Second Annual Workshop

Locating Central Asia
within
Eurasia

**School of Global and International Studies
Indiana University**

August 29-31, 2018

Second Annual Workshop

Locating Central Asia within Eurasia

Department of Central Eurasian Studies (CEUS),
Indiana University (IU), Bloomington, USA
and
Central Asian Studies Institute (CASI),
American University of Central Asia (AUCA), Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

August 29-31, 2018

School of Global and International Studies (SGIS)
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana, USA

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Ambassador Lee Feinstein, founding Dean School of Global and International Studies and Professor of International Studies, IU
Svetlana Jacquesson, Head of MA Program in Central Asian Studies, Anthropology, Director of CASI, AUCA
Jamsheed Choksy, Chair and Distinguished Professor, CEUS Department, IU, Workshop Chair

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Marianne Kamp, Associate Professor, Central Asian Studies, CEUS Department, IU

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Asel Myrzabekova, Instructor and Graduate Student, Psychology, Social Sciences Division, AUCA

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Gardner Bovingdon, Associate Professor, Central Asian Studies, CEUS Department, IU
Gulnisa Nazarova, John D. Soper Senior Lecturer of Uyghur Language, CEUS Department, IU

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10:30-11:00	*Locating the Non-Aḥrārī Silsila of the Naqshbandi Sufi Tradition in Central Asia: The Case of Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr* Aziza Shanazarova, PhD Student, Central Asian Studies and Religious Studies, CEUS and Religious Studies Departments, IU
11:00-11:30	*The Bactrian Pantheon* Julian Kreidl, PhD Student, Iranian Studies, CEUS Department, IU
11:30-12:00	*Sociality of Everyday Knowledge: Mapping the Invisible* Elena Kim, Associate Professor, Development Studies, Social Sciences Division, AUCA

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1:30-2:00	*On a Sound Symbolic Stem Pattern Common in Kirghiz and Mongol* György Kara, Mongolian Studies, CEUS Department, IU
2:00-2:30	*Politics of Learning: Reflections on Locating "Tibet" through its Inter-Asian Connections* Stacey Van Vleet, Assistant Professor, Tibetan Studies, CEUS Department, IU
2:30-3:00	*Clannishness and Tribalism as Novel Forms of Sociality* Svetlana Jacquesson, Head of MA Program in Central Asian Studies, Anthropology, Director of CASI, AUCA

3:00-3:30	Coffee, tea and pastries, SGIS Room 3067

3:30-4:00	*Building National Form in Almaty* Gardner Bovingdon, Associate Professor, Central Asian Studies, CEUS Department, IU
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Abstracts

Forms of Sociality around Syrdarya River in Khujand, Tajikistan

Mohira Suyarkulova
Associate Professor, International Relations, Social Sciences Division, AUCA

Khujand is a river city and Syrdarya is partially an urban river. Although the river is often an 'absent presence' in the city, structuring its mental geography and delimiting the boundaries for further urban development, there are multiple ways in which the river encourages unique forms of public and covert sociality. The ever-shrinking municipal beach hosts a small community of (almost exclusively male) citizens who meet there daily at dawn, do physical exercise, swim, play chess and backgammon, and exchange news. Not far from the beach, later in the day, men meet in the shade under one of the city bridges, where a secret speakeasy is hidden from sight. At sundown one can observe a few lone fishers on the banks of the river, although many complain that their catch is diminishing by the year. Even further upstream, families picnic on the shores of the Tajik sea, men swimming in their underwear, women only going into the water fully clothed. Resorts located on 'seashore', which is an artificial reservoir created as a result of damming of the river for the Kayrakkum HPP, have a reputation as places where prostitutes flock during the summer season. Finally, the river is one of the choices of the province's and the city's many suicides, most of whom are women and adolescents. In this paper I want to explore the gendered politics of 'natural' spaces in and around Khujand city. How do the gendered norms of propriety determine who gets to go into the 'nature' and enjoy it?

