THE FORMATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF PAMIRI ETHNIC IDENTITY IN TAJIKISTAN

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THE FORMATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF PAMIRI ETHNIC IDENTITY IN TAJIKISTAN

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACTS

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The aim of this study is to examine the formation and consolidation of the Pamiri people in Tajikistan. The research focuses on two topics. The first is to compare the primordialist and constructionist schools over the question of the features individuating ethnic groups. The formation of Pamiri ethnic identity during the Soviet rule was selected as a case study of this thesis. The second topic of this study is to examine the formation of Pamiri ethnic identity and the factors that contributed for its consolidation during the Soviet period. While the first topic is gathered around contemporary issues about ethnicity, the second one is based on the Soviet period with a focus on the policies about the nationality question.

Keywords: Pamir, Tajikistan, Ethnic Identity, Regionalism, Soviet Nationality Policy

ÖZ

Bu çalışmanın araştırma konusu Sovyet döneminde Pamir etnik kimliğinin oluşumu ve güçlenmesi süreçlerinin bölgesel dinamikler temelinde incelenmesidir. Tezin iki ana teması bulunmaktadır. İlki *ilkselci* ve *inşacı* yaklaşımları etnik grupların birbirlerinden ayrışması sürecinde karsılaştırmalı olarak değerlendirmektir. İkinci ana konu, Sovyet döneminde Pamir etnik kimliğinin oluşumunu ve güçlenmesini etkileyen öğeleri tarihsel süreç içinde tartışmak ve analiz etmektir. İlk konu *etnisite* ile bağlantılı güncel temalar etrafında odaklanırken, ikinci konu Sovyet dönemini ve bu dönemdeki *Milliyetler* politikalarının tartışmasını kapsamaktadır. Bu çerçevede, Sovyet döneminde Pamir kimliğinin diğer etnik kimliklerden ve genel olarak Tacik kimliğinden ayrışması sureciğinin Sovyetler sonrası dönemde giderek güçlenen Pamir kimliğine etkileri araştırılmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Pamir, Tacikistan, Etnik Kimlik, Bölgeselcilik, Sovyet Milliyetler Politikası

To My Dear Parents

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

With the breakdown of the Soviet Union various issues about ethnicity became a major area of interest both in Europe and in the Post-Soviet geography. Ethnic struggles are an important source of conflict and without a careful study of nationalistic uprisings (Georgia, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan) and inter-state conflicts (Azerbaijan and Armenia) within and between Post-Soviet states the dynamics of nation-and-state formation in the area could not be understood fully. Besides, during the Soviet times due to political reasons some ethnic groups were not classified in official data. Thus, these ethnic groups are not known to the western world.

The aim of this study is to examine the formation and consolidation of Pamiri ethnic identity in Tajikistan. Although the case that I deal with is quite far from nationalism, it has some intersections with nationalism studies. My research focuses on two topics. The first is to compare the primordialist and constructionist schools over the question of the features individuating ethnic groups. The formation of Pamiri ethnic identity during the Soviet rule was selected as a case study of this thesis. In this context the primordialist school, represented by Anthony Smith and the Soviet anthropologist Yulian Broomley compared with a constructionist Fredrik Barth. What are the reasons that lead to ethnic distinctions? Do these ethnic dichotomies depend on objective features or are they socially constructed and reconstructed? What are the processes by which the Pamiri ethnic identity was/is created and strengthened? To what extent Pamiri ethnic identity is the result of internal and external processes? What are the processes and the factors that motivate the Pamiri ethnic boundary construction? Such questions will be discussed throughout the thesis.

The second topic of my study is to examine the formation of Pamiri ethnic identity and the factors that contributed for its consolidation during the Soviet period.

While the first topic is gathered around contemporary issues about ethnicity the second one is based on the Soviet period with a focus on the policies about the nationality question.

There are only a few works on Pamiri ethnography and especially about the ethnic processes among the Pamiris. Moreover, how the Pamiris moved from complete isolation towards gradually becoming part of the larger society did not receive much attention from the scholars. Few ethnographic data can be found in the works of western scientists about Pamiris. In the western literature it is difficult to find any concrete academic work focusing on the Pamiri ethnic identity formation during and after the Soviet rule. Sufficient ethnographic information can be found in some Russian and English resources as they were the major regional powers in this region in the midst of the 19th century where Russia's power still continues. As will be discussed further, the Pamiris consist of different ethnic groups that possess quite different languages. However, despite these differences they are joined under one singular *ethnonym*, that is the 'Pamiris'. As Vassiliev points out, "a trend towards unification of the Pamiri peoples into a special ethnic community of Pamiris surfaced."[1]

The majority of the Pamiris regard themselves as being part of one ethnic group and they name themselves as Pamiris. As it will be discussed further in this work, Russian ethnographers while identifying the Pamiri peoples as "mountaineers" or the "Tajiks of the Pamir" rarely refer to a separate ethnic label that distinguishes them from other ethnic groups or the Tajiks. Especially the authors of the late 19th and early 20th centuries do not use a different *ethnonym* to separate the Pamiris from other groups.

There are a number of small ethnic groups in Tajikistan which are studied by ethnographers but are not recognized by the regime as full-fledged nationalities since they have no access to education, publications, or broadcasts in their own languages. For official purposes, they are counted as Tajiks regardless of how they describe themselves or the language they speak as their mother tongue.[2] The Pamiri oblast

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[1] Alexei Vassiliev, *Central Asia: Political and Economic Challenges in the Post-Soviet Era* (Saqi, London, 2001), p. 177

[2] Muriel Atkin, "Religious, National, and Other Identities in Central Asia", in Jo-Ann Gross, (ed.), *Muslims in Central Asia* (Duke University Press, London, 1992), p. 49

(region) of Badakhshan contained the most homogeneous population in terms of ethnicity. The Soviet censuses present the Tajik population of Badakhshan as forming the 89,5 per cent of the total population. However, the Tajik identity of Badakhshanis has always been questioned by both Badakhshanis and the Leninabad-dominated regime.[3] According to the 1959 and 1970 censuses, the nationality of all Pamiris was written as Tajik, however, in 1959 over 42 thousand people identified themselves according to one of the Pamiri languages.[4]

Despite the fact that Pamiri ethnicities (or "nationalities" which is a terminology used in Soviet ethnography) possess distinct languages, their religious commonality was sufficient to perceive them as forming a single ethnic group. However, as the questionnaires that were held in the region in 2005 by I myself testify that "Tajikness" holds an important place in their ethnic identification. What is interesting in this discourse is that, while most of Pamiris according to the data collected in the region claimed that they perceive themselves as from the same origin with the Tajiks, the Tajiks in contrast do not consider the Pamiris in the same way. Before pointing out to the reasons of this phenomenon a comprehensible terminological differentiation has been provided in chapter Three. The most important components of ethnic traits such as territory, ethnogenesis, religion and language are discussed in chapter Four.

Chapter Five discusses how Pamiri ethnic title aroused at the beginning of the Russian intervention into the area. The final border demarcation between the Russian Empire and Great Britain will also be emphasized with reference to the formation of Parmiri ethnic identity. The part of history that is dealt with in this chapter begins from Russian intervention to the region up to the Bolshevik revolution. The same chapter focuses on the Soviet nationality policies that contributed to the consolidation of Pamiri ethnic identity. As will be summarized in this part of the study, Soviet nationality policy was emanated from the idea that during the socialist construction all small ethnicities would merge with bigger nations and in the final

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[3] Akbarzadeh Shahran, "Why did nationalism fail in Tajikistan", *Europe-Asia Studies* (Nov 1996), [Online: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m3955/is_n7_v48/ai_19226485/pg_1].

[4] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 165

stage with the Russian nation. The most effective tool in this regard was considered to be the language policy according to which the Russian language would replace all native languages and would be spanned worldwide. The Soviet nationality policy debate in this chapter begins from Lenin's approach to the question up to Gorbachev's reforms.

Further, the policy of modernization and its impact on Tajik society will be another important theme that will be discussed in chapter Six. Soviet-style modernization brought many changes including the establishment of the mass media, urbanization and industrialization among others. However, the impact of modernization on Tajik society was far less than many other republics of the Soviet Union. Although cultural unification was reached to some extent, its contribution to national consolidation was not profound. Regionalism, both at the economic and political levels as one of the most important barriers, if not the primary one, played a negative role in the national consolidation of the Tajiks. It is due to regionalism that while national consciousness remained weak local identities and loyalties developed even further. Even in the 19th century regional leaders did not forgo their rivalries to cooperate in opposing to the Russian conquest and the antagonisms which divided them did not disappear after the conquest.[5] In chapter Six the impact of regionalism on the ethnic consolidation of Pamiris will be analyzed in detail.

Tajik civil war, as a result of regionalism, caused polarization within the Tajik society. The animosity and antagonisms between regional groups intensified with the civil war that brought about negative consequences besides economic ones. However, due to the distinct motive of the civil war, the ethnic consolidation of the Pamiris shaped in a different way than expected. The role of the Tajik civil war will also be examined in chapter Six. The same chapter also deals with the questionnaires that were carried out by I myself in the winter of 2005 in some regions of Pamir and the capital city of Tajikistan in Dushanbe. The people who were my respondents were divided into three categories according to their age. The first was the 12-17 age category where the respondents were the young school children, in other words the "young generation" who are conscious about their ethnic identity or at least have some idea about it. The second was the 17-40 age category and the respondents were

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[5] Muriel Atkin, "Religious, National, and Other Identities in Central Asia", in Jo-Ann Gross, (ed.), *Muslims in Central Asia* (Duke University Press, London, 1992), pp. 62-63

the ones who witnessed the civil war and who were young when the Soviet Union suddenly collapsed. Finally the last category was the 40 years old and over category who has lived during the period of enlightenment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), in other words, who witnessed the era when education in Russian language was enlarged and when the people were subject to Soviet nationality policies much more intensively than the second category of the respondents. A total of 210 persons participated to my research. According to the above mentioned categories the number of the respondents was divided equally in each region. In the questionnaires the Pamiri respondents were asked *'what is your ethnic affiliation?'* and *'which attributes do you think combine you with your people?'* Also the Tajik respondents were asked *'what is the ethnic affiliation of the people from the Pamir region?'* and *'which attributes do you think combine Pamiri people with each other?'* In addition I held interviews with two high-rank officials and three intellectuals who also helped me to shape my research.

I have done my research on the basis of several readings that are related to ethnicity and nationalism studies. Some historical documents that were written in the beginning of the 20ᵗʰ century by Russian ethnographers were also analysed in order to make a comparative study. The literature that I used for the study of the Pamiris is mainly based on secondary sources about the Soviet nationalities policy, Soviet language policy, Soviet style modernization and the Tajik civil war. In this regards the arguments and models developed by both Western and Soviet scholars is compared. Teodor Shanin, Gregory Gleason, Robert Conquest and Valeri Tishkov regarding the Soviet period and Aziz Niyazi, Shirin Akiner, Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh and Payam Foroughi regarding the post-Soviet period were used.

My approach is influenced by several scholars. First of them is Anthony Smith. Smith, while referring to the main features of *ethnie,* emphasizes the importance of collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory, religion and inter-state warfare. I will try to analyze how these features may have played a role in my case study. Further, Smith refers to the significance of inter-state wars. Although the Tajik civil war was not an inter-state warfare it had an interethnic dimension in some sense.

The second scholar that I refer to is Fredrik Barth. This scholar points out that there is no one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities or

differences. In this regard I will compare the two schools of thought, namely the primordialists and constructionists regarding the "cultural" issue in ethnicity studies.

CHAPTER 2

BASIC INFORMATION ABOUT THE MOUNTAINEOUS
BADAKHSHAN AUTONOMOUS REGION OF TAJIKISTAN

The Republic of Tajikistan is situated in Southeastern Central Asia, bordering on the People's Republic of China, the Islamic State of Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Tajikistan consists of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region (GBA), the regions of Leninabad (recently renamed Sugd) and Khatlon, the capital city of Dushanbe and thirteen seperate districts (*raions*) under the control of the central government. An administrative and political map of the Republic of Tajikistan may be found in the apendix.

Table 1. Major General Indicators of Tajikistan Regions

Region	Population	Area (km.2)	Area (mi.2)	Capital
Badakhshan	206,000	63,700	24,600	Khorog
Dushanbe	562,000	300	100	Dushanbe
Regions of Republican Subordination	1,338,000	28,400	11,000	
Khatlon	2,151,000	24,600	9,500	Qurghonteppa
Sugd	1,870,000	26,100	10,100	Khujand
Total:	6,127,000	143,100	55,300	

Source: Gwillim Law, 'Raions of Tajikistan', *Administrative Subdivisions of Countries*, (1999), [Online: http://www.statoids.com/ytj.html].

The legal status of the GBAR is stated in the Constitution of Tajikistan. According to the article 7, the GBAR is an integral and indivisible part of the

republic. The GBAR Assembly is the only legislative body in this territory and its consent is required for any administrative or territorial restructuring in the GBAR territory.[6]

Badakhshan is the autonomous region within Tajikistan and officially it is called the Mountainous-Badakhshan Autonomous Region (sometimes called as Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region). The region consists of seven *raions* (subdivisions): Darvoz, Vanj, Rushon, Shughnon, Ishkoshim, Murgob and Roshtkala. While the first two *raions* are populated by Sunni Muslims, other regions are populated by the followers of the Ismaili sect (a sect of Shi'a). As Benningsen points out, "the national consciousness of the Pamiri peoples is based on religion".[7] It is due to their religious belonging that the Ismaili population of the Badakhshan region was called the Pamiri which today gained an ethnic meaning. It should be mentioned that Pamir, apart from its regional meaning, as a marker of ethnic identity is a relatively new phenomenon.

Table 2. Cities and *raions* under the administration of Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomus Region (MBAR).[8]

City	Raions and their population
Horog (28,000)	Darwoz (24,000), Iskoshim (26,000), Murghob (16,000), Roshtkalin (24,000), Rushan (24,000), Shughnon (36,000), Vanj (28,000)

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[6] Ilolov Mamadsho & Khudoiev Mirodasan, "Local Government in Tajikistan", in Igor Munteanu & Victor Popa, (eds.), *Developing New Rules in the Old Environment* (Open Society Institute, Hungary, 2001), p. 609

[7] Alexandre Benningsen, S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslims of the Soviet Empire* (C. Hurst & Co., London, 1985), p. 122

[8] Gwillim Law, 'Raions of Tajikistan', *Administrative Subdivisions of Countries*, (1999), [Online: http://www.statoids.com/ytj.html].

As Grombachevskiy in the end of the 19th century marked out,

> the Pamiri states (small feudal states) are similar to the Caucasus with their various ethnographic units. Here in each valley you can see a particular dialect, see original customs that sometimes does not perpetuate in neighboring villages.[9]

The population of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Badakhshan speaks different Pamir languages. These languages have no script and written tradition and are used only as spoken languages in the region. Nearly all Pamir languages to a certain extent can be called "endangered". Some of these languages, like Yazghulami and Ishkashimi are included into "The Red Book" (UNESCO 1995). Some of them are already extinct. Information on other idioms up to now is not available.[10]

In relation to my research question it is important to give a brief summary of the Pamiris. Vanjis (indigenous population of a Vanj valley) are the most contiguous with the mountainous Tajiks. Monogarova asserts that, the clergy of the Bukhara emirate, which took over the region in the late 19th century, carried out the violent measures to convert the Ismailis to Sunnism. Under the influence of the Sunni ideology, social and family relations of Vanjis changed as whole. Gradual economic and cultural rapprochement of Vanjis with Tajiks has led to the loss of the native Vanji language which was replaced with Tajik language and finally has led to the merging of Vanji identity with Tajik identity.[11]

Yazgulamis are the southern neighbors of Vanjis and they are the inhabitants of Yazgulam valley. This group faces that same fate as the Vanjis. By the end of the 19th century, their land was added to Bukhara emirate's territory and the people left with no choice but accept Sunnism. However, contrary to Vanjis they have kept their native language using it in domestic life and in manufacturing as well.[12] Yazgulyami

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[9] N. M. Akramov, *Voprosi Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii Narodov Pamira v Trudakh B. L. Grombachevskogo (The Question of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of Pamiri People in the work of B.L. Grombachevskiy),* Irfon, Dushanbe, (1974), p. 9

[10] Leila Dodykhudoeva, *"The Socio Linguistic Situation and Language Policy of the Autonomour Region of Mountainous Badakhshan: The Case of the Tajik Language"*, Linguapax Institute, [Online: http://www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller2/Dodykhudoeva.html].

[11] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture),* N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 158

[12] Ibid., 159

language is spoken by several thousand people. In the 1950s many speakers migrated to the Vakhsh valley in the Gorno-Badakhshan province of Tajikistan.[13]

Table 3. Facts about the speakers of Yazgulomi language.[14]

Name of the language	Yazgulomi
Number of speakers	4,000 (year 1994)
Alternative names of the language	Iazgulemi, Yazgulami, Yazgulyami

As for Shugnis (inhabitants of Shughnon valley) and Rushonis (Ruhsan valley), they possess the same language, however, there is little difference in dialect. Shugni is spoken by 60.000 people. Shughni is subdivided into three dialects: Baju, Shokhdara and the extinct Barwaz dialect.[15]

Table 4. Facts about the speakers of Shughni and Rushoni language.[16]

Name of the language	Shugni
Alternative name	Shugni-Rushoni
Number of speakers	55,000-66,000

The inhabitants of Ishkashim are Wakhis, Rinis and Ghoronis[*], who speak Wakhi, Rini and Tajik languages. It should be noted that the inhabitants of Ishkashim

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[13] University of Graz, "Yazgulyami", *Languages of the World*, [Online: http://languageserver.uni-graz.at/ls/desc?id=377&type=r].

[14] Ibid.

[15] University of Graz, "Shugni", *Languages of the World*, [Online: http://languageserver.uni-graz.at/ls/desc?id=376&type=r].

[16] Ibid.

[*] The population of Ghoron is composed of descendants of Tajik-speaking migrants that went there from Afghanistan in 13-14th centuries, and were employed in mining. (Source: Leila Dodykhudoeva,

are more fluent in Tajik language than Shugnis and Rushanis. Wakhi is spoken by more than 30.000 people. The speakers live in the Wakhan corridor between the Pamir Mountains in the north and the Hindu Kush in the south. Wakhi is subdivided into two dialects: Upper Wakhi and Lower Wakhi.[17]

Table 5. Facts about the speakers of Wakhi language.[18]

Name of the language	Wakhi
Alternative names	Wakhani, Wakhigi, Vakhani, Khik
Number of speakers	29,000

Rynni-Ishkashimi-Sanglechi is spoken by more than 1.000 people in Aghanistan. Several hundred speakers are reported in Tajikistan. Sanglechi-Ishkashmi-Rynni is subdivided in to two dialects: Sanglechi and Ishkashmi (Rynni). Sanglechi is spoken in three villages in the Badakhshan province of Afghanistan. Ishkashemi-Rynni is spoken in one village at the Afghan bank of the Amu Darya river. Sanglechi-Ishkashmi-Rynni is an oral language and has no official status in Afghanistan.[19]

"The Socio Linguistic Situation and Language Policy of the Autonomour Region of Mountainous Badakhshan: The Case of the Tajik Language", Linguapax Institute, [Online: http://www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller2/Dodykhudoeva.html].

[17] University of Graz, "Wakhi", *Languages of the World* , [Online: http://languageserver.uni-graz.at/ls/desc?id=374&type=r].

[18] Ibid.

[19] University of Graz, "Ishkashimi", *Languages of the World,* [Online: http://languageserver.uni-graz.at/ls/desc?id=373&type=r].

Table 6. Facts about the speakers of Ishkashimi language.[20]

Name of the language	Ishkoshimi
Alternative names	Rynni, Sanglechi
Number of speakers	2,500

According to Russian sources, at the beginning of the 1880s (the data of earlier period is not known) the population of the Western Pamir reached to 35,000. At the end of 1904, after the actual transition of the authority to the Russian boundary administration, the first reliable statistics about the population were collected. According to this data, by autumn 1905, in Western Pamir (without including Vanj and Yazgulom, which entered by then into Darvoz) the total population was 15,826, and in January 1916 it was 18,637. Thus, in 11 years the total population of the region has grown only 2,811, that is 1,1 per cent per year. In 1989 the total population of Pamir was 164,300 and in 1997 – it was 202,400 thousand.[21]

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Valentin Bushkov, Lydia Monogarova, "Ethnic Processes in Gorny Badakhshan", *Central Asia and Caucasus*, No 5, (2000), [Online: http://www.ca-c.org/journal/eng-05-2000/eng05_2000.shtml].

CHAPTER 3

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

One of the main difficulties regarding my case study is the usage of a specific ethnic terminology because the Western literature on ethnicity does not fit into the Soviet and post-Soviet definition of ethnicity. As Smith asserts,

> the English language possesses no term for the concept of an ethnic group or ethnic community. The loose and ambiguous term 'the people' in Western literature which is sometimes put forward, often carries connotations that are quite foreign to those of an ethnic community as it exists in the Soviet case and suggests that they are always and inevitably popular.[22]

Soviets preferred to use a different term than Westerners to define ethnicity. Thus the famous Soviet anthropologist Yulian Bromley argues that,

> the term *ethnos* or ethnic community has been used in contemporary Soviet literature mainly to denote a human community, referred to in spoken Russian as the people (*narod*). The same term denotes both those peoples who have lagged behind in their development and peoples of highly industrial countries; tribes and nations, small populations (for example, the Hoppi or the Ket) and large ones including millions of people (like the Russians or the Italians). It is used to designate contemporary people as well as those who have vanished in history (for example, the Etruscans or the Scythians); peoples who are territorially compact and those who are dispersed over widely separated areas (for example, the Armenians).[23]

Bromley finds it important to substitute the term *ethnos* for the word *the people* because (in Russian and in many other languages) the word "the people" has a number of different connotations and the Russian *narod* is used to describe not only

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[22] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), pp- 21-22

[23] Bromley Ju, Kozlov V, "The Theory of Ethnos and Ethnic Process in Soviet Social Sciences", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(3), (July, 1989), p. 425

ethnic communities but also the "toiling masses of people" or simply a large crowd of humans.[24]

Further he discusses that, usually both the terms ethnic community and *ethnos* have been used to mean 'the people'. In such instances 'all kinds of ethnic communities-nations, nationalities, tribes (or groups of related tribes)' are usually meant. A view is occasionally expressed that *ethnos* should be used to denote pre-class formations only. However, in Russian the term *narod* as he describes, (just like the adequate terms in the other European languages) covers class structures as well. Since *narod* can be replaced by *ethnos* the use of the latter, according to him, is justified with respect to all historical periods, including the present.[25] Likewise he defines the term as a community of people characterized by certain common features. In this case, confrontation of one community of people to other similar communities in the form of the "we-they" antithesis is meant.[26] Finally he summarise that,

> in Russian the term *nationalnost* 'nationality', as applied to class society, is somewhat similar in meaning to *ethnos* when used to denote a people as distinguished from other peoples. In this case the meaning implied in *nationalnost'* is much narrower than that of *natsija* (nation).[27]

According to Kellas, the usage of the term *nationality* in place of nations in the USSR was for political reasons. 'Nations' in the communist ideology was linked to nationalism with regards to the possible break-up of the state, while 'nationalities' were expected to have predominantly cultural aspirations.[28]

Before going into a more detailed discussion of the concepts of ethnic group and ethnicity an essential term that should be clarified is the nation. Although there is no commonly agreed formal definition of this concept, many scholars agree on some of its main features. For example, Kellas describes the nation as "a group of people

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[24] Ibid. 425

[25] Bromley Yu, *Soviet Ethnology and Anthropology Today* (N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Mouton, the Hague, 1974), pp. 56-57

[26] Ibid., pp. 57-58

[27] Ibid., p. 66

[28] James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (Second Edition, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1998), p. 3

who feel themselves to form a community bound together by ties of history, culture and common ancestry."[29] According to him, nations have 'objective' characteristics which may include a territory, a language, a religion, or common descent (though not all of these are always present), and subjective' characteristics, essentially a people's awareness of its nationality and affection for it. In the last analysis it is 'the supreme loyalty' for people who are prepared to die for their nation.[30]

Smith defines nation as such,

> both as a cultural and legal-territorial unit. It may be defined as a territorial unit of population sharing a common history and culture, a single economy and common legal rights and duties. Though nations share with *ethnie* the components of common history and culture, they add significant new elements such as a compact clearly defined territory, a single division of labor with mobility throughout the territory, and a common legal code for all members. Such features are often absent from *ethnie*.[31]

Smith also argues that the French term *ethnie,* unites an emphasis upon cultural differences with the sense of an historical community. This sense of history and the perception of cultural uniqueness and individuality differentiates populations from each other and endows a given population with a definite identity both in their own eyes and in the eyes of the outsiders.[32] Through this discussion Kellas supports Smith and argues that nation and ethnicity should be separated from one another and that ethnicity apart from the nation has its own dynamic. Ethnic groups, according to him are essentially exclusive or ascriptive, meaning that membership in such groups is confined to those who share certain inborn attributes. Nations on the other hand are more inclusive and are culturally or politically defined.[33]

Although there is a disagreement between modernist and primordialist schools about the belonging of a nation to modern and pre-modern times, some

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[29] Ibid., p. 2

[30] Ibid.

[31] Anthony D. Smith, "Ethnic Election and Cultural Identity", *Ethnic Studies*, vol. 10, (January 1993), p. 11

[32] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), pp- 21-22

[33] James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (Second Edition, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1998), p. 5

commonalities regarding the term "nation" can be seen. As a modernist in nationalism studies, Ernest Gellner points out that the basis of a nation is a commonly shared culture, where culture means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating. Further he adds that, two people are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, according to Gellner, nations make the man; nations are the artifacts of men's convictions, loyalties and solidarities. He accepts the fact that although these definitions have some merits they are inadequate since definitions of culture, in the anthropological sense rather than the normative one, are notoriously difficult and unsatisfactory. He suggests approaching the definition of nation by using this term without attempting too much in the way of formal definition, suggesting to consider what culture does.[34] Benedict Anderson too, as Gellner views nations as more or less inevitable outgrowth of a modern industrial society, asserts that a nation "is an imagined political community-and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign".[35] According to Anderson the nation is imagined,

> because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion… The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations… It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm… Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.[36]

Bromley asserts that, the nation has been defined in the Soviet scholarly literature as the type of ethnic community, characteristic of both the capitalist and socialist epochs. The term *nation* has usually been applied to *ethnoses* that are striving for or have their own statehood or else enjoy a form of autonomy within a multi-national

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[34] Gellner Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism* (Cornell University Press, 1983), p.7

[35] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, London and New York, 1983, revised edition 1991), p.6

[36] Ibid., pp. 6-7

state while operating as a single economic organism.[37] In this regard, this form of definition is quite similar to Gellner and Anderson's and contrary to Smith's since it asserts that a nation belongs to modern times.

