

Proceedings of the Ninth Conference
of the European Society
for Central Asian Studies

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Edited by

Tomasz Gacek and Jadwiga Pstrusiańska

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Edited by Tomasz Gacek and Jadwiga Pstrusiańska

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For centuries Central Asia has functioned as a link between various regions, most notably the Middle East, South Asia and China. Developments in Central Asia have not only had their impact on these adjacent regions. Central Asia itself has been exposed to various regional and global influences throughout its history, amongst others leading to shifts in the importance of Central Asia. Following a period where Central Asia represented one of major global centres, the region turned into a periphery during the era of colonialism and imperialism. As a result of recent political and economic reconfigurations and the ruptures associated with transformation processes in the wider region, Central Asia regained its focal position in the political, economic and cultural considerations. This new attention to the region is at the same time closely related to a modern globalizing world, in which rapid transformation processes take place at an increasing speed. These developments, however, have their historical roots, local and regional backgrounds and repercussions. The shifts in the centrality of Central Asia are manifested in various domains of the socio/political and cultural developments and are not new to the region, which in the past was one of the major global continuums.

—From the 1st Circular of the ESCAS 9th Conference

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PREFACE

The 9th Conference of the European Society for Central Asian Studies took place in Poland, in the historic city of Cracow, within the walls of the colleges of Maius and Novum of the Jagiellonian University, one of Europe's oldest universities, founded in 1364.

The initiative to organize this year's meeting here in Cracow had its origins in the Department of Interdisciplinary Eurasian Research of the Jagiellonian University's Institute of Oriental Philology, where equally the organizational work took place. It falls here to note the important help received from the University of Warsaw's Oriental Institute as well as the patronage of the Polish representative of the Iraqi Regional Government of Kurdistan.

The conference was attended by around 150 people from over twenty five countries, who gave, within the course of twenty seven panels, around a hundred papers. European academic centres were widely represented, though there was no absence of participation from the United States, Canada, Israel and Australia. Of especial note was the participation of academics from Asian countries, including those of Central Asia. It was the intention of the ESCAS as well as of the organizers that the conference be of an interdisciplinary character, consequently specialists from many different areas of research participated. Thanks to this the conference allowed one to view Central Asia in an extremely wide perspective from questions of history and archaeology to cultural anthropology, ethnology and the political sciences, from musicology and art history through to literary studies and linguistics, as well as the new research area of biosociolinguistics. A lot of room was devoted to religious studies' problems.

Polish interest in Central Asia and neighbouring areas is very old. For ages Polish travellers, missionaries, merchants, engineers, academics, students and mountaineers have been arriving in its lands. The last of which have conquered summits not only in the Hindu Kush, the Pamirs or the Karakoram. Poles are also known for their involvement in liberation struggles in the Caucus under the slogan "for our and your freedom"; now Polish aid organizations work there. Numerous are the tragic chapters of the history of Poles in this region of the world. Many Poles were

transported to Siberia during tsarist rule. Later the Soviet authorities ordered deportations to Kazakhstan. Thousands of Poles lost their lives in Stalinist gulags, remaining in Asia for ever. There still live in Central Asia sizeable groups of Poles, and it happens that they still speak Polish, a part of these have decided on repatriation.

Research into Central Asia has been conducted in Poland for a long time. This is carried out chiefly by academic centres in Cracow, Warsaw and Poznan. The spectrum of academic investigation, expertise and the range of didactic topics is constantly widening. An undoubted reflection of the said interest in Central Asia was the decision taken by the Department of Interdisciplinary Eurasian Research within the framework of the Institute of Oriental Philology of the Jagiellonian University to organize the 9th Conference of the European Society for Central Asian Studies right here in Cracow.

We hope that the interdisciplinary investigations of the conference participants contained in the present volume will be useful in discussions on this region of the world and will further its understanding.

