

## *Index*

- Abdil'din, Serikbolsyn, 223
- Adagine: tribal ancestors of southern Kyrgyz, 75
- agency-based analysis: of institutions and regime change, 261–9
- agency: in historical institutionalism, 40, 42
- agriculture: centralized control of in Uzbekistan, 131–2
- Akaev, Askar, 82, 106, 108, 111, 118, 154–6, 158–9, 265–6
- on candidate nominations, 167, 169–70
- on electoral commissions, 173
- on parliamentary seats, 174–7
- on parliamentary structure, 180–1, 183–4
- and support for multiethnic state, 120
- Akhmatov, Qazat, 109
- akims. *See* regional leaders.
- Akmolinsk Province, 92
- Alma-Ata Oblast, 92
- American Legal Consortium (ALC), 151
- Assembly of People's Representatives (Kyrgyzstan), 181–5
- asymmetrical power relations, 7–8, 41, 44–5, 49, 62, 103, 187
- explained by historical institutionalism, 39–40
- and interregional divisions, 161, 165
- in transitional bargaining game, 30–1
- in transitional context, 29
- Ata-Meken party, 183
- Attuulduk Demilge, 113
- Azat movement, 144, 235
- bargaining approach: version of RCI, 38, 47, 50. *See also* transitional bargaining game.
- Bukhara, 54–5, 83, 87
- Bulgaria, 46
- Cabinet of Ministers: and centralization of power in Kazakhstan, 139

## Index

- cadre selection and assignment  
 system: and centralization  
 of power in Uzbekistan,  
 125  
 as source of regionalism in  
 Kazakhstan, 96–8  
 as source of regionalism in  
 Kyrgyzstan, 79–81  
 as source of regionalism in  
 Uzbekistan, 87–8, 90  
 candidate nomination, 235  
 as core issue in electoral  
 systems, 8  
 as issue in transitional  
 bargaining game, 163,  
 167–71, 197, 199–203, 210,  
 228–37  
 regional leaders and, 219  
 self-nomination, 229, 231, 233,  
 235, 237  
 CEC. *See* Central Electoral  
 Commission.  
 censorship: and central control  
 of press in Uzbekistan,  
 126  
 center-region conflicts, 56  
 center-region relations: in  
 Kyrgyzstan, 106, 108–14  
 Central Administrative  
 Commission: role in creating  
 borders of Central Asian  
 states, 64–5  
 Central Asia: Russian colonization  
 of, 55  
 Central Electoral  
 Commissions, 185, 225,  
 238–40, 244–5  
 centralist electoral systems: in  
 Uzbekistan, 10  
 central leaders  
 and allocation of parliamentary  
 seats, 174  
 in electoral reform, 215–16  
 as players in transitional  
 bargaining game, 8, 158, 166.  
*See also* central-regional  
 divisions.  
 rotation of between regions as  
 source of regional divisions,  
 158–9, 161, 165, 192  
 central-regional divisions: 123,  
 147, 149–51, 185, 188, 195,  
 197, 269  
 Chui Oblast (Kyrgyzstan), 111  
 and coalition building, 167  
 and electoral commissions,  
 172–3  
 on parliamentary structure,  
 179–82  
 in transitional bargaining game,  
 158, 163–4, 187. *See also*  
 Frunze Oblast.  
 Chyngyshev, Tursunbek, 113  
 clan identity and loyalty:  
 transferred to oblast and  
 region, 93  
 coalition building: as strategy in  
 transitional bargaining game,  
 166–7, 169  
 collective farms: political ties to  
 regional leaders, 68–7  
 command economy, 61  
 Communist Party of Kazakhstan  
 (KPK), 144–5  
 Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan,  
 111–12  
 Communist Party of Uzbekistan  
 (KPUz), 128

Cambridge University Press

0521801095 - Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia:  
Power, Perceptions, and Pacts