As for the terms *ethnic group* and *ethnicity*, since the late 1940s the Soviet literature has used the term *narodnost* (nationality) to describe ethic communities that have survived through the period when tribal communities had disintegrated but no nations were yet formed, a period that roughly coincided with the existence of slavery and feudalism.[38] *Narodnost* do not have industry or a working class of their own, and they exist mostly due to a relationship with a larger nation.[39]

Kellas asserts that,

> *ethnicity* is the state of being ethnic or belonging to an ethnic group. It is a more neutral term than ethnocentrism which denotes prejudicial attitudes favoring one ethnic group and reflecting others. While some nations may be called 'ethnic nations', there are ethnic groups who do not claim to be nations. The difference may be found in the character of ethnic politics compared with nationalist politics. Nationalism focuses on 'national self determination' or home rule in a national territory. Ethnic politics in contrast are largely concerned with the protection of rights for members of the group within the existing state with no claim for a territorial 'homeland'. However, these distinctions are not made by all scholars.[40]

In my case study I insert the same notion into the terms 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic group' and mean that there is no nationalistic connotation as could be seen in 'ethnic nation'. Although the term 'ethnicity' as ordinarily used in English does not quite catch the full meaning of the concept *narodnost*, the term will be used to denote *ethnic group* while referring to the meaning of "*narodnost*". It should be mentioned that the term *ethnos* as a reference to all ethnic communities also fits into my case study. However, the term *narodnost* was selected for this study since the term describes the ethnic communities who do not have their own industry and their

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[37] Bromley Ju, Kozlov V, "The Theory of Ethnos and Ethnic Process in Soviet Social Sciences", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(3), (July, 1989), p. 431

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 432

[40] James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (Second Edition, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1998), pp. 8-9

existence is linked to their relationship with the larger nation as it is the case between Pamiris and Tajiks.

Further, Kellas argues that in contemporary political usage, the term 'ethnic group' is frequently used to describe a quasi-national kind of 'minority group' within the state, which has somehow not achieved the status of a nation.[41] It seems that such kind of a definition reminds the term '*narodnost'* that does not embrace a political content. Moreover, again according to Kellas, ethnic groups are generally differentiated from nations on several dimensions; they are usually smaller, they are more clearly based on a common ancestry, and they are more pervasive in human history, while nations are specific to time and place. However, as Kellas claims, it is often possible to trace the origins of nations and nationalism to ethnic groups and to their ethnocentric behaviour.[42] As it is seen in these definitions, a primordialist dimension can be felt in Kellas' arguments. However, I do not agree with him on several points. Firstly, is the difference between nation and an ethnic group a matter of quantity? If it is so then how could it be measured? Secondly, if ethnic groups are clearly based on a common ancestry whereas nations to specific times and places, then according to this definition the Pamiris should be regarded as a nation rather than an ethnic group since the belief in the same ancestry is not the main and primal feature binding these peoples, and furthermore the name 'Pamiri' as a marker of ethnic identity is a relatively new phenomenon.

Before considering the issue of ethnic identity and its features, I will focus on the *exclusiveness* characteristic of an ethnic group as put forward by Smith. As Smith points out,

> the sentiments and attitudes of group members are normally focused on the group itself to the exclusion, more or less explicit, of the outsiders and there is a corresponding disdain or fear of external life-styles. The term *ethnocentrism* is used to describe these exclusive attitudes, the sense of group centrality, the feelings of cultural uniqueness, and the attitude of superiority towards other peoples and their mores.[43]

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[41] Ibid., p. 5

[42] Ibid.

[43] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p. 47

This discussion is important, since it is due to different religious affiliations of Tajiks and Pamiris that results in ethnocentric behaviour from both sides. However, it should be mentioned again that it does not lead to 'nationalism' and 'racism' in my case study.

As for ethnic identity, as Eugeen Roosens asserts,

> some dimensions of it, without being essential to human beings, are both logically and ontologically prior to any form of boundary between an 'us' and a specified, concrete 'them'. In other terms, with the feeling of 'us' we oppose to those defined as 'them' in the other camp, which becomes an 'ethnic we'. A common origin and a general, undefined 'them' or 'other' is all that is required.[44]

In every ethnic identification, some minimal representation of people, who do not belong to -outsiders- is implied. But these outsiders could be imagined in a very general and 'symbolic' way. A vague image of strangers somewhere out there is all that is needed. The idea of 'them' which is opposed to 'us' can be a very general one, in other words, it may not physically be present at all.[45] I would agree that sometimes in order to become an 'ethnic we' the existence of an undefined idea of 'them' can be sufficient, however, a belief in common origin is not enough in order to become an ethnic group in each case. Sometimes the people consider religion or language or any other feature of ethnicity as a sufficient element. Thus it depends on people's perception rather than on any feature of ethnic traits.

As a constructionist in ethnic studies, Fredrik Barth has similar ideas about the existence of alternative ethnic identities in the process of individuation of any ethnic identity. According to him, ethnic identities function as categories of inclusion/exclusion and of interaction, about which both ego and alter must agree if their behavior is to be meaningful.[46] Ethnic distinctions, as he asserts, "do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance but are quite to the contrary often

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[44] Eugeen Roosens, "The primordial nature of origins in migrant ethnicity", in Vermeulen and Cora Govers, (eds.), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity-Beyond Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (The Netherlands: Het Spinhuis, 1994), p. 85

[45] Ibid., p. 93

[46] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), p. 38

the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built."[47] It is in ethnic interaction that ethnic identity is consolidated.[48] Ethnic boundaries, thus identities, are constructed by both the individual and the group as well as by the outside agents and organizations.[49] As Drobizheva points out,

> if social and national divisions do not coincide, if there are no rival social groups that differ ethnically, if there are no interethnic conflicts and tensions, membership in a national community becomes for the individual, if not a formal criterion, in any case an incomparably less important attribute that his membership in a sociopolitical group or collective.[50]

As discussed above, ethnic identification becomes evident when alternative ethnic identities exist and as a result of its exclusiveness it shapes itself, giving rise to the notion of diversification in the form of "we and they" which becomes important in daily relations. As Bromley points out, "unless an ethnic community is distinguishable from other similar communities it is a fiction."[51] As a part of national self-awareness, national identification defined by Drobizheva as "an idea of the typical features of one's community, its properties as whole, and about the common historical past of a people."[52] However, this definition is still deficient since it does not give any idea about the content of the concept of ethnicity. What are the features that make the term so unique? Following paragraphs will focus on this question, however it should be pointed out that it is difficult to find a generally agreed definition of the term among the scholars of nationalism.

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[47] Ibid., p. 10

[48] Banks Marcus, *Ethnicity: Anthropological Construction* (London: Routledge 14., 1996), p. 19

[49] Nagel Joane, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture", *Social Problems*, Vol. 41, No:1, (February, 1994), pp. 154-155

[50] L. M. Drobizheva, "National Self-awareness", in Martha B. Olcott, (ed.), *The Soviet Multinational State: readings and documents* (Armonk, N.Y. : M. E. Sharpe, 1990), p. 203

[51] Bromley Yu, *Soviet Ethnology and Anthropology Today* (N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Mouton, the Hague, 1974), pp. 56-57

[52] L. M. Drobizheva, "National Self-awareness", in Martha B. Olcott, (ed.), *The Soviet Multinational State: readings and documents* (Armonk, N.Y. : M. E. Sharpe, 1990), p. 201

Anthony Smith asserts that,

> e*thnie* are nothing if not historical communities built upon shared memories. A sense of common history unites successive generations, each with its set of experiences which are added to the common stock and it also defines a population in terms of experienced temporal sequences which convey to later generations the historicity of their own experiences. In other words, historical sequences provide 'forms' for later experiences, channels and moulds for their interpretation.[53]

Moreover Hickson supports Smith in this regard and claims that consciousness is not an eternal category but is the product of a long and complicated process of historical development. In other words, national self identity is often reflected in the belief that "we are as we are because we have been as we were."[54] According to Gilbert,

> the most important role for history is to help individuate nations. On some accounts, for example, it is not just that the members of a nation have some feature which distinguishes them from others and which is thought to be crucial. It is that they have continued to possess the same feature as their predecessors in membership. This can be true of many features language, customs, character, or whatever. The history of a nation supposedly constituted by them is simply the record of their continuance. It is to be discovered as evidence of nationhood but nationhood is independent of the knowledge of or belief in it… History adds nothing to the criterion of nationhood offered; it merely guarantees its long-term application through processes of transmission appropriate to the feature in question.[55]

In this context, Gilbert also argues that,

> history explains the features which distinguish members of one nation from others; yet it explains them not just by furnishing a set of common causes but also by furnishing causes which members of a nation can recognize as common because they are able to share their reactions to them with each other. This is a much more complex role for history to perform than the mere transmission of national features.[56]

In Gilbert's view,

> what makes certain culturally mediated relationships constitutive of a national community is that they are themselves shaped collectively in response to historical circumstances, which taken together, form the group's history. By this criterion some

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[53] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p.25

[54] Hickson Jill E, "Using Law to Create National Identity: The course to democracy in Tajikistan", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol. 38 (Spr 2003), p. 350

[55] Gilbert Paul, "History and Destiny", *The Philosophy of Nationalism* (Westview Press, 1998), p. 154

[56] Ibid., p. 155

groups will really be national and others will not because their relationships are not shaped in the right way or not shaped in response to the right train of events. The two requirements go together; for only a group that can respond collectively has a history and only a group whose members are subjected to the same sequence of experiences can respond collectively to it.[57]

In this regard, as he points out and as agree with,

what counts as the history of a group, furthermore, is what is sedimented in the national character which such collective responses produce, and which, in its turn, fashions a collective response. A nation is a kind of group because of its members' national character, but this is only a reflection of the group's response to changing circumstances.[58]

Contrary to what Gilbert discusses, a sense of common history for Pamiris actually does not go so far in history. If we look closer to the historical background of the territory, I call it the history of territory rather than the history of a group due to the fact that up until the Bolshevik revolution the Pamiris had not perceived themselves as constituting an ethnic group. Moreover, even until the 1970s the Pamiri as an ethnicity marker had not been strengthened yet.

A common historical fate is not pervasive between the local ethnicities as it is understood from the conversations with the indigenous people. How could it be 'common' if they still perceive themselves as different from each other within the region? If we look from a historical perspective no collective response to historical circumstances can be seen. At this point Smith's argument should be considered regarding the question of 'nations without wealth historical background'. Smith asserts that, "it is far more difficult to create an ethnic community which possesses a territory and even some element of separate culture, but little in the way of historical memories or myths of descent."[59] Due to the fact that printing was not developed in Pamir it is difficult to find sufficient historical records. But what are widespread in the entire region are the myths about Ali (the son in law of the prophet Muhammad). Nearly in all villages similar tales about him can be heard. As Smith argues,

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[57] Ibid., p. 156

[58] Ibid.

[59] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p. 31

the core of ethnicity, as it has been transmitted in the historical record and as it shapes individual experience resides in this quarter of 'myths, memories, values and symbols' and in the characteristic forms or styles and genres of certain historical configurations of population.[60]

These kinds of myths could be considered as a binding element of ethnic group. However, it should be mentioned that these memories and tales involve religious connotations due to the personal characteristic of Ali, rather than pure myths. Further, what is the role of the national history of Tajiks? Is it widespread among the peoples of Pamir? How far the Tajik authority was successful in promoting a national history in the region?

Although a Tajik-speaking people can be placed in the territory of contemporary Tajikistan as early as the second century B.C., modern Tajiks have chosen to find the origins of their history in the Samanid Dynasty, and particularly in its ninth-century founder, the Tajik ruler Ismaili Somoni. The Samanid Dynasty collapsed at the end of the tenth century, and between the eleventh and eighteenth centuries, Tajiks lived under the rule of other large Turkic-based dynasties.[61] After the Samanid period, Tajiks had no state organization of their own until the establishment of Soviet power in Central Asia. Formed as a nationality in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Tajiks lived in the states of Tahirids and Samanids from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries; in the states of Gaznevids, Karakhanids, and Khorezm from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries; in the state of Timurids from the fifteenth century; in the Bukhara Khanate (later in the Bukhara Emirate); and in a number of small, feudal domains.[62]

Roy points out that, all new nations of Central Asia re-evaluate or construct their past.[63] According to Atkin a problem exists with ordinary Tajiks' knowledge of their own history. In many countries of Central Asia, the elite's reinterpretation of history along culturally nationalist lines aims to prove that their nationality has a distinct

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[60] Ibid., p. 15

[61] Hickson Jill E, "Using Law to Create National Identity: The course to democracy in Tajikistan", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol. 38 (Spr 2003), p. 354-55

[62] Aziz Niyazi, "Tajikistan" in Mohiaddin Mesbahi, (ed.), *Central Asia and the Caucasus after the Soviet Union* (University Press of Florida, Florida, 1994), pp. 164-65

[63] Roy Olivier, *The New Central Asia* (New York, New York University Press, 2000), p. 165

identity, a proud heritage, and in some cases legitimate grievances against other nationalities and this has played a key role in building a national consciousness. The Tajik elite have tried to reinterpret Tajik history in a similar fashion to the extent permitted by the central authority but with little effect among the majority of the population.[64] Atkin further asserts that the designation of Tajiks or other Central Asian peoples by ethnic names by the Soviet authorities did not mean that the majority of the population perceived such categories as the proper basis for constituting their own states when the Soviets first reshaped the region into nationally-defined republics. However, decades of Soviet rule in Tajikistan, entailing both the institutionalization of national identity and transgressions against national feeling, made nationality politics important there.[65] Soviet historiographers were successful in the process of nation building in Central Asia. However, it would not be fair to attribute this success just to them since the Tajiks along with Uzbeks settled as nations with wealth historical background, as some scholars argue, had a convenient ground for it.

Hickson claims that intellectuals can 'invent' a national consciousness only if certain objective preconditions for the formation of a nation already exist. In short, for national consciousness to arise there must be something that should become conscious in the minds of the community members. Typically, in the creation of a nation-state, a "nation" must first come into being, after which this nation can be forged into a sovereign state. Tajikistan was a "state" before it existed as a "nation." Its statehood was created for political purposes by the fledgling Bolshevik regime and development of a national Tajik consciousness came only afterwards.[66] In addition Hickson asserts that national identity is never created in a vacuum. It is well documented that a Tajik people has existed in Central Asia for hundreds –if not thousands- of years. Yet the development of an independent Tajik nation and this

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[64] Muriel Atkin, "Religious, National, and Other Identities in Central Asia", in Jo-Ann Gross, (ed.), *Muslims in Central Asia* (Duke University Press, London, 1992), p. 62

[65] Muriel Atkin, "Tajikistan: reform, reaction, and civil war", in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, (eds.), *New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 605-606

[66] Hickson Jill E, "Using Law to Create National Identity: The course to democracy in Tajikistan", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol. 38 (Spr 2003), p. 349

nation's linkage to a larger state identity did not take place until the establishment of the Tajik autonomous region of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan in 1925. Thus, although a Tajik consciousness existed prior to Russian expansion into Central Asia, the substance of modern nationhood in Tajikistan owes much to the historical influence of Marxist ideology.[67]

According to Atkin the Soviet manipulation of Tajik national identity was intended not only to undermine the calls for a unified Turkistan state but also to reduce the affinity the Tajiks might have felt for the Persian speaking communities in Iran or Afghanistan.[68] The ethnic affiliation of Tajiks to Iranian origin communities, not to Turcomans was sufficient to be distinguished from other Central Asian republics. The role of history is unquestionable in separating Tajiks from other nations of Central Asia. However, the role of this separation in my view has a twofold aspect, firstly it should individuate one nation from others and second it should consolidate that nation from within. The role of history is quite suspicious regarding the last aspect in Tajikistan.

A common origin plays an important role in ethnicity-building according to Smith and Bromley. As Smith points out,

> if a group of people feel they are a community because of a shared ancestry, it will not prove impossible to find a name, extend their solidarity and gradually formulate their own culture (based on separate religion, or customs, or language, or institutions or color) so as to become an *ethnie* in the full sense of the term.[69]

Bromley points out that,

> the combination of the origin metaphor with the boundary metaphor allows for a more complete elucidation of the polyvalent character of ethnicity. Ethnicity can stress division and opposition in mankind, but not necessarily. It always involves a form of 'standing on –its-own' and thus of independence, and of being distinct from others, but this being-a-people need not unavoidably be defined in opposition to specific, concrete outsiders. References to a common origin and a vague 'non-we' suffice. A group of people can think and feel about their past and celebrate their common origin without necessarily stressing ethnic exclusion. This is why ethnicity can be represented as a pacific, 'natural' form of social organization which does not

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[67] Ibid., p. 354

[68] Muriel Atkin, "Religious, National, and Other Identities in Central Asia", in Jo-Ann Gross, (ed.), *Muslims in Central Asia* (Duke University Press, London, 1992), p. 55

[69] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p. 31

necessarily lead to hostility, just as having different parents does not unavoidably turn neighbors into rivals.[70]

Bromley has ideas similar to Smith. According to Bromley,

> a peculiar but essential distinctive ethnic feature is ethnic consciousness, i.e., realization by members of a given *ethnos* of their affinity to the group that is based on their opposition to other *ethnoses* and which is manifested first of all in a common *ethnonym*. A vital component of ethnic consciousness is the idea of a common origin. A common historical fate shared by the members of the *ethnos* and their ancestors throughout its existence forms the real basis of this common origin. This consciousness is a fundamental feature characterizing an ethnic community and it is particularly evident in the case of re-settlers who lose it only after a long period of time. Practically, *ethnos* exists as long as its members preserve the idea about their affiliation to it.[71]

However, Bromley stressed the need to distinguish between the reality of common origin and the *ethnos* members' conceptions of it. The former was not necessary, but the latter was typical.[72] According to Eugeen Roosens, "the reference to origin is, without being an indispensable human trait, the primary source of ethnicity which makes a socio-cultural boundary into an ethnic boundary."[73] However, on the other hand, she indicates that nobody could maintain that ethnic identity as a "feeling" that is determined by genes or by the "blood" and that one carries it with oneself in all circumstances of life.[74]

One of the most problematic issues regarding the question of the uniqueness of ethnic identity is the role of culture in ethnic identification. While some authors argue that the most indispensable feature of every ethnic identity lays in its culture, some argue that cultural features does not play a very important role since culture is as changeable as ethnic identity itself. However, it should be admitted that a

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[70] Eugeen Roosens, "The primordial nature of origins in migrant ethnicity", in Vermeulen and Cora Govers, (eds.), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity-Beyond Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (The Netherlands: Het Spinhuis, 1994), p. 101

[71] Bromley Yu, *Soviet Ethnology and Anthropology Today* (N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Mouton, the Hague, 1974), p. 65

[72] Bromley Ju, Kozlov V, "The Theory of Ethnos and Ethnic Process in Soviet Social Sciences", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(3), (July, 1989), p. 429

[73] Eugeen Roosens, "The primordial nature of origins in migrant ethnicity", in Vermeulen and Cora Govers, (eds.), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity-Beyond Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (The Netherlands: Het Spinhuis, 1994), p. 83

[74] Eugeen, Roosens, *Creating Ethnicity-The Process of Ethnogenesis* (London: Sage, 1989), p. 16

considerable agreement has been reached on this issue that culture is an indispensable part of ethnic identification.

According to Smith, ethnic identities are durable but shifting and it is inevitable that a given ethnic community will, at different periods of its history, reveal varying characteristic in response to changing needs and experiences.[75] Smith points out,

> e*thnie* are differentiated by one or more elements of 'culture' which both help to bind members together and to separate them from outsiders. The most common shared and distinctive traits are those of language and religion but customs, institutions, laws, folklore, architecture, dress, food, music and the arts, even color and physique, may augment the differences or take their place.[76]

Cultural uniqueness is important for ethnicity. As Smith notes,

> the *ethnie* in question should appear to be, not only distinctive, but incommensurable, either by having a language which is unrelated to other languages, or a religious community entirely to itself, or because among a host of ethnic cultures it stands out by virtue of a cultural characteristic all its own, such as color or institutions, or because the combination of its otherwise cross-cultural traits is unique.[77]

Regarding the question of culture in ethnic identity Bromley has similar ideas to Smith's. He claims that according to the current conception of *ethnos* considerable stability of the *ethnos* as a whole and of its basic differential features is regarded as one of its characteristic features.[78] Ethnic features must be characterized by stability; therefore, they should be sought first in those spheres of culture which are characterized by continuity and inheritance.[79] Bromley summarizes that *ethnos* may be defined as "a historically formed community of people characterized by common, relatively stable cultural features, certain distinctive psychological traits, and the consciousness of their unity as distinguished from other similar communities."[80]

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[75] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p. 87

[76] Ibid., p. 26

[77] Ibid., pp. 27-28

[78] Bromley Yu, *Soviet Ethnology and Anthropology Today* (N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Mouton, the Hague, 1974), p. 58

[79] Ibid., p. 64

[80] Ibid., p. 66

Barth has an opposite approach regarding the question of culture in ethnic distinctions and his approach is more acceptable and fits better to my case study. He agrees that ethnic groups are distinguishable by a number of cultural traits which serve as diacritica, as overt signals of identity which persons will refer to as criteria of classification. These are specific items of custom, from style of dress to rules of inheritance. On the other hand, it is equally obvious that the ethnic dichotomies do not depend on these.[81] He asserts that many ethnic groups stay the same through time, while their culture changes. It would be impossible then to define an ethnic group by its 'objective' cultural content.[82] He suggests that, "it is important to recognize that although ethnic categories take cultural differences into account, we can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences."[83]

Taking into consideration Barth's view as discussed above, Yazgulamis perceive themselves as Tajiks and as separate from "Pamiris", but Yazgulamis are not recognized as "real Tajiks" neither by Vanjis, nor by Tajiks of other regions, however some people argue that Yazgulamis can be regarded as Tajiks, since they have the same customs as Tajiks do (it is referred to religion) and only their language is different. Other Pamiri ethnicities, according to their statement, Yazgulamis are not Tajiks but "Pamiris" as they have a different language and culture.[84]

Again as Monogarova's documents testify, Pamiri nationalities still separate themselves from other Tajiks. According to these documents and with respect to other ethnic groups in Tajikistan, Rushonis claims, "we are Rushonis and our language Rushoni"; some of them emphasize, "we are Tajiks, but our language – Rushoni". On the other hand, the Shugnis count themselves as Tajiks, but *pendj-teni* (referring to

[81] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), pp. 131-132

[82] Eugeen Roosens, "The primordial nature of origins in migrant ethnicity", in Vermeulen and Cora Govers, (eds.), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity-Beyond Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (The Netherlands: Het Spinhuis, 1994), p. 84

[83] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), p. 14

[84] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture),* N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 160; also see Valentin Bushkov, Lydia Monogarova, "Ethnic Processes in Gorny Badakhshan", *Central Asia and Caucasus*, No 5, (2000), [Online: http://www.ca-c.org/journal/eng-05-2000/eng05_2000.shtml].

Ismailism) and prefer to call them as "Pamiri Tajiks". Wakhis from the Vrang village distinguish Pamiris from Vanjis and Yazgulamis and they argue, "in Shughnon, Rushon and Wakhon the same people live, only their customs are little different, and in Yazgulam and Vanj other people live." The statement of Wakhi from Langar village is noteworthy, "we call ourselves Wakhi; the Tajik is our nationality according to our republic but according to our customs we are Wakhi".[85] In this regard social recognition plays an essential role and this arises the question 'who determines who is who?' According to Nagel, ethnic identity is most closely associated with the issue of boundaries that can be applied to the ethnicity issue in Tajikistan. Ethnic boundaries determine who is a member of the community and who is not and it designates which ethnic categories are available for individual identification at a particular time and place.[86]

As it is understood, the features that are taken into account differ from case to case, while some people present their religion as their primary source of identification others put forward their language and/or custom. In this regard as Barth argues, "the features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant."[87] Further Barth asserts that, when one traces the history of an ethnic group through time, one is not in the same sense tracing the history of 'a culture'. In other words, the elements of the present culture of that ethnic group have not sprung from a particular set of elements that has constituted the group's culture at a previous time.[88] Similar to Barth, Drobizheva asserts that ideas about one's own ethnic group are not simply the sum of certain features. According to Drobizheva at the individual level, national self-awareness will vary depending on the particular situations in which a person may find himself.[89]

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[85] Ibid.

[86] Nagel Joane, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture", *Social Problems*, Vol. 41, No:1, (February, 1994), p. 154

[87] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), p. 14

[88] Ibid., p. 38

[89] L. M. Drobizheva, "National Self-awareness", in Martha B. Olcott, (ed.), *The Soviet Multinational State: readings and documents* (Armonk, N.Y. : M. E. Sharpe, 1990), pp. 201-202

Joane agrees that identity and culture are fundamental to the central projects of ethnicity in terms of the construction of boundaries and the production of meaning which applies to the ethnic relations in Tajikistan.[90] Culture and history are the substances of ethnicity. They are also the basic materials used to construct ethnic meaning. Culture and history are often intertwined in cultural construction activities.[91] However, similar to Barth, Joane adds that cultures change and that they are borrowed, blended, rediscovered, and reinterpreted. Culture is constructed in much the same way as ethnic boundaries are built, by the actions of individuals and groups and their interactions with the larger society.[92] While the construction of ethnic boundaries is very much a saga of structure and external forces shaping ethnic options, the construction of culture is more a tale of human agency and internal group processes of cultural preservation, renewal, and innovation.[93] For ethnic groups the questions regarding history, membership, and culture are the themes that are solved by the construction process.[94]

One of the main components of ethnic group according to some scholars, especially the primordialists, is the territorial location of ethnic groups. However, territory in the case of Pamir should not be dealt apart from regionalism. Regionalism has played an important role in the politics of Tajikistan not only during the Soviet times but at the present as well. It is due to regionalism that territory gains a specific meaning. Though the Tajiks constitute one people, as Niyazi points out, they are divided on the basis of local-territorial communities.[95] Smith asserts that when the outsiders identify members of the community they often do so by reference to their territorial 'origins'. In this respect the term 'ethnic' acquires additional

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[90] Nagel Joane, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture", *Social Problems*, Vol. 41, No:1, (February, 1994), p. 153

[91] Ibid., p. 161

[92] Ibid., p. 162

[93] Ibid., p. 161

[94] Ibid., p. 167

[95] Aziz Niyazi, "Tajikistan" in Mohiaddin Mesbahi, (ed.), *Central Asia and the Caucasus after the Soviet Union* (University Press of Florida, Florida, 1994), p. 172

connotations of 'being from the same original homeland.'[96] *Ethnie* always possess ties to a particular locus or territory, which they call their 'own'.[97] Smith explains,

> territory is relevant to ethnicity, therefore, not because it is actually possessed, nor even for its 'objective' characteristics of climate, terrain and location, though they influence ethnic conceptions, but because of an alleged and felt symbiosis between a certain piece of earth and 'its' community. Again, poetic and symbolic qualities possess greater potency than everyday attributes; a land of dreams is far more significant than any actual terrain.[98]

According to Smith, religion, too, may coincide or cross-cut other features of shared culture, like language.[99] Islam is deeply ingrained in Central Asian ethnicity and culture.[100] Monogarova implies that, the role of religion in ethnic divisions especially in countries of Muslim Asia should always be taken into account while studying ethnic processes because, religious distinctions had a greater importance than ethnic ones in life and in social relations. Regarding the role of religion Monogarova argues that,

> different religious belongings of Pamiri nationalities (professing Ismailism) and Tajiks (Sunnism) has played one of the leading roles in the exclusion of Pamiris and was one of the main reasons in restraining until recently the rapprochement of these peoples.[101]

Islam is overwhelmingly believed to be a cornerstone of Tajik national identity. Being a Tajik is indivisibly tied to being a Muslim (though not vice versa). A non-Muslim Tajik is not acceptable for the great majority of Tajiks. Religion enjoys a pivotal importance for national identity on a par with language.[102] According to

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[96] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p. 29

[97] Ibid., p. 28

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid., p. 27

[100] Nancy Lubin, "Islam and Ethnic Identity in Central Asia: A View from Below", in Yaacov Ro'i, (ed.), *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies* (Portland, Or.: F. Cass, 1995), p. 56

[101] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture),* N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 34

[102] Akbarzadeh Shahran, "Why did nationalism fail in Tajikistan", *Europe-Asia Studies* (Nov 1996), [Online: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m3955/is_n7_v48/ai_19226485/pg_1].