More than Fun: Spending a Night in a Gay Bar in Bishkek

Georgy Mamedov
Graduate Student, Master of Arts in Central Asian Studies Program, Politics and International/Area Studies Division, AUCA

Gay bars play extremely important role in the lives of LGBT communities across the world. Social historian John D'Emilio names gay bars among primary "social spaces" instrumental for constructing and practicing "gay identity" (Abelove et al, 1993). LGBT activists and writers point out that gay bars are "not only spaces to have fun," but are "havens of freedom and relief" (Tóibín, 2016). Since the late 1990s there has been a vibrant gay night life in Bishkek, though clandestine to the general public. I personally discovered this scene after moving into town in 2011. I'm not a big fan of the night bar environment of loud music and smoky air, but in Bishkek I became a frequent gay bar goer. I reflected on this shift in tastes and realized that my primary motivation to spend time in the gay bar was not to have fun and enjoy regular bar services such as alcohol or loud music, but a very special and exclusive sociality it offered. I go to a gay bar to be gay among other gays, lesbians and transgender people. LGBT lives and communities in Kyrgyzstan have not attracted much of the academic attention, even less so did the gay bars. This paper will be an ethnographic exploration of the now only Bishkek gay bar. The purpose of this exploration is to identify the role of a gay bar in the lives of different LGBT communities and people in Bishkek. Is gay bar experience limited just to fun for a specific audience, or does it involve something else, politically or existentially? I plan to conduct this research using the following ethnographic methods: participant observation (both as a visitor and as a bartender) and semi-structured interviews.

Global Trends and Cultural Commitments: Arranged Marriages in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan

Marianne Kamp, Associate Professor, Central Asian Studies, CEUS Department, IU

This paper presents initial findings from a diachronic oral history research project among Dungans in Kyrgyzstan, and among well-educated urban Uzbeks in Uzbekistan. Respondents who were married in the late Soviet period, and their children who married in the 2000s discussed how their marriages came about, allowing us to offer some initial observations on the socio-economic trends that have driven some changes in approaches to family formation. Notably, market economics and the explosion of social media have intensified the whole idea of a marriage market, where both parents and their marriageable children see their choices expanded and openly discuss strategic decision-making, to a degree that far exceeds what was considered normal in the late Soviet period. Some of the findings may be class and culture-specific: the Dungan families were mostly rural, stressed their adherence to tradition, and emphasized parents' decision-making, to the degree that in earlier generations and in the present, the bridal couple may meet only once, or not at all, before their wedding. The urban Uzbeks made heavy investments of time, hospitality, and social networking before eventually arriving at decisions about family formation, but these involved more collaboration between parents and children than did the Dungan family decisions. Those are simply some initial findings based on a very small number of interviews. Part of this presentation will be devoted to explaining methodology and approaches to analysis of oral history interviews.

Tradition and Change in Dungan Family Structure. The Case of Dungans Living in Luxemburg Village in Kyrgyzstan

Cholpon Turdalieva, Professor, Anthropology, Social Sciences Division, AUCA

Dungans, Chinese Muslims, have lived in the territory of Kyrgyzstan since the 1870s. They were mostly settled in Chui Valley. According to the research done in May 2017 and June 2018 among Dungan families, we found that the family structure has been changed since the introduction of Dungans to state independence, modernization and neoliberal economy. Although, more than 60% of married informants are still practicing patrilocal residence, the proportion of newly married couples that follow the neolocal residence is increasing. We argue that some aspects of modernization, especially non-agricultural occupations and jobs, and comparatively later age at marriage contribute to a lower incidence of intergenerational co-residence, but at the same time, this cultural pattern to live with or nearby the grooms' parents immediately after marriage appears to have become stronger among village Dungans rather than city families.

Romantic Securityscapes of Youth in Kyrgyzstan: Day-to-Day Dating and Marriage Strategies

Asel Myrzabekova
Instructor and Graduate Student, Psychology, Social Sciences Division, AUCA

With the fall of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan gained independence and opened its doors to various ideas, and went through political/social/economic transformations and changes. A number of studies on these transformations of societies and states in the region of Central Asia have been published; however, the study of the changes in the family as an institution or dating practices in Kyrgyzstan remains a somewhat peripheral subject in the literature. The objective of the research project is to explore collective/shared imaginations of in/security related to dating and marriage practices among different youth groups, such as mono-ethnic and mixed couples which are in romantic relations/married in rural and urban areas in the south and north of Kyrgyzstan. The other objective of the research is to describe what kind of everyday practices and coping strategies do couples use to minimize perceived insecurities and threats to their couples' relationship, as well as focuses on actors/institutions that are identified by youths as shaping the different securityscapes they employ in their dating and marriage strategies in everyday life. The paper illustrates preliminary findings of mixed couples' experiences.

