

**Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies
School of International Studies, J.N.U.**

Course	Ph.D.
Course Title	State and Administrative Systems in Modern Central Asia
Course Teacher	Dr. Govind Kumar Inakhiya
Course type	Optional
Credits	Four
Semester	Monsoon Semester / Winter
Contact Hour	Four per week
Evaluation Methods	Assignments, Class Presentation/ Participation, Mid-semester, and End semester examinations

Course Description:

Modern Central Asia comprises five countries i.e. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Historically, administrative systems in the region have evolved through three different phases: the pre-Soviet period, the Soviet period, and the post-Soviet period. Before the Russian conquest, the region was divided into three native *Emirate* and *Khanates* of Bukhara, Khiva, and Kokand. The administrative systems of *Emirate* and *Khanates* were based upon Perso- Arab administration of Transoxiana. The Tsarist rule on the other hand was characterized as a ‘military-civil administration.

Under Soviet rule, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union controlled the entire administrative structure from the local to national level. After the Bolshevik Revolution, four constitutions were introduced by the Soviet leadership, based on socialist ideals. There was over-centralization of power through bureaucracy in the day-to-day life of the Central Asian Republics. Also, some scholars highlight that the during Soviet era the concept of ‘democratic centralism’ was visible in the functioning of the institutions.

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Central Asian Republics started their chequered journey with the introduction of new constitutions. The Constitution of CARs enshrine liberal democratic values and structures of the administration based on models of Western and advanced Asian countries. Countries of the region are trying to move beyond the Soviet legacy to a new system with incremental reforms, from a centralized to a decentralized mechanism of governance, and administration. The Central Asian Republics are in the process of building various state institutions while transitioning from the Soviet administrative system to one governed by a ‘liberal democratic’ constitutional framework. The creation of a new set of administrative systems is integral to the process of state-building and democratization. Without understanding the changing nature of administration, analysis of state building remains incomplete.

The course aims to introduce Ph.D. researchers to State-Building, the evolution of administrative systems, the functioning of various structures in different phases, and challenges faced by Central Asian Republics in this regard. The course will adopt a comparative approach to analyze the state, state building, and administrative systems of Central Asian States.

Course Objectives:

Objectives of this course are:

1. To introduce the students to the concept of state, state building, and evolution of administration in Central Asia in various phases.
2. To understand the nature of administrative and institutional structures in the process of state-building and democratization in Central Asian Republics.
3. To explain the challenges faced by Central Asian Republics in this process

Learning Outcomes:

1. To acquaint the students with concepts and theories related to state, administrative systems, comparative administration, and administrative culture.

2. To provide a historical overview of the state-building process and administration in Central Asia.
3. To analyze post-Soviet constitutions, dimensions of the administrative reforms, and the nature of emerging politics and institution-building.
4. To assess the role of administrative and public institutions in state building in Central Asian countries.
5. To understand the administrative systems of Central Asian States by applying the comparative method.

Course Content:

Unit – 1

State Building and Administrative System: Theoretical Framework

This unit will cover concepts and theories of State, state building, and administration in the post-Soviet Central Asian states. This Unit will cover:

- Theories and Models of state, state building, and administration.
- Administrative Culture and its Impact on Development.
- Administrative Systems within Central Asia: A Comparative Perspective.

Essential Readings:

- Cox, W. R., Susan J. Buck (2004), *Public Administration in Theory and Practice*, Delhi, Pearson.
- Dwivedi, O.P. (2005). *Administrative culture and values: Approaches*. In Jabbara, Joseph, G and Dwivedi, O.P. (Eds.). *Administrative culture in a global context*. Michigan, USA: International Specialized Book Service Incorporated.
- Hay Colin, Michel L., et al (Eds) (2006), “The State: Theories and Issues,” New York, Palgrave Macmillan. Introduction (pp.1-20), Chapter-9,10, and 11 (pp.190-222).
- Heady Ferrel (2001), “Public Administration: A Comparative Perspective,” New York, Marcel Dekker, Inc.
- Riggs F. W. (1964), “Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Riggs, F. W. (1970). *The ecology of administration*. Bloomington: Indiana University.
- MacIver, Robert Morrison (1928), 'The Modern State', 2nd impression, Oxford University press, London.