Hickson, Tajik identity is historically an Islamic identity. Islam first came to the territory of what was then Turkistan in the seventh century. Since this time, Islam has played a significant role in how Tajiks define themselves and how outsiders define the Tajik people.[103]

Tishkov implies that, in recent years religion has been revived as a cultural symbol with a growing role in social life. This has contributed to the construction of politically significant cultural differences and new group boundaries along primarily ethnic lines. However, as Tishkov continues bringing religion into ethnic discourse does not necessarily mean a 'return of religion', nor does it mean the institutionalization of churches or mosques during the Soviet and post-Soviet life. In scholarly and journalistic texts religious labels are used to distinguish ethnic groups in multi-ethnic Russia and in other new states by referring more to the differences in the past rather than at the present. Anthropologists have already pointed out to this phenomenon of using vanishing or revived religious legacies for ethnic boundary maintenance.[104]

Dorian marks out, "in its simpler, less far-reaching function, an ethnic language serves its speakers as an identity marker. Although many behaviors can mark identity, language is the only one that actually carries extensive cultural content."[105] The link between an ethnic language and the history of an ethnic group, according to Dorian is usually a close one. For example, if the group still lives its traditional lands, geographical features will have indigenous-language names that reflect the group's deep connection to the region.[106]

However, there are three different languages in western Pamir that are quite different from one another, namely Shugni, Wakhi and Ishkoshimi. How can then language carry the function of identity marker? Smith in this regard points out that

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[103] Hickson Jill E, "Using Law to Create National Identity: The course to democracy in Tajikistan", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol. 38 (Spr 2003), p. 358

[104] Valeri Tishkov, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union* (London, Sage, 1997), p.105

[105] Nancy C. Dorian, "Linguistic and Ethnographic Fieldwork", in Fishman Joshua, (ed.), *Language and Ethnic Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 31

[106] Ibid., p. 32

language, long held to be the main if not the sole differentiating mark of ethnicity, is often irrelevant or divisive for a sense of ethnic community to develop. Smith gives an example from Britain. In his view, the difference in speech between the Gaelic-speaking Highlands and the Lallans-speaking Lowlands did not impair the sense of Scottish identity and English-speaking Welsh in South Wales may feel just as ethnically Welsh as their Welsh-speaking compatriots in northern Wales.[107] Second, the majority of Tajiks, as my data suggests, still think that Pamiris possess one common language. Such belief summons the function of identity marker to language.

A community's 'locus' and their relations with their neighbors often help to activate a sense of ethnicity among its members as Smith points out. Relations of alliance and conflict help to sharpen a feeling of self differentiation between the communities that are involved in political relations with one another over a long period.[108] The Tajik civil war that aroused from inter-regional antagonism crystallized and strengthened the ethnic consciousness of Pamiris in some respects. As Atkin points out the civil war in Tajikistan is often characterized as based on rivalries between clans or tribes to which regional labels were applied and where the Leninabadis and Kulobis were pitted against the Gharmis and the people from Gorniy Badakshan.[109] However, it should be noted that the ethnic factor in the Tajik crisis was not of primary importance since the polarization was not based on ethnicity but on regionalism. This sense of regionalism even can be felt in each political party's membership in Tajikistan. The cluster around the parties does not depend on ideology rather than the leader's origin come from. The Pamiris mobilization around the La'li Badakhshon ("ruby of Badakhsnan") political group is also the same token.

Political policies and designation have enormous power to shape patterns of ethnic identification when politically controlled resources are distributed along ethnic

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[107] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p. 27

[108] Ibid., p. 39

[109] Muriel Atkin, "Tajikistan: reform, reaction, and civil war", in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, (eds.), *New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 614-615

lines.[110] The Soviet nationality policy was based on merging and / or providing the rapprochement of small ethnicities and national minorities with bigger titular nations and finally with Russians. As will be discussed further, the main tool was the linguistic policy that aimed to spread Russian language in all spheres of life. Before dealing with the Soviet nationality policy and all other factors (the Tajik civil war, regionalism, endogamy and exogamy, regional remoteness, and modernization) that contributed for the consolidation of Pamiri ethnic identity, I will now analyze the ethnic traits of Pamiris in order to give a clearer picture of this ethnic group.

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[110] Nagel Joane, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture", *Social Problems*, Vol. 41, No:1, (February, 1994), p. 158

CHAPTER 4

THE ETHNIC TRAITS OF PAMIRIS

As I discussed in previous chapter many scholars defined ethnic traits as a main feature of ethnic groups and nations. For the instance Kellas described nation as a community bounded by ties of history, culture and common ancestry.[111] He included a territory, a language, a religion and common descent as objective characteristics of nation.[112] Smith defined nation as cultural and legal-territorial unit. According to him one of the primary source of nation is a territorial unit of population sharing a common history and culture.[113] He asserted that *ethnie* are differentiated by one or more elements of 'culture'. According to him the most common shared and distinctive traits are language and religion, however customs, institutions, laws, folklore, architecture, dress, food, music and arts, even color and physique may augment the differences or take their place.[114] Ernest Gellner also pointed out that the basis of a nation is a commonly shared culture.[115] Bromley suggested that *ethnos* may be defined as historically formed community of people characterized by common, relatively stable cultural features…[116]

Although Barth agreed that ethnic groups are distinguishable by a number of cultural traits, as by specific items of custom, from style of dress to rules of

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[111] James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (Second Edition, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1998), p. 2

[112] Ibid.

[113] Anthony D. Smith, "Ethnic Election and Cultural Identity", *Ethnic Studies*, vol. 10, (January 1993), p. 11

[114] Ibid., p. 26

[115] Gellner Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism* (Cornell University Press, 1983), p.7

[116] Ibid., p. 66

inheritance he argued that the ethnic dichotomies do not depend on these.[117] Basing on Monogarova's research in the region many people in Pamir presented their religion, language and customs as primary source of identification. Hence, although I agree with Barth on the idea that ethnic dichotomies do not depend on objective cultural content, I find it important to focus on ethnic traits of Pamiris. Following chapter will focus on this issue.

4.1. Historical Overview of the Region

Drobizheva defined national identification as "an idea of the typical features of one's community, its properties as whole, and about the common historical past of a people."[118] According to Smith,

> e*thnie* are nothing if not historical communities built upon shared memories. A sense of common history unites successive generations, each with its set of experiences which are added to the common stock and it also defines a population in terms of experienced temporal sequences which convey to later generations the historicity of their own experiences.[119]

Gilbert prescribed that the most important role for history is to help individuate nations.[120] If we look from historical perspective Pamir, firstly was mentioned in a monument of the Sanskrit literature, in Indian epic poem 'Mahabharata' (6th century B.C.) as Meru. According to this monument, which is located in the north of Central India, apparently in the Pamir region, Sacks (Scythians), i.e. peoples of Iranian origin lived.[121]

In the 4th century B.C., Alexander the Great conquered Bactria and Sogdiana and made several campaigns to India but has never reached western Pamir. However,

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[117] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), pp. 131-132

[118] L. M. Drobizheva, "National Self-awareness", in Martha B. Olcott, (ed.), *The Soviet Multinational State: readings and documents* (Armonk, N.Y. : M. E. Sharpe, 1990), p. 201

[119] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p.25

[120] Gilbert Paul, "History and Destiny", *The Philosophy of Nationalism* (Westview Press, 1998), p. 154

[121] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 20

among the Pamiris, as well as among many other peoples of inner and central Asia, legends about "Alexander" are widely extended. Tajiks sometimes call the population of the western Pamir as "Macedonians" (*makedoni*).[122] Aristov, focusing on historical facts, asserts that even in the 6th century the state built along the Wakhon River carried its present name *Wakhon* and it should be regarded that the population of it had settled there before the 6th century. He claims that the first settlers of Wakhon and Shughnon came from the west side of the Panj river, from southern Darvaz.[123]

In the second half of the 8th century these areas were added to Arabic political territory. Some Arabian geographers and historians mention the states of Badakhshan, including western Pamir in their works. Yakubi, the Arabian historian of the 9th century, mentions in his works about the king of Shughnon and Badakhshan, the Chumar-bek or Khumar-bek. Istakhri (951) counts three states in Pamir: Wakhon, Shughnon and Kerran that were settled by "infidels"; musk and slaves were taken from these countries. V.V. Bartold believed that Kerran was Rushon and Darvaz. In the 10th century, according to Bartold, though these areas were subordinated to Muslim-Arabs in political affairs, their peoples remained pagans.[124] In the 10th century Badakshan, including Western Pamir were the edges of the eastern border of Samani possession and Arabian caliphate. At the end of the 10th century there were Arab customs and military guards in Wakhon.[125]

Bartold, in his work "Turkistan" mentions that in the 10th century these regions (Wakhon, Shikinan (Shughnon) and Kerran (probably Rushon and Darvaz) have already been settled by pagans, however in the political realm, probably, were subjugated by Muslims.[126] According to some investigators, the valley of the upper

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[122] Ibid., p. 21

[123] Babrinsky A.A, *Gortsi Verxovev Pyandja: Wakhantsi i Ishkashimtsi (Mountaineers of Upper Panj: Wakhis and Ishkashimis)*, Moscow, (1908), p. 14

[124] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), pp. 24-25

[125] Ibid., p.25

[126] Babrinsky A.A, *Gortsi Verxovev Pyandja: Wakhantsi i Ishkashimtsi (Mountaineers of Upper Panj: Wakhis and Ishkashimis)*, Moscow, (1908), p. 74

Panj occurred as the result of emigration waves that came from the west (from the present Afghanistan territory, Iran, and southern parts of Tajikistan). Mass migration particularly strengthened after the 5 and 6th centuries because of the Turkic movement into Central Asia (and the Mongols afterwards) from whom the settled Iranian population escaped in canyons that were not attractive for cattle-breeding conquerors that needed wide steppe expanses.[127]

Between the 10 and 16th centuries Wakhon, Shughnon and Rushon together with Darvaz (the last two were united in the 16th century) were governed by the local feudal dynasties and actually were independent.[128] The territory began to be perceived as a whole when the border demarcation was drawn between the Russian Tsarist Empire and the Great Britain during the late 19th century. Further, the inclusion of this region under the Bukhara auspices caused dissatisfaction among the local population of western Pamir and raised the desire to be annexed to Russian empire. With the Bolsheviks' coming to power, as Atkin points out the remote Pamir highlands were reassigned from the Turkistan republic to Tajikistan SSR (Soviet Socialistic Republis) under the name of Gornyi (Mountainous) Badakhshan in 1925.[129]

As I discussed earlier a sense of common history of Pamiris actually does not go so far in history. Until the Bolshevik revolution the Pamiris had not perceived themselves as constituting an ethnic group. Moreover, even until the 1970s the Pamiri as an ethnicity marker had not been strengthened yet. Bearing in mind that different Pamiri groups still perceive themselves as different from each other in the region, it cannot be argued that they share a common historical fate. In other words, there is no continuity between their past and future in terms of having a common history. That is why I do not consider 'history' as the main combining element of Pamiri ethnic identity.

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[127] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 27

[128] Ibid., pp. 34-35

[129] Muriel Atkin, "Tajikistan: reform, reaction, and civil war", in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, (eds.), *New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 605

4.2. Territory

One of the main components of ethnic group according to some scholars, especially the primordialists, is the territorial location of ethnic groups. For example Smith asserts that, when the outsiders identify members of the community they often do so by reference to their territorial 'origins'. In this respect the term 'ethnic' acquires additional connotations of 'being from the same original homeland.'[130] *Ethnie* always possess ties to a particular locus or territory, which they call their 'own'.[131] Smith explains:

> territory is relevant to ethnicity, therefore, not because it is actually possessed, nor even for its 'objective' characteristics of climate, terrain and location, though they influence ethnic conceptions, but because of an alleged and felt symbiosis between a certain piece of earth and 'its' community. Again, poetic and symbolic qualities possess greater potency than everyday attributes; a land of dreams is far more significant than any actual terrain.[132]

All researchers of Western Pamir emphasized the extreme geographical remoteness of the region, which is seen as the reason of not only historical and socio-economic backwardness but also of the isolation of Pamiri nationalities. Up to the recent times (before the construction of the auto road between Dushanbe and Khorog in 1940) these nationalities were separated from each other by the highest inaccessible mountain ridges and were cut off from the cultural centers of the Central Asia.[133]

Geographical remoteness and inaccessibility of the areas settled by Pamiri nationalities were one of the factors which caused economic backwardness, the maintenance of their peculiar traditional national culture, their life style and also their particular ethnic and historical development.[134] The austere deserts of Pamir with its Kyrgyz nomads kept away the mountaineers separate from other cultures and

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[130] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p. 29

[131] Ibid., p. 28

[132] Ibid.

[133] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 16

[134] Ibid., p. 7

wealthy states such as Kashgar, Yarkent, Khotan and Ferghana.[135] As it was indicated before, social interaction between different communities contributes to ethnic distinctions within a given society. Territorial remoteness from big centers was one of the reasons that restrained the development of a common ethnic perception within the region before the Bolsheviks came to power and this caused difficulties to impose on the Tajik people a common Tajik identity during the Soviet era.

As Odilbekova points out, the extremely extensive system of agriculture in Pamir, shortage of arable lands, weakly supplied population, lack of grain, lack of roads, and the remoteness of the region from the civilized centers of the region caused the low level of internal and external trade in these areas. The absence of trade between the peoples of western Pamir is due to their strong attachment to a settled lifestyle which is noticeably higher than the other settled peoples in the region. Reluctance to leave their land retained the development of trade. Another reason for the low level of trade is due to the distinct religious affiliations among the population. Yet another reason for the low level of trading is due to the distinct religious affiliations of the endemic population. As Odilbekova argues, it was difficult to be engaged in trade since, "they (as a follower of Ismaili sect) could be caught in their first travel by 'orthodox Muslims' and be sold".[136]

Since printing was not developed in Pamir, calligraphy was widely used. The specialists of calligraphy used not only papers but stones too. It was due to the shortage of paper that sometimes juridical and other official documents were legalized on stones.[137] Folk literature is quite advanced in Pamir. It has many common traits with other Tajiks of the mountainous region. Pamiri folk has commemorated in songs, stories and legends.[138] The tradition that still exists today is

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[135] Babrinsky A.A, *Gortsi Verxovev Pyandja: Wakhantsi i Ishkashimtsi (Mountaineers of Upper Panj: Wakhis and Ishkashimis)*, Moscow, (1908), p. 6

[136] R. Odilbekova, "Iz Istorii Torgovli i Obmena na Zapadnom Pamire (Konets XIX-nachalo XX v.) [From the History of Trade and Barter in Western Pamir (the end of XIXth and beginning of XXth century)]", in A. M. Muhrarov, (ed.), *Pamirovedeniye I (Observing Pamir I),* Donish, Dushanbe, (1984), p. 37

[137] R. Odilbekova, "Kultura Zapadnogo Pamira v kontse XIX nachale XX v (The Culture of Western Pamir in the end of XIXth and XXth century)", in M.S. Asimov, (ed.), *Pamirovedeniye II (Observing Pamir II),* Donish, Dushanbe, (1985), p. 10

[138] Ibid., p. 11

that, some folk exists in native languages (i.e., one of the Pamiri languages) while others in Tajik language. The prose (legends, stories, anecdotes, and parables) of Shugnis and Rushonis were written in their native languages. Tajik language was used rarely and only in case of the special request. The legends of other Pamiri nationalities (Wakhis, Rinis, and Goronis) were written in both languages, native and Tajik. Nearly all lyric poetry of Yazgulamis and Ishkashimis is in Tajik language besides the dominant lyric style of Persian-Tajik folk.[139]

A.D. Babayev supposes that the largest *Wakhi* fortresses were counted as one of the most powerful fortified constructions of ancient Central Asia. It is a good sample of Central Asian schools of fortification in its mountainous variant. He emphasizes that, through Pamir passed not only trade but also military routes and precisely then the Wakhi fortresses were strengthened and expanded.[140]

As I defined it in chapter Three territory in the case of Pamir should not be dealt apart from regionalism. Regionalism has played an important role in the politics of Tajikistan not only during the Soviet times but at the present as well. It is due to regionalism that territory gains a specific meaning. The significance of regionalism will be discussed in chapter Six.

4.3. Ethnogenesis

A common origin plays an important role in ethnicity-building according to Smith and Bromley. According to Bromley, a vital component of ethnic consciousness is the idea of a common origin. This consciousness is a fundamental feature characterizing an ethnic community and it is particularly evident in the case of re-settlers who lose it only after a long period of time. Practically, *ethnos* exists as long as its members preserve the idea about their affiliation to it.[141]

Anthropologically the population of the western Pamir belongs to a Central Asian innerbasin race (Transoxiana region) and represents the descendants of the ancient

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[139] Ibid., p. 12

[140] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 23

[141] Bromley Yu, *Soviet Ethnology and Anthropology Today* (N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Mouton, the Hague, 1974), p. 65

local population.[142] In antique times, at the end of the 1[rst] millennium B.C., the remote ancestors of Pamiri nationalities lived in the region of upper Amu Darya (Panj river) and in its inflows. The territory where they settled was adjacent with the central location of the Indio-Iranian tribes. Ancient Sacks and probably the tribes of Dards became one of the basic elements in the ethnogenesis of the Pamiri nationalities.[143]

A grave known as *Chilkhona* dated by A.D. Babayev as belonging to the 3-1[rst] centuries B.C. provided the first evidence for the existence of the Sacks culture in Western Pamir. Now, as Babayev asserts, "we have indisputable certificate that some groups of eastern Sacks moved to Western Pamir, to the Wakhon valley".[144] He considers that Sacks, shifting to a settled way of life, as part of the ethnogenesis of the Wakhis. On the basis of linguistic, archaeological and historical materials it is possible to assert that the tribes of Sacks, speaking eastern Iranian languages, were the basic component in the ethnogenesis of Pamir nationalities from the 4th century B.C. up to the second half of the 5th century AD.[145] In the 6th century Badakhshan, besides Western Pamir, was under Turkic governance. However, as anthropological materials testify, there is no Turkic element in the ethnogenesis of Pamir nationalities.[146]

From the physical aspect, the Pamiris carry the peculiarity of belonging to Arian race and the admixture of alien-Turkish blood, as can be found in Persians that is almost imperceptible. There are many blond and brown-haired people with blue eyes among the Pamiris.[147] Babrinsky points out that, during the discussions he carried out with them, the mountaineers underlined their Iranian origin. They sometimes call

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[142] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 14; also see V. A. Ranov, "Nekotoriye Voprosi Zaseleniya Pamira v Drevnosti (Some Questions about the Settlement of Pamir in the Past)", in M.S. Asimov, (ed.), *Pamirovedeniye II (Observing Pamir II)*, Donish, Dushanbe (1985), p. 88

[143] Ibid., p. 19

[144] Ibid., p. 23

[145] Ibid.

[146] Ibid.

[147] N. A. Khalfin, *Rossiaya i Bukharskiy Emirat na Zapadnom Pamire (Russia and Emirate of Bukhara in Western Pamir)*, Nauka, Moscow, (1975), p. 110

themselves Iranian in addition to their Tajik title. They often mentioned that they are Tajiks as the people from Darvaz.[148] According to Eugeen Roosens,

> the reference to origin is, without being an indispensable human trait, the primary source of ethnicity which makes a socio-cultural boundary into an ethnic boundary.[149]

However, on the other hand, she indicates that nobody could maintain that ethnic identity as a "feeling" that is determined by genes or by the "blood" and that one carries it with oneself in all circumstances of life.[150] Furthermore, although a belief in common ancestry is widely acknowledged by Pamiris, as it is understood by Monogarova's inquiry, they do not attribute to it as a main feature of dichotomization with Tajiks. Henceforth, ethnogenesis is not considered by me as a main component of self-consciousness in Pamiri case.

4.4. Religion

According to Smith, religion, too, may coincide or cross-cut other features of shared culture.[151] As Lubin points out, Islam is deeply ingrained in Central Asian ethnicity and culture.[152] Monogarova implies that, the role of religion in ethnic divisions especially in countries of Muslim Asia should always be taken into account while studying ethnic processes because, religious distinctions had a greater importance than ethnic ones in life and in social relations.[153]

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[148] Babrinsky A.A, *Gortsi Verxovev Pyandja: Wakhantsi i Ishkashimtsi (Mountaineers of Upper Panj: Wakhis and Ishkashimis)*, Moscow, (1908), p. 46

[149] Eugeen Roosens, "The primordial nature of origins in migrant ethnicity", in Vermeulen and Cora Govers, (eds.), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity-Beyond Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (The Netherlands: Het Spinhuis, 1994), p. 83

[150] Eugeen, Roosens, *Creating Ethnicity-The Process of Ethnogenesis* (London: Sage, 1989), p. 16

[151] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p. 27

[152] Nancy Lubin, "Islam and Ethnic Identity in Central Asia: A View from Below", in Yaacov Ro'i, (ed.), *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies* (Portland, Or.: F. Cass, 1995), p. 56

[153] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture),* N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 34

The religious differences between Tajiks and Pamiris should be mentioned since it marks the social boundary between them. In western Pamir the leading role was played by Ismailism, a sect of Shi'a Islam. Its followers esteem "alive God" that carries by inheritance the title Agha-Khan, whose official residence was in Bombay. The followers, before the Bolsheviks came to power, sent him to Bombay every year *zekat* (obligatory alms) through the religious leaders (*ishan*). From 1885 onwards, the title Agha-Khan was carried by Sultan Muhammed-shah (1877-1957).[154]

The extension of Islam in the form of Ismailism in upper Panj has begun in the 11th century. In the 12th century the population of western Pamir as whole adopted Islam. Marco Polo, when passed through Wakhon in 1274 referred to the population here as Muslims.[155] The missioner of Ismailism was the well-known philosopher, poet and traveler, Nosir-i Khisrav, who lived in the 11th century. Ismailism, divining Ali, the son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad, is one of the main sects of Shi'a Islam.[156] According to Ismailis the sect raised in the midth of the 8th century as a result of the dispute over the inheritance of *imamat** under the sixth Shi'a *imam* Ja'far-al-Sadiq, who deprived his elder son Ismail from the rights of heritage due to his addiction to alcohol. Some of adherents of Ja'far did not agree with this decision and declared Ismail as the legal seventh *imam*. They created the sect of Ismailis as a deviation from orthodox Shi'a. Depriving Ismail from the rights to inherit the imamat served as an excuse for the formation of a new sect.[158] Daftary in his, "A short history of

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[154] N. A. Khalfin, *Rossiaya i Bukharskiy Emirat na Zapadnom Pamire (Russia and Emirate of Bukhara in Western Pamir)*, Nauka, Moscow, (1975), p. 7

[155] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 30

[156] Ibid.

* The Shi'i conception of religious authority, which set the Shi'a in general apart from the groups later designated as Sunni, came to be embodied in the central Shi'i doctrine of the imamate expended by the Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq and his associates. The doctrine of the imamate has retained a central position in the teachings of the Ismailis. [Source: Farhad Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis* (Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 1]

[158] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture),* N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), pp. 30-31

* This branch of Shi'ism recognized twelve spiritual leaders after the prophet Muhammad, culminating in Muhammad al-Mahdi, a mystic figure who disappeared into occultation and who it is

Ismailis" collected historical record about Ismaili community. According to historical sheet the first Ismaili state, the Fatimid caliphate, was formed in 909 in North Africa in which the Ismaili *imam* was assigned as the caliph in opposition to the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad. The establishment of this first Shi'i caliphate represented a serious challenge to the authority of the Abbasid caliph, the official spokesman of Sunni Islam and the position of the Sunni *'ulama'* who legitimized the Abbasids' authority and defined Sunnism as the true interpretation of Islam. The Ismailis, as the Imami Shi'i Muslims (Imami Shi'ism is the common heritage of the major Shi'i communities of Ithna'ashariyya*, namely Twelvers and Isma'iliyya) developed their own interpretation of the Islamic message and thus offered a viable alternative to Sunni "orthodoxy."[159]

The death of Fatimid caliph-imam-al-Mustansir in 1094 resulted in a dispute over the succession of the caliphate between his eldest son Nizar and his youngest son Ahmad who was actually assigned as the caliphate by the all-powerful Fatimid vizier al-Afdal with the title of al-Musta'li bi'llah. Subsequently, Nizar revolted to assert his claims but he was defeated and executed in 1095. As a result of these events, the unified Ismaili community of the latter decades of al-Mustansir's reign was permanently split into two rival factions, the Nizariyya and the Musta'liyya.[160]

In the 1840s, the seat of the Nizari Ismaili imamate was transferred from Persia to India, initiating the modern period in the history of the Nizari community. Benefiting from the modernizing policies and the elaborate network of institutions established by their last two imams, known internationally by their hereditary title of Agha Khan, the Nizaris have emerged as an educated and prosperous community. Numbering several millions, the Nizari Ismaili Muslims are currently scattered in more than twenty-five countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and North America.[161]

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said will return on the day of judgment. (Source: William O. Beeman, "The Struggle For Identity in Post-Soviet Tajikistan", *Meria*, Volume 3, No. 4, (December 1999), [Online: http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1999/issue4/jv3n4a7.html].