Pauline Jones Luong

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- Congress of People's Deputies (CPD): elections to under Gorbachev, 6–7
- constitution: and centralization in Uzbekistan, 121–2
- constructivism: and identity, 61–2
- context. *See* immediate-strategic context; structural-historical context; transitional context.
- continuity, 254–5
- contractarian approach: version of RCI, 47
- corruption: and privatization of Kyrgyzstan economy, 115–16
- Cossack movements: regional base of, 144
- cotton production: as source of continued influence of regional leaders, 132–3  
in Uzbekistan, 86–8
- Demilage, Jany, 114
- democracy and democratic reforms, 2–3, 151, 156, 159, 214
- in Central Asia compared with other former Soviet states, 13–14
- and devolution of power to local level in Kyrgyzstan, 108–14
- impediments to, 256–7
- leads to civil war in Tajikistan, 100
- motives for elite support of, 17–18
- predictors of, 258, 263, 265–9
- distribution of resources: conflict over as key factor in  
institutional design, 26–7  
in transitional bargaining game, 31, 34
- District Electoral Commissions (DECs), 73, 185, 269. *See also* Central Electoral Commissions; electoral commissions.
- dualistic electoral systems: in Kazakhstan, 10
- Dzhezkazgan Oblast, 92
- Dzhizak Obkom, 88, 90
- Dzhizak Raion, 90  
cotton production in, 87–8
- economic specialization: as source of regionalism, 67–9, 78–9, 86–8, 136
- economic transition, 106  
in Kazakhstan, 136, 147–51  
in Kyrgyzstan, 114–17  
in Uzbekistan, 130–3
- election (March 1994, Kazakhstan), 234–6, 239, 243–5, 248–9
- election supervision: as core issue in establishment of electoral systems, 8
- electoral commissions, 195, 197, 211  
compositions and jurisdiction of, 171–3, 203–6, 237–46. *See also* central electoral commissions; district electoral commissions.  
as issue in transitional bargaining game, 167, 197
- electoral districts, 206–7, 211

Cambridge University Press

0521801095 - Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia:  
Power, Perceptions, and Pacts

Pauline Jones Luong

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- Electoral Law: of December 1993, 234–7, 239, 243–5, 248–50  
of September 1995, 236–7, 240, 245–6, 249–50
- electoral systems: institutional origin, change, and transition, 3–7
- issues and participants in negotiations about, 8–10
- recent studies of, 45–6
- regional basis of in Soviet era, 73–4
- summary of establishment of in Central Asia, 269–73
- in TBG, 19–20
- elites: impact on perceptions of power shifts, 3
- in transitional bargaining game, 11–14
- Erkin Kyrgyzstan (Erk), 113–14
- ethnicity and ethnic divisions:  
and electoral reform in Kazakhstan, 216, 224–5
- in Kazakhstan, 91, 93–8, 152–4
- in Kyrgyzstan, 81, 120
- prediction of in Central Asia, 17, 51, 59–60
- and September 1995 election law, 245–6
- and state-building orientation, 157. *See also* state-building orientation.
- in Uzbekistan, 90
- ethnographers, Soviet: role in creating borders of Central Asian states, 64
- European Community's Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS), 118
- federalism, 61
- Fergana Oblast, 90, 132–3, 191–3  
and allocation of seats, 207, 211  
and candidate nominations, 201  
and industrialism as source of political power, 86–7  
and regional divisions in Uzbekistan, 83  
as source of national leaders, 87
- Frunze Oblast (Kyrgyzstan), 79–82. *See also* Chui Oblast.
- “Gold Scandal,” 118
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 6
- gross national product (GNP): as precondition of democracy, 258
- Guryev Oblast, 92
- Historical Institutionalism (HI), 53  
compared with Rational Choice Institutionalism and TBG, 37–41  
recent combined approaches, 42–4, 47–8
- hokims. *See* regional leaders.
- Human Development Index (HDI): as predictor of democratization, 258
- Human Rights Watch, 133
- Hungary, 46
- Ichilik: tribal ancestors of southern Kyrgyz, 75

Cambridge University Press

0521801095 - Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia:  
Power, Perceptions, and Pacts