The Sino-Soviet Split and Uyghur Migration: Fleeing from China to Soviet Central Asia in the 1950s and 1960s

Gardner Bovingdon
Associate Professor, Central Asian Studies, CEUS Department, IU
and
Gulnisa Nazarova
John D. Soper Senior Lecturer of Uyghur Language, CEUS Department, IU

This talk concerns the Uyghurs who crossed the border and moved to Soviet Central Asia from the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in the 1950s and 1960s, as relations between China and the Soviet Union worsened and finally ruptured. It focuses on the process of the Uyghur migration, the reasons behind it, and the lives of Uyghurs in the Soviet Union. The talk is based on oral interviews conducted in the summers of 2016 and 2017 in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The interviews show that in addition to increasingly harsh Chinese policy towards the local peoples of Xinjiang, Soviet propaganda played a significant role in encouraging people to leave their homeland for the USSR, depicted in the propaganda as a land of paradise. Propaganda tools included books and textbooks, magazines and newspapers published in the Uyghur, Kazakh, and Russian languages published in Soviet Central Asia for use in Xinjiang, as well as Soviet films which romanticized the revolution and the happy life of the Soviet people. The paper looks at the collisions between expectations of migrants and Soviet realities, which turned out to be the quite different from what they had been led to believe. Interviewees shared personal stories of their suffering while crossing the Sino-Soviet border, and their personal accounts convey the horror that followed the migration to the Soviet Union. The interviews record the attitude towards and assessment of the events of the 1950s and 1960s by Uyghur migrants after the collapse of the Soviet Union and emergence of new nation-states. In new political, social, and economic conditions in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, Uyghur immigrants revise their evaluation of the migration, espousing more negative views of the role of Soviet propaganda, which depicted the Soviet Union as a paradise.

Contemporary Uzbekistan: Positive Changes and People's Hopes

Malik Hodjaev
John D. Soper Senior Lecturer of Uzbek Language, CEUS Department, IU

Uzbekistan has a potential to become a wealthy country and an important trade partner; it possesses mineral and agricultural resources and has maintained some industrial production. Despite this, more than twenty-six years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Uzbekistan's post-Soviet transformation remains complicated. Uzbekistan has been known as a highly authoritarian state since gaining its independence after the fall of the Soviet Union. The rule of president Islam Karimov, which lasted more than twenty-seven years, was well known for violations of human rights, corruption, and isolationist policies. After Karimov's death, three people had a chance to succeed the longtime leader: Prime Minister Shavkat Mirziyoyev, Finance Minister Rustam Azimov, and the SNB chief Rustam Inoyatov. Shavkat Mirziyoyev ended up taking power after Karimov's death in September 2016 and won a full term as president in December 2016. President Mirziyoyev took noticeable steps to liberalize the country's economy, switching to free currency exchange and allowing the media to be more open. He improved relations with neighboring Central Asian countries, Russia, China and the U.S. He started positive reforms in the education system. He released several people imprisoned on politically motivated charges. People began expressing hope after Mirziyoyev acknowledged Uzbekistan's existing problems in his speeches and called on the public to think critically. This has gradually enabled the people and the media in the country to discuss critically social and political topics. Although many economic and social issues remain unchanged and labor emigration is not decreasing, people feel more optimistic and hopeful that further positive changes will occur. In this paper I analyze the contemporary situation based on my research and observations during my visits to Uzbekistan in 2015 and 2018.

A Khwārazmian Genealogy from the 18th Century: The 'Treatise of the Nineteenth' and the Legacy of Ḥakīm Ata