[159] Farhad Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis* (Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 2

[160] Ibid., pp. 2-3

[161] Ibid., p. 4

The elaboration of the term *Assassins* (Nizari Ismailis were referred by some orientalists in this way) by Daftary is worth mentioning. He argues that the usage of this term is wrong and this brings a new approach. He argues that,

> the western tradition of calling the Nizari Ismailis by the name of *Assassins* can be traced to the Crusaders and their Latin chroniclers as well as other occidental observers who had originally heard about these sectarians in the Levant. The name, or more appropriately misnomer, *Assassin*, which was originally derived under obscure circumstances from variants of the word *hashish*, the Arabic name for a narcotic product, and which later became the common occidental term for designating the Nizari Ismailis, soon acquired a new meaning in European languages; it was adopted as a common noun meaning murderer. However, the doubly pejorative appellation of *Assassins* continued to be utilized as the name of the Nizari Ismailis in western languages; and this habit was reinforced by Silvestre de Sacy and other prominent orientalists of the nineteenth century who had begun to produce the first scientific studies about the Ismailis.[162]

Daftary rejects the etymological explanation formulated by Sacy who connected the word Assassin to Arabic word hashish. As Daftary argues, Sacy in support of his hypothesis, was able to cite Arabic texts, notably those written by the Syrian chronicler Abu Shama, in which the Nizari Ismailis were in fact called 'Hashishi' (in plural, 'Hashishiyya'). However, Sacy could not produce similar substantiating quotations for the second Arabic form of his suggested etymology, namely *hashshash* (*hashshashin*), which would propose a more modern word and an alternative term for a hashish taker.[163] According to Sacy, as Daftary mentions, the Nizaris must have actually used hashish, or a hashish-containing potion and this is why they were called 'Hashishins'. Though Sacy, as Daftary continues, did exclude the possibility of any habitual use of this drug by the *fida'is* (also called *fidawis* meaning the young self-sacrificing devotees who offered themselves for such suicidal missions).[164] Daftary argues that, at the beginning of the 19th century, European knowledge of the Ismailis had not essentially advanced beyond what the Crusaders and other occidental sources had transmitted on the subject. During the Renaissance, the Nizaris were occasionally mentioned by travelers or pilgrims to the

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[162] Farhad Daftary, *The Assassin Legends* (I.B. Tauris, London, New York, 1995), p. 3

[163] Ibid., p. 133

[164] Ibid., p. 134

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Holy Land without any new details. Meanwhile, by the middle of the 14th century, the word *assassin*, instead of denoting a name for a "mysterious" community in Syria, had acquired a new meaning in Italian, French and other European languages; it had become a common term meaning 'professional murderer'.[165]

The study of Ismailis is based on the allegorical interpretation of Koran. Ismailis assume that the God is unreachable for human perception and that there can be no material attributes. Therefore, Ismailis do not have any special places for praying (mosques).[166] The incarnation of souls (*tanakhus*) is significant in Ismailism.[167] There are many variations in Ismailism. The way Ismailism spread among the Pamir population is the same as with the Ismailis of Iran, Afghanistan, India, north and eastern Africa, Syria and western China. This way of perception recognizes an "alive God" and Agha Khan as its head, leading his "divine" origin from one of the branches of Fatimis caliphs.[168]

Recognizing as their chiefs holy Muhammad, his daughter Fatima, son-in-law Ali and grandsons Hasan and Huseyn, the Pamiris call their religion "*dini pendj ten*" (the religion of five personage) and perceive themselves as the followers of this religion, which they name as "*pendj teni*". The symbolic mark of belonging to "*penj ten*" is a hand with extended five fingers, a sign which can often be seen in high rocks and stones in Shughnon and Wakhon. The teaching of this religion undoubtedly was born from Ismailism but it became distinguished from it soon. "P*endj ten*" became a distinct religion having almost nothing in common with Islam as Persian Babism do.[169] As Benningsen points out, the national consciousness of the Pamiri peoples is

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[165] Ibid., p.14

[166] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 31

[167] Ibid.; also see Babrinsky A.A, *Gortsi Verxovev Pyandja: Wakhantsi i Ishkashimtsi (Mountaineers of Upper Panj: Wakhis and Ishkashimis)*, Moscow, (1908), p.54

[168] Ibid.

[169] N. A. Khalfin, *Rossiaya i Bukharskiy Emirat na Zapadnom Pamire (Russia and Emirate of Bukhara in Western Pamir)*, Nauka, Moscow, (1975), p. 103

based on religion. Since the 11th century they were part of the Ismaili sect as a result of the missionary activities of the great mystic poet Nosir-i Khisrav (1004-72).[170]

The duties of Muslims as guided by their prophet include practicing Islam five times praying per day, pilgrimage to holy places, fasting and ablution. However, none of them are compulsory. Therefore nobody practices them properly. Circumcision and polygamy are the continuing practices of Islam in "*pendj teni*". The income tax in the form of giving money to the poor people (obligatory alms in Islam-*zekat*) is sacrificing one tenth of all that the *pendj teni* earns to his leader that resides in Bombay.[171]

They also do not have shrines, monks or nuns. Every educated person, if he wants, can be circumcised and marriage or burial ceremonies can be accompanied by reading some prayers in Arabic or Persian that have all been gathered in a special collection. Respecting the stones, some graves which are perceived to be the resting places of the descendants of Ali and carrying "*tumars*" on the neck (known as *talisman*) and worshiping fire are all the practices of *Panj-teni*.[172]

The religious leaders of Pamiris are known as *ishans* and all of them are considered as *seids*, the descendants of Ali. If a person is not *seid* he cannot be an *ishan*. Thus the title of *ishan* remains in the same families but it does not always pass from the father to his eldest son. The son obtains this title only if the disciples agree and if the chief of the religion, Agha-Khan, gives his approval.[173] While preparing to become an *ishan*, the *seids* learn Koran and study the sacred books of their religion, the main four books are as follows: "*Vadjkhud-din*" (directions in faith), "*Kalami-pir*" (the word of tutor), "*Ummul-kitab*" (the mother of books) and "*Ishar*". There are other works that are not obligatory to study for *ishans* which are "*Rushnoi noma*", "*Kaznul Hakaik*" and the work of a poet, *suffi* Shemseddin Tabrezi, who is not known by European orientalists. All the mentioned works bear the traces of Persian *Sufism*: they reject the scholastic Sunni interpretation of divinity. According to these

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[170] Alexandre Benningsen, S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslims of the Soviet Empire* (C. Hurst & Co., London, 1985), p. 122

[171] N. A. Khalfin, *Rossiaya i Bukharskiy Emirat na Zapadnom Pamire (Russia and Emirate of Bukhara in Western Pamir)*, Nauka, Moscow, (1975), p. 104

[172] Ibid.

[173] Ibid.

works the religion is interpreted differently by Mosses, Jesus and Muhammad and different religious views should not serve as a reason for the separation of different peoples and viewed as standing against the basic principles of Sunnism. All the sacred books of *pendj-teni* carry the bold trace of Jesus' dogma. For example it is cited that do not respond to bad action in the same manner. In *penjteni* it is prescribed in the same way as in Bible: "do not resist an evil person. If someone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also."[174] (Matthew 5:39) Among the followers of Agha-Khan there are not only Muslims from different sects but also Buddhists, Brahmans and even Christians.[175]

The philosophical side of Ismailism cannot easily be understood by the people, besides many members of the clergy too have a poor understandings of it. The Ismaili religion developed under the influence of Indo-Persian teachings of Islam and the population of Pamir adopted Ismailism since they lived in a patriarchal-feudal order and adhered old animistic beliefs.[176]

Further, the Bukhara emirate was the place where Sunni Islam was dominant and officials sent by *Emir* to Rushon, Shughnon and Wakhon perceived the local people as almost "faithless".[177] Agha-Khan and all of his followers are the admirers of Ali, therefore they are very critical about the Sunni's. During the annexation of these lands to Bukhara khanate Agha-Khan himself, as Khalfin states, several times in his messages to Afghan and Pamiri followers advised them first to pray for God's mercy and then pray for the English and tsarist Russians' help for the Sunni yoke.[178]

The first pretext of Bukhara governors to repress the local population was due to the religious affiliation of Pamiris. The Bukhara Sunnis perceived the Pamiris as infidels and according to Koran since they were viewed as not belonging to any religious group that have sacred books (such as the Christians, Jews and Muslims)

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[174] Ibid., pp. 104-105

[175] Ibid., p. 107

[176] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and cultur*e), N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 33

[177] N. A. Khalfin, *Rossiaya i Bukharskiy Emirat na Zapadnom Pamire (Russia and Emirate of Bukhara in Western Pamir)*, Nauka, Moscow, (1975), p. 8

[178] Ibid., p. 107

they had to be deprived from all humanistic rights.[179] As Monogarova asserts, one of the main reasons why Pamiris accepted Ismailism can be seen as their extreme tolerance to various beliefs compared to the other sects of Islam.[180]

Mawlana Hazir Imam Shah Karim al-Husayni, as he is addressed by his followers, is the forty-ninth and the present imam of the Nizari Ismailis and also the fourth imam who carries the title Agha Khan. He is internationally known as His Highness Prince Karim Agha Khan IV.[181]

Islam is overwhelmingly believed to be a cornerstone of Tajik national identity. Being a Tajik is indivisibly tied to being a Muslim (though not vice versa). A non-Muslim Tajik is not acceptable for the great majority of Tajiks. Religion enjoys a pivotal importance for national identity on a par with language.[182] According to Hickson, Tajik identity is historically an Islamic identity. Islam has played a significant role in how Tajiks define themselves and how outsiders define the Tajik people.[183] Due to different religious belonging of Pamiris and Tajiks, Monogarova argues that,

> different religious belongings of Pamiri nationalities (professing Ismailism) and Tajiks (Sunnism) has played one of the leading roles in the exclusion of Pamiris and was one of the main reasons in restraining until recently the rapprochement of these peoples.[184]

Although a religious affiliation has not been attributed as a cornerstone of ethnic identity by Pamiris during the Soviet era, the importance of it gained special meaning

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[179] Ibid.; also see N. M. Akramov, *Voprosi Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii Narodov Pamira v Trudakh B. L. Grombachevskogo (The Question of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of Pamiri People in the work of B.L. Grombachevsky),* Irfon, Dushanbe, (1974), p. 9

[180] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 33

[181] Farhad Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis* (Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p.206

[182] Akbarzadeh Shahran, "Why did nationalism fail in Tajikistan", *Europe-Asia Studies* (Nov 1996), [Online: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m3955/is_n7_v48/ai_19226485/pg_1].

[183] Hickson Jill E, "Using Law to Create National Identity: The course to democracy in Tajikistan", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol. 38 (Spr 2003), p. 358

[184] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture),* N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 34

after the dissolution of Soviet empire. Especially the economic and humanitarian help of religious leader of Ismaili sect Agha-Khan during the catastrophic Tajik civil war to Pamiris revived a religious consciousness among Pamiris. However, today the secular population of Pamir perceives Ismailism more likely an ethno-political trend than a pure faith. In this respect, I consider religion, besides a sense of regionalism of Pamiris, as a new source of ethnic self-consciousness.

4.5. Language

Dorian marked it out that an ethnic language serves its speakers as an identity marker. Although many behaviors can mark identity, language is the only one that actually carries extensive cultural content.[185] The link between an ethnic language and the history of an ethnic group, according to Dorian is usually a close one. For example, if the group still lives its traditional lands, geographical features will have indigenous-language names that reflect the group's deep connection to the region.[186]

Language is the most important means of communication but it is also part of the spiritual wealth of a nation, binding a person to his native region and to his national culture.[187] Native languages of Pamiri nationalities belong to the southeastern branch of Iranian languages.[188] Pamiri ethnicities due to their geographic isolation and to some historical and socio-economic conditions formed an independent ethnicity with their languages distinct from the Tajik language. Although Pamiri languages belong to the same group of eastern-Iranian languages they exclude common understanding among themselves. Tajik language (Persian) was used for communication as between them and with neighboring peoples as well.[189]

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[185] Nancy C. Dorian, "Linguistic and Ethnographic Fieldwork", in Fishman Joshua, (ed.), *Language and Ethnic Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 31

[186] Ibid., p. 32

[187] E. Bagramov, "The National Problem and Social Science", in Martha B. Olcott, (ed.), *The Soviet Multinational State* (Sharpe, New York, 1990), p. 75

[188] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 13

[189] Ibid., pp.25-26

Since the end of the 19th century, when the Pamiri languages were known, this mountainous region served as a pilgrimage for many Iranians and orientalists of different countries. Linguists and philologists accept Pamir as a "linguistic museum". Particularly in the mountainous valley and ravines of Badakhshan many languages and dialects with ancient and archaic traits remained intact. Therefore the characteristics of the Pamiri languages have a precarious meaning not only for the elaboration and interpretation of history of Pamiri speaking population, but for other Iranian speaking peoples as well. Based on the linguistic data of the Pamiri languages, different historical problems including the culture and husbandry of Tajik ancestors-ancient Arians, Bactrians, Sogdians, Horezmians and other Iranian speaking peoples can be confidently interpreted and solved.[190]

The claim that Tajik language was widely used in the literature in the past as the second language in western Pamir raises some doubts. Actually, Tajik language, called as *forsi* (Persian) by Pamiris, served as a language of dialogue long before between Pamiris and the Tajiks as two neighboring districts. However, this is not a sufficient evidence to consider all Pamiris of the 19th century and the early 20th century to be bilingual.[191]

As it was indicated several times there are three different languages in western Pamir that are quite different from one another, namely Shugni, Wakhi and Ishkoshimi. Basing on Smith's argument I asserted that difference in speech between Pamiri ethnicities does not impair the sense of Pamiri identity among Shugnis, Rushonis, Wakhis and Ishkoshimis. The majority of Tajiks, as my field research testifies, still think that Pamiris possess one common language. Such kind of belief is important, since as I mentioned before ethnic boundaries, thus identities, are constructed by both the individual and the group as well as by the outside agents and organizations. Such consideration by Tajiks externally motivates the Pamiri ethnic boundary construction. This belief summons the function of identity marker to language in Pamiri case.

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[190] D. Karamshoev, "Osnovniye Etapi Razvitiya Pamirskoy Filologii (The Main Stages of Development of Pamiri Philology), in A. M. Muhrarov, (ed.), *Pamirovedeniye I (Observing Pamir I)*, Donish, Dushanbe, (1984), p. 163

[191] Ibid., p. 160

4.6. Endogamy & Exogamy

According to Bromley, an essential feature of an *ethnos* which in effect has until recently been left out of account by researchers is endogamy. In the literal sense of the word: couples mainly marry within their own community. The importance of endogamy is that, it is a sort of stabilizer of *ethnos* by transmitting cultural information. Endogamy sustains the ethnic homogenity, thus ensuring inheritance of traditional culture from one generation to another. At the same time marriage within an endogamous circle inevitably furthered cultural uniformity.[192]

Various factors contribute to endogamous boundaries, including natural and socio-political barriers (language, state frontiers, etc.), and separate components of social consciousness such as religion and ethnic consciousness. As scientific and technological progress makes headway, accompanied by improvements in the means of communications, natural factors recede more into the background.[193]

As Benningsen points out, there are particularly no mixed marriages between the Ismailis and the Sunnis.[194] But again in Tajikistan case, according to me, the factor that contributed for endogamous boundaries between Tajik with Tajik and Tajik with Pamiri, apart from religion, is regionalism. As Vassiliev argues, the strength of traditions and the affection of the Tajiks for their own regions is clear from the fact that inter-regional marriages are much more unusual than even inter-ethnic ones.[195]

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[192] Bromley Yu, *Soviet Ethnology and Anthropology Today* (N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Mouton, the Hague, 1974), p. 65

[193] Ibid.

[194] Alexandre Benningsen, S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslims of the Soviet Empire* (C. Hurst & Co., London, 1985), p. 123

[195] Alexei Vassiliev, *Central Asia: Political and Economic Challenges in the Post-Soviet Era* (Saqi, London, 2001), p. 176

CHAPTER 5

THE FORMATION OF PAMIRI ETHNIC IDENTITY DURING THE SOVIET ERA

In this chapter I will discuss the factors that have caused a shift in the sources of Pamiri identity, namely a shift from a regional basis of identity to an ethnic one, during the Soviet era. As it was mentioned in the previous chapters, political policies have an enormous power in shaping and reshaping ethnic identification and/or ethnic affiliation of any ethnic group. In this regard, the Soviet nationality policy and Soviet language policy will be analyzed in relation to the role they have played in the ethnic designation of the Pamiri people. Before considering the Soviet method of dealing with the nationality question, the historical and political developments in the region during the late 19th century will be discussed in detail in order to better grasp the pre-Soviet developments in the region.

5.1. The Cursed Triangle: Russia-Bukhara-Pamir

Western penetration to Central Asia began in the late 19th century. The British hope to extend their influence in Afghanistan advanced them from the southeast of the region while the Russians advanced from the northwest. For both powers the area was of military and political importance and thus their agents were military and intelligence officers rather than merchants or missionaries. The Russian conquest of Central Asia began in the 1860s. It was prompted by the need for cotton to replace the loss caused by the American Civil War and by the desire to protect Russian settlers and traders from nomadic raids.[196]

The competition between Russia and England for expanding their influence in this part of Central Asia has led to the invasion of Wakhon, Shughnon and Rushon by the *emir* of Afghanistan, Abdurahman-khan, with the support of England in

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[196] Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, *Russia and Nationalism in Central Asia* (John Hopkins Press, London, 1970), p. 13

1883.[197] The aggressive policies of *emir* Abdurrahman have prompted counter actions from tsarist Russia. The agreement between Russia and England on 25 February 1895 has determined the Pamir delimitation according to which the left-bank of Darvaz and some parts of Rushon, Shughnon and Wakhon territories on the left coast of Pandj river were given to Afghanistan.[198] On 27 August 1895 the English-Russian delimitation commission in Pamir finalized the border delimitation. The head of the British mission, General Gerard, summarized the situation as such, "here is the end for the Pamir dispute!"[199] Actually the 1895 delimitation added further to the disagreement between Britain and the Russian empire in the East, in other words to the well-known English-Russian competition in Asia in the 19th century.[200] The 1895 English-Russian agreement determined the border between Russia and Afghanistan in the Pamir region. They recognized the upper and middle stream of Amudarya (Oxus) as the most distant points of the Russian empire at this part of the Asian continent.[201]

However, the delimitation was made without taking into account the national interests of the communities in the region and this has further complicated the process of ethnic identity formation among the western Pamir nationalities. To compensate the loss of the left-bank of Darvaz to the *emir* of Bukhara due to the agreement of 1896 signed between Russia and Bukhara, the administrative control of Wakhon, Shughnon and Rushon on the right bank was nominally transferred to the *emir*.[202] The newly appointed officials from Bukhara caused various kinds of violence

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[197] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 35

[198] Ibid., p. 36; also see Babrinsky A.A, *Gortsi Verxovev Pyandja: Wakhantsi i Ishkashimtsi (Mountaineers of Upper Panj: Wakhis and Ishkashimis)*, Moscow, (1908), p. 4

[199] N. A. Khalfin, *Rossiaya i Bukharskiy Emirat na Zapadnom Pamire (Russia and Emirate of Bukhara in Western Pamir)*, Nauka, Moscow, (1975), p. 3

[200] Ibid.

[201] Ibid.; also see Babrinsky A.A, *Gortsi Verxovev Pyandja: Wakhantsi i Ishkashimtsi (Mountaineers of Upper Panj: Wakhis and Ishkashimis)*, Moscow, (1908), p. 4

[202] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 36

that forced Pamiris to inform the Russian military representatives in the region and requested annexation with Russia.[203] The tsarist government several times declined to accept the request of western Pamir inhabitants. The tsarist government did not want to invest its financial means to the rebuilding of this region.[204] Giving Pamir to Bukhara, the tsarist government intended to create an additional buffer zone.[205]

The *Emir* approached to this award unfavorably and he did not expect the small populated and poor territory of western Pamir to be given to him. As understood from the official correspondences regarding this question, the *emir* expected that he would get the lands somewhere near Pendjikent (Samarqand region) instead of Darvaz.[206] The head of the Russian military group in Pamir, captain Egert, admitted the possibility of the desertion of the local population to different regions due to the national opposition towards the Bukhara government. If the population deserted from the region to other places it would not only damage the foreign policy plans of Petersburg regarding Central Asia but also the prestige of the empire in the eyes of neighbouring tribes and peoples. Taking this into account in addition to the antipathy of Pamiris towards Bukhara, captain Egert thought that the only way to follow was to include Rushon, Shughnon and Wakhon to Russia.[207]

The Minister of foreign affairs of Russia, M. N. Muravyev, together with the military governor of Ferghana valley, Chaykovskiy, supported the idea that the transfer of Pamiri administrations to Bukhara was not congruent with the intention of the local population nor with Russian interests since the transfer of these lands to Russia would certainly be perceived as a threat by the English.[208]

At the beginning of the 20th century a sensitive situation occurred for Russia. In all the neighbouring lands the British influence was visible. The British planned to capture some part of Afghanistan and they were prepared to build a powerful base in

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[203] Ibid.

[204] Ibid., pp. 8-9

[205] Ibid., p. 8

[206] Ibid., p. 11

[207] Ibid., p. 29

[208] N. A. Khalfin, *Rossiaya i Bukharskiy Emirat na Zapadnom Pamire (Russia and Emirate of Bukhara in Western Pamir)*, Nauka, Moscow, (1975), p. 45

northwestern India.[209] The anxiety of *emir* in western Pamir induced him give away of the regions that were under his control to other powers. These developments in Pamir, the revolt in Wakhon, the requests of the Shughni and Rushoni peoples to include them under the Russian rule made the general-governor to reconsider his previous thoughts about the cursed triangle: Russia-Bukhara-Pamir.[210]

What made the Russian rule to seriously consider the violations of the *emir* in this region is worth discussing. Other regions of Bukhara were not in a better condition. Khalfin points out that the geographic location of Pamir that extends to the territories of China, to semi-independent principality of northern India (through Wakhon) and its being contiguous to Afghanistan, the desire of Russia to maintain its prestige in Pamir and in the neighboring lands, the motivation to persuade the people about the strength of Russia and its humanistic relations with the subordinated peoples were the main factors that made Pamir so important for Russian foreign policy.[211]

All interested parts, the political agency in Bukhara, the *emir* and his close circle, the general-governor of Turkistan, the chief of Asian department of the ministry of foreign affairs, all acknowledged the fact that the balances in the region should be changed since the Bukhara administration in western Pamir lost its reputation that it once had.[212]

On 20 November 1903 the Russian political agency accepted the 'temporary governance' of the region because a permanent Russian rule in Pamir would provoke the English to seek control in the neighboring lands.[213] The Russian rule was ready to assist the *emir* to govern these remote lands that were difficult to control from the centre. Moreover, the legal authority of the *emir* in the region was still continuing.

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[209] Ibid., p. 54

[210] Ibid., p. 62

[211] Ibid., pp. 62-63; also see M. S. Asimov, *Pamirovedeniye II (Observing Pamir II),* Donish, Dushanbe, (1985), p. 4

[212] N. A. Khalfin, *Rossiaya i Bukharskiy Emirat na Zapadnom Pamire (Russia and Emirate of Bukhara in Western Pamir)*, Nauka, Moscow, (1975), p. 63

[213] Ibid.

The *Emir* agreed with this solution and considered it as an initial step for the permanent connection of Pamir to Russia.[214]

The resolution of the problem was complicated due to the aggressive policies of the British in the neighboring lands of Turkistan during the Russian-Japanese war. However, a resolution was reached in 1905 and which satisfied to some degree all three interested parts, namely Russia, Bukhara and the people of Pamir.[215] Thus, Pamir became included under the auspices of Russian rule.[216]

As Monogarova asserts, until the October Socialist Revolution the Pamiri nationalities had not lived under the rule of a uniform central state. The states that existed were feudal possessions which were in continuous war with one another and with their powerful neighbors such as Badakhshan (the part of Badakshan in Afghanistan), Kunduz, Darvaz, and later Afghanistan and Bukhara emirate as well.[217]

After the October Socialist Revolution the Bolshevik powers reached the most distant areas of western Pamir.[218] However, the resistance of Ismaili clergy against the establishment of Soviet authority in western Pamir continued. The fortress in Khorog (the capital city of Pamir) was lost in 1919. In December 1920 the government of Turkistan ASSR (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic) sent the troops of Red Army to Pamir which protected state frontier and restored boundary posts.[219]

The English were disturbed with the establishment of Soviet authority in Pamir. They began to operate through Agha-Khan inciting *ishans* and their followers to struggle against Soviet authority.[220] Pamir region was transformed on 2 January 1925

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[214] Ibid., p. 64

[215] Ibid., p. 73; also see in M. S. Asimov, *Pamirovedeniye II (Observing Pamir II),* Donish, Dushanbe, (1985), p. 4

[216] Ibid.

[217] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture)*, N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 44

[218] Ibid., p. 45

[219] Ibid., p. 46

[220] Ibid., p. 48

as the Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region of Tajik SSR (Tajikistan became a union republic in 1929).[221]

Due to above mentioned reasons the national development of western Pamiri nationalities has been retarded. It became more difficult especially after the English-Russian demarcation of spheres of influence in 1895, leading to the division of some large nationalities, Wakhis, Shugnis and Rushonis, between the two states, namely Afghanistan and the Bukhara emirate.[222] Most of the populations of northeast Afghanistan and southern Tajikistan, although divided, are part of the same ethnic, cultural and religious communities whose political and socio-economic development was determined by circumstances largely out of their control; while one group remained under the British imperial rule the other under communism.[223]

As it is seen the Pamiri *ethnonyme* is not a product of the pre-Soviet era. The feudal possessions of Wakhon, Shugnon and Rushon were in continuous wars even with each other. Although the people belonged to the same religious sect, they were divided to different small ethnic groups such as Wakhi, Shugni and Rushoni. The commonality of religious affiliation did not provide them to act in a uniform centralized way against a Sunni yoke. Even if religion was a source of social boundary between the Sunni population and the Ismaili one, it did not cause the clustering of different Ismaili ethnic groups under a single common *ethnonym* in the pre-Soviet era.

With the establishment of the Soviet rule a new period begun that shaped the ethnic processes among these people. All republics were subjugated under a singular nationality policy that was imposed on them by the center but were implemented by the periphery republics. This policy aimed the merging and rapprochement of all small ethnic groups with the titular nations and finally with the Russian nation. Although the aim of this policy was to create a Soviet man, sometimes, as a paradox, it strengthened the local identities (national identities, ethnic identities, regional

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[221] Ibid., p. 50

[222] Ibid., p. 44

[223] Payam Foroughi, "Tajikistan: Nationalism, Ethnicity, Conflict, and Socio-economic Disparities-Sources and Solutions", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 22. No.1, (2002), [Online: http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/9BGKWLWTMKWHA4K2UX4G/Contributions/0/0/W/T/0DWTMWGKNUGXGMJ3.pdf].

identities and so forth). Soviet nationality policy is considered as one of the major factors in the ethnic consolidation of various groups under the Pamiri *ethnonym*. In the following chapter, the Soviet nationality policy of each leader will be discussed and its affects on Pamiri identity will be analyzed.