—The Editors

DET RIMENTS TO GENDER DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL ASIA (SOME FACTS & FIGURES FROM TAJIKISTAN)

NAJAM ABBAS

Looking at publications from Central Asia, one gets a feeling of self-congratulations among the region's non-government organizations on having reportedly established hundreds of women organizations in recent years. A reader may also come across buzzwords such as the empowerment of women that has become an increasingly popular term in human rights and development discourses and is used by NGOs as well as researchers and UN agencies¹. It has also become the stated goal of many development interventions. One example is that the World Bank has identified empowerment as part of its multi-pronged strategy for pro-poor development². This is a very welcome development. However, power must be understood as working at different levels, including the institutional, the household and the individual. The Copenhagen Declaration of the World Summit on Social Development (WSSD), called for the recognition that empowering people, particularly women, to strengthen their own capacities is a main objective of development. Empowerment of organisations, individuals and movements has certain requisites. These include resources (finance, knowledge, technology), and skills training to name just a few. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) pursues a Gender in Development Goal, which includes a commitment to advocating and promoting the empowerment of women in political and economic decision-making at all levels from the household to national government and in local, national and international administrative structures. Concretely, it is suggested that empowerment will be promoted through increasing

¹ For examples of conferences echoing empowerment see Measuring Women's Empowerment, www.kvinnoforum.se.

² Sarah Mosedale, "Assessing women's empowerment", paper presented at the New Directions in Impact Assessment for Development conference, March 2004.

women's decision making powers, the support of income generating activities and provision of skills and education to women. However, there are clearly limits on the extent to which such activities in themselves can be said to be genuinely empowering. Many rights cannot be fully exercised where women's lack of independent economic resources undermines their freedom to make choices and bargaining power. Therefore, when empowerment of women is stated as a goal, it is important to be able to measure progress, and hence, to identify what works and what does not in different contexts³.

The World Bank has in fact proclaimed empowerment as one of the key constituent elements of poverty reduction, and as a primary development assistance goal. Yet to date neither the World Bank nor any other major development agency has developed a rigorous method for measuring and tracking changes in levels of empowerment. In the absence of such measures, it is difficult for the international development community to be confident that their efforts to empower women are succeeding and that this important Millennium Development Goal will be achieved⁴.

We need to consider the plethora of women organizations in terms of their role and actual contribution rather than their number. It is necessary to examine how far the women's empowerment can actually progress in the presence of genuine challenges to overcome. With a rise in the international interest to help the post-soviet societies develop and reform, there is an increased need to have specific benchmarks and tools to measure the development process and more analytical capacity to do so. What is required is to encourage deeper perspectives, and new tools of analysis to evaluate corresponding to the changing circumstances. New interests should commit to a deeper analysis of actors and their actions. The changes require a better, more specialized examination of the aspirations and apprehensions of the participants in the evolution of the civil society. Taking a close look and applying the analytical tools can be valuable to determine to what extent external support and local initiatives are working efficiently and how they can be sustained and strengthened.

We must approach this issue with a strategic vision, a comprehensive approach, penetrating questions and frank discussions followed by con-

³ Zoë Oxaal with Sally Baden, *Gender and empowerment: definitions, approaches and implications for policy*, BRIDGE (development–gender) Report No 40, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, October 1997.

⁴ Anju Malhotra, *Measuring Women's Empowerment as a Variable in International Development*, in: Deepa Narayan, ed., *Measuring Empowerment: cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, Washington, The World Bank Group, 2005.

crete recommendations. The study enables the reader to take stock of factors that are detrimental to any aspirations and initiatives of empowerment in the context of Tajikistan as a case study.

Observers note that although the number of civic organizations is impressive, “there is a large gap between the statistical presence of NGOs and the substantive reality of their operations” giving the impression of a civil society “that claims to be larger and more effective than it really is”⁵. Do the NGOs actually pursue a genuine empowerment agenda? Or is it that some donors promote women NGOs as a cost effective formula high in visibility but with a low voice as a low profile risk, with a high profile display affect. Researchers on the post-Socialist societies like S.L. Henderson are cognizant of the use of civic groups as good photo opportunities emphasize that in effect civic groups should be the “nesting grounds for social capital, the habits of cooperation, solidarity, and public spiritedness that act as a glue against the danger of the constant pursuit of naked self-interest”⁶.