Additional Readings:

- Denhart, B. Robert and Denhart V. Janet (2010), *Public Administration*, United Kingdom, CENGAGE Learning.
- Fukuyama, F. (2014). States and Democracy. *Democratization*, 21(7), 1326-1340.
- Howlett Michael (2008), “Administrative style and limits of the administrative reforms: A institutional Analysis of Administrative Culture,” *Canadian Public Administration*, 46 (4), pp.471-494.
- Peters B. Guy and Pierre Jon (Eds) (2007), *Institutionalism*, Volume, I, II, III, and IV, London, Sage Publications.
- Osborne David and Ted Gaebler (1992), “Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector”, Penguin Book Publishers.
- Panandikar, Pai V.A. (1964). Development administration: An approach, *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 10(1), 34-44
- Waldo, D. (1963). Comparative public administration prologue, performance and problems. *Indian Journal of Political Science*, 24(3), 177-216.
- Weidner, W. E. (1970a). (Ed.), *Development administration in Asia*, Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Unit -2

State and Administration in Central Asia: A Historical Overview

This unit will trace the historical evolution of state and administration in Central Asia during the medieval ages from the Second Decade of the 13th century to 1867, the Tsarist period from 1867 to 1917, and the Soviet period from 1917-1991. This unit intends to comprehend how new

administrative structures and laws have been introduced during different historical periods. The Unit will discuss the following:

- Background of the region during pre- Tsarist period: Formation of the *Khanates*, and *Emirate*: Power and functions of native authorities.
- Tsarist Administration (*Oblast, Volost, Uzed, and Aksaqal*) and Authorities in Central Asia (1867-1917):
 - Administrative Acts:
- Soviet Theory of State, and administrative structures during the Soviet period (1917-1991):
 - Supreme Soviet to Village Soviets (Union and Unit level administration).
 - Presidium, Central Committee Department, Village Level Standing Commission.
 - Bureaucracy.

Essential Readings:

Biran, Michal (1997), “*Qaidu and The Rise of The Independent Mongol State in Central Asia*” Cornwall, Curzon Press.

Churchward, L.G. (1975), “Contemporary Soviet Government”, Second Edition, London Routledge & Kegan Paul, (Chapter-6,8,9,11, and 12).

Fainsod, Merle (1969), “How Russia is Ruled’ Revised Edition”, Bombay, The Times of India Press.(Part-III, Chapter-11,12 and13).

Fainsod, Merle and Jerry F. Hough (1979), ‘How the Soviet Union is Governed’ Harvard London, University Press.

Gafurov, B. G. (2005), “Central Asia Pre – Historic to Pre – Modern Times Vol.2” introduced by Devendra Kaushik, Delhi, Shipra Publications, (Chapter-3,4,5,6, and 7)

Kaushik, Devendra. “Central Asia in Modern Times, A History From the Early 19th Century”, edited by N. Khalifn, Moscow, Progress Publishers.

Additional Readings:

Allworth, Edward (1967), *Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule*, New York, London: Columbia University Press.

Badie, Bertrand (2000), *The Imported State: The Westernization of the Political Order*, Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Badan, Phool (2001), *Dynamics of Political Development in Central Asia*, New Delhi: Lancers’ Books.

Barthold, W. (1956), *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, (Translation by V. and T. Minorsky from Russian to English) Leiden, E.J. Brill.

Baumer, [Christoph](#) (2014), *The History of Central Asia: The Age of the Silk Roads*, I.B. Tauris.

Bunce V. (1999), [Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State](#), [Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics](#).

Carr, E.H. (1969), *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923*, Vol-I, England, Penguin Book.

d’Encausse, Helene Carrere (1980), “Soviet Nationality Policy in Central Asia”, *Journal of Area Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1: 36-40.

Fatland, Erica (2020), *Sovietization: Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan*, Pegasus Books.

Gellner Ernest (1988), *State and Society in Soviet Thought*, Oxford and New York, Basil Blackwell.

Gibb H.A.R. (1923), *The Arab Conquest in Central Asia*, London, Read Book Ltd..

Karpinsky, V. (1952), *The Social and State Structure of the USSR*, Moscow, Foreign Language Publishing House.

Lewin Moshe (1996), *Soviet Bureaucracy in Historical Perspective*, Study of the National Council for Soviet and East European Research, University of Pennsylvania.

- Megoran Nick (1999), *Nationalism in Central Asia: A Biography of the Uzbekistan – Kyrgyzstan Boundary*, University of Pittsburg Press.
- Pierce R. (1960), *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917*, University of California Press.
- Shams-ud-din (1979), Problems of Modernization of Politics in Russian Central Asia before October Revolution, *Indian Journal of Politics* (Aligarh), vol. XIII, nos. 1-2, pp. 85-96.
- Pierce, Richard A. (1964), “Mission to Turkestan” (Translated by N.J. Couriss), London, Oxford University Press.
- Roudik, Peter L. (2007), *The History of the Central Asian Republics*, Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press.
- Steven Sabol (1995), “The Creation of Soviet Central Asia: The 1924 National Delimitation,” *Central Asian Survey*, 14 (2), pp.225-241.
- Vaidyanath, R (1969), *Formation of the Central Asian Republics: A Study in Soviet Nationality Policy, 1917-1936*, New Delhi, Peoples Publication House, 1969.
- Wheeler, Geoffrey (1964), *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Unit – 3

Administrative System in Contemporary Central Asia

This unit will explore the developments in Central Asia after the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. It will provide an overview of the constitutional and legal framework, and its application in these countries in a comparative perspective. This Unit will cover:

- Administrative Structure and Authorities:
 - Central and Provincial Government Systems.
 - Local Governments (*Aul, Aiyl okmotu, Amoat and Mahalla committees*)
- Civil Services: Concept, Evolution, Characteristics, and Models.