5.2. The Soviet Nationality Policy and Pamiri Ethnic Identity

As Karklins argues, the peoples who lived in the Soviet Union had a dual identity. One of these identities was common to all of them since they were all "Soviets" but the other identity varied in more than a hundred ways as there were more than a hundred officially recognized nationalities.[224] One finds that in the USSR personal ethnic identification can diverge from passport nationality, which for its part can diverge from the nationality registered by the official census-taker.[225] In my previous debate based on Monogarova's testimony, I mentioned the argument of Wakhi from Langar village. The man indicated that according to their culture they are Wakhi but according to their nationality they are Tajik. In this regard Karklins' argument is true. Hickson supports Karklins at this point and implies that the Soviet Union organized the society into multiple nations and nationalities, which existed as distinct social categories separate from statehood and citizenship. In the case of Central Asia, it successfully invented national identities exclusively at the sub-state level, disregarding the link between nationhood and the Soviet state as a whole.[226] Hickson's argument in this form recalls Gellner's approach regarding the issue of a nation and nationalism. As Gellner marks it out that,

> Nations, like states, are a contingency, and not a universal necessity. Neither nations nor states exist at all times and in all circumstances. Moreover, nations and states are not the same contingency…The state has certainly emerged without the help of the nation. Some nations have certainly emerged without the blessings of their own state. It is more debatable whether the normative idea of the nation, in its modern sense, did not presuppose the prior existence of the state.[227]

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[224] Karklins Rasma, *Ethnic Relations in the USSR-The Perspective from Below* (Boston: Allen&Unvin, 1986), p. 22

[225] Ibid., p. 23

[226] Hickson Jill E, "Using Law to Create National Identity: The course to democracy in Tajikistan", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol. 38 (Spr 2003), pp. 360-61

[227] Gellner Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism* (Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 6

According to this perspective Gellner suggests that nations like states are invented and this fits to my argument which I discussed in the third chapter that Tajik identity already existed in a latent form before the Soviets came to power therefore, while inventing the state the Soviets did not face much problem in creating a common Tajik identity. Whether this explanation fits to Pamiri ethnic identity is an important question to be asked. Was it also invented like other ethnic identities? In my point of view, Pamir, as a marker of ethnic identity, is the alteration of already existing different ethnic identities which gathered different peoples under a single name. Soviet nationality policy unexpectedly contributed for the consolidation of Pamiri identity, in other words, to the coming together of various different linguistic communities under the name of the Pamiris. Hickson continues his argument and points out that,

> while extremely successful, the Soviet system's pervasive method of institutionalizing nationhood in this manner (politically, economically, and culturally) makes restructuring society more difficult. The legacy of the Soviet Union is for Tajikistan, like most other Soviet Republics, a legacy of deeply structured and powerfully conflicting expectations of belonging.[228]

Nagel suggests that, official ethnic categories and policies can strengthen ethnic boundaries by serving as the basis for discrimination and repression and thus reconstruct the meaning of particular ethnicities.[229] According to Nagel,

> If informal ethnic meanings and transactions can shape the everyday experiences of minority groups, formal ethnic labels and policies are even more powerful sources of identity and social experience. Official ethnic categories and meanings are generally political. As the state has become the dominant institution in society, political policies regulating ethnicity increasingly shape ethnic boundaries and influence patterns of ethnic identification.[230]

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[228] Hickson Jill E, "Using Law to Create National Identity: The course to democracy in Tajikistan", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol. 38 (Spr, 2003), pp. 360-61

[229] Nagel Joane, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture", *Social Problems*, Vol. 41, No:1, (February, 1994), p. 158

[230] Ibid., pp. 156-157

Lenin, in order to get the support of nationalists, granted them autonomy within the Soviet Union. However, Hickson continues, neither nationalist groups nor a working class existed. Therefore, this fact pushed Lenin to create nations in Central Asia.[231] The approach for the nationality question that was sought during the seventy years Soviet rule is based on Lenin's ideas about the nationality question. All Soviet leaders followed the Leninist nationality policy that aimed an utopian goal, i.e. to form a heterogeneous unity.[232] As Shanin points out,

> The slogan, 'ethnic in form, socialist in content,' was designed to describe this policy package, which was ideologically embedded in historiographic assumptions defined by Marxist-Leninism and the main motive during the Soviet rule with regards to the Soviet nationality policy was to be consistent with Lenin's thoughts. Life in the USSR was described as the "flourishing of all nations" within a socialist society of equals. Further, industrialization would make the Soviet society a communist society while its ethnic future would bring about the merging of all ethnic groups into a Soviet super-ethnicity.[233]

Gleason begins his discussion with Marx and Engels. According to Gleason, both Marx and Engels saw collective sentiments which supported national movements as the result of economic forces. Thus, for both of them collective sentiments were epiphenomenal in nature and ephemeral in significance.[234] Neither thinkers attributed an importance to the national sentiment. The nation according to both of them was a collectivity united on the basis of a common language and "sympathies."[235] Further, Gleason compares Lenin with Marx and indicates some commonalities. As Gleason points out, for Lenin the question of national sentiment was as ephemeral and thus malleable. Like Marx, Lenin used the national sentiment to promote his own political

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[231] Hickson Jill E, "Using Law to Create National Identity: The course to democracy in Tajikistan", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol. 38 (Spr 2003), p. 360

[232] Gregory Gleason, "Determining the Character of Soviet Nationality Policy", in Huttenbach Henry, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies* (London, 1990), p. 10

[233] Teodor Shanin, "Ethnicity in the Soviet Union", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 31, Cambridge University Press, (1989), p. 418

[234] Gregory Gleason, "Determining the Character of Soviet Nationality Policy", in Huttenbach Henry, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies* (London, 1990), pp. 11-12

[235] Ibid.

agenda. Lenin thought that a nation will be assimilated to the role of social classes.[236] For the theoretical Lenin, Gleason continues, the principle of antagonism and enmity among the nations was due to the institution of capitalist private property and the capitalists' control of the means of production.[237]

D'Encausse points out to the fact that Lenin's revolutionary strategy was responsible for the Bolshevik success in 1917. Once Lenin came to power it was a time to solve the problem of integration under the new system through the national forces that the Bolsheviks had manipulated in order to come to power. The primarily problem for incorporating the national forces into the emergent socialist state was twofold. The first, the Bolsheviks and Lenin supported the idea that a socialist state should be unitary. The second, proletarian internationalism could allow no room for national differences and aspirations.[238] Lenin always pursued the idea that national differences that weaken the unity of the working class should be eliminated.[239]

D'Encausee compares Stalin with Lenin and implies that Stalin regarded the nation as an historical category that was autonomous and permanent.[240] In this regard Shanin supports d'Encausse and argues that one sharp distinction between them was the one over ethnicity and nationalism. These differences as Shanin asserts, defined the actual policy toward the 'national problem' in the Soviet Union from 1924 to 1953 and its impact has extended also to the 1980s.[241] According to d'Encausse, Stalin attempted to solve the nationality problem in two new and distinctive ways. First, he placed the Russian nation in a privileged position and second, he considered relations between nations to be similar to relations between classes, that is, to be

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[236] Ibid., p. 12

[237] Ibid., pp. 12-13

[238] Helene Carrere d'Encausse, "Determinants and Parameters of Soviet Nationality Policy", in Jeremy R. Azrael, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices* (Praeger Publishers, New York, 1978), p. 39

[239] Ibid., p. 46

[240] Ibid., p. 47

[241] Teodor Shanin, "Ethnicity in the Soviet Union", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 31, Cambridge University Press, (1989), p. 417

determined by force rather than by education or understanding.[242] Believing at that time that the Russian nation was in the process of imposing its authority on other nations, Stalin decided to systematize this situation by building the Soviet state around the Russian nation and under its aegis.[243] Slezkine supports the argument of d'Encausse and Shanin and points out that, another reason for Lenin and Stalin's early sense of nationalism was the distinction that they drew between oppressor-nation nationalism and oppressed-nation nationalism. The first, sometimes glossed as 'great-power chauvinism,' was gratuitously malevolent; the second was legitimate, albeit transitory. The first was the result of unfair size advantage; the second was a reaction to discrimination and persecution.[244]

D'Encausse marks out that Stalin's policy of praising Russian nation continued until 1941. The Second World War opened the way to centrifugal forces that tried to find support in the outside world. Stalin reintroduced concessions to the nations in order to bring them back into the Soviet fold. However, after the war Stalin reverted to his prewar period practice and carried it even further and thus the Russian nation regained its role of the "elder brother".[245] Dannreuther points out that for Stalin it was not so difficult task to eliminate nationalist challenges because ethno-nationalist categories had little meaning for the Central Asian peoples. Regional, clan and tribal identities remained from the onslaught of Soviet social engineering and over time these social structures were incorporated into the Soviet administrative system as a patronage-client system. To assure effective control, Soviet officials deliberately selected certain regional, clan or tribal elite groups to implement Moscow's directives. This system especially was entrenched during Brezhnev era.[246] As Conquest puts it forward,

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[242] Helene Carrere d'Encausse, "Determinants and Parameters of Soviet Nationality Policy", in Jeremy R. Azrael, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices* (Praeger Publishers, New York, 1978), p. 48

[243] Ibid.

[244] Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism", *Slavic Review 53*, no. 2, (Summer 1994), pp. 418-19

[245] Ibid., pp. 51-52

[246] Roland Dannreuther, *Creating New States in Central Asia* (Halstan & Co. Ltd, Bucks, 1994), p. 13

> The Soviet regime, in addition to socializing the content of the non-Russian cultures, has sought to eradicate the expression of nationalist sentiment and to emphasize the cultural hegemony of the Great Russian people. This campaign against 'bourgeois nationalism' in culture was intensified after the Second World War, during which considerable concessions had been made in the interests of national unity.[247]

According to Gleason, Khrushchev's nationality policy was too optimistic. In 1961 he told to the Party Congress,

> the Party has solved one of the most complex of problems, which has plagued mankind for ages and remains acute in the world of capitalism to this day-the problem of relations between nations. Khrushchev spoke of *sliianie* (fusion) of nations.[248]

D'Encausse points out that, Khrushchev and his colleagues departed from Stalinism and attempted to strengthen the Soviet regime by institutionalizing it. Khrushchev's team wanted to build a political system that was based on some degree of social consensus. Khrushchev abandoned forced Russification in order to achieve equilibrium between the dominant Russian political culture and the national cultures.[249]

Under Brezhnev's rule, as Shanin asserts, little was done in order to understand the root of matters, although some adjustments were made.[250] As Gleason implies,

> Brezhnev adopted a "dialectical" solution to the national question. It was announced that "a new historical community, the Soviet people" had emerged. Brezhnev's compromise formula did not deny the importance of nationhood. Brezhnev averred that Soviet nationality policy called, at once for the *rastsvet* (development) of nations and the *sblizhenie* (rapprochement) of nations. Repeatedly pronouncing himself against "artificially forcing" the *sblizheniye*

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[247] Robert Conquest, *Soviet Nationalities Policy in Practice* (Bodley Head, London, 1967), p. 65

[248] Gregory Gleason, "Determining the Character of Soviet Nationality Policy", in Huttenbach Henry, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies* (London, 1990), p. 15

[249] Helene Carrere d'Encausse, "Determinants and Parameters of Soviet Nationality Policy", in Jeremy R. Azrael, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices* (Praeger Publishers, New York, 1978), p. 51

[250] Teodor Shanin, "Ethnicity in the Soviet Union", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 31, Cambridge University Press, (1989), pp. 420-21; also see Bromlei Yu, "Ethnic Processes in the USSR", in Martha B. Olcott, (ed.), *The Soviet Multinational State* (Sharpe, New York, 1990), p. 62

process, Brezhnev maintained that the "best" national traditions, values and tendencies would be promoted in the Soviet multinational state.[251]

The compromise formula of Brezhnev led to the emergence of lobbies representing native interests.[252] Fierman has a similar argument regarding the rise of the local elites in national republics. At the end of the Second World War there were signs of the development of a new indigenous political elite at the higher levels of the Communist Party and state apparatuses. This process began to weaken Moscow's control in the region. Political elites withheld information from the center and avoided meeting many of its demands. As their power at the republics increased, they began to recruit their relatives, friends, political allies, and other colleagues from their home regions to the existing political, economic, and cultural institutions.[253]

The agenda of the short-lived Andropov reign was clearly an active one in the nationality realm. Andropov discreetly sought to eliminate the expression "national republic," in favour of "union republic," in an effort to diminish the ethnoterritorial meaning and significance of the republics.[254] Andropov's approach to ethnic *problematique* differs from his predecessors. Andropov acknowledged the fact that national distinctions will exist for a long time, much longer than class distinctions.[255]

After Chernenkov's short rule, Mikhail Gorbachev returned to the activist policy of Andropov but with a different emphasis. The issue of ethnicity and/or nationalism got little prominence than economic issues. Gorbachev was little familiar about the nationalities issue than his predecessors.[256] D'Encausse points to the contradictions in

[251] Gregory Gleason, "Determining the Character of Soviet Nationality Policy", in Huttenbach Henry, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies* (London, 1990), p. 16

[252] Teodor Shanin, "Ethnicity in the Soviet Union", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 31, Cambridge University Press, (1989), pp. 420-21; also see Bromlei Yu, "Ethnic Processes in the USSR", in Martha B. Olcott, (ed.), *The Soviet Multinational State* (Sharpe, New York, 1990), p. 62

[253] William Fierman, *Soviet Central Asia: The Failed Transformation* (Bolder, San Francisco, Oxford: Western Press, 1991), pp. 24-25

[254] Gregory Gleason, "Determining the Character of Soviet Nationality Policy", in Huttenbach Henry, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies* (London, 1990), p. 16

[255] Teodor Shanin, "Ethnicity in the Soviet Union", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 31, Cambridge University Press, (1989), p. 421

[256] Ibid., pp. 421-22

Stalin's successors' policies. From one side they attempted to establish a new logic of legitimacy which was to be based on a consensus developed through the recognition of national aspirations, from the other side they simultaneously asserted that the nations of the USSR were moving toward a fusion.[257] Furthermore, as d'Encausse continues, since 1970s the attitude of the Soviet leaders towards the nationality issue has undergone two modifications. The first, they acknowledged the fact that the problems stemming from the nationality issue had increased. The second, they realized that economic deterioration would aggravate this problem further.[258] D'Encausse summarized the situation arguing that, Stalin's successors gave up the idea of a complete Russification of all Soviet nations. Like Stalin they thought Russian nation should play a central role in the organization of the entire system and that the Russian culture should occupy a pre-eminent position. They believed that societal development would lead to the desired unity without any need for violence.[259] As Slezkine points out,

> The Soviet regime forced the high priests of national cultures to be part-time worshipers of other national cultures, it instituted an administrative hierarchy that privileged some ethnic groups over others, it interfered in the selection and maintenance of national pantheons, it isolated ethnic communities from their relatives and sympathizers abroad; and it encouraged massive migrations hat resulted in competition for scarce resources, diluted the consumer base of the national elites and provoked friction over ethnic quotas. Finally and most fatefully, it deprived the various nations of the right to political independence- a right that was the culmination of all nationalist doctrines, including the one that lay at the foundation of the Soviet Union.[260]

Hirsch supports Slezkine in this term and indicates that the assimilation of nationalities into socialist nations was a repressive, violent, and participatory process, as had been the assimilation of clans and tribes into nationality categories. It was also

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[257] Helene Carrere d'Encausse, "Determinants and Parameters of Soviet Nationality Policy", in Jeremy R. Azrael, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices* (Praeger Publishers, New York, 1978), p. 52

[258] Ibid., p. 56

[259] Olcott Martha, "National Consolidation", *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 22 Issue.1, (Winter/Spring 2000). p. 50

[260] Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism", *Slavic Review 53*, no. 2, (Summer 1994), p. 451

a process wholly consistent with the long-term goals of the Soviet nationality policy.[261] However, as Tishkov puts it forward,

> Despite many crimes committed by the soviet government against ethnic groups, enormous resources also flowed into comprehensive programs to support 'national cultures'. No ethnic groups disappeared from the map of the Soviet Union during the 20th century; and the cultural mosaic was thoroughly documented, academically described, and staged in the repertories of numerous central and peripheral theatres, operas, museums, and folk music and dance groups. Precisely this soviet policy of nurturing local cultures, facilitated by the professional elite of intellectuals and managers, provided a powerful material and symbolic basis for the local nationalism that would ultimately challenge the overarching culture and common citizenship identities of the Soviet Union.[262]

Based only on the theoretical aspects of the Soviet nationality policy, in my point of view, it is difficult to make a strong analysis about the impact of this policy on Pamiri ethnicity because during the Soviet rule theoretical considerations often differed from what was actually practiced. For the instance, as a high-rank official pointed out during the interviews of my fieldwork, the center had known that Tajik national consciousness was not strong among the local ethnicities. This was one of the main reasons why Pamir region received an autonomous status within Tajikistan. It was more advantageous to assimilate them into Russians culture rather than the Tajik culture. The absence of Tajik national TV broadcasting in the region is a clear evidence of this claim and its absence could not be due to technical reasons since the Soviets were too developed in space technology. However, one can argue that according to "point five" (five was the number of the nationality line in a Soviet passport) they were always marked as Tajiks. It is true that local ethnic identities were excluded from the list during the official censuses but instead of recognizing many small ethnicities it was better for Moscow to perceive them as consolidated under Tajik national identity. Furthermore, the local national elite aroused during the Brezhnev era. The top ruling elite in the periphery republics stayed loyal to the center and in return Moscow provided some freedom to these republics in their domestic affairs. The policies implemented by the national elite reinforced the tribal, regional

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[261] Francine Hirsch, "Toward an Empire of Nations: Border-Making and the Formation of Soviet National Identities", *The Russian Review*, vol. 59. no. 2, Blackwell, (April 2000), p. 225

[262] Valery Tishkov, "Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and After the Soviet Union", Sage Publications, London, 1997, p. 234

and clan based sentiments of the pre-revolutionary period. Pamiris, formed as a particular and distinct regional group in the beginning of the Soviet regime, strengthened their ethnic identity during the following years of Brezhnev rule.[263]

The concessions to local elites did not only restrain the purpose of creating a Soviet-super ethnicity, but it also retarded the strengthening of a national identity in case of Tajikistan. Concessions were given not only to local elites but they were also on a theoretical basis critical of the Soviet nationality policy. In this respect, I perceive the outcome of these concessions as the main factor in the consolidation of Pamiri ethnic identity during and after Brezhnev's rule. The impact of these concessions on the formation of Pamiri identity will be discussed further in the following chapters since issues like regionalism as in the case of Tajikistan cannot be understood fully. However, Soviet's language policy should be analyzed first which is regarded as the most influential tool to achieve Russification and consequently Sovietisation. The unintended consequence of the Soviet language policy was the formation and development of Pamiri ethnic identity. The impact of Soviet language policy on the formation of Pamiri ethnic consciousness is a complex one which first strengthened Tajik national identity and as a consequence provided the ground for the development of other local identities such as the Pamiris.

5.3. Soviet Language Policy

Jonathan Pool points out that,

> language planning refers to systematic policies designed to maintain or change existing language situations. Languages have been created, revived, destroyed, reformed, and manipulated as far back as the fifth century B.C., so the Soviet Union is certainly not the first country in which this kind of planning has been practiced.[264]

Language planners have attempted to control the statuses, roles and functions of languages in society such as which language will be the official language, which languages will be taught in schools, or how the speakers of minority languages will be treated. In this sense they also have made plans for preserving or reforming the

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[263] As one of the interviewees, a high rank official, stated.

[264] Jonathan Pool, "Soviet Language Planning: Goals, Results, Options", in Jeremy R. Azrael, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices* (Praeger Publishers, New York, 1978), pp. 224-25

vocabularies, sound systems, word structures, sentence structures, writing systems, and stylistic repertoires of languages.[265]

According to Pool, the policy of language planning had various goals. In his words,

> Some of the most common are to bring about linguistic unit, to preserve or create linguistic distinctiveness or uniqueness, to make certain languages or their speakers equal, to make one language or its speakers superior, to develop a language so it can be used for new purposes, and to make a language more efficient as a tool of communication or more beautiful as a medium of expression. These goals have such consequences as national unity, educational progress, or a wider gap between elites and masses.[266]

As Bagramov points out Russian language was the most influential instrument through which cultural unity would be brought about in the USSR and in the whole world.[267] By maintaining tight control over the definitions of "socialist" culture and "progressive" linguistic development, the regime in Moscow sought to Russify Central Asian forms of creative expression and languages.[268] Language policy debate remained as a problematic issue during the whole USSR period.[269]

Brass marks out that the Soviet solution to the language issues was dubious. From one side the Soviet Union promoted a single language for interethnic communication and from the other it acknowledged the rights of all peoples to use their native languages in education and also in their official dealings. As Brass argues, "the Soviet Union formally has no official language, but the language of interethnic and inter-provincial communication obviously has been Russian."[270] The

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[265] Ibid., pp. 224-25

[266] Ibid., p. 225

[267] E. Bagramov, "The National Problem and Social Science", in Martha B. Olcott, (ed.), *The Soviet Multinational State* (Sharpe, New York, 1990), p.76

[268] William Fierman, *Soviet Central Asia: The Failed Transformation* (Bolder, San Francisco, Oxford: Western Press, 1991), p. 26

[269] Jonathan Pool, "Soviet Language Planning: Goals, Results, Options", in Jeremy R. Azrael, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices* (Praeger Publishers, New York, 1978), p. 240

[270] Paul R. Brass, "Language and National Identity in the Soviet Union and India", in Alexander I. Motyl, (ed.), *Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1992), p. 110

Soviet leadership has made two major and overlapping thrusts. The first began in the 1920s and it aimed to develop all national languages in education, in communications media, and public and professional life. The second thrust began in 1938 which aimed at extending Russian knowledge among the Soviet population. These two efforts conflicted with each other and often varied in intensity.[271]

As it was mentioned before Soviet leadership went to some concessions in the favor of national unity in periphery republics after the Stalin era. This stream became more intense especially during and after the Brezhnev era. As Rakowska points out, the dispute between the Communist party and Tajik intellectuals over the reevaluation of past history and the use of the language intensified in the post-1945 period. Tajik intellectuals resisted to the superiority of Russsian language over Persian one.[272] Tishkov, in this regard, also points out that the policy of extending Russian language continued during the perestroika. In Tishkov's words,

> in the Political Statement of the CPSU presented at the 27th Party Congress in 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that it had been a primary aim of the nationalities policy of the preceding period to form a 'new social and multi-national community-the Soviet people' and their 'Soviet multi-national socialist culture'.[273]

The goal aimed that "the Soviet people as the bearer of Soviet culture should share, in addition to other features, one common language."[274]

Tishkov further points out that,

> In the face of growing political and socio-cultural demands for increased social mobility among all nationalities, especially in the 1960s 1980s, the cultural landscape of the country changed, together with the instrumental functions of the cultural components and dispositions of different cultural systems in the larger national cultures. The major shift to take place in recent decades concerned the Russian language: with the process of urbanization, it became a powerful tool of

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[271] Jonathan Pool, "Soviet Language Planning: Goals, Results, Options", in Jeremy R. Azrael, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices* (Praeger Publishers, New York, 1978), p. 226

[272] Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, *Russia and Nationalism in Central Asia* (John Hopkins Press, London, 1970), pp. 261-62

[273] Valeri Tishkov, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union* (London, Sage, 1997), p. 86

[274] Ibid., p. 86

individual choices for better career opportunities, as well as a means of communication in Soviet society at large, and in ethnically mixed regions.[275]

An official in the Ministry of National Education of Tajikistan asserted during the interview that Moscow encouraged the whole population to devote more interest to Russian language rather than to Tajik. Even during the Soviet era education in universities was mainly in Russian language. In the Technical Institute 80 per cent of education was in Russian, in the Institute of Medicine and the Institute of Agriculture all education was in Russian, in the Tajik National State University 50 per cent, the Institute of Arts 70 per cent, the Institute of Pedagogy 35 per cent, and the Institute of Sport 80 per cent of education was in Russian. It was difficult to be successful for those university students who were graduates of national high schools where the language of education was the native languages which consequently led them to low-status jobs. In this regard the Soviet language policy had a definite purpose which was to exclude some groups from receiving a better education or finding better jobs. D'Encausse supports this argument and points out that,

> The immediate impulse of the current Soviet leadership has been to try to Russify the non-Russians by making the ability to speak Russian a virtual requirement for white-collar employment in many of the larger cities of the national republics. Concurrently, the central leadership has sought to Russify the national republics by systematically promoting Russians to positions of responsibility there.[276]

According to Tishkov although state politics play a crucial role in defying the status of languages, individual choices or strategy have always influenced language behaviour and preferences. Tishkov acknowledges that Soviet language policy could be interpreted as a discrimination, however he also argues that it should be interpreted as to maintain full higher education in non-Russian languages, too, in addition to the non-Russians' aspiration to receive a more prestigious education as a means of integration to the larger culture. Thus, Tishkov argues that, "the real tyranny in this case was not in 'nation-destroying', but in imposing from above a

[275] Ibid., p. 85

[276] Helene Carrere d'Encausse, "Determinants and Parameters of Soviet Nationality Policy", in Jeremy R. Azrael, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices* (Praeger Publishers, New York, 1978), p. 56

language not spoken by most of the population."[277] Silver supports Tishkov in this regard and puts forward that, although Western scholars generally argue that the nationalities policy has aimed to increase the use of Russian in the USSR, they seldom acknowledged the fact that official policies not only encouraged the use of Russian but also may have helped to sustain non-Russian languages.[278] According to Silver, as long as support for national languages was provided by schools and mass communications media, the acquisition of Russian as a second language did not necessarily portend the loss of knowledge of the traditional national languages.[279]

Tishkov puts forward that the intensive program of extending Russian language began during and after the Second World War when major relocations of people took place and the official propaganda of Soviet patriotism and glory reached to the most remote areas of the USSR. However, the census of 1970 revealed the fact that 57 million of 112 million non-Russians in the country could not speak fluent Russian.[280]

Table 7. Knowledge of Russian in the non-Russian Republics

A – Year   C - NL as L1   E - NL as L2

B - Total population   D - R as L1   F - R as L2

NL = Native Language; R = Russian; L1 = First Language; L2 = Second Language

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ukrainians	1979	42,347,387	82.7%	17.1%	60.7%	49.7%
	1970	40,753,246	85.6%	14.2%	5.5%	36.2%
Uzbeks	1979	12,455,978	98.5%	0.6%	0.2%	49.2%
	1970	9,195,093	98.6%	0.5%	0.3%	14.8%
Belorussians	1979	9,462,715	74.2%	25.4%	10.6%	57.0%
	1970	9,051,755	80.5%	18.9%	6.3%	48.9%
Kazakhs	1979	6,556,442	97.4%	2.0%	0.5%	52.3%

[277] Valeri Tishkov, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union* (London, Sage, 1997), p. 85

[278] Brian D. Silver, "Language Policy and the Linguistic Russification of Soviet Nationalities", in Jeremy R. Azrael, (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices* (Praeger Publishers, New York, 1978), p. 251

[279] Ibid.