The 1990s brought political freedom for the Tajik youth but also brought economic uncertainties. Nobody is sure if those young men and women are going to have improved working conditions and living standards in the coming years. There is a need to cast a probing look at the sociological and statistical information to determine what changes are occurring in the society and what it has brought to Tajikistan’s youth. The changes may have brought positive elements to some but for most they have affected their lives negatively. At least this is how the changes are popularly perceived. A peek into the popular consciousness will hint towards many complications and contradictions. Most notably there is rising unemployment and declining wages aggravated by inflation and non-payment of salaries for several months in a row. All this is altering the people’s consumption patterns with deterioration in the quality of their food intake, and decline in recreation opportunities.

Because of widespread poverty and high unemployment and the central government’s lack of control of some areas and national borders, Tajikistan is vulnerable to domestic instability and external turmoil spreading from neighboring Afghanistan⁷.

⁵ Sarah Henderson, *Building Democracy in Contemporary Russia – Western Support for Grassroots Organizations*, n.y, Cornell University, 2003, pp 28-31.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p.2.

⁷ Library of Congress–Federal Research Division Country Profile: Tajikistan, Oct. 2004. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Tajikistan.pdf>, visited 06.06.2005.

Of those unemployed 68% comes from Tajikistan's young population. This promotes a feeling of withdrawal and detachment to the extent that only 4% of the total youth are associated with the youth organizations of the country⁸. The existing situation in the labour field demands the undertaking of efforts to improve the quality of active labour market policies, to broaden access to these programmes on the part of non-employed and unemployed citizens through enhancing their motivation and improving the system of occupational guidance, training and retraining; to form a more flexible labour market, prevent mass lay-offs; to create new jobs in prospective sectors and branches; to develop the sector of small and medium-size enterprises, as well as self-employment and gainful activities of the population⁹.

This study will facilitate those scholars who are interested to cast a sociological view on some of the crucial ongoing developments in the social and economic spheres of the society and how they will affect the shape of things to come.

The demographic situation in Tajikistan has a tendency towards aggravation as there is a high likelihood of speedy growth in the country's future population. Prospectively, this will have negative consequences for all aspects of life especially in the social and economic spheres.

According to the statistics and forecasts by the National Statistics Agency, in the period between 1998 and 2016, a tendency of growth in population particularly in the 0-39 years age group is envisaged¹⁰.

Forecasts suggest that a notable rise in the birth rate will continue up to 2016. Even a decline in living standards owing to a deepening of the socio-economic crisis would fail to influence population growth. In the period between 1998 and 2005, a 69.8% rise is expected in the age group of those 15-29 years old that would potentially contribute to a rise in the birth rate during 1998-2016.

Such a demographic situation will lead to an unfavourable tendency for Tajikistan's young generation. A far greater demand on what the country's socio-economic utilities and education and health services could provide, may lead the youth to an undesired social cataclysm.

⁸ Nedelya Molodyozh Tajikistana, TV Tajikistan, 23.05.2005.

⁹ Bilateral Programme of co-operation between the Republic of Tajikistan and the International Labour Organization for 2002-2004.

¹⁰ For detailed facts and figures see a comprehensive study by Tajikistan's Deputy Labour Minister: S.B. Ashurov, Zanyatost Molodyozhe v Tazhikistane, Ministerstvo Truda, Dushanbe, 2005.

By 2006, Tajikistan's population will rise to 7 million, whereas by 2015 the number of those studying in schools will rise by 40 percent as compared to 2005¹¹.

Between 1992 and 2002, Tajikistan's population increased from 5.5m to 6.25m by almost 14 per cent. The rural population increased from 3,807,000 to 4,597,000. Meanwhile, during the 1992-2002, GDP decreased by 64 per cent, from about 1.8bn dollars to about 692m dollars. Per capita GDP decreased almost three times, approximately from 325 to 112 dollars¹².

An illustrative chart showing the population (both recorded and forecasted) of Tajikistan in the years 1975-2025 by age group may be found at Earth Trends, Tajikistan Country Profile website¹³.