Devin DeWeese
Professor, Central Asian Studies, CEUS Department, IU

This paper will explore traditions of hereditary and initiatic succession within a Central Asian family that sought to define itself in terms of ties to Ḥakīm Ata, a saint of Khwārazm best known as a disciple of the famous Turkic Sufi shaykh Aḥmad Yasavī (both figures most likely lived in the late 12th and early 13th centuries). It will note the range of hagiographical and folkloric traditions about Ḥakīm Ata, preserved in written sources and oral accounts recorded from the 15th century to the present, but will focus primarily on a previously unstudied Persian text that outlines the history of a lineage descending from the saint down to the 18th century. The work, entitled Risāla yi nuzdahuma (reflecting its intended disposition in 19 chapters), survives in a unique manuscript preserved in Tashkent, and in effect follows three stages in the history of a sacred family of Khwārazm: first, a natural genealogy from the Prophet's uncle ʿAbbās down to a disciple of Ḥakīm Ata; second, a lineage combining natural descent and initiatic Sufi transmission from this disciple down to the late 16th century; and third, a hereditary lineage, from the late 16th to the early 18th century, in which members sought out other sources of Sufi initiation and training. This third phase in particular suggests important conclusions about the organizational development of what appear as 'Sufi communities' in the early modern era, and reflects trends evident also in other poorly studied 'family histories' from the 18th century. The paper will address parallels with these other family histories, and especially with two works among them that also focus on the region of Khwārazm. More broadly, the paper will consider two key issues raised by the Risāla yi nuzdahuma and these other texts: the relationship of the two succession patterns, hereditary and initiatic, which are sometimes parallel but sometimes intersect, and the question of what it was that individuals following these succession patterns were succeeding to.

Locating the Non-Aḥrārī Silsila of the Naqshbandi Sufi Tradition in Central Asia: The Case of Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr

Aziza Shanazarova

PhD Student, Central Asian Studies and Religious Studies, CEUS Department, IU

The present paper offers a historical contextualization of Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr within the Central Asian Sufi tradition based on close examination of the primary sources that include Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad Sāmānī's Adhkār al-azkiyā, Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī's Bahr al-asrār, Dūst Muḥammad b. Navrūz al-Kīshī's Silsilat al-ṣiddiqīn, Ḥazīnī's Ḥujjat al-abrār, Muḥammad al-ʿĀlim Ṣiddīqī's Lamaḥāt min nafaḥāt al-quds, Ṭāhir Īshān's Silsila-yi Khwājagān-i Naqshbandiya and others. Not only are these sources significant in depicting the historical account of Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr, but they also play a key role in tracing the non-Aḥrārī lineage of the Naqshbandi Sufi tradition passing through Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr. The non-Aḥrārī line of the Naqshbandi silsila that Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr passes through his disciple Amīr ʿAlī survives and remains active until the middle of the 18th century in Khwarazm. The main purpose of this paper is to locate the non-Aḥrārī silsila of the Naqshbandi Sufi tradition in Central Asia and to reconstruct the historical figure of Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr, who plays a key role in the survival of this lineage in Central Asia. The examination of the primary sources in contextualizing Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr within the Central Asian Sufi tradition shows two facets in the portrayal of Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr's Sufi image. On the one hand, Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr is represented as being associated with the Naqshbandi circle in the Adhkār al-azkiyā, the Silsilat al-ṣiddiqīn and the Tadhkira yi Ṭāhir Īshān (in addition to Amīr ʿAlī's treatise on the Naqshbandi doctrine). On the other hand, the sources including the Ḥujjat al-abrār and the Lamaḥāt min nafaḥāt al-quds attach Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr to the Yasavi community. Among the above-mentioned sources, the Bahr al-asrār describes Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr in neutral manner without associating him with a certain Sufi community. All in all, we have two sets of sources attaching Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr to either Yasaviya or Naqshandiya, neither source of which references the other. Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr's life could be divided into four major parts: (1) his youth in Bukhara and association with Aghā-yi Buzurg until ca. 1523; (2) his movement to Samarqand due to the persecutions in Bukhara after the death of Aghā-yi Buzurg and his affiliation with the Naqshbandi shaykh Mavlānā ʿAlī Bāvardī until the middle of the 1540s; (3) his movement and settlement in Balkh after being expelled from Samarqand that results in his unsuccessful murder attempt and his attachment to the Yasavi shaykh Sayyid Manṣūr until ca. 1557; and (4) the later period in Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr's life from ca. 1557 until his death in 1572 during which he was occupied in training disciples (including female students) and completing the Maẓhar al-ʿajā'ib based in Balkh where he is buried.