[280] Valeri Tishkov, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union* (London, Sage, 1997), p. 85

Table 7 (continued).

	1970	5,298,818	98.0%	1.6%	0.6%	41.8%
Azerbaidzhanis	1979	5,477,330	97.8%	1.8%	0.6%	29.5%
	1970	4,379,937	98.2%	1.3%	0.7%	16.5%
Armenians	1979	4,151,241	90.6%	8.4%	2.4%	38.6%
	1970	3,559,151	91.4%	6.7%	2.2%	30.1%
Georgians	1979	3,570,504	98.2%	1.6%	0.5%	27.2%
	1970	3,245,300	98.4%	1.4%	0.5%	21.3%
Moldavians	1979	2,968,224	93.1%	5.9%	2.1%	47.3%
	1970	2,697,994	94.9%	4.2%	1.8%	36.1%
Tajiks	1979	2,897,697	97.8%	0.7%	0.3%	29.5%
	1970	2,135,883	98.5%	0.6%	0.2%	11.6%
Lithuanians	1979	2,850,905	97.9%	1.6%	0.5%	52.1%
	1970	2,664,944	97.8%	2.4%	0.6%	35.9%
Turkmen	1979	2,027,913	98.7%	0.9%	0.2%	24.9%
	1970	1,525,284	98.9%	0.8%	0.2%	15.4%
Kirghiz	1979	1,906,271	97.9%	0.5%	0.2%	29.3%
	1970	1,452,222	98.8%	0.3%	0.2%	19.1%
Latvians	1979	1,439,037	94.9%	4.8%	1.6%	56.7%
	1970	1,429,844	95.2%	4.5%	1.8%	45.1%
Estonians	1979	1,019,851	95.3%	4.5%	1.5%	24.2%
	1970	1,007,356	95.5%	4.3%	1.6%	28.9%

Notes: Percentages in brackets are percentages of the total population in a given year.[281]

As Beningsen points out, "the Tajiks are one of the least Russified Muslim nationalities of the Soviet Union".[282] But not only the Tajiks, so were the other Central Asian countries. As the above mentioned table suggests, the average rate of knowledge of Russian language in Central Asian countries was close to each other. In this regard it is difficult to disagree with the arguments of Tishkov and Silver about the consequences of the Soviet language policy. Thus, the arguments about discrimination on the basis of language and Russification in general that are part of hot debates in the post-Soviet (unitary) republics should be approached critically.

However, I want to mention another point regarding the above table. The knowledge of national language in high percentages does not necessarily lead to the consolidation of national unity. The high percentage of those who speak Tajik language in the republic did not eradicate the sense of affiliation to various regional

[281] Chislennost' i sostav naseleniya SSSR, (Moscow, 1984), p. 71 (); Itogi vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda, vol. 4, (Moscow, 1973), p. 20

[282] Alexandre Benningsen, S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslims of the Soviet Empire* (C. Hurst & Co., London, 1985), p. 90

and/or local identities. Thus, Tajik national identity remained weak while regional affiliations, including Pamiri self-consciousness continued to be strong.

CHAPTER 6

THE ROLE OF SOVIET STYLE MODERNIZATION AND REGIONALISM IN THE CONSOLIDATION OF PAMIRI ETHNIC IDENTITY DURING THE POST-SOVIET PERIOD

This chapter can be considered as a continuation of the discussion on Soviet nationality policy. In the following section, I will first focus on the policy of modernization during the Soviet rule that was perceived as an important tool to bring about the development of the Soviet man. It was thought that industrialization and urbanization, accompanied with education and mass media, would change the traditional life-style and contribute to the creation of a new Soviet man. I will analyze to what extent this phenomenon effected the Tajik society, Tajik national identity and consequently the Pamiri ethnic identity.

In chapter Four it was asserted that the concessions made to the local elites created a new phase in each union republic. The distribution of the cadres in the political and economic institutions by these elites to their relatives, friends and other colleagues from their home regions strengthened the communities' sense of regional affiliation. The sense of regional belonging restrained the development of national unity. As a consequence, weak national identity contributed to the development of a civil clash in Tajikistan. In this context before dealing with the consequences of the Tajik civil war, I will discuss the effects of regionalism with its political and economic dimensions on the consolidation of Pamiri ethnic identity. In addition, the role of geographical location or territory in strengthening the regional affiliation of the local communities will also be analyzed. Finally, the fieldwork that was carried in the winter of 2005 by I myself will be presented to provide a discussion of the role Soviet modernization and regionalism played in the strengthening of Pamiri ethnic identity during the post-Soviet period.

6.1. Soviet Style of Modernization and its Effects on Pamiri Ethnic Identity

Shirin Akiner points out that, rapid urbanisation and industrialisation were taking place during the Soviet time. Industrialisation led to an increase in the number of Russian workers and administrators in the towns of the Soviet Union while the villages consisted entirely of the natives. At the same time the number of local non-Russian cadres and intelligentsia increased rapidly as they used their particular ethnic identity to advance their personal careers.[283] The collectivization of agriculture and the construction of an extensive irrigation network permitted intensive cultivation of cotton and industrialization was made possible by harnessing the power potential of mountain streams and exploiting natural resources. Light industry developed, cities grew in terms of their population and the standard of living improved. In the social sphere mass educational system and mass communication and indoctrination networks served the needs of this new process of socialization and consequently, mass organizations mobilized the people to achieve more social and economic benefits. A new system of social services complemented a social stratification in which progress depended on successful adaptation to Soviet requirements. A "national" culture based on the ancient Iranian cultural heritage of the people was developed, but it was designed to further the Soviet goals.[284]

According to Atkin, the impact of modernization on the social life of various communities in terms of transforming traditional and localized loyalties into modern ones have had a poor effect in Tajikistan. In Atkin's words,

> Of course decades of Soviet rule have wrought many changes, including the establishment of mass education and the mass media, urbanization, some industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, a military draft, and an extensive network for political mobilization, indoctrination, and control. Yet Soviet-style modernization has changed Tajikistan, especially its villages, where most Tajiks live, far less than many other parts of the Soviet Union.[285]

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[283] Teodor Shanin, "Ethnicity in the Soviet Union", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 31, Cambridge University Press, (1989), p. 420

[284] Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, *Russia and Nationalism in Central Asia* (John Hopkins Press, London, 1970), p. 272

[285] Muriel Atkin, "Religious, National, and Other Identities in Central Asia", in Jo-Ann Gross, (ed.), *Muslims in Central Asia* (Duke University Press, London, 1992), p. 59

As Atkin continues, the high numbers of the population that lives in rural areas shows us how the traditional life has been maintained in Tajikistan. The country is the least urbanized of all the Soviet republics. Although among the total population of the USSR only 38 per cent was rural according to the 1979 census, the same figure for Tajikistan was 65 percent.[286]

However, urbanization in Tajikistan had a specific characteristics as Olimova points out. She follows Atkin's argument and asserts that, modernization and industrialization in Tajikistan have not been prepared by previous developments and it was perceived as something alien and unnecessary. In her view,

> new values collided with traditional, did not receive wide public support, and met passive aversion. Till now the most part of the population does not realize the necessity of radical changes in all spheres of life and wishes to preserve the traditional life and traditional values.[287]

Constantly there was a process of the resettlement of peasants to cities that is a classical example of marginalization of man which creates problems of adaptation. As a requirement of city life, individualization was badly perceived by the people who have been brought up with traditional community values. Besides, as Olimova argues, during the years of modernization some negative tendencies gradually increased in various Soviet societies. Demographic pressure, agrarian overpopulation and latent unemployment have immeasurably risen.[288]As a matter of fact, since the 1970s the process of de-urbanization, that is, reduction of urban population (which is actually the lowest in the CIS) has steadily increased.[289] Only from 1990 to 1997 the share of agrarian population has raised from 67,8 per cent up to 72,6 per cent.[290]

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[286] Ibid.

[287] Saodat Olimova, "Politicheskiy Islam i Conflikt v Tadjikistane (Political Islam and Conflict in Tajikistan)", *Tsentralnaya Aziya i Kavkaz*, No 4(5) 1999, [Online: http://www.ca-c.org/journal/cac-05-1999/st_23_olimova.shtml].

[288] Ibid.

[289] Aziz Niyazi, "Tajikistan" in Mohiaddin Mesbahi, (ed.), *Central Asia and the Caucasus after the Soviet Union* (University Press of Florida, Florida, 1994), p. 168

[290] Saodat Olimova, "Politicheskiy Islam i Conflikt v Tadjikistane (Political Islam and Conflict in Tajikistan)", *Tsentralnaya Aziya i Kavkaz*, No 4(5) 1999, [Online: http://www.ca-c.org/journal/cac-05-1999/st_23_olimova.shtml].

According to Rakowska, few Tajiks possessed the skills necessary to adopt to a modernizing society and the Tajik and Uzbek rural masses were not eager to abandon their traditional homes in order to go to school or settle in a town. Their attitude was in part the result of the distrust they felt towards Soviet state and their fear of being alienated from their traditional culture. Besides, the relatively inadequate primary and secondary school training and the inability of many of the Asians to meet the Russian language requirements that were mandatory in all but in few of the specialized and higher educational institutions of the republic should be counted as the main reasons.[291]

Thus, industrialization and modernization of the Soviet type did not transform the Tajik society but, on the contrary, they contributed to the preservation of the traditional life of the population. The Tajik society even under the new conditions, namely the post-Soviet period, remains agrarian and has been affected by modernization only poorly compared to neighbouring peoples. The village stagnated but did not push out the human resources that maintained traditional social structures, life-style and values.[292] Nevertheless, as Olimova continues, to deny the influence of industrialization and urbanization on Tajik society is impossible.[293] As Tishkov asserts, "the fact that this country went through industrialization and rapid urbanization in the 20th century could not but lead to a certain cultural unification."[294] Rapid industrialization of Tajikistan in the 1960s and 1980s and the emergence of large multinational cities gave rise to a particular form of bilingualism: the urban population spoke one language (most usually Russian), while another language was used in the countryside.[295] Whatever the relative importance of industrialization and rapid urbanization, the result of their combined influences was perceived by the

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[291] Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, *Russia and Nationalism in Central Asia* (John Hopkins Press, London, 1970), pp. 125-26

[292] Saodat Olimova, "Politicheskiy Islam i Conflikt v Tadjikistane (Political Islam and Conflict in Tajikistan)", *Tsentralnaya Aziya i Kavkaz*, No 4(5) 1999, [Online: http://www.ca-c.org/journal/cac-05-1999/st_23_olimova.shtml].

[293] Ibid.

[294] Valeri Tishkov, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union* (London, Sage, 1997), p. 87

[295] Alexei Vassiliev, *Central Asia: Political and Economic Challenges in the Post-Soviet Era* (Saqi, London, 2001), p. 176

present non-Russian intelligentsia and political activists as a consequence of the deliberate efforts of the Russians to Russifying the minority languages and cultures through state policies.[296]

The process of modernization did not succeed in the merging of different ethnicities. Moreover, its contribution to the strengthening national identities was also little. As it was mentioned earlier, the increase of the population in rural areas concomitantly contributed to the preservation of traditional life-styles which, in turn, caused the strengthening of local identities. Besides, the impact of modernization was different in each region of the republic. The highly industrialized northern region and the capital city created a particular urban man. However, individuals preserved their local affiliations since they were still part of traditional social network. Maintenance of loyalty to a region continued to exist during the independence period and pushed the society into the Tajik civil war between 1991 and 1997. The next section will focus on the issue that I define as a 'gangrene of Tajik national identity', i.e. regionalism. Regionalism is regarded as the most challenging issue for achieving national consolidation and for nation-building in post-Soviet Tajikistan. The political and economic aspects of the phenomenon will be analysed below and the reasons that led for its continuation will be discussed.

6.2. Regional Remoteness

Another serious geographical dilemma for the Pamiris has to do with the mountains that split them into three parts that are culturally separate from one another. One cannot travel between these regions for most of the year due to weather conditions.[297] The mountains have traditionally been a formidable barrier to human interchange and there are still many almost completely isolated pockets of habitation. Even in 1960s there were few railroads and roads in Tajikistan and snow and ice made mountain roads impassable from November through April. In contrast, the

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[296] Valeri Tishkov, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union* (London, Sage, 1997), p. 87

[297] William O. Beeman, "The Struggle For Identity in Post-Soviet Tajikistan", *Meria*, Volume 3, No. 4, (December 1999), [Online: http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1999/issue4/jv3n4a7.html].

valleys were the crossroads of many peoples and the melting-pot for many cultures.[298]

The Tajiks of the mountains, in contrast to the plain-dwellers, were until recent times largely cut off from outside influences. They lived primarily in the valleys and foothills of the centre (including the northwest of Gorno-Badakhshan) and the southeast (Kulob) settlements were small and widely dispersed. The nature of the terrain-isolated valleys enfolded by vertiginous mountains favoured the development of tight-knit communities with strong local identities.[299] As a result of this isolation and the absence of roads, mountainous Tajiks were significantly less influenced by the neighboring ethnic groups. The Tajik scholar Akbar Tursunzod believes that Tajikistan is unique in this sense. Here a vivid break of local cultures and traditions is visible not only spatially, but also in time intervals when it is possible to meet with "relics of almost all the preceding formations and developments."[300]

The construction of new roads and railways received special priority. The aim was to improve transport links between different regions, thus extending the Soviet networks. One of the major construction projects initiated for the celebration of the jubilee (the 1,100[th] anniversary of the formation of the Samani state) was the cutting of a tunnel through the Hissar mountains. This tunnel would provide a year-round road link between the northern and central provinces in the region.[301]

As discussed in chapter Three Barth asserted that, "ethnic dichotomies do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built."[302] I argue that geographical terrain, especially in the Tajik case, sometimes plays a

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[298] Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, *Russia and Nationalism in Central Asia* (John Hopkins Press, London, 1970), p. 8

[299] Shirin Akiner, "Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation?", *Central Asian and Caucasian Prospects* (Chameleon Press, 2001), p. 40

[300] Davlat Khudonazarov, *The Conflict in Tajikistan: Question of Regionalism*, The Eisenhower Institute, [Online: http://www.eisenhowerinstitute.org/programs/globalpartnerships/securityandterrorism/coalition/regionalrelations/ConflictBook/Khudonazar.htm].

[301] Shirin Akiner, "Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation?", *Central Asian and Caucasian Prospects* (Chameleon Press, 2001), p. 63

[302] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), p. 10

primarily role in ethnic dichotomization during social interaction. But it should be kept in mind that in Tajikistan case, it is this sense of regionalism that annexes a special meaning to the geographic origin of the people rather than a geographical location in its essence.

6.3. Regionalism

Payam Foroughi states that ethnicity and regionalism together have played a crucial role in the politics of Tajikistan.[303] According to Dannreuther the continuing vitality of regional, clan and tribal affiliations acts as constraints against the formation of modern nation-states. They undermine the formation of national identities, perpetuating the social and political cleavages between regions and tribes.[304] As Niyazi points out,

> the rules of the political game are such that neither ideology nor socioeconomic theories are of great importance. It is the regional or local factor that comes into the foreground during the struggle for power in a semitraditional society.[305]

Khudonazarov, a candidate for the presidential election in 1991 in Tajikistan points out that one of the fundamental causes of the severe political crisis in Tajikistan is due to the unique experience of the party-state administration that did not allow the establishment of the conditions necessary for the development of national unity. In contrast to the rest of the republics of Central Asia, beginning in the 1940s, localism was introduced in Tajikistan at the level of state policies so much that it altered national self-consciousness and created the basis for the development of regionalism.[306] Uneven development provided a fertile ground for burgeoning

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[303] Payam Foroughi, "Tajikistan: Nationalism, Ethnicity, Conflict, and Socio-economic Disparities-Sources and Solutions", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 22. No.1, (2002), [Online: http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/9BGKWLWTMKWHA4K2UX4G/Contributions/0/0/W/T/0DWTMWGKNUGXGMJ3.pdf].

[304] Roland Dannreuther, *Creating New States in Central Asia* (Halstan & Co. Ltd, Bucks, 1994), p. 14

[305] Aziz Niyazi, "Tajikistan" in Mohiaddin Mesbahi, (ed.), *Central Asia and the Caucasus after the Soviet Union* (University Press of Florida, Florida, 1994), p. 177

[306] Davlat Khudonazarov, *The Conflict in Tajikistan: Question of Regionalism*, The Eisenhower Institute, [Online: http://www.eisenhowerinstitute.org/programs/globalpartnerships/securityandterrorism/coalition/regionalrelations/ConflictBook/Khudonazar.htm].

localism and regionalism, leading the bureaucratic elites to defend vehemently their narrow regional interests.[307] Thus, on the eve of the construction of real independence in the 1990s, Tajikistan was confronted by the fact that the division of the country into opposing sides cast doubt on the very existence of the nation.[308]

Lynch asserts that during the 1920s efforts were made trough educational projects and public discussions to reinforce Tajik national identity. Tajik politics until the 1940s sought to maintain a balance of regional representation in the distribution of political power and administrative positions. However, this equilibrium was shattered with the appointment of Bobojon Ghafurov as the First Secretary of the Tajik communist Party in 1946, which broke with the tradition of appointing ethnic Russians to the highest position. Under Ghafurov, the party structures became dominated by elites from Leninabad. From the mid-1940s, regionalism ('localism' or *mahalgaroi*) was introduced into the heart of Tajik politics.[309] As Khudonazarov points out,

> Within the power structures, a goal-oriented process began which formed a local clan ideology based on an entirely different political platform that did not share anything with the general communist ideals. The absence of a common national idea in the highest echelons of power created fertile soil for the development of localism at all levels.[310]

According to Olimova the phenomenon of regionalism was further strengthened in the aftermath of the civil war, when ethnoregional groups were consolidated. In the post-war environment of weak governmental control, political instability and lawlessness, people sought refuge and protection in their own ethnoregional group. To a certain extent ethnoregional solidarity makes up the gap in social services in

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[307] Hafizullah Emadi, "Tajikistan's Transition to the World Economy", *Contemporary Review*, vol. 227 issue 1615, (Aug 2000), p. 80

[308] Davlat Khudonazarov, *The Conflict in Tajikistan: Question of Regionalism*, The Eisenhower Institute, [Online: http://www.eisenhowerinstitute.org/programs/globalpartnerships/securityandterrorism/coalition/regionalrelations/ConflictBook/Khudonazar.htm].

[309] Lynch Dov, "The Tajic Civil War and Peace Process", *Civil Wars*, Vol. 4, (Win 2001), p. 53

[310] Davlat Khudonazarov, *The Conflict in Tajikistan: Question of Regionalism*, The Eisenhower Institute, [Online: http://www.eisenhowerinstitute.org/programs/globalpartnerships/securityandterrorism/coalition/regionalrelations/ConflictBook/Khudonazar.htm].

Tajikistan since the collapse of the education, public health and social welfare systems.[311]

Another argument regarding the debilitation of national-identity besides regionalism is linked with the Samarqand and Bukhara cities. According to Emadi, in the early 19th century the two well-known cities of Samarqand and Bukhara served as the intellectual centre for the Tajik community and constituted the majority of the cities' population.[312] Hickson refers that, although today Bukhara is located in Uzbekistan, it remains and is used by the Tajik government as an important cultural symbol that links Tajik consciousness to modern Tajikistan.[313] Khudonazarov points out that, if the centers of Tajik culture (Samarqand and Bukhara) had not been outside the borders of the republic, the problem of regional self-consciousness would not have adopted such an unnatural form.[314] Dannreuther supports Khudonazarov's argument and asserts that Tajikistan's lack of a clear national centre, which Bukhara or Samarqand might have provided, was a major obstacle to the development of a cohesive Tajik national identity. Instead of a nationalist consolidation, discrete regional identities were strengthened and reinforced.[315] Foroughi's argument is interesting to note. As he writes, "without its two sacred cultural centers of Samarqand and Bukhara, Tajikistan has been compared to a France without Paris."[316] Niyazi argues that it must be admitted that a certain injustice took place in solving

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[311] Saodat Olimova, Igor Bosc, *"Labour Migration from Tajikistan"*, International Organization for Migration, (July 2003), [Online: http://tcc.iom.int/iom/images/uploads/tajikistan_1071229382.pdf].

[312] Hafizullah Emadi, "Tajikistan's Transition to the World Economy", *Contemporary Review*, vol. 227 issue 1615, (Aug 2000), p. 79

[313] Hickson Jill E, "Using Law to Create National Identity: The course to democracy in Tajikistan", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol. 38 (Spr 2003), p. 358

[314] Davlat Khudonazarov, *The Conflict in Tajikistan: Question of Regionalism*, The Eisenhower Institute, [Online: http://www.eisenhowerinstitute.org/programs/globalpartnerships/securityandterrorism/coalition/regionalrelations/ConflictBook/Khudonazar.htm].

[315] Roland Dannreuther, *Creating New States in Central Asia* (Halstan & Co. Ltd, Bucks, 1994), p. 27

[316] Payam Foroughi, "Tajikistan: Nationalism, Ethnicity, Conflict, and Socio-economic Disparities-Sources and Solutions", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 22. No.1, (2002), [Online: http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/9BGKWLWTMKWHA4K2UX4G/Contributions/0/0/W/T/0DWTMWGKNUGXGMJ3.pdf].

the problem of Samarqand and Bukhara.[317] According to Gretsky, the annexation of two centers to Uzbekistan retarded the process of nation-building in Tajikistan. Without these two cities' intellectual elites and professionals Tajiks were devoid of the resources for state-building. This situation contributed to the preservation of *mahalgaroi*** (localism), where self-identification with a particular region was more important than the awareness of being an ethnic Tajik. Tajiks were virtually thrown back to the state of "natural" isolation caused by geographic factors because there was no other city in the newly established Tajikistan that could play a central role for them.[318]

Revising history is the process of nation-building. Although I admit the fact that the loss of historical cities has restrained the process of nation-building, the issue is too exaggerated. As it was discussed earlier, regional, tribal and clan affiliations, in contrast to ethno-national one, were strong enough in the pre-revolutionary period and this regional belonging preserved itself during the Soviet era as well. Little was done to eradicate this phenomenon by the Soviet national leaders. If national affiliation was not strengthened during the Soviet period, it was less due to the loss of these cities than to the regional interests of national leaders. Supporting of local elites by Moscow strengthened regional affinity among the peoples that led to the crystallization of regional identities in Tajikistan. Strengthening regional identities/loyalties and the distinct ethnic characteristics of the Pamiri people contributed to the shifting of the sources of ethnic identity from a linguistic basis to an ethnic one. Hence, I argue that during the Soviet rule ethnic boundaries were mainly based on regional affiliation. The sense of regional affiliation will be clearer

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[317] Aziz Niyazi, "Tajikistan" in Mohiaddin Mesbahi, (ed.), *Central Asia and the Caucasus after the Soviet Union* (University Press of Florida, Florida, 1994), p. 166; also see Hafizullah Emadi, "Tajikistan's Transition to the World Economy", *Contemporary Review*, vol. 227 issue 1615, (Aug 2000), p. 80

* Makhalgaroi is the division of people according to region, local district and even kishlak. Everyone supports his region of origin. (Source: Saodat Olimova, Igor Bosc, *"Labour Migration from Tajikistan"*, International Organization for Migration, (July 2003), [Online: http://tcc.iom.int/iom/images/uploads/tajikistan_1071229382.pdf].

[318] Gretsky Sergei, *"Civil War in Tajikistan: Causes, Developments and Prospects for Peace"*, The Eisenhower Institute, [Online: http://www.eisenhowerinstitute.org/programs/globalpartnerships/securityandterrorism/coalition/regionalrelations/ConflictBook/Gretsky.htm].

during the discussion of the Tajik civil war. In the following sections I will mention the political and economic dimensions of regionalism.

6.3.1. Political Regionalism

In the political arena, as Emadi points out, Tajikistan was divided into four major administrative regions: Khujand, formerly known as Leninabad, the central region claiming the capital; the districts of Garm, Khatlon (Kulob and Qurghonteppa) and Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast. Such a regional division complicated the process of national unity where the ruling elites from the north did not pursue a balanced regional social, political and economic development programs.[319]

According to Akiner, when the Tajik ASSR was formed in 1924 there was no national elite. In the first few years senior government and Communist Party posts were filled by Russians as well as Tajiks; the latter were mostly Pamiris and Garmis. After the formation of the Tajik SSR the Khujandis (former Leninabad), whether or not they wished it, became part of this newly established entity. Several of them, including those such as Abdullo Rahimbaev and Abdurahim Khajibaev, who had previously argued against the creation of a Tajik republic, were now incorporated into the administration and held responsible posts.[320]

As Dannreuther puts it forward, "from the 1930 onwards, every First Secretary of Tajikistan not only came from Khujand city, the capital of the Sugd (Leninabad) oblast, but also from the same street."[321] When the Khujandis ascended to top party and government positions in Tajikistan in 1940s they endorsed localism as the corner stone of their policy and kept regional rivalries boiling, while reserving for themselves the role of arbiter.[322] Keith supports Gretsky in this regard and argues that, Leninabad groups in charge of power in Dushanbe played a very careful game

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[319] Hafizullah Emadi, "Tajikistan's Transition to the World Economy", *Contemporary Review*, vol. 227 issue 1615, (Aug 2000), p. 80

[320] Shirin Akiner, "Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation?", *Central Asian and Caucasian Prospects* (Chameleon Press, 2001), p. 18

[321] Roland Dannreuther, *Creating New States in Central Asia* (Halstan & Co. Ltd, Bucks, 1994), p. 27

[322] Gretsky Sergei, *"Civil War in Tajikistan: Causes, Developments and Prospects for Peace"*, The Eisenhower Institute, [Online:
http://www.eisenhowerinstitute.org/programs/globalpartnerships/securityandterrorism/coalition/region alrelations/ConflictBook/Gretsky.htm].

of balancing out the interests of various southern regional groups (Badakhsonis, Kulobis, Vakhshis, Garmis and Hissaris, named according to their regions of origin), while closely guarding the ultimate republican power for themselves. This policy, which essentially mirrored the role Russians played in all-Union politics, was very effective in maintaining Leninabadi control over power- but also, in hindsight, was a crucial catalyst in creating and fomenting the discontent and regional rivalries that led to the Tajik civil war.[323]

6.3.2. Economic Regionalism

Dannreuther claims that economic power followed in the same pattern as political power and during the Soviet period, Leninabad received a far greater share of investment capital than southern Tajikistan.[324] As Emadi argues,

> Uneven development transformed the northern region of Khujand into a major industrial centre and simultaneously made it the de facto political hub and power centre. Modernization in the southeastern regions resulted in the dislocation and uprooting of the local population and their forced resettlement among other communities.[325]

According to Dov the absence of a unifying idea in the highest echelons resulted in prospering of one region in favor of others. The northern region gained the most investment and industrial efforts. Tajik infrastructure reinforced the isolation of the regions, with poor links between Dushanbe and Leninabad, one route linking Dushanbe to Gorno-Badakhshan, no rail links between Qurghonteppa (Kurgan-Tyube) and Kulob, and the more developed northern region standing more integrated with Uzbekistan.[326] If the Dushanbe region, including Tursunzoda became home to a large aluminum factory and the cotton fields of Qurghon Teppa were cultivated using migrant workers and more advanced technology, some of the more mountainous regions, such as Gharm, Badakhshon and eastern Kulob, received

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[323] Martin Keith, "Welcome to the Republic of Leninabad", *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No 4, (1997), [Online: http://www.cac.org/dataeng/st_06_martin.shtml].