Pauline Jones Luong

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- identity formation: critique of
  - studies of ethnic mobilization and, 59–62
  - historical and social bases for, 53–5
  - using HI to explain ethnic mobilization and, 62–3
- immediate-strategic context, 254
  - in institutional design, 14, 26, 30
  - in RCI, 47
  - in TBG, 48–9
- institutional design: structure and agency in, 254–5
- institutional theory, 3–4
- instrumentalism: and identity, 61–2
- interest groups: in HI, 42
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 115, 118
- international role, 106
  - in Kazakhstan, 136, 151–2
  - in Kyrgyzstan, 115, 117–19
  - in Uzbekistan, 133–4
- interregional divisions, 176–7, 182–7
  - and parliamentary structure, 247
- interviews: in research methodology, 20–3
- Islam, 54, 59–60, 106
  - government control of in Uzbekistan, 135
  - regionalism and repression of, 72–3
- Islamic fundamentalism, 1, 51–2, 197
- Issyk-Kul Oblast, 106, 110–11
  - and regional divisions in Kyrgyzstan, 82
- Jalal-Abad Oblast, 106, 110, 119
  - leaders in transitional bargaining game, 166
- Jogorku Kenesh (parliament, Kyrgyzstan), 10
- Karaganda Oblast, 92
- Karakalpak Autonomous Region, 201
- Karakalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR): and regional divisions in Uzbekistan, 83
- Karimov, Islam, 189
  - and centralization of political power in Uzbekistan, 120–1, 123–6, 128
  - in Kazakhstan, 149
  - and privatization, 130–1
- Karl, Terry Lynn, 44
- Kashkadaria, Oblast: and regional divisions in Uzbekistan, 83–4
- Kashkadaria Oblast: status of in Soviet era, 87
- Kazakh Hordes: under Russian and Soviet regimes, 91–2
- Kazakh Khanate, 91
- Kazakh opposition: regional base of, 144
- Kazakhs: and Russian expansion, 54–5
  - as titular nationality in SSR, 65
- Kazakhstan, 52–3, 55–6, 261, 267
  - correspondence of tribal and administrative-territorial units, 65
  - economic specialization in, 67–8

Cambridge University Press

0521801095 - Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia:  
Power, Perceptions, and Pacts

Pauline Jones Luong

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- Kazakhstan (*cont.*)  
 and perceptions of power shifts, 276–9  
 as research subject, 18–20  
 Soviet legacy of regional cleavages in, 91–8  
 structure of electoral system, 10  
 transition to democracy, 15, 17  
 Kazakhstan transitional bargaining game, 270–5  
 first bargaining game, 216, 219, 225  
 second bargaining game, 222, 227. *See also* Electoral Law.
- Kengash, 210
- Khalilov, Erkin, 191
- Khiva, 54–5
- Khodzhaev, Faizulla: fall of, 88
- Khorezm Oblast: and regional divisions in Uzbekistan, 83
- Khorezm People's Republic: and regional divisions in Uzbekistan, 83, 87
- Khozhamedov, Hassan, 235
- Kirghizia. *See* Kyrgyzstan.
- Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic:  
 and regional divisions, 78
- Kokand Khanate, 54, 76, 83
- kolkhozes, 78
- koreniatsiia (nativization or indigenization): of national cadre, 69
- KPKR, 175
- Kunaev, Dinmukhamed A., 97
- Kustanai Oblast, 92
- Kyrgyz: and Russian expansion, 54–5  
 as titular nationality in SSR, 65
- Kyrgyzstan, 52–3, 55, 261, 265–6  
 central-regional divisions, 156  
 correspondence of tribal and administrative-territorial units, 65  
 as most democratic of Central Asian countries, 3  
 divisions among northern oblasts, 82, 159–60  
 economic reform in, 114–17  
 economic specialization in, 67–8  
 influence of international community in, 15, 117–19  
 north-south regional cleavage, 56, 76, 78  
 and perceptions of power shifts, 276–9  
 political reform in, 108–14  
 as research subject, 18–20  
 Soviet legacy of regionalism in, 74–82  
 state-building orientation of, 106, 119–20, 157  
 structure of electoral system, 10  
 in transitional bargaining game, 215, 270–1, 273–5  
 transitional context, 106–20  
 transition to democracy, 15, 17
- Law on Land (Kyrgyzstan), 118–19
- laws and legislation: Law on Local Self-Governance and Local Administration in Republic of Kyrgyzstan, 109

Cambridge University Press

0521801095 - Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia:  
Power, Perceptions, and Pacts

Pauline Jones Luong

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- Law on Local Self-Government (Kazakhstan), 139–40
- Law on Public Organizations (Kyrgyzstan), 133
- Legislative Assembly (Kyrgyzstan), 181
- legislature: declining power of in Kazakhstan, 140–2
- mahalla organizations: and  
candidate nominations, 200  
role in strengthening central-  
local relations, 124
- Majilis (Kazakhstan), 10
- majoritarian electoral systems, 45
- Mangyshlak Oblast, 92
- Mardiev, A., 191
- marketization: in Kazakhstan, 147–8  
in Kyrgyzstan, 114–15
- Masaliev, 82
- mass mobilization: role of in democratization, 18
- media, 136  
in Kazakhstan, 143  
use of by local leaders in Kyrgyzstan, 111  
central control of in Uzbekistan, 126–7
- methodology. *See* research methodology.
- Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (Uzbekistan), 134
- mixed electoral system, 46. *See also* dualistic electoral system.
- Mungush: tribal ancestors of southern Kyrgyz, 75
- Naryn Oblast, 80, 82, 111
- national cadre: pattern of recruitment and assignment reinforces regionalism, 69–72
- nationalism, 1, 51, 60–2, 135–7
- Nazarbaev, Nursultan, 136, 154–5, 213–14, 219, 222
- centralizes power in executive branch, 137, 139–41, 143, 147–8
- and December 1993 election law, 216, 235, 245
- and parliamentary structure, 246–7
- and political parties, 144–5, 229
- and September 1995 election law, 236–7
- and state list, 241, 244
- NDI, 133, 151
- nomads: forced settlement of, 65  
Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and Turkmen as, 54
- nomenklatura, as controllers of Soviet transition, 44
- nominations. *See* candidate nominations.
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), 115, 117–18
- obkom (oblast party committee)  
first secretary: cadre policies support power of, 70  
supplants tribal and clan leaders, 66–7
- oblast: as electoral districts, 73  
as power base of elites, 71–2  
replaces tribal identity in Kyrgyzstan, 78
- Olii Kenges, 249