The change in age groups composition will impact the labour potential of the country. The ongoing economic crisis would hardly allow to utilize, educate, train and absorb the continuous addition to the already swelling numbers of able-bodied workers. The economy is not in a position to generate the finances required to allow any activity to engage the youth in a regular working capacity. The evolving socio-demographic situation will create unfavourable conditions for the youth's intellectual and physical development in the coming years. Consequently, one may expect acute problems in the spheres of education, professional development of working cadres, productive employment, health and social services, the married and family life of the youth and the society's stability in general. Unemployed youth may end up filling the ranks of criminal groups pretending to assume the role of social and political arbitrators. The migration process poses another threat to the country's social stability. The weak economy does not allow effective solution of many problems related to labour migration especially if circumstances compel a reverse flow of the immigrants from Russia and other CIS countries.

Key features of youth employment situation in Tajikistan

Recent studies conducted by Tajikistan's Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare refer to some notable features of the youth employment situation

¹¹ Tajik Television first channel, Dushanbe, 23 May 2005, <http://www.tvt.tj/?c=2&id=2&a=272>, visited on 18.08.2005.

¹² Tajik Television first channel, Dushanbe, in Tajik, 20 Feb 2002.

¹³ <http://www.earthtrends.org>.

in the country¹⁴. The following sections will mention prominent points from those and other studies from Tajikistan's official, non-governmental as well as international sources. Interestingly these diverse and unrelated sources point to serious issues relating to future labour, employment and development issues.

Pre-dominantly rural disproportion

Among the youth of the age group between 15 and 29 years the urban population comprised 26.6% or 444,800 persons while the rural population was 73.4% or 1227,300 reflecting the composition of the country's general population trends.

The disproportion between the rural and urban population will aggravate further with a rise in population in the coming years. Such a trend will bring more pressure to the ever increasing number of able bodied rural individuals seeking job opportunities that will remain limited. Research studies suggest that such socio-economic conditions may influence the psychological side of the people's lives as conditions may be affected among relatives and between neighbours with a more telling effect on women in terms of tensions and aggressiveness. While many men seek refuge in drinking, women are left to assume increased responsibilities for the survival of their families¹⁵. A weakening of the village communities will only bring further deterioration among the residents. In the rural population one can find only a handful of people who describe their emotional condition in positive terms i.e. optimistic, business like, and confident in a better tomorrow. A greater number of people describe their emotional condition in negative terms whereas a lesser number in hopeful or optimistic terms. A growing number of people feel unconfident about the conditions in the near future, some of them expressing concern, unease and uneasiness. This reflects the fact many remain unable to cope with or have difficulty adapting to the changing conditions in the form of pessimism, apathy, distress and hopelessness. There are a few who encounter the circumstances with a feeling of stress, irritation and or aggression. If the psycho-emotional conditions of the population were surveyed, the findings

¹⁴ Subhon Ashurov, *Voprosi Molodyozhnoi Ploitiki v Respublike Tazhikistan*, Dushanbe, 2005.

¹⁵ See U. M. Plusnin, *Pomory: Sovremennoye Sostoyaniye Selskikh Obshin Poberezhiya Belovo Morya*, Novosibirsk, 1997. Accessed via <http://www.sati.archaeology.nsc.ru/Home/pub/index.html?id=968> on 24 August 2005.

may suggest that practically the whole population encounters varying degrees of chronic stress.

The negative tendencies observed in the villages may relate to one of these categories: (1) social psychological sphere; (2) individual psychological sphere relating to people's emotional reaction to the present living conditions as reflected by their everyday behaviour; (3) legal sphere concerning a rise in crimes such as theft, hooliganism, lack of law enforcement capability; and (4) socio-economic sphere relating to joblessness and low living conditions on the one hand and procrastination on the other.

Problems faced by rural youth

The rural youth face a lack of opportunities in the following crucial spheres of their lives: to find a suitable job, spend leisure time, pursue an appropriate profession, attaining personal fulfilment, find suitable housing, cultural and intellectual attainment. Moreover, the youth also feel a sense of abandonment and neglect¹⁶.

