State Farm, Frunze District, Osh Oblast],” 1981.


Cartographic materials


Khasanshina, F. Skhema zemleusstroistva Frunzenskogo raiona Oshskoi Oblasti [The Land Use Scheme for the Frunze District of the Osh Oblast] [map]. 1:100000. Ош: Кыргызгипрозем, 1981.

———. Skhema perestroistva irrigatsionno-dorozhnoi seti [The reorganization scheme for the irrigation and road network] [map]. 1:100000. Ош: Кыргызгипрозем.
Pasture Department. *Maidanskii ayil okmotu [The Maidan Rural Municipality] [map]*. Bishkek: Pasture Department, Ministry of Agriculture and Melioration, 2013. 1:25000; using ArcGIS.

———. *Markazskii ayil okmotu [The Markaz Rural Municipality] [map]*. Bishkek: Pasture Department, Ministry of Agriculture and Melioration, 2013. 1:25000; using ArcGIS.
Appendix 4: household questionnaire

Pasture committee variable (how it is perceived in the community).
1. Have you heard about pasture committee?
   a. Yes
   b. Yes, but I don’t know well
   c. No

Questions 2-8 are asked only in case the answer is “a” or “b” on the question 1.
2. Do you know the responsibilities of pasture committee (Outreach)?
   a. Yes, I know them well
   b. Yes, I know them, but not really well
   c. No, I don’t know
3. Did you or your partner participate in the meetings of the pasture user association during this or previous years?
   a. Yes, many times
   b. Yes, two-three times
   c. No
4. Do you know how much money was collected by the pasture committee?
   a. Yes, I know quite precisely
   b. Yes I know roughly how much, but not precisely
   c. No, I don’t know
5. Do you know how the money collected by the pasture committee was spent?
   a. Yes, I know them well
   b. Yes, I know, but not really well
   c. No, I don’t know
6. Do you agree how the revenues are used?
   a. Yes, I completely agree
   b. Yes, but they could have spent money better
   c. No, I don’t agree
7. Do you consider pasture committee to be a:
   a. State agency
b. Community organization
c. Private organization
d. Other
8. Are you or were you a member of Pasture Committee?
   a. Yes
   b. No

Pasture quality variable
9. How do you perceive the quality of your pastures as compared to the pastures of other municipalities?
   a. Worse
   b. About the same
   c. Better
10. How do you consider the development of the pastures for the last five years in terms of grass availability?
    a. Declined
    b. About the same
    c. Increased

Livelihood sources
11. What is your principal source of revenue?
    a. Land cultivation
    b. Livestock
    c. Both are about the same
    d. Other
12. Do you receive money every month from the areas not related to agriculture (pension or salary, craftsmanship, small business)?
    a. Yes
    b. No
13. Do you receive remittances from a relative?
    a. Yes
    b. No

Possessions variable
14. Do you have following items in your family?
    a. Car, motorcycle
    b. Truck or minibus
    c. Tractor
15. Do you have any of the following animals:
    a. Cattle, number
    b. Sheep, number
    c. Goat, number
    d. Horse, number
    e. No
16. What is the area of your garden plot (in ha)?
17. What is the area of your irrigated field (in ha)?

Social status variable
18. Are you
   a. Married
   b. Widow
   c. Single
19. What is your age? _____
20. What is your partner’s age? _____
21. Did you continue studying after finishing high school?
   a. Yes
   b. No
22. Did your partner continue studying after finishing high school?
   a. Yes
   b. No

Questions to the enumerator
23. What is the ethnicity of the respondent’s household: _____
24. How would you evaluate the condition of the house where the respondent lives?
   a. 1  b. 2  c. 3  d. e. 4  f. 5
25. What is the gender of the respondent?
   a. Male
   b. Female
26. Please indicate the waypoint number on the GPS device: _____
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Björn Bosæus: Resor till arbete och service. Regionindelning [Travel to Work and Service – Regional Division], 1958

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