Cambridge University Press

0521801095 - Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia:  
Power, Perceptions, and Pacts

Pauline Jones Luong

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- Olii Majlis (parliament, Uzbekistan), 10, 193, 209–10
- Osh Oblast, 79, 82, 106  
leaders as participants in electoral reform, 158, 163–4, 166, 172–3, 179, 187
- Otuz Uul; tribal ancestors of Kyrgyz, 75–6
- pacted stability, 253
- pacted transitions: as means of maintaining elite control, 12–13
- parliamentary seats: allocation of, 163, 167, 173–8, 195, 197, 206–9  
as core issue in electoral systems, 8, 10
- parliamentary structure, 6–8, 156, 164, 167, 178–85, 197, 209–10, 232–3, 246–50
- path dependency, 257–8
- patron-client relations: and regionalism, 14, 86, 90
- Peoples' Congress of Kazakhstan (NKK), 144–5  
and parliamentary structure, 24
- People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan (NDPU): and candidate nominations, 200, 203  
as replacement for KPUz, 128–9  
and Uzbekistan electoral reform, 191
- perceptions. *See* power, perceptions of.
- political elites, 23
- political identities, 17, 48  
defined, 11–12  
in transitional bargaining game, 263
- political parties and social movements: and allocation of seats, 242  
and bargaining game in Kazakhstan, 222–3, 234  
and electoral commission, 171–3, 238  
and parliamentary seats, 174–5  
and parliamentary structure, 183, 248  
as players in transitional bargaining game, 1, 88, 159, 166  
regional base of, 56, 111–14, 161, 163, 165–6  
restricted by Law on Public Organizations, 133  
role in candidate nomination, 136, 143–6, 167–8, 200–1, 229–33, 235–6  
roll of in electoral system design, 45–6  
unrestrained development in Kyrgyzstan, 110–11  
in Uzbekistan, 128–9
- political transition, 106  
in Kazakhstan, 136–47. *See also* transitional context.  
in Kyrgyzstan, 108–14  
in Uzbekistan, 121–30
- populist electoral system: in Kyrgyzstan, 8–9
- power asymmetries. *See* asymmetrical power relations.
- power, perception of relative, 106

## Index

- power, perceptions, 49, 102–3,  
 154–5, 187–8, 214, 253, 269,  
 270, 276–9  
 as factor in transitional  
 bargaining game, 31, 33–5,  
 47–8  
 in Kazakhstan bargaining game,  
 137, 141–2, 145–7, 151,  
 227–8, 251–2  
 in Kyrgyzstan economic reform,  
 116–18  
 in strategic bargaining and  
 institutional design, 10–14,  
 29–30. *See also* asymmetrical  
 power relations; transitional  
 bargaining game: perceptions  
 and strategy.  
 power shifts, 125–7  
 PR. *See* proportional  
 representation.  
 presidential apparat: and  
 centralization of power in  
 Kazakhstan, 139–40  
 primordialism: and identity, 62  
 privatization, 115–16, 130–2  
 proportional representation (PR)  
 electoral systems, 45, 174–6,  
 185, 206, 241  
 Qaim Khan, 91  
 raions, 78  
 Rashidov, Sharaf, 88, 90  
 Rational Choice Institutionalism  
 (RCI): compared with  
 Historical Institutionalism  
 and TBG, 37–41  
 recent combined approaches,  
 41–2, 44–7  
 regime change: patterns of change  
 in Central Asia, 273–6  
 regional divisions, 111, 158–9,  
 161, 165, 214. *See also*  
 regionalism and regional  
 identity.  
 regional leaders (akims): and  
 candidate nominations,  
 169–70, 201, 205, 210,  
 235–6  
 and December 1993 electoral  
 law, 150  
 and economic reform, 148–51  
 and electoral reform, 8, 175,  
 191–2, 215–16, 219, 222,  
 224–5, 227–8, 231–2, 234,  
 238–9  
 in Kazakhstan, 139–42  
 long tenure of creates power  
 base, 88. *See also* Chui Oblast  
 leaders; Osh Oblast leaders.  
 and parliamentary structure,  
 248, 250  
 on parliamentary structure, 179,  
 183–4  
 in transitional bargaining game,  
 166  
 in Uzbekistan, 123  
 regionalism and regional identity,  
 61, 63, 187, 211–12  
 and candidate nominations,  
 204–6  
 centrality of, 52–3, 190  
 as common factor in  
 institutional design process, 2,  
 12, 25  
 contribution of interregion and  
 intraregion elite competition  
 to, 90