[324] Roland Dannreuther, *Creating New States in Central Asia* (Halstan & Co. Ltd, Bucks, 1994), p. 27

[325] Hafizullah Emadi, "Tajikistan's Transition to the World Economy", *Contemporary Review*, vol. 227 issue 1615, (Aug 2000), p. 81

[326] Lynch Dov, "The Tajic Civil War and Peace Process", *Civil Wars*, Vol. 4, (Win 2001), p. 53

almost no allocations for industrial development. Therefore, as Tadjbakhsh describes,

> the lack of a substantial official relationship and economic cooperation between regions today is in part a legacy of a Soviet policy of control which not only divided people along largely arbitrary lines, but in particular applied differential treatment to regions within one country and to special interest groups within one region.[327]

Economically, Leninabad region prospered during the Soviet rule, much more than most of southern Tajikistan.[328] During the Soviet period, industries were mainly concentrated in the northern province of Sugd (former Leninabad) and in and around Dushanbe. During the Soviet period *Mahalgaroi* (regionalism) was translated in local politics as the distribution of power and privilege based on regional loyalties. It was a form of nepotism in which the kin, in this case formed around a geographical location, played an important role in the placement of cadres and in lobbying for the allocation of resources. The region to benefit economically was chosen as Sugd because of its proximity to Uzbekistan, its large urban population, its not having high mountains and the preponderance of its educated cadre that was loyal to Moscow and to the ideals of communism. Economic and political privilege went hand in hand.[329]

Khudonazarov argues that the most forceful barrier to national unity stemmed from the one-sided regional economic development of the republic. The leading cadres of the republic provided a miraculous injection into the economy of the Leninabad oblast, which received up to 70 percent of the republic's budget. Regionalism pursued for the interests of the more developed northern part of the country permitted the maintenance of a necessary level of general well-being here

[327] Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh, *Economic Regionalism in Tajikistan*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, (March, 1996), [Online: www.ciaonet.org/wps/tas02/].

[328] Martin Keith, "Welcome to the Republic of Leninabad", *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No 4, (1997), [Online: http://www.cac.org/dataeng/st_06_martin.shtml].

[329] Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh, *Economic Regionalism in Tajikistan*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, (March, 1996), [Online: www.ciaonet.org/wps/tas02/].

both culturally and economically. With regard to the southern regions, the plan for their development largely remained on paper and was never realized in practice.[330]

As I indicated before, the national leaders did not spend much effort to eradicate natural localism. For example, as Gretsky describes, Leninabad province is connected with the rest of the country by a road which goes through Uzbekistan and by a railroad crossing to both Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Thus, the only domestic highway is closed to traffic because of snow almost half a year. For the same reason Gorno-Badakhshon is cut off from the rest of the country for the most part of the year. There is no rail link between neighboring Kulob (now Khatlon) province and Gorno-Badakhshon, as there was none between Qurghonteppa and Kulob provinces. To a great degree, these gaps in the transportation infrastructure are explained by localism manifested by the Leninabad-first policy. Moreover, Tajik leaders channeled allocations from the central budget almost exclusively for the development, primarily industrial, of their native provinces. This left the rest of the republic as an agricultural and raw materials appendage with high hidden high unemployment rates and lower living standards.[331] Therefore, it is not surprising for Tadjbakhsh that representatives of these poor regions played a leading part in the civil war.[332] Therefore, as Foroughi points out, what has created animosity among peoples has primarily been not ideological, but has been the result of the competition over limited resources by different ethnic or regional groups.[333]

Under the above mentioned circumstances the Pamiri identity which begun to prosper on a regional basis re-shaped itself and took the form of ethnic identity. It is

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[330] Davlat Khudonazarov, *The Conflict in Tajikistan: Question of Regionalism*, The Eisenhower Institute, [Online: http://www.eisenhowerinstitute.org/programs/globalpartnerships/securityandterrorism/coalition/regionalrelations/ConflictBook/Khudonazar.htm].

[331] Gretsky Sergei, *"Civil War in Tajikistan: Causes, Developments and Prospects for Peace"*, The Eisenhower Institute, [Online: http://www.eisenhowerinstitute.org/programs/globalpartnerships/securityandterrorism/coalition/regionalrelations/ConflictBook/Gretsky.htm].

[332] Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh, *Economic Regionalism in Tajikistan*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, (March, 1996), [Online: www.ciaonet.org/wps/tas02/].

[333] Payam Foroughi, "Tajikistan: Nationalism, Ethnicity, Conflict, and Socio-economic Disparities-Sources and Solutions", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 22. No.1, (2002), [Online: http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/9BGKWLWTMKWHA4K2UX4G/Contributions/0/0/W/T/0DWTMWGKNUGXGMJ3.pdf].

due to the regionalism that other traits of ethnic identity, especially the religion, gained a primarily importance in the post-Soviet period. From this perspective political and economic regionalism played and will continue to play a significant role in the development of Tajik national identity. As long as the Soviet heritage continues to be effective, in the long-run social solidarity and national unity will not be reached.

In the next section I will discuss the outcomes of the Tajik civil war on Pamiri ethnic identity. The civil war will be analyzed by Smith's approach regarding the conflict between ethnic communities that can sharpen the feeling of self-differentiation. I will discuss whether or not the civil war can be regarded as a new source for the re-shaping of Pamiri ethnic identity.

6.4. The Role of Tajik Civil War in the Consolidation of Pamiri Ethnic Identity: Shifting Sources of Ethnic Boundary?

Lynch suggests that, the civil war erupted as a result of weak Tajik national identity, combined with the existence of disintegrating institutions under circumstances of economic collapse and political mobilization.[334] According to Foroughi the phenomenon of regional competition in Tajikistan has been considered as the most important catalyst of violence. At that time a coalition was formed between the northern province of Sugd (Leninabad) and the southeastern province of Kulob versus between the most eastern autonomous region of Badakhshon and the central Valley of Gharm.[335] Tajik politics, as Shahran points out, had a built-in defect: *mahalagaroi* or regionalism. The privileged Leninabad clan in Tajikistan owed its supremacy to the Soviet rule. It was tightly knit into the Communist Party (CP). It therefore interpreted an attack on the CP as a pretext for an attack on itself. Many opposition leaders who belonged to the disgruntled and politically disenfranchised population of Badakhshon and Gharm might have shared this view. For many anti-government demonstrators the Soviet establishment was synonymous with

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[334] Lynch Dov, "The Tajic Civil War and Peace Process", *Civil Wars*, Vol. 4, (Win 2001), p. 52

[335] Payam Foroughi, "Tajikistan: Nationalism, Ethnicity, Conflict, and Socio-economic Disparities-Sources and Solutions", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 22. No.1, (2002), [Online: http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/9BGKWLWTMKWHA4K2UX4G/Contributions/0/0/W/T/0DWTMWGKNUGXGMJ3.pdf].

Leninabadi rule.[336] Hence, ideological divide and regional fragmentation have gone hand in hand in Tajikistan in conjunction with an historical existence of a similar ideological divide.[337] The clans that went to war in Tajikistan were solidarity groups or parallel power networks organized around the administrative and economic assets of the Soviet state.[338]

Leninabad's ally in the south of the country was the Kulob oblast whose delegates were given the greatest representation in the Supreme Soviet. The Kulobis had the responsibility, which they also held for the Bukhara khanate that enabled them to suppress other southern claimants to power. Leninabad-Kulob coalition effectively ensured the exclusion of the Gharm Tajiks (those who live or have their origins in the Gharm Valley) and the Pamiris from the most important power structures in Dushanbe.[339] After the independence, the CP still supported by the Center - Hisor valley accumulated a considerable share of influence and resources; Sugd (former Leninabad) region - the main industrial district, Kulob – was an agricultural region which traditionally supplied polices and soldiers. All these regions were closely linked to the state and traditional Islam was dominant in these regions.[340]

The Kulobi clan was incorporated into the state by giving them high posts in offices at the expense of neighboring Badakhshonis and Gharmis. According to Shahran, the Khujand-Kulob sister city pact signed in 1990 was an early warning of the political blocs to be formed in the near future, namely the Khujand-Kulob axis against the Kurgan-Teppe-Badakhshon axis.[341] The population of Kulob is said to be

[336] Akbarzadeh Shahran, "Why did nationalism fail in Tajikistan", *Europe-Asia Studies* (Nov 1996), [Online: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m3955/is_n7_v48/ai_19226485/pg_1].

[337] Payam Foroughi, "Tajikistan: Nationalism, Ethnicity, Conflict, and Socio-economic Disparities-Sources and Solutions", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 22. No.1, (2002), [Online: http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/9BGKWLWTMKWHA4K2UX4G/Contributions/0/0/W/T/0DWTMWGKNUGXGMJ3.pdf].

[338] Lynch Dov, "The Tajic Civil War and Peace Process", *Civil Wars*, Vol. 4, (Win 2001), p. 53

[339] Roland Dannreuther, *Creating New States in Central Asia* (Halstan & Co. Ltd, Bucks, 1994), p. 27

[340] Saodat Olimova, "Politicheskiy Islam i Conflikt v Tadjikistane (Political Islam and Conflict in Tajikistan)", *Tsentralnaya Aziya i Kavkaz*, No 4(5) 1999, [Online: http://www.ca-c.org/journal/cac-05-1999/st_23_olimova.shtml].

[341] Akbarzadeh Shahran, "Why did nationalism fail in Tajikistan", *Europe-Asia Studies* (Nov 1996), [Online: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m3955/is_n7_v48/ai_19226485/pg_1].

traditionally distrustful towards Badakhshonis. The rejection of Davlat Khudonazarov in 1991 presidential elections by Kulobis and proclaiming him as a *kafir* (infidel) is a clear evidence of this abhorrence.[342]

Shahran puts it forward that Badakhshonis have tended to stay at a distance to political Islam. They did not favor the establishment of an Islamic state for they would clearly be disadvantaged due to their religious minority status. As Shahran notes, "The Badakhshoni propensity to align themselves with the secular model of state, as in British India and more recently in the neighboring Afghanistan, has tended to reinforce the stigma, albeit from the opposing perspective."[343]

The population of Kulob viewed the recently arrived communities from Gharm in the Vakhsh valley with suspicion. Conflict over the land may have been one important factor in this perception. Kulob tried to incorporate Vakhsh into the larger Kulob oblast' (Khatlon) during the Soviet period but this was a short-lived success. This aim was finally achieved at the November 1992 assembly of the Majlisi Oli in Khujand. It appears that Leninabad exploited this intra-southern rivalry and coopted Kulob.[344]

However, it is not entirely clear why Kulob was favoured in this way. As Shahran asserts, the Badakhshoni population, who had traditionally accommodated secular Soviet rule and shunned political activity against the status quo, presented a more suitable candidate for coopting. Furthermore, the minority status of the Badakhshonis would have rendered them less susceptible to confessional unity with the rest of the southern population and more prepared to engage in the suppression of dissent. To some extent this was in fact the case as the tendency of Badakhshonis to enter the ranks of the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) might suggest. What decided against them were perhaps their small numerical size and their fiery mountainous distrust towards Leninabad. The Kulobi leadership, on the other hand, was also suspicious about Leninabadis as they were about Badakhshonis and

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[342] Ibid.

[343] Ibid.

[344] Ibid.

Gharmis.[345] Traditional animosities and regional rivalries found an outlet in the ensuing battle between the Muslim nationalist forces and the elites. The battle between what can be described as revolutionary nationalism and the regime degenerated into *mahalagaroi* because under extreme conditions of political uncertainty and social unrest people tend to fall back on existing networks of support and mobilization. Regional loyalties had proved to be effective and durable in the past history of Tajikistan. Regional affiliation was a tested ground for political action.[346]

According to Beeman, the recent civil conflict actually had as its base regional rivalries that dated back to the 19th century.[347] These regional distinctions were apparent throughout the 1990s. The events of February 1990 in part represented an attempt by the Gharmis and Pamiris to stage a palace coup after which they lost their limited representation that they have achieved. In 1992 regional and ideological cleavages often overlapped where the opposition leaders generally came from the disadvantaged regions and who enjoyed a significant support from the peoples of their region.[348] For Anderson, the lack of a true sense of national identity carries a primarily importance in the Tajik civil war. In Anderson's words, "Tajikistan is a country in which kinship and shared occupations created loyalties that were essentially local rather than national or ideological."[349] According to one proverb, 'the Pamiris dance, the Kulobis defend, Dushanbe produces and Khujand trades and rules'. These distinctions were in effect reinforced by the Soviet state despite its proclaimed commitment to destroying traditional ties.[350] Leninabadis continue to

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[345] Ibid.

[346] Ibid.

[347] William O. Beeman, "The Struggle For Identity in Post-Soviet Tajikistan", *Meria*, Volume 3, No. 4, (December 1999), [Online: http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1999/issue4/jv3n4a7.html].

[348] John Anderson, *The international politics of Central Asia* (Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 177-78

[349] Ibid., p. 176

[350] Ibid.

have a tacit contempt for the southerners, whom they regard as culturally backward. This has been the Achilles heel of national identity in Tajikistan.[351]

The task of nation-building in Tajikistan involves wrestling with factors such as religion, ethnicity, linguistic heritage and regional loyalties in a particularly difficult regional context.[352] As Shahran points out, "what is of importance is that the resurfacing of reservoirs of sub-national feelings broke the illusion of national unity, so Tajikistan emerged from the civil war a fragmented society."[353]

In chapter Three I mentioned Smith's approach regarding the conflict between communities that can sharpen a feeling of self-differentiation.[354] As I indicated there the Tajik civil war that aroused from inter-regional antagonism crystallized and strengthened the ethnic consciousness of Pamiris only to some extent since the ethnic factor in the Tajik crisis was not of primary importance. Regional competition has been considered as the most important catalyst of violence during the civil war. Thus polarization was not based on ethnicity but on regional fragmentation. The coalition between secular Pamiri population with Gharm Tajiks, most of whom supported Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan instead of establishing a pact with Kulob where traditional Islam is dominated, testifies the fact that even religion did not play a significant role as did regionalism during the Tajik civil war. Overall, I do not perceive the civil war as a new source that further added to the strengthening of Pamiri ethnic identity. However, the civil war Tajikistan added more to the already existing problems. As long as competition for resources continues the inter-regional animosity will continue to play a key role in politics and consequently national identity will remain weak which can serve as another source for Pamiri ethnic consolidation in foreseeable future.

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[351] Akbarzadeh Shahran, "Why did nationalism fail in Tajikistan", *Europe-Asia Studies* (Nov 1996), [Online: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m3955/is_n7_v48/ai_19226485/pg_1].

[352] William O. Beeman, "The Struggle For Identity in Post-Soviet Tajikistan", *Meria*, Volume 3, No. 4, (December 1999), [Online: http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1999/issue4/jv3n4a7.html].

[353] Akbarzadeh Shahran, "Why did nationalism fail in Tajikistan", *Europe-Asia Studies* (Nov 1996), [Online: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m3955/is_n7_v48/ai_19226485/pg_1].

[354] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p.39

6.5. Ethnographic Data and the Fieldwork Carried Out in Pamir

There are few works on Pamiri ethnography and especially lack of data and analysis about the ethnic process of Pamiris. Recently, as Vassiliev argues, a trend towards the unification of the Pamiri peoples as distinct from other ethnic groups has emerged.[355] As Bromley points out, ethnic unification includes such processes as the merging of various groups with different ethnic affiliations and even merging of some groups from separate *ethnoses* that can become part of larger ethnic communities. This emergent ethnic group can usually be identified by a new *ethnonym* (self-name). The second form of unification is the inclusion of smaller ethnic groups inhabiting the same territory into an already existing *ethnos*. These unification processes in the Soviet geography have led to a reduction in the number of *ethnoses* through forms of consolidation, assimilation, or interethnic integration. The term consolidation, according to Bromley, can be applied to processes which involve the merging of several *ethnoses*, usually ones kindred in origin and who posses similar languages and cultures into a larger ethnic community as in the case of merging tribes and tribal groups into a single *narodnost*.[356]

As Bromley and Kozlov both indicate the consolidation process also includes those situations in which a well-developed *ethnos* incorporates kindred ethnic units that were in permanent contact with one another. In this context both scholars give the example of the inclusion of small ethnic groups, i.e. the mountaineers of the Pamir into the larger Tajik *ethnos* and the Adjars into the larger Georgian *ethnos*. These consolidation processes, as they argue, decrease the differences between regional ethnographic groups who live among larger *ethnoses* by leveling out their linguistic, cultural and every-day life differences and strengthening their sense of a common ethnic self-identity. These developments are assisted by the spreading of education through a common language in literature and by the development of mass media.[357] I agree with Bromley about his views on consolidation but empirical data, such as the examples of Pamiris and Adjars, arises some doubts. The questionnaires

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[355] Alexei Vassiliev, *Central Asia: Political and Economic Challenges in the Post-Soviet Era* (Saqi, London, 2001), p. 177

[356] Bromley Ju, Kozlov V, "The Theory of Ethnos and Ethnic Process in Soviet Social Sciences", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(3), (July, 1989), p. 434

[357] Ibid.

that were conducted in some districts of Mountaineous Badakhshan Region of Tajikistan, the capital city of Badakhshan the Khorog and the capital city of Tajikistan in Dushanbe in winter 2005 by I myself suggest that the Pamiris were not consolidated into the larger Tajik society as suggested by Bromley's concept of consolidation.

Bromley continues to argue that, ethnic processes are vitally affected by ethnic consolidation, ethnic assimilation, and interethnic integration. By ethnic consolidation what is usually meant is the fusion of several linguistically and culturally kindred ethnic entities, most frequently the so-called ethnographic groups (sub-*ethnoses*) within the already existing nations and nationalities. Ethnic assimilation, on the other hand, refers to the processes of the dissolution of particular groups (or individual members) within others. Interethnic integration points to the co-existence of common traits of culture and consciousness of several different *ethnoses* or peoples, but, in contrast to assimilation, it does not lead to the absorption of some ethnic groups by others. As evidenced by history, interethnic commonalities usually precedes the merging of main ethnic subdivisions within the boundaries of larger regions, contributing to their gradual cultural integration with the larger community.[358]

Bushkov asserts that the Soviet nationality policy both at the center and the periphery emanated from the idea that construction of socialism would cause the merging of small nationalities with the so-called titular nations, in other words with state-owned nations. Official authorities simplified the demographic census data and excluded the so-called small nationalities from the list. The same was valid for Pamiris. In the 1939 National Census their number as well as the number of their languages has been reduced and in the 1959 and 1989 censuses they were not even included in the list. Pamiri nationalities were then considered as Tajik. The opinion of the scientists on this issue was obviously ignored. For example, while elaborating on the 1959 census, scientists noted that the disappearance of Wakhi, Shugni and Rushoni from these census data could not be explained with the process of consolidation since they had a different language and a culture from the larger Tajik nation that they were part of. They also claimed that this was not either assimilation

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[358] Bromlei Yu, "Ethnic Processes in the USSR", in Martha B. Olcott, (ed.), *The Soviet Multinational State* (Sharpe, New York, 1990), p. 53

since such a development could not take place during such a short period of time. Assimilation usually begins with a change in language but Pamiri nationalities, even according to the 1959 census, have saved their own native languages. At the 1989 census the same intention was repeated, Pamiri nationalities once again were ignored.[359]

As Babrinsky's records testify, during his discussions with the mountaineers in the beginning of the 20th century, Pamiris underlined their Iranian origin.[360] A questionnaire that was held by I myself in the winter of 2005 once again testified that the majority of the Pamiris believed in the same origin shared with the Tajiks. However, the poll has interesting nuances that I will now focus on. The question that respondents were asked was *'what is your ethnic affiliation?'* Respondents from Shughnon district identified themselves with *kishlak* (village) where they came from, using the terms *Porshnevi* (meaning the people from Porshnev)*, Tishori*, *Pashori*, and *Midenshori*. So did the respondents from other regions of GBAO. Further the same poll was conducted in center Badakhshan- Khorog where the respondents preferred to call themselves Shugni, Rushoni, Wakhi or Ishkoshimi (see Table 8).

Table 8: What is your ethnic affiliation? (The results of poll in Khorog city)

	12-17	*17-40*	*40-and over age*
Rushon	3 (na)	1 (na)	2 (na)
	9 (Rushoni)	11 (Rushoni)	8 (Rushoni)
	3 (Tajik*)	3 (Tajik)	5 (Tajik)
Shugnon	2 (na)	2 (na)	1 (na)
	10 (Shugni)	11 (Shugni)	8 (Shugni)
	3 (Tajik)	2 (Tajik)	6 (Tajik)
Wakhon	2 (na)	1 (na)	1 (na)

[359] Valentin Bushkov, Lydia Monogarova, "Ethnic Processes in Gorny Badakhshan", *Central Asia and Caucasus*, No 5, (2000), [Online: http://www.ca-c.org/journal/eng-05-2000/eng05_2000.shtml].

[360] Babrinsky A.A, *Gortsi Verxovev Pyandja: Wakhantsi i Ishkashimtsi (Mountaineers of Upper Panj: Wakhis and Ishkashimis)*, Moscow, (1908), p. 46

* It should be noted that while defining themselves as Tajik respondents added to it Pamiri suffix.

Table 8 (continued).

	11 (Wakhi)	12 (Wakhi)	7 (Wakhi)
	2 (Tajik)	2 (Tajik)	7 (Tajik)

As the table above shows, the majority of Pamiris considered themselves as forming a separate ethnic group. However, most of the respondents believed that they are from the same origin as Tajiks. The evolution of Pamiri self-awareness which was expressed in multi-staged self-identification occurred in the second half of the 20th century. Their ethnic self-awareness manifested itself in three forms. Firstly, while pointing out to a common ethnic affiliation among themselves, they call themselves as "Wakhi", "Rushoni" and so on. Secondly while talking with different peoples from other regions of Tajikistan they call themselves Pamiri. Finally, outside of Tajikistan, the Pamiris identify themselves as a Tajik.[361]

It is supposed that, depending on who is asking the question, Russian, Pamiri or Tajik, the answers correspondingly shift. The reason should be sought in the instinct of self-defense of minority groups as well as the remained syndrome of the fear of the communist period or suspicions about whether this information would reach to the KGB and finally the memories of the Tajik civil war. People will redefine themselves when circumstances make it desirable or when circumstances force them to do so.[362] In this respect 'ethnicity', as Smith points out, is in the eye of the beholder, that it is all 'situational', a matter of time and context, shifting, fleeting, illusory.[363]

According to Nagel, since ethnicity changes situationally, the individual carries a portfolio of ethnic identities that are more or less salient in various situations and vis-à-vis various audiences. As audiences change, the socially-defined array of ethnic choices becomes open to individual changes.[364] The chosen ethnic identity is determined by the individual's perception of its meaning to different audiences, its

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[361] Valentin Bushkov, Lydia Monogarova, "Ethnic Processes in Gorny Badakhshan", *Central Asia and Caucasus*, No 5, (2000), [Online: http://www.ca-c.org/journal/eng-05-2000/eng05_2000.shtml].

[362] Nancy C. Dorian, "Linguistic and Ethnographic Fieldwork", in Fishman Joshua, (ed.), *Language and Ethnic Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 25

[363] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p.2

[364] Nagel Joane, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture", *Social Problems*, Vol. 41, No:1, (February, 1994), p. 154

salience in different social contexts and its utility in different settings.[365] The extent to which ethnicity can be freely constructed by individuals or groups are quite narrow when compulsory ethnic categories are imposed upon them by others.[366]

Atkin asserts that, collective identities matter because people live in a society and must deal with other people in a host of ways. Therefore, the range of possible identities is potentially as broad as the range of a person's social interactions. The setting of the particular interactions determines which affiliations meet a person's needs in that situation or are pushed to the fore in reaction to the behavior of others.[367]

The second part of the poll was carried out in Dushanbe, the capital city of Tajikistan. A similar question was asked, '*what is the ethnic affiliation of the people from the Pamir region?*' (see Table 9). Respondents from Pamir region overwhelmingly answered to this question stating that they are Pamiris.

Table 9: What is the ethnic affiliation of the people from the Pamir region?

*12-17**	*17-40*	*40-and over age*
6 (na)	3 (na)	3 (na)
3 (Tajiks)	3 (Tajiks)	4 (Tajiks)
6 (Pamiris)	9 (Pamiris)	8 (Pamiris)

Further the question was asked '*which attributes do you think combine Pamiri people with each other?*' (see Table 10). Here I included some ethnic features such as language, religion, territory and culture in the list. However, this part of the questionnaire was more difficult concerning who the respondents were. More educated people gave a detailed and hence a more reasonable description of their

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[365] Ibid., p. 155

[366] Ibid., p. 156

[367] Muriel Atkin, "Religious, National, and Other Identities in Central Asia", in Jo-Ann Gross, (ed.), *Muslims in Central Asia* (Duke University Press, London, 1992), pp. 65-66

* For students especially in early classes the meaning of Pamiri concept is alien.

ethnic identity. Further, many respondents linked two or three features as the combining elements of their Pamiri ethnic identity. But overall 73 per cent of the 12-17 age category sees language and 7 per cent religion; 60 per cent of the 17-40 age category sees language and 27 per cent religion; 47 per cent of the 40 years old and over age category sees language and 40 per cent religion as the combining features of Pamiri ethnic identity. Overall in all age categories language appears to be more important than religion as a source of Pamiri ethnic identity. However, younger generations (age category 12-17) emphasize language more than religion as a source of their ethnic identity compared to those who are older (the age categories 17-40 and 40 and over). The percentages for territory and culture as part of their ethnic identity were very low for all age categories as seen in the table below.

Table 10: Which attribute do you think combine Pamiri people with each other?

	12-17 age	*17-40 age*	*40 and over age*
Language	11	9	7
Religion	1	4	6
Territory	2	1	1
Culture	1	1	1
n/a	-	-	-

The Pamiri respondents were also asked a similar question, *'which attributes do you think combine you with your people?'* Twenty five out of 30 Pamiri respondents considered religion as the main combining feature of the members of the Pamiri community. Thus although language appears as a primary source of Pamiri ethnic identity at the personal level, religion appears to play a key role in binding the members of the Pamiri ethnic community and in separating themselves from other groups including the Tajiks.