Age group	1999: proportion in labour force			2003: proportion in labour force		
	Cities	Villages	Total	Cities	Villages	Total
16-19	26.9	42.6	38.9	18.2	43.8	37.1
20-24	45.3	58.9	55.8	35.2	57.8	52.5
25-29	53.1	70.0	66.4	47.1	64.6	60.1
30-39	62.4	72.4	70.1	58.5	73.7	68.9
40-49	70.0	73.5	72.4	63.4	76.2	72.0
50-54	62.9	64.8	64.3	62.0	61.8	61.9
55-59	58.1	51.7	53.0	45.3	60.0	55.7
60+	22.0	20.8	21.1	14.8	23.2	20.9
Total	49.6	58.3	56.2	43.9	58.7	54.6

Table 1-1. Rural-Urban Proportion in Tajikistan's Labour Force¹⁷

¹⁶ *Ibidem*. The above is an excellent study on the contemporary conditions of rural communities in the post Soviet context.

¹⁷ Data Interpreted from World Bank's Tajikistan Living Standards Survey, 1999 & 2003.

	District or oblast location	No. of youth aged 18-29	Unemployed	Percentage
1	Faizabad	9083	5073	55.6%
2	Tursunzade	37,956	15,414	40.6%
3	Shahrenaw	15,898	9,925	62.4%
4	Varzob	6780	5002	73.8%
5	Aini	12,428	6,378	51.3%
6	Darband	38,000	35,386	93%
7	Kumsangir	22,150	18,435	83.2%
8	Soghd province	428,945	39,518	9.2%
9	Badakhshan province	33,720	15,580	46.2%

Table 1-2. Unemployed Youth in Selected Tajik Locations¹⁸

The above statistics reflect the situation in only a few selected locations as recorded on 1st January 1998, the number of unemployed youth stood at 153,334 persons. Under the conditions of joblessness, an absence of any prospective living, inadequate education, lack of information can lead to a host of stressful conditions. In connection with the difficult process of socialization, this makes the young people vulnerable to influence of narcotics, HIV-infection and pushes them towards crime and other forms of behavioural anomalies¹⁹. Those who fail to get a job find that their relationship undergoes a change with their parents, friends, acquaintances and especially among spouses and between loved ones. At a time without work, one is in need of moral and psychological support from those near and dear even without any material backing. The rising unemployment among youth may lead to many evils and social pathologies. It can potentially contribute to a rise in the death rate, suicide incidents, murders, convictions, psychological ailments and sick male and female patients. In the coming years, one may expect a rise in the unemployment figures among those without professional education, among graduates of the general education system as well as those with professional education but with no jobs to fill.

¹⁸ Source: Subhon Ashurov, Voprosi Molodyozhnoi Ploitiki v respublike Tazhikistan, Dushanbe, 1998, p.164.

¹⁹ Subhon Ashurov, O Formirovaninyy Mekhanizmov Socialnoy e Ekonomicheskoi Poderzhki Molodyozhi Tazhikistana, Javonon va Jahoni Andesha, Kur-gonteppe, Dushanbe, 2003, 75.

Age group	1990		2000	
	Women	Men per 1000 women	Women	Men per 1000 women
5-9	344,9	1025	433,2	1035
10-14	290,2	1023	421,9	1022
15-19	262,5	1002	331,7	1019
20-24	236,4	962	269,5	1007
25-29	221,7	991	233,5	976

Table 1-3. Male-Female Proportion of Tajikistan's Population ('000)²⁰

Tajikistan's labour resources have risen to 13.6% (up to 423,700 persons) while the population's participation in the labour resources has risen from 51.0% in 1999 to 53.5% which is evidence of the labour force getting younger.

There still exists the problem of hidden unemployment among youth owing to a low number of them approaching the placement bureaus to find jobs. According to the Poverty Survey, in 2003, about 75,000 people approached the placement bureaus to find jobs as against 42,000 in 1999.

Among those applying, the youth aged between 15-29 years were 40% in 2003 as against 51% in 1999.

Female population disadvantaged

Among the unemployed, women constitute 54% as against 53% in 1999 as the number of women compelled to find a job continues to rise.