Essential Readings:

- Baimenov, Alikhan and Liverakos Panos (2022), *Public Service Evolution in the 15 Post-Soviet Countries: Diversity in Transformation*, Singapore, Palgrave MacMillian.
- Cummings, Salley N., ed. (2002), *Power and Change in Central Asia*, London, New York; Routledge.
- Emrich-Bakenova S (2009), “Trajectory of civil service development in Kazakhstan: Nexus of politics and administration,” *Governance* 22(4): pp. 717–745.
- Hunter, Shiree T. (1996), *Central Asia Since Independence*, New York, Praeger.
- Jones, Luong, Pauline (2002) *Institutional change and political continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia: power, perceptions, and pacts*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kangas Roger D (1994), “Problems of State-Building in the Central Asian Republics”, *World Affairs*, Vol. 157, No. 1 pp. 29-37
- Liebert, Saltanat, Condrey E. Stephen and Goncharov D (Eds.) (2013) *Public Administration in Post-Communist Countries*, London and New York, CRC Press, Taylor & Francis Group.

Additional Readings:

- Babajanian, B.V., 2007. Local Governance and Citizens’ Welfare in Kyrgyzstan. *Unpublished working paper. Social Research Center of the American University of Central Asia (AUCA), Bishkek.*
- Bunce, Valerie, and McFaul Michale (et al) (2010), *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Post Communist World*, New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Matveena, Anna (1999), “Democratization, Legitimacy and Political Change in Central Asia,” *International Affairs*, 75 (1), pp.23-44.
- Makhmutova, M., 2001. Local government in Kazakhstan. In: V. Popa and I. Munteanu, eds. *Developing New Rules in the Old Environment. Local governments in Eastern Europe, in the Caucasus and in Central Asia*. Budapest: Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, Open Society Institute Europe, 403–468.

Masaru, S., 2006. The Politics of Civil Society, Mahalla and NGOs: Uzbekistan. In: L. Osamu and U. Tomohiko, eds. *Reconstruction and Interaction of Slavic Eurasia and Its Neighbouring Worlds*. Sapporo: Slavic Research Centre, Hokkaido University, 335–370.

McMann, K., 2007. The Shrinking of the Welfare State: Central Asians' Assessments of Soviet and Post-Soviet Governance. In: J. Sahadeo and R. Zanca, eds. *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 233–247.

Mohapatra, Nalin Kumar (2006) *Political Culture and Democratic Development in Central Asia*, New Delhi: Book well.

Perlman, B.J. and Gleason, G., (2007). Cultural Determinism versus Administrative Logic: Asian Values and Administrative Reform in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 30 (12-14), 1327–1342.

Unit – 4

Administrative Reforms in Central Asia

This unit will discuss major administrative reforms including governance, good governance, and E-governance reforms in Central Asia in a comparative manner. This unit will also assess the efficiency and effectiveness of the administrative systems in Central Asian Republics through governance and good governance practices. This Unit will cover:

- Concept and forms of administrative reforms in the Central Asian context.
- Good Governance practice (Process, Content, and Delivery mechanism).
- Central and Local Government Reforms.
- Civil Service Reforms.
- Citizen-Centric Administration: Cases from Central Asian Republics.

Essential Readings:

Ahrens, Joachim, and Herman W. Hoen (2017), *Institutional Reform in Central Asia: Politico-Economic Challenges*, Routledge Politico-Economic Challenges.

Bekbolotov, K. (2007). *On the path to ideal bureaucracy: The Future of Public Service in Kyrgyzstan*. Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: Institute for Public Policy.

Janenova, Saltanat and Knox Colin, “Civil service reform in Kazakhstan: trajectory “to the 30 most developed countries?,” *International Review of Administrative Science*, Vol. 85(3) pp. 419–439.

Janenova S and Kim PS, “Innovating public service delivery in transitional countries: The case of one-stop shops in Kazakhstan,” *International Journal of Public Administration*, 39(4), pp.23–333.

Kubick Paul (1998), “Authoritarianism in Central Asia Curse or Cure,” *Third World Quarterly*, 19(1), pp.29-43.