According to the Tables 9 and 10, Tajiks also consider Pamiris as constituting a separate ethnic identity. Besides, what is interesting is that most of the Tajiks conceive the Pamiris as possessing one singular language and hence, consider language as the main binding feature of Pamiris. Conversely the majority of Pamiris

attribute a unifying role to religion when separating themselves from the other groups including the Tajiks. In other words, for the outsiders, in this case the Tajiks, language becomes important to separate the Pamiris from the larger community whereas for the Pamiris religion is more important in binding the community members and in separating themselves from other groups and the Tajiks. These figures both at the personal and Pamiri community level overall suggest that language (as a source for personal identification) and religion (as a source for communal identification) together are the major elements of identification among the Pamiris compared to territory and/or culture.

Monogarova suggests the idea that in Central Asia the mountaineers –Yagnobis, Yazgulamis, Rushonis, Shugnis and Wakhis gradually moved closer to Tajiks and they started to perceive Tajik language as their own.[368] According to her, the level of natural assimilation and consolidation in the ethnic development of certain ethnic groups depends on the change in their ethnic consciousness. The major factors besides economic ones which determine a change in the ethnic (national) consciousness of the people are the changes in language and in national psychology.[369] As Monogarova points out, "assimilation usually begins with a change of language however, a significant part of the Pamiri peoples, even according to the 1959 census, preserved their native languages".[370] Thus, based on Monogarova's claim, the Pamirs cannot be regarded as totally assimilated into the larger Tajik society. Besides, as A. K. Pisarchik's materials also testify, "the Tajiks, as the majority group, identify the people of the Pamir region as Pamiri or sometimes as Shugni due to the fact that the majority of this group between Pamiris".[371] Further, Monogarova argues that,

> The consolidation of Pamiri nationalities under one *ethnonym* hardly has any prospects in the future. Although the respondents formerly identified themselves as Yazgulami, Wakhi, Ishkoshimi, and Shugni, now they identify themselves as 'Tajik' but also add their *Pamiri* identity too, thus they distinguish the group from other

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[368] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture),* N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 8

[369] Ibid., p. 158

[370] Ibid., p. 166

[371] Ibid., p. 167

Tajiks of the republic. Often the ethnic consciousness of the Pamiris develop on the basis of *Pamiri* self identity. The term Pamiri which was used to describe the geographical location of the Pamiris now has gained an ethnic meaning.[372]

However, Tables 9 and 10 provide data which is quite the contrary to Monogarova's argument since the percentage of those who identify themselves as Pamiri is quite high. According to some researchers, for example as Bushkov asserts, if a group of some nationalities who live under the polity of a distinct nation adopts the culture and language of this dominant group which is alien to them and if they do not consider themselves as belonging to their former ethnic group, then one can argue that assimilation has taken place. The shift in national consciousness is considered as a final stage of this process. However, Bushkov claims that the final stage of this process takes place when an assimilated group never refers to its former *ethnonym*. For example, when Wakhis, Shugnis and other Pamiri nationalities consider themselves as Tajiks and Tajiks of other regions of the republic also consider them as Tajiks, then one can argue that assimilation has taken place. This is the case for the Vanjis who became totally assimilated into the larger Tajik society.[373]

Although the Soviet ethnographers called the Pamiris as 'Mountain Tajiks' the majority of the Pamiri intelligentsia see themselves as belonging to a separate and distinct *ethnos*.[374] It is true that the consolidation of Pamiri nationalities under a single *ethnonym* has taken place, however the idea of their consolidation, as Bromley and Kozlov define it, with the Tajik ethnos is quite dubious. Firstly because during the fieldwork of this study nearly all respondents asserted that they are fluent in one of the Pamiri languages. Secondly, their ethnic affiliation to one of the Pamiri ethnicities in the Pamir region and to Pamiri ethnicity in general as a whole outside the region still appears to be strong. Preservation of native languages, their distinct religious belonging and their ethnic awareness testify that artificial attempts to assimilate the Pamiris were not successful. Moreover, endeavors to assimilate them through the Soviet nationality policy caused the convergence of Pamiri nationalities

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[372] Ibid.

[373] Valentin Bushkov, Lydia Monogarova, "Ethnic Processes in Gorny Badakhshan", *Central Asia and Caucasus*, No 5, (2000), [Online: http://www.ca-c.org/journal/eng-05-2000/eng05_2000.shtml].

[374] Roland Dannreuther, *Creating New States in Central Asia* (Halstan & Co. Ltd, Bucks, 1994), p. 27

under a new *ethnonym*-Pamiri. This term nowadays has an ethnic value, whereas it was used to describe a territory in the past.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

One of the main purposes of this study was to discuss the terminology for the definition of an ethnic group, an ethnic community and ethnicity in general both in the Western and Soviet literature since ethnicity is an ambiguous concept defined in various ways. This discussion in this study is based mainly on the formation of Pamiri ethnic identity during the Soviet period. However, major post-Soviet developments and their effect on the formation of Pamiri identity are also covered. Smith preferred to use the French term *ethnie* because according to him this term links cultural differences with the sense of historical community. This sense of history and the perception of cultural uniqueness and individuality differentiates populations from each other and endows a given population with a definite identity both in their own eyes and in the eyes of the outsiders.[375] I did not prefer to use the term *ethnie* because there is too much emphasis on the role that culture plays in ethnic dichotomization.

Soviet scholar Bromley substituted the term *ethnos* for the word the *people* since the Russian *narod* is used to describe not only ethnic communities but also the "toiling masses of people" or simply a large crowd of humans. *Ethnos*, according to Bromley denotes both those peoples who have lagged behind in their development and peoples of highly industrial countries; tribes and nations, small populations and large ones including millions of people. It is used to designate contemporary people as well as those who had vanished in history; peoples who are territorially compact and those who are dispersed over widely separated areas.[376] According to Bromley in Russian the term *nationalnost* 'nationality' is somewhat similar in meaning to *ethnos*

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[375] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), pp- 21-22

[376] Bromley Ju, Kozlov V, "The Theory of Ethnos and Ethnic Process in Soviet Social Sciences", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(3), (July, 1989), p. 425

when used to denote a people as distinguished from other peoples. In this case the meaning implied in *nationalnost'* is much narrower than that of *natsija* (nation).[377] However, Kellas argues that the usage of the term *nationality* in the USSR was for political reasons and this caused the scholars to avoid using the term.

Since the late 1940s the Soviet literature has used the term *narodnost* (nationality) to describe ethic communities that have survived through the period when tribal communities had disintegrated but no nations were yet formed, a period that roughly coincided with the existence of slavery and feudalism.[378] *Narodnost* do not have industry or a working class of their own and they exist mostly as part of a larger nation.[379] Although the term 'ethnicity' as ordinarily used in English does not quite catch the full meaning of the concept *narodnost*, the term is used to denote *ethnic groups* while referring to the meaning of "*narodnost*". It should be mentioned that the term *ethnos* as a reference to all ethnic communities also fits into my case study. However, the idea that is embraced in *narodnost* fits better with my case study because the term describes the ethnic communities who do not have their own industry and their existence is linked to their relationship with a larger nation as it is the case between the Pamiris and Tajiks.

Following Barth's argument I asserted that ethnic distinctions do not depend on the absence of social interaction and hence, ethnic identification becomes evident when alternative ethnic identities exist by giving rise to the notion of diversification in the form of "we and they" which becomes important in daily relations. Further, I focused on the content of the concept of ethnicity and its features that make the term so unique. The role of common history in ethnic identification is one of the most important aspects of the concept as a discussed throughout the thesis. From a historical perspective, I argued that a sense of common history for Pamiris actually does not go so far in history. I preferred to use 'the history of territory' rather than the 'history of a group' due to the fact that up until the Bolshevik revolution the Pamiris had not perceived themselves as constituting a separate ethnic group. I

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[377] Bromley Yu, *Soviet Ethnology and Anthropology Today* (N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Mouton, the Hague, 1974), p. 66

[378] Bromley Ju, Kozlov V, "The Theory of Ethnos and Ethnic Process in Soviet Social Sciences", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(3), (July, 1989), p. 431

[379] Ibid., p. 432

argued that Pamiris do not have a common history because they still perceive themselves as different from each other within the region. Moreover, even until the 1970s the Pamiri as an ethnicity marker was not strengthened yet. That is why I do not consider= 'history' as a main combining element of Pamiri ethnic identity.

Further, my discussion focused on another ethnic feature, that is 'a common origin'. A common origin plays an important role in ethnicity-building according to both Smith and Bromley. As Smith points out,

> If a group of people feel they are a community because of a shared ancestry, it will not prove impossible to find a name, extend their solidarity and gradually formulate their own culture (based on separate religion, or customs, or language, or institutions or color) so as to become an *ethnie* in the full sense of the term.[380]

However, based on Roosen's argument I asserted that nobody could maintain ethnic identity as a "feeling" that is determined by genes or by "blood" and that one carries it with oneself under all circumstances of life.[381] Furthermore, although a belief in common ancestry is widely acknowledged by Pamiris, they do not attribute to it a major role in dichotomization with Tajiks. Henceforth, ethnogenesis is not considered by me as a main component of self-consciousness in the Pamiri case.

Another issue regarding the question of the uniqueness of ethnic identity lays in the role of culture in ethnic identification. While some authors argue that the most indispensable feature of every ethnic identity lays in its culture, some argue that cultural features does not play a very important role since culture is as changeable as ethnic identity itself. I supported Barth's view that although ethnic groups are distinguishable by a number of cultural traits which serve as diacritica, it is equally obvious that ethnic dichotomies do not solely depend on these.[382] He asserts that many ethnic groups stay the same throughout time while their cultures change. It

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[380] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p. 31

[381] Eugeen, Roosens, *Creating Ethnicity-The Process of Ethnogenesis* (London: Sage, 1989), p. 16

[382] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), pp. 131-132

would be impossible then to define an ethnic group by its 'objective' cultural content.[383]

Another main component of ethnic groups according to some scholars is the territorial location of them. However, I suggested that territory in the case of Pamiris should be dealt hand in hand with regionalism. It is due to regionalism that territory gains a specific meaning in my case. I argued that geographical terrain, especially in the Tajik case, sometimes plays the role of a primarily source for ethnic dichotomization during daily social interaction. But it should be kept in mind that in the Tajikistan case, it is the sense of regionalism that annexes a special meaning to the geographic origin of the people rather than a geographical location in its essence.

According to some scholars religion is another source of ethnic group identification. Monogarova implies that, the role of religion in ethnic divisions especially in countries of Muslim Asia should always be taken into account while studying ethnic processes because religious distinctions had a greater importance than ethnic ones in life and in social relations.[384] According to Monogarova,

> different religious belongings of Pamiri nationalities (professing Ismailism) and Tajiks (Sunnism) has played one of the leading roles in the exclusion of Pamiris and was one of the main reasons in restraining until recently the rapprochement of these peoples.[385]

However, I argued that although religious affiliation has not been attributed as a cornerstone of ethnic identity by Pamiris during the Soviet era, it gained a special meaning after the dissolution of Soviet empire. The economic and humanitarian help to Pamiris by the religious leader of the Ismaili sect, Agha-Khan, during the catastrophic Tajik civil war revived a religious consciousness among Pamiris. However, today the secular population of Pamir perceives Ismailism more likely an ethno-political trend than a pure faith. In this respect I consider religion, besides a sense of regionalism of Pamiris, as a new source of ethnic self-consciousness.

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[383] Eugeen Roosens, "The primordial nature of origins in migrant ethnicity", in Vermeulen and Cora Govers, (eds.), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity-Beyond Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (The Netherlands: Het Spinhuis, 1994), p. 84

[384] L. F. Monogarova, *Preobrazovaniya v Bytu i Kulture PriPamirskih Narodnostey (Transformation of Pamiri ethnicities in mode and culture),* N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnography, Nauka, Moscow, (1972), p. 34

[385] Ibid.

Sometimes language too serves its speaker as an identity marker. However, as it was mentioned, there are three different languages in western Pamir that are quite different from one another. The debate was focused on the role of language in ethnic dichotomization. Based on Smith's argument I asserted that difference in speech between Pamiri ethnicities does not impair the sense of Pamiri identity among them. In addition, the majority of Tajiks as my data shows still think that Pamiris possess one common language. I found such perception about Pamiris as important since as I mentioned before ethnic boundaries, thus identities, are constructed by both the individuals and groups as well as by the outside agents and organizations. Such perception of Tajiks externally motivates the Pamiri ethnic boundary construction to become stronger.

A community's 'locus' and their relations with their neighbors often help to activate a sense of ethnicity among its members as Smith points out.[386] In this regard the Tajik civil war was another topic that I focused on. I argued that the civil war that aroused from inter-regional antagonisms crystallized and strengthened the ethnic consciousness of Pamiris in some respects due to the different motives of the war itself. I noted that the ethnic factor in the Tajik crisis was not of primary importance since the polarization was not based on ethnicity but on regionalism. The civil war testifies the fact that even religion did not play a significant role as regionalism did in the civil war. Overall, I do not perceive the civil war as a new source that further added to the strengthening of Pamiri ethnic identity.

I also argued that political policies and designation have enormous power to shape the patterns of ethnic identification. In this respect, Soviet nationality policy, the Soviet language policy and the Soviet style modernization were focused on and the role they played in the ethnic identity formation of the Pamiris was analyzed. I argued that the Pamiri *ethnonym* was not a product of the pre-Soviet era. Even if the religion played a role in social boundary construction between the Sunni population and the Ismailis, it did not cause the clustering of different Ismaili ethnic groups under a single common *ethnonym* during the pre-Soviet era. It was discussed that the Soviet nationality policy supposed to create a Soviet super ethnicity. The slogan, 'ethnic in form, socialist in content,' was designed to describe this policy package.

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[386] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, New York, Blackwell, 1987), p. 39

The concessions given to the local elites during the Brezhnev era onwards, did not only restrain the purpose of creating a Soviet-super ethnicity. On the contrary it retarded the strengthening of a national identity in the case of Tajikistan. Concessions were made not only to the local elites but the Soviet nationality policy was also criticized on a theoretical basis. In this respect, I perceived the outcome of these concessions as the main factor in the consolidation of Pamiri ethnic identity during and in the aftermath of Brezhnev's rule. Another argument during the discussion of Soviet nationality policy was about whether the Pamiri ethnic identity was invented or not. I claimed that Pamir, as a marker of ethnic identity, is the alteration of the already existing different ethnic identities which gathered different peoples under a single name. Soviet nationality policy unexpectedly contributed to the consolidation of Pamiri identity, in other words, to the coming together of various different linguistic communities under the name of the Pamiris.

Although the Soviet language policy aimed to bring about a common linguistic unit, the Tajiks remained as one of the least Russified Muslim nationalities of the Soviet Union. However, I argued that the knowledge of a national language in high percentages does not necessarily lead to the consolidation of a national unity. The high percentage of those who speak Tajik language in the republic did not eliminate the loyalties of the people to various regional and/or local identities. Thus, Tajik national identity remained weak while regional affiliations, including Pamiri self-consciousness, continued to be strong.

According to the policy of Soviet modernization it was supposed that industrialization and urbanization, accompanied with education and mass media would change the patterns of traditional life-style and contribute to the creation of a new Soviet man. The increase of the population in rural areas together with the preservation of traditional life-styles in rural areas caused the strengthening of local identities. In urban settlements, too, traditional social networks remained strong and this also contributed to the preservation of local affiliations. The maintenance of regional loyalties both in the rural and urban areas in Tajikistan continued to exist during the independence period and pushed the society into the civil war. Hence, the process of modernization did not cause the merging of different ethnicities as intended by the Soviet leaders and thus it did not contribute to the strengthening of a Tajik national identity.

As discussed in chapter Five, the distribution of cadres in political and economic institutions by the political elites to their relatives, friends and other colleagues from their home regions further strengthened regional affiliations. The sense of regional belonging restrained the development of national unity. Weak national identity contributed for the civil clash in Tajikistan. Moscow's support for the local elites also strengthened regional loyalties among the people that led to the crystallization of regional identities in Tajikistan. The strengthening of regional identities/loyalties and the distinct ethnic characteristics of the Pamiri people caused a shift in the sources of ethnic identity from a linguistic basis (Soviet times) to an ethnic basis (post-Soviet period). I argued that during the Soviet rule ethnic boundaries were mainly based on regional affiliation. It is due to regionalism that other traits of ethnic identity, especially religion gained a primarily importance during the post-Soviet period. From this perspective one can argue that political and economic regionalism played and will continue to play a significant role in the future development of Tajik national identity.

Overall, the majority of Pamiri population has preserved their eastern Iranian languages, which separates them from the rest of the society and which will also contribute to the strengthening of Pamiri ethnic identity. The preservation of native Pamiri languages, continuation of regional loyalties, distinct religious belonging and the ethnic awareness of Pamiris shows us that artificial attempts to assimilate Pamiris were not successful. Moreover, attempts to assimilate them through Soviet nationality policy caused the convergence of Pamiri nationalities under a new *ethnonym*, Pamiri. This term nowadays has an ethnic value, whereas it was used to describe a territory in the past.

In addition to all the mentioned factors that contributed to the ethnic formation and consolidation of Pamiris, there is another important phenomenon that can shape the ethnic processes in the future. This phenomenon is the issue of globalisation. Mittelman defines globalisation as a historical transformation in the economy, politics and culture. It is a transformation in culture, insofar as there is an erosion of certain life-ways and the emergence of new hybrid forms.[387] As William Robinson points out,

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[387] James H. Mittelman, *Whither Globalization? The Vortex of Knowledge and Ideology* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 4

the communications revolution has penetrated even the most remote and isolated regions of the world and linked them with an increasingly global civilization. On the one hand, even the most isolated communities are broken up and their members dispersed. The old bonds of social cohesion dissolve and individuals are reintegrated into new national spaces.[388]

The argument that put forward by Cox is quite interesting and valid for contemporary Tajikistan. Cox, while defining the contradictions of globalization points out that there is a widespread but uneven tendency toward decomposition of civil society that leads to a fragmentation of social forces and to the growing gap between the base of society and political leadership. Under these circumstances, the politicians are thought of as a distinct category, serving their own interests. In the poorest countries, there is evidence that people are turning their backs to the state and international organizations, which they see as their enemies rather than as possible sources of support. Cox continues his claim that the tendency toward decomposition is accompanied by a resurgent affirmation of identities and emphasis on locality rather than wider political authorities. [389]

Furthermore, according to the poll indicates that Tajikistan, though being the country with the lowest social and economic indices in the CIS, can be considered a migration leader in Russian Federation.[390] The latest studies, according to a poll, show that the number of labour migrants can increase to 632 thousand including the 85 per cent leaving for work to Russia in particular.[391] Barry Buzan as a scientist in security studies argues that, one of the most common issues that have been viewed as a threat to societal security is a migration.[392] According to him, society is about identity, in other words, it is about the self-conception of communities and of

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[388] William I. Robinson, *Promoting polyarchy* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 37

[389] Robert W. Cox, "A Perspective on Globalization", in James H. Mittelman, (ed.), *Globalization: Critical Reflections* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), p. 27

[390] Leonid Rybakovsky & Sergey Ryazantsev, "International Migration in the Russian Federation", New York, 6-8 July 2005

[391] Leonid Rybakovsky, Sergey Ryazantsev, "International Migration in the Russian Federation", *United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs*, [Online: http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/ittmigdev2005/P11_Rybakovsky&Ryazantsev.pdf].

[392] Barry Buzan, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (London, Lynne Rienner, 1998), p. 121

individuals identifying themselves as members of a given community. Societal insecurity, as he defines, exists when communities of whatever kind define a development potentiality as a threat to their survival as a community.[393] Certainly these phenomena, namely matters of security and the impact of globalization through migration, would affect the future of ethnic processes in Tajikistan but it is difficult to foresee the direction of these developments. The impact of these global factors on ethnic identity formation in Tajikistan can be a topic for further research which can contribute to the field of ethnic studies by taking into account the movements of ethnic groups in a broader context.

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[393] Ibid., p. 119

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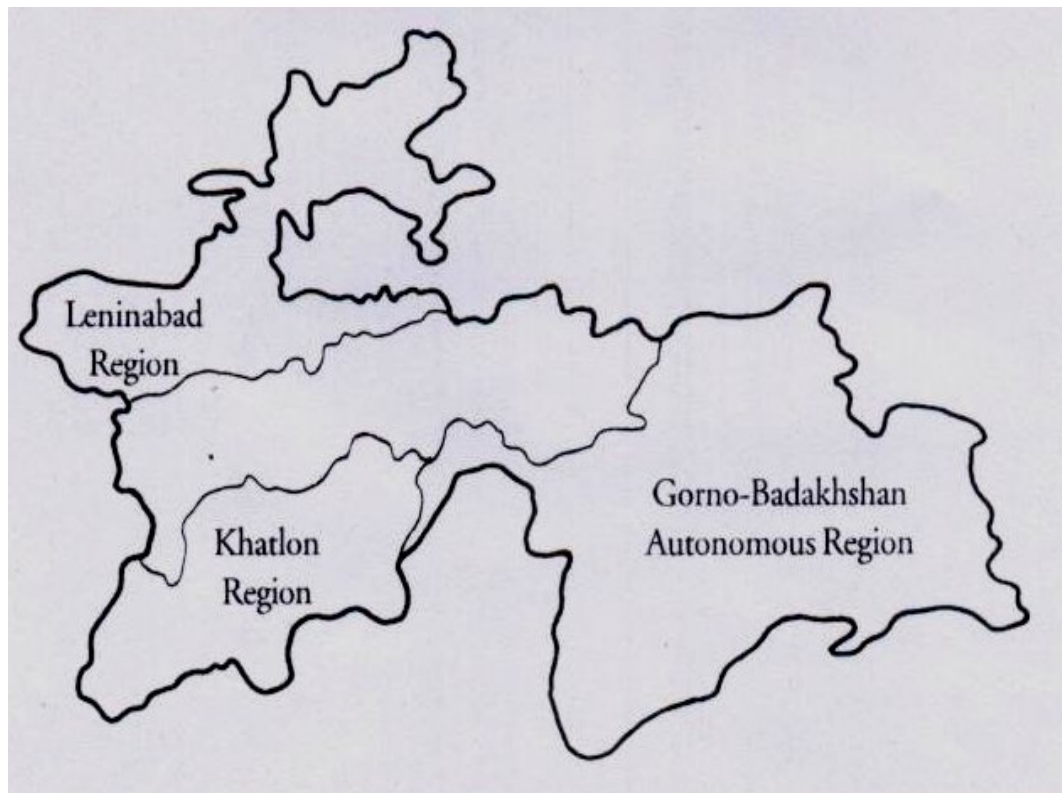
Political Map of the Republic of Tajikistan

Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/commonwealth/tajikistan_pol01.jpg
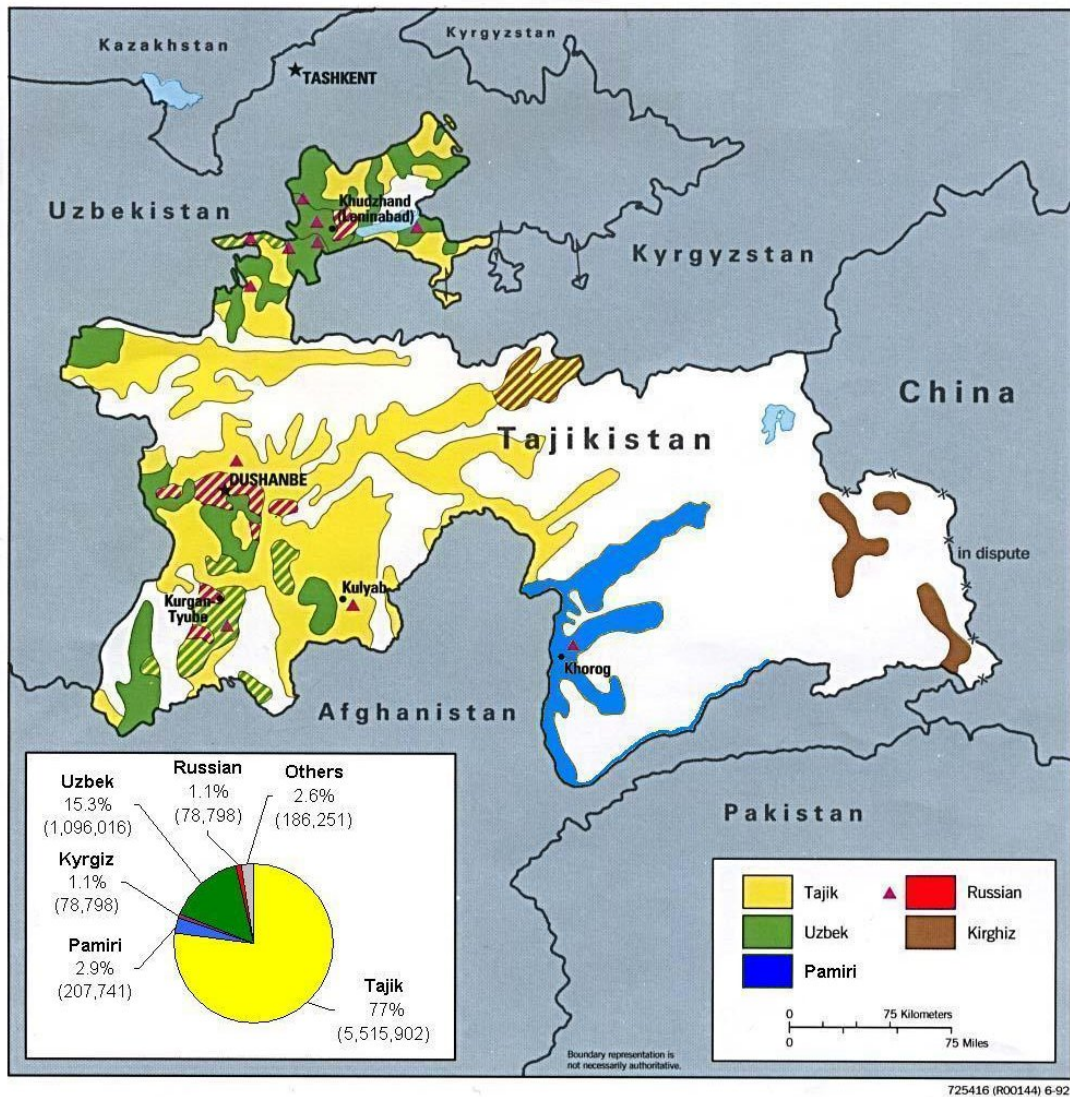
APPENDIX B

Administrative Map of the Republic of Tajikistan

Source: Ilolov Mamadsho & Khudoiev Mirodasan, "Local Government in Tajikistan", in Igor Munteanu & Victor Popa, (eds.), *Developing New Rules in the Old Environment* (Open Society Institute, Hungary, 2001), p. 645

APPENDIX C

Major Ethnic Groups in Tajikistan

Source: http://www.untj.org/files/maps/tajikistan_ethnic_92.jpeg (The region that is painted by blue colour is an amendment that was added by I myself to this map.)