Age group	1999: proportion in labour force			2003: proportion in labour force		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
16-19	39.8	38.1	38.9	38.6	35.6	37.1
20-24	66.4	46.7	55.8	59.3	45.9	52.5
25-29	84.0	48.0	66.4	73.4	47.2	60.1
30-39	88.1	54.0	70.1	79.7	58.3	68.9
40-49	88.6	58.2	72.4	82.9	61.3	72.0
50-54	86.3	40.3	64.3	79.7	48.2	61.9
55-59	69.7	24.7	53.0	79.3	31.3	55.7
60+	30.4	14.5	21.1	32.5	9.6	20.9
Total	69.1	43.9	56.2	64.2	45.2	54.6

Table 1-4. Gender Proportions in the Labour Force²¹

²⁰ Source: Tajikistan National Statistics Committee.

More Self-Engaged than Hired by Others

According to the Poverty Survey of 1999 and 2003, the entire rise in the number of economically active people is not because they have been employed by others. The number of the people working on personal or family-owned farms rose from 676,500 to 790,700. The total number of people hired for work was 17,500 as per figures for 2003.

A Minute Share of Enterprises in Job Provision

Though the entrepreneurial sector development can play a significant role in employment generation, the entire share of those engaged in enterprises was 2.2% as compared to 1.8% in 1999.

Sector-wise Breakdown of Those Employed

Charts illustrating this problem are available in a publication by S. B. Ashurov: Zanyatost Molodyozhe v Tadzhikistane, Ministerstvo Truda, Dushanbe 2005

Conclusion

Some publications coming out of the non-governmental sector convey a feel positive in terms of the number of NGOs established in Central Asian countries and contributions to uplift the women's status in those countries. All this is desirable and merits much encouragement. In terms of NGOs established admirable achievement has been made. Rather than pausing at that phase this paper invites attention to the present and ponder about prospective trends that can offset such contributions unfavourably if not adversely. Still, there is a need to navigate through the complexities of transition and determine how the emerging trends will impact the target population of the area under study in the short and long term perspective. The sections of the economy are growing disproportionately and are insufficient to generate enough jobs on their own. A steady rise in the labour force with an uneven and unsteady rise in job opportunities is bringing with it social pressures and economic hardships. Many young men are leaving their villages in such big numbers that it will alter the demographic and social balance in the long run. No doubt organizations and individuals

²¹ Data Interpreted from World Bank's Tajikistan Living Standards Survey, 1999 & 2003.

involved in fostering civic developments face competing demands and pressures on their work. They constantly need to make difficult decisions, weigh trade-offs, and define and pursue their interests.

This paper draws attention to other noteworthy issues that include:

- A burgeoning bulge in the youth population may prove burdensome if left unattended.
- Population rise will add pressure on services.
- Rise in labour force, no rise in jobs.
- Disproportion and disparity in rural areas.
- Public sector declining, enterprises share very little and not capable of generating enough jobs.
- More women staying home than previously.
- Development aspirations must address demographic realities.

The paper draws the attention of those who take an academic and professional interest in contributing towards the development of Central Asian societies and recommends timely action on evolving tendencies so as to safeguard vital gender empowerment; youth's contribution to the civil society; representation, ownership, decision making power, voice and weight of young men and women in the present and coming years.

THE MIGRATION OF RURAL POPULATIONS TO CITIES¹

AIGUL ABZHALIEVA

The present paper describes the problems of migration of rural youth to cities on the basis of results of sociological research, and offers ways to regulate this process.

An integral element of urbanization observed practically in every country all over the world is the moving of a significant mass of rural population to cities and a decrease in the numbers of rural population. Only at first sight does the migration represent a relatively simple process taking place on the surface of social life. Actually, it is quite an inconsistent phenomenon that influences all the parties of social life. And, if in the past, in studying rural migration, paramount value was given to providing urban needs with regard to labor force and only the economic aspect of migration was taken into account with respect only to the city, currently there is a need to estimate the effects of rural migration to cities from the point of view of prospects of rural development in connection with a reduction of manpower reserves in the countryside resulting even in their deficiency in agriculture.

Even without pondering too deeply, it is obvious what caused the sometimes irrevocable migration of rural population, and especially that of the young generation. The strongest economic crisis has contributed to the migration process, which has had a particularly profound effect on agriculture. The disorder of collective farms and state farms and the economical weakness of farmers has resulted in an unclaimed labor force and extremely high unemployment. Here, it is necessary to consider the fact that agriculture by its specificity provides only seasonal employment.