The Bactrian Pantheon

Julian Kreidl
PhD Student, Iranian Studies, CEUS Department, IU

Bactria is the name of a historical religion in Central Asia, covering parts of what are today Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. As Bactrian is one of the lesser studied Eastern Iranian languages because most of its written remnants have been discovered fairly recently, the respective texts lie more or less idle as far as their religious analysis is concerned. In my paper about the Bactrian pantheon I shall cover the Bactrian sources from the first century CE up to the 8th century. With the help of Bactrian coins and inscriptions, I identify the gods and goddesses and compare them to what we know from other Iranian pre-Islamic beliefs. What was the role of the Bactrian deities in both royal and legal contexts? Which deities are mentioned at all and how often? Do they match the position of etymologically related gods and beings in Zoroastrianism? In this paper, we will see that the religious situation in Bactria is, as expected, diverse with strong Indian influences from Hinduism and Buddhism. However, contrary to the often uttered opinion of Bactria having an equally deep impact from Iran and India as well as Hellenic and Central Asian cultures, it is still clearly an Iranian society. This is true for both its pantheon and its language, although one of the ruling Bactrian dynasties, the Hephtalites, is of unknown origin. Furthermore, one must not forget that Bactria also had Iranian, but non-Bactrian influences, which makes it sometimes hard to tell whether some deity is Iranian, but non-Bactrian, or genuinely Bactrian. Due to the close relationship of Bactrian and other Middle Iranian languages, context and historical linguistics can sometimes help, but not always. This is connected to the question of what is to be considered "Bactrian". Should we count every deity as Bactrian as long as he or she is mentioned in a source written in Bactrian? In my paper, I try to give answers to all these questions and analyze the deities we come across on Bactrian coins, in documents and theophoric names.

Sociality of Everyday Knowledge: Mapping the Invisible

Elena Kim
Associate Professor, Development Studies, Social Sciences Division, AUCA

The proposed paper is an invitation to reflect on the concept of sociality from the perspective of Dorothy Smith's (2005) conceptual framework of Social Organization of Knowledge and a related method of social inquiry called Institutional Ethnography (IE). Smith's core claim is that the contemporary world is inherently social, i.e., any local experience must be understood as intrinsically linked to a set of larger institutional and discursive influences. This happens through social relations which connect, translocally, institutional actors located in various geographic and physical spaces and across institutional settings. As individuals are engaged in their everyday work within their institutions they bring to concert their activity, work and productivity with those of others though continuous interaction. These happens socially, i.e., through shared discourses, ideological apparatuses, common texts, similar institutional processes etc. As a result, their productivity and co-productivity serve the purposes and relevancies of the institutions.

The contribution of Smith's approach to a renewed perspective on sociality is in her argument about power that social relations unquestionably carry with them. For Smith, social relations are ruling relations in that they transmit institutional ideologies through work transactions where the goals of the institutions are being prioritized over other categories of needs. Individuals at various locations themselves reinforce, use and maintain these social relations of power through their everyday work activities as professionals, managers, administrators, etc. Ideological roots of their everyday work and the power of social relations are often invisible to people who are within them because they are taken for granted as the demands of the workplace. The sociality is nevertheless discoverable and institutional ethnographers explore them to map the institutional sources of power and explain experiences of social injustice and inequality. Thus, scholarship on sociality may draw on Smith's offered framework of how people stay connected via continuous interaction in order to explore how social problems are produced, conceptualized, addressed and with what effects for the people who become affected by these social problems. The proposed paper will demonstrate a specific application of IE with the use of ethnographic data from contemporary Kyrgyzstan. A sociality map will be developed to show the social and ruling relations within the institution of international development and its ultimate effects on local people.

On a Sound Symbolic Stem Pattern Common in Kirghiz and Mongol

György Kara
Professor, Mongolian Studies, CEUS Department, IU

Both Kirghiz and Mongol have numerous sound symbolic words with stems following the pattern (C)V(C)|CV. They form verbs with the suffix -y in Kirghiz and the suffix -yi in Mongol, and attributive nouns with the suffix –gAy in Kirghiz and -gAi or -gAr in Mongol, to mention only two of their derivations. Such words indicate having a certain shape, physical state, condition or quality. Some of the Kirghiz words in question are certainly of Mongol origin, as for instance, ïrǰay- 'to grin, to laugh', but many of them have no Mongol cognate. Nevertheless the pattern with this function is unknown in Old Turkic, and it may be due to Mongol influence in Kirghiz and other Kipchak and "Eastern" Turkic languages.