Law of the Kyrgyz Republic on Public Service, 114 (2004).

Lung, P.J. (2002), *Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post Soviet Central Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Saner, R., Toseva, G., Atamanov, A., Mogilevsky, R., and Sahov, A., 2008. Government Governance (GG) and Inter-Ministerial Policy Coordination (IMPC) in Eastern and Central Europe and Central Asia. *Public Organization Review*, 8 (3), 215–231.

Urinboyev, R., 2014. Is There an Islamic Public Administration Legacy in Post-Soviet Central Asia? An Ethnographic Study of Everyday Mahalla Life in Rural Ferghana, Uzbekistan. *Administrative Culture*, 15 (2), 35–57.

Wiegmann, G., 2004. Local Alliances Providing Local Governance in Tajikistan? *Working Paper*.

Yuldasheva, Feruza Ulugbekovna, Reforms and modernization of civil service of the Republic of Uzbekistan, *International Scientific Journal Theoretical & Applied Science*, vol.78 issue 10, 2019

Additional Readings:

Bhuiyan, S.H., 2010. Decentralization and Local Governance in Kazakhstan. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 33 (12-13), 658–672.

Beyer, J., 2015. Customizations of Law: Courts of Elders (Aksakal Courts) in Rural and Urban Kyrgyzstan. *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 38 (1), 53–71.

Junussova Madina (2020) *Cities and Local Governments in Central Asia : Administrative, Fiscal, and Political Urban Battles*, NY and London, Routledge.

Melvin, N.J., 2004. *Authoritarian Pathways in Central Asia: A Comparison of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, and Uzbekistan. Democracy and Pluralism in Central Eurasia*, London: Frank Cass, *Cummings Center Series*, 127–128.

Pauline Jones Luong (2002), *Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post- Soviet Central Asia: Power, Perceptions and Pacts* Cambridge: Cambridge University, Press.

Sievers, Eric W. Uzbekistan's Mahalla: From Soviet to Absolutist Residential Community Associations, *The Journal of International and Comparative Law* at Chicago-Kent: Volume 2, 2002.

Stevens, Daniel, (2005), NGO- Mahalla Partnerships: Exploring the potential for state-society synergy in Uzbekistan, *Central Asian Survey*, September, 2005, 281-296.

Unit – 5

Challenges to administrative systems of Central Asian Republics

This Unit highlights the challenges before the administrative system in Central Asian Republics since independence. The Unit will critically examine:

- Transparency and accountability issues.
- Lack of Participatory Governance.
- Financial Challenges.
- Clan and regionalism.

Essential Readings:

Berdikeeva, S., 2006. National identity in Kyrgyzstan: the case of clan politics. *In: The Association for the study of Nationalities' 11th Annual World Convention. ' Nationalism in an Age of Globalization. ' New York: Columbia University. March. 23–25.*

Deshpande, S, ed. (2016), *Dynamics of Central Asia: Issues and Challenges*, G.B. Books Publishers.

Eurasian Development Bank (2022), *The Economy of Central Asia: A Fresh Perspective*, Almaty.

Knox, Colin and Janenova, Saltanat (2022), Does Bureaucratic Performance Vary Across Authoritarian Regimes, *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration* (Online Journal).

Liebert Saltanat “Challenges of Reforming the Civil Service in the Post-Soviet Era: The Case of Kyrgyzstan” *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, Vol. 34(4) pp.403–420.

Oleinik A, Yermekov M and Kuatbekov Z, “Power distance, sub-ethnic groups and teams of civil servants: Overlooked factors of administrative reform in Kazakhstan,” *Public Policy and Administration*, 30(2) pp. 182–205.

Vassilev, Alexi, (Ed.) (2001), *Central Asia, Political and Economic Challenges in the Post Soviet Era*, London, Saqi Book.

Additional Readings

Collins, K., 2003. The Political Role of Clans in Central Asia. *Comparative Politics*, 35 (2), 171–190.

Collins, K., 2006. *Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deniz Kandiyoti, “Post-Soviet Institutional Design and the Paradoxes of the ‘Uzbek Path,’” *Central Asian Survey* 26, no. 1 (2007): 44.

Ilkhamov, A., 2004. The Limits of Centralization: Regional Challenges in Uzbekistan. *In: The Transformation of Central Asia. States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 159–181.

Klebleyev, A., 2014. Islamic Legacy beyond Islam: The Case of Uzbekistan. *Administrative Culture*, 15 (2), 143–156.

Patnaik, Ajay (2018), Central Asia: Between Stability and Instability, *International Studies*, vol. 53, nos. 3-4, pp. 176-194

Note: New readings will be introduced by the course teacher time to time.