From the dynamics of internal migration it is possible to judge the activity of local authorities, changes of productive forces, and the appeal level of any region in the opinion of the population. At all times the most

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attractive migration center for the country people is the city located closest to their villages, to which they are connected with administrative, economic, cultural, educational, trading and other relations. The big cities (regional centers), and especially the capital, are the most appealing; they have a significant zone of influence where migrants from all areas of the country are flocked together. However, the prevailing number of migrants is made up of the inhabitants of the area in which this city is located.

As far as the migration of population is concerned there are peculiar regional features, which are caused by specific conditions: economic, social and national. Regional features are observed in various areas of Kazakhstan. Due to the migration of the agricultural population, in some areas of the republic an increase in population is noted; an example of this being the Pavlodar, East Kazakhstan and West-Kazakhstan areas.

The city of Almaty, as a former capital city and the single largest city in Kazakhstan, has always been a centre of gravity for peasants. And, in spite of the fact that the city has lost the status of the capital city, industrial enterprises, the most prestigious educational institutions, the largest and best concert halls, libraries and other cultural establishments are concentrated in it. In only the previous 4 years about 210 thousand citizens at the economically of an economically active age have moved to this city. This is almost 48 thousand people more than those who have left the former capital for other cities and areas of the republic. As a result, Almaty has the highest positive balance of internal migration in the country. It is remarkable that due to this parameter Almaty is isolated in the (+14275): a similar positive balance occurs in the Akmolinskaya oblast (including the migration streams of Astana) occupying second place with the increase of 19.4 thousand people and the Mangystau oblast with a little more than 5 thousand people. The three of the leaders are quite natural. Mangyshlak, because of its industrial specificity (the prevalence of oil and gas production) and territorial increase (raising factors), has the highest wages in the republic, and relatively low cost of living. The factor of prestige of living and working in the new capital plays in favor of Astana. However, it is believed that this factor has crucial importance only for young and ambitious people, of whom only an insignificant part has already got material opportunities for the realization of their ambitions. A significant part of those people at the economically active age who have arrived in Astana are government officials from Almaty.

Below there are presented the other four oblasts that have noted the greatest losses as a result of the departure of the population at the economically active age: the East Kazakhstan oblast (negative interregional

balance – 13692 people), the Kostanai oblast (-12496 people), the Karagandinskaya oblast (-9059) and the Kyzylordinskaya oblast (-5128 people). The deterioration of ecological conditions and an increase of the risk of susceptibility to genetic mutations has forced people to leave the zones of ecological disaster. Therefore, migration to cities is frequently caused in Kazakhstan by the ecological accidents which have occurred in the Aral basin, Semey and East Kazakhstan, where the concentration of radioactivity is 20 times higher than at Chernobyl.

Migration from villages to big cities does not have a stage-by-stage character in Kazakhstan, and is carried out directly to capitals or regional centers. The migration to small and medium-sized cities seldom takes place because they do not have enough spheres of working hands application, cultural and community institutions, and moreover, they almost do not differ from villages in terms of their way of life.

The intensity of rural migration depends on some objective conditions: on the presence of free workplaces, as well as on distinctions of living conditions, work, trade and health services, etc. But these conditions have an effect on the migratory behavior of the rural population, especially on the youth, through the system of their predispositions correlated with a specific life situation and opportunities for educational, industrial and non-productive activity.

Rural migration to cities is a complex social and economic phenomenon and develops from a set of individual migration acts, in which the conscious behavior and definite purposes of a countryman is shown. These purposes, the comprehension of the migration situation, provide motives for migration, that is the realized need for any activity.

Rural inhabitants perceive essential distinctions between the city and an aul when they visit the city. According to our research data on the problems of rural migration and the social adaptation of the rural population to a city way of life it was found that the countrymen from nearby rural areas make especially frequent occurrence in the cities. These people form 54.8% in accordance to our interrogation. Others get information about urban living conditions from the accounts of their relatives and friends (50.1%), from the mass-media (10.2%), and from advertisements about vacancies (4.2%). Thus a present-day migrant has the information in most cases from his own impressions and stories of his relatives, friends, or fellow countrymen who have moved to the city earlier and have some experience of living in a city.