Politics of Learning: Reflections on Locating "Tibet" through its Inter-Asian Connections

Stacey Van Vleet
Assistant Professor, Tibetan Studies, CEUS Department, IU

During the period remembered today for the rise of colonial institutions along global sea routes, a vast inland network of Buddhist monasteries emerged as the Qing Empire (1644-1911) expanded across Inner Asia. With Tibetan as its lingua franca, this monastic network constituted a distinctive forum of Buddhist education and statecraft. People, practices, and texts moving within it were able to efficiently transcend territorial and ethnic boundaries. Through the forum of monastic institutions, the Manchu Qing rulers became drawn into shared participation in Buddhist community with Tibetans and Mongolians. This network operated not only in local and regional hubs, but was also active at the imperial center. Despite its importance, however, the dimensions of this inter-Asian Buddhist social formation have long remained invisible to national and global histories. Its dynamics are under-theorized across academic fields. How should we understand the relationship between "Tibet" and the larger Inner Asian Buddhist world? How might we track the durability and limits of inter-Asian networks over the longue durée, and particularly across the rise and fall of empires? Building upon recent scholarship on inter-Asian connections by Enseng Ho and others, I assert in this talk that the social shape of "Tibet" within Eurasia needs to be understood from the outside in, and only becomes visible when viewed from a regional scale. From this vantage, I argue for the significance of monasteries as transregional hubs, shared by overlapping Inner Asian societies and encouraging mobility, interaction, and integration. Second, and with reference to my research on monastic medical faculties, I discuss how monastic networks served as sites for negotiating shared Buddhist frameworks for everyday knowledge, social values, and technologies of governance between local, regional, and imperial levels. By tracing this politics of learning – or the process of mutual constitution of knowledge, values, and community – from the late imperial to the modern period, this talk outlines an approach for understanding how earlier scholarly distinctions within Inner Asian Buddhist networks became constitutive of the fragmented modern political subjectivities across Tibet and Inner Asia.

Clannishness and Tribalism as Novel Forms of Sociality

Svetlana Jacquesson
Head of MA Program in Central Asian Studies, Anthropology, Director of CASI, AUCA

Clans and tribes are concepts that have been abundantly used in writing or reading the history of the Kyrgyz, as of so many other ethnicities, in Central Asia and beyond. They were also favorite with scholars in their attempts to explain the social and political dynamics of post-Soviet Central Asia. The so-called "clan debate" that shook the field of Central Asian studies in the early 2000s opposed those who could "see" clans and tribes – quite often as "traditional" institutions that have survived the Soviet rule – to those who could not "see" them, and who were against the "orientalization" of the region. In this presentation, I take up the discussion from where it was left in the early 2000s. I claim that scholars' disenchantment with clans and tribes was largely due to the rigid, and often Eurocentric, conceptualizations of clans and tribes as groups, institutions, or networks. Instead of torturing myself and my audience with what clans and tribes were or are, I treat clannishness and tribalism as novel forms of sociality shaped by the challenges of neo-liberal nation building (nationalism) and globalization. I do so by focusing on the ways in which clannishness and tribalism are enacted in the so-called clan assemblies (uruu kurultayï) that have been regularly held in Kyrgyzstan since 2012, and in the online representations of clans and tribes that have been crafted since independence. I scrutinize more precisely how today's Kyrgyz reflect upon clans and tribes as relational matrices, how they act upon them, and how they imbue clannishness and tribalism with affects and meanings. Based on these analyses, I argue that clannishness and tribalism as practiced today foreground Kyrgyz' capacities to adjust existing forms of sociality to imagined ones rather than Kyrgyz' attachment to (the revival and preservation of) ancestral traditions.

Building National Form in Almaty

Gardner Bovingdon
Associate Professor, Central Asian Studies, CEUS Department, IU

Beginning in the 1920s Soviet leaders in Moscow attempted to realize socialism in the multinational space of the Soviet Union under the slogan "National in form, socialist in content." This phrase became the watchword for political arrangements, Party recruitment, literary and artistic production, and also architecture. This paper will present and analyze a very productive phase in the construction of socialist Almaty from the mid-1930s to the mid-1950s. During that period, officials, architects, and scholars attempted simultaneously to "discover" and to "create" a distinctively Kazakh architecture, in order to endow the new capital of the Kazakh SSR with a full panoply of suitable public buildings. Several features of the existing city made this exceptionally challenging: the legacy of Russian imperialism and Russian buildings in what had been the colonial fortress town of Verny; the fact that Kazakhs had been officially identified as pastoralists whose architecture had mostly been portable; and the undeniable sharp differences of opinion among Soviet architects about properly "socialist" style. The paper will elucidate central debates and analyze key buildings that emerged during the two significant decades.