It is extremely rare that a family or a single migrant does not have relatives or friends in the city. According to our research such people form only

6.7% of those surveyed while 93.3% belong to the group with friends or family in the city.

The modern village can provide a young man with no more than 150 professions, mainly agricultural or within the service sector, of which the majority involve manual labor (shepherds, cattlemen, milkmaids, etc.). The choice of intellectual work is very limited: an agricultural mechanical engineer, agriculturist, zootechnician, veterinary surgeon, agricultural economist, bookkeeper, teacher, librarian, doctor, medical assistant, etc. Under the present conditions these professions do not offer great prospects for professional development and social advancement, and thus the professions of agriculturist or livestock specialist are not popular ones and are not prestigious. Besides, diploma holders in these specialities cannot find work in villages because of a decline in agriculture as a whole and its separate branches specifically. Experts with an economic, medical and liberal education almost do not return to the countryside at all. The city can offer a choice among thousands of professions including a lot that are prestigious and well paid.

The rural youth aged from 16 to 20 migrates to the city the most actively. The aspiration of countrymen to improve their education in urban institutions of higher and special education occupies the first place among the other motives given for migration. And as the ambition to enter higher education remains still high, there is a necessity for further education which peasants are not able to satisfy locally.

In order to learn in detail the motives for rural youth migration to cities we shall show them in the table below:

Migration motives	Share of migration, in %	Answer ranking
Opportunity for educational improvement	43.3	1
Opportunity to get a job	38.9	2
Unwillingness to work in agriculture	32.1	3
Opportunity to spend free time interestingly	23.6	4
Opportunity to organize one's private life	23.5	5
Opportunity to have good wages	18.8	6
Opportunity to live independently from their parents or relatives	17.9	7
Opportunity to live in comfortable accommodation	9.0	8
Interest in new places, people	3.7	9

Table 2-1. Structure of migration motives of the rural population to cities

With the development of scientific and technological progress the need for unqualified, poorly educated workers gradually decreases, but this does not occur as quickly as the decline in the desire of the youth to perform simple manual and unqualified work. At present, as it is widely known, there are many collapsing farms in Kazakhstan, hence field work in many villages or in cattle-breeding complexes is not paid. This is a reason why the majority of representatives of the rural population do not wish to work in agriculture. According to our sociological survey this motivation occupies the third place (32.1). The proportion of people wishing to find an interesting and naturally well-paid work in the city increases more and more. The rural inhabitants, disposed to leave the countryside, are pushed out not only by reasons connected with work, but also by the whole system of rural life and a standard of living characteristic of an aul.

An extremely small share of rural migrants (9%) have cited as a motive for migration an opportunity to find comfortable accommodation in the city. As is well known, city apartments provide certain possibilities. First of all, favorable conditions for intellectual work are created, as well as easy access to information of various sort. Secondly, household services facilitate life and raise the standard of living providing free time for leisure, as well as advance in wide use of scientific and technical achievements in life. This motive was cited chiefly by females.

The opportunity to spend free time interestingly and pleasantly became one of the frequently mentioned motives. It is necessary to note that 15% of the agricultural population of the republic does not have access to television broadcasts. Until now in a number of settlements in the remote oblasts, such as Aktyubinskaya, Kyzylordinskaya, West-Kazakhstan, there was no radio. Only an insignificant part of the agricultural population uses phones; there are few sport centres or libraries, and there are no theatres. The current economic situation does not allow to create a complex of necessary cultural and community conveniences as enjoyed in the cities. Therefore, the rural youth find more opportunities to spend their free time in an interesting way in the city.

Girls leave the village more actively and earlier than young men and this creates “the problem of a lack of brides” in villages, while in the city there is observed an overabundance of brides. Women are less satisfied with the difficult living conditions in the country. The work in the house and on personal part-time farm, i.e. care of cattle, lies practically with the woman, and that demands great physical and mental efforts. Because of these reasons the woman is more concerned about the difficulties of the rural life, feels lacks of social development of the village more sharply,