Sociality through Xenophobic Discourse: Networking among/around Kyrgyz MPs

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Normative discourses originate and continue with groups of people who have specific ideas about standards of appropriate behavior and sufficient resources to promote these ideas. A parliament is usually a place for deliberations on these ideas and is also a place where resourceful people are often willing for various reasons to promote these ideas. This proposal suggests to look at the way how MPs relate to each other, as well as to other important political/civic groups promoting ideas about what is "ours" and what is "theirs". Nationalistic and xenophobic discussions are not rare in parliaments, including the Kyrgyz parliament, and MPs bond not only with each other, but also with constituency groups in society. In this paper I would be interested to look at sociality or networks of in/out of parliament groups who co-produce the norm of "otherness" in their public deliberations. The study would be based on the data for the period of 2005-2017 which would be based on media texts where nationalism rhetoric would be identified through search function of specifically identified words. Then these texts with the use of content analysis software texts would be coded in regard to presence of actors (MPs, and others), discursive patterns, etc. Subsequently, network analysis software Gephi would be used to analyze relationships among actors co-producing nationalist/xenophobic discourse. Relations among actors would be assessed based primarily on co-occurrence of speech patterns, as well as on characteristics of actors. Analysis would be done based on review of additional sources (media texts) specifically related to actors who would be identified as belonging to hubs of discourse producing networks. Additionally interviews would be done with experts/participants of these processes with the aim 1) to identify further actors which were not identified in media texts and 2) to review nuances of bonding and birding capital (using R. Putnam) at play in xenophobic norm production. This analysis would help to study bonding relations around MPs, but it would also help to improve the media texts database by adding new actors in search and further analysis.

Persian Authors; Turkic Sponsors

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By the end of the fifteenth century, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Kāshifī, the prolific Khorasani theologian, preacher, judge and Sufi shaykh, completed his Anvār-i suhaylī, a Persian reworking of the famous Kalīla wa-dimna animal fables. In this work, Kāshifī sought to write an oeuvre that would correct the shortcomings of earlier Persian versions also by cleaning out foreign elements from the text. Kāshifī's significant literary corpus – "he was without peer in belles-lettres," declared the great historian Khwāndamīr (d. 1534) – served as a model for many Persian writers. But interestingly, for the present paper's purpose, Kāshifī's patron, the person who sponsored Kāshifī's remarkable Persian-language intellectual and ideological undertakings, was Niẓām al-Dīn Amīr Aḥmad al-Suhaylī, a Turkic military commander. Indeed, Persian reliance (or, dependence?) on Turkic patronage was a hallmark of Persian literature. The Shāh-nāma (Book of Kings), the celebrated "national" epic of Iran, written – in part – by the graces of Turkic (Ghaznavid) patrons, is an obvious example; but one could mention other Persian literary pillars such as Niẓāmī (d. 1209) and Rūmī (d. 1273), both enjoying the support of the Mangūjak dynasty in Anatolia; Persian literary output during its heyday was supported chiefly by Mongol and Timurid (that is, Turkic) patrons, and a similar trend continued well into the nineteenth century in Hindustan and elsewhere. In Central Asia, for example, circles of poets, writing predominantly in Persian, convened routinely under the patronage of Turkic khans (tales of ʿUmar Khan's cultural repute in Khoqand may be the most obvious examples for this workshop's participants). On the one hand, one could argue that the Turkicness of said sponsors was immaterial. After all, political rule always involved some degree of patronage, cultural and other. One could also contend, correctly, that our inquiry into such types of historical Turkic-Persian influences should be divorced from modern national – and nationalist – bias. At the same time, "identity politics" is not a new practice (even if the term is used now more than ever) and collective and individual identifications were clearly articulated also by some of this paper's protagonists. It is also worthwhile to question why Persian was sustained for so long; why some works that may have been perceived as anti-Turkic still received ample Turkic sponsorship, and whether we can draw some conclusions on Turkic patronage of Persian language and literature, compared with, for example, Turkic patronage of other endeavors.

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