## Index

- regionalism and regional identity  
 (*cont.*)  
 contribution to political stability  
 and institutional continuity,  
 17, 99–101, 197  
 economic specialization as  
 source of, 67–9  
 as factor in allocation of  
 parliamentary seats, 174–5  
 and national cadre, 69–74  
 and Olij Majlis, 193, 195  
 rise of, 55–9  
 as Soviet legacy, 15, 63–99,  
 164–5, 192–3  
 in transitional bargaining game,  
 157–8, 223–4, 251, 263, 269.  
*See also* Kazakhstan: regional  
 cleavages; central-regional  
 divisions; regional leaders;  
 regional divisions;  
 Kyrgyzstan: regional  
 cleavages; Uzbekistan:  
 regional cleavages.  
 and tribal and administrative  
 units in Uzbekistan, 82–6  
 religious identity: deemphasized in  
 Soviet era, 100  
 Republican Party of Kazakhstan  
 (RPK), 144  
 research model and methodology:  
 explanatory power of, 26–37  
 focus on elites in, 23  
 goes beyond structure versus  
 agency, 37–50  
 selection of subject for, 18–20  
 use of interviews in, 20–3  
 reservation values and points: in  
 transitional bargaining game,  
 31–4  
 Romania, 46  
 Russia, 46  
 Russian immigration: and ethnic  
 division in Kazakhstan, 91,  
 93–7, 137, 216, 224–5  
 in Kyrgyzstan, 120  
 Russkaia Obshina: regional base  
 of, 144  
 Samarkand Oblast, 132–3  
 and allocation of seats, 207, 211  
 and candidate nominations, 201  
 and electoral reform, 191–3  
 and regional divisions, 83  
 status of in Soviet era, 87–8, 90  
 sarts: Uzbeks and Tajiks as, 54  
 Schmitter, Phillippe, 44  
 Semipalatinsk Province, 92  
 Semireche Oblast (Kry), 76, 92  
 Senat (Kazakhstan), 10  
 shock: in transitional bargaining  
 game, 31–3  
 single member districts, 10  
 single-member districts (SMDs),  
 174, 241–3, 249, 206  
 SNEK party: and parliamentary  
 structure, 248  
 Social-Democratic Party: regional  
 base of, 144  
 Socialist Party of Kazakhstan,  
 144–5  
 Soglasie, 119  
 Soviet era: structure and function  
 of electoral systems during,  
 5–6, 205  
 Soviet legacy: and regionalism, 53,  
 63–99  
 sovkhozes, 78  
 Sry-Daria Province, 92

Cambridge University Press

0521801095 - Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia:  
Power, Perceptions, and Pacts

Pauline Jones Luong

Index

[More information](#)**Index**

- state-building orientation, 106
  - in Kazakhstan, 136, 152–4
  - in Kyrgyzstan, 106, 119–20
  - in Uzbekistan, 134–6
- State Control Committee (Uzbekistan), 123–4, 126
- state institutions: role of in creating identities, 62–3
- state list: as form of candidate nomination, 232–4, 236, 240–1, 243–4, 249
- Steppe, 55
- structural-historical context, 254
  - in HI, 43
  - of institutional design, 14, 26, 28–30
  - in RCI, 47
  - in transitional bargaining game, 31, 34, 48
- structural theory: agency-based, 17
  - analysis of institutions and regime change, 256–61
  - in research methodology, 19
- structure versus agency, 43, 49
- Supreme Soviet (Kazakhstan), 147–8
  - dissolution of, 141–2, 213–14
- Supreme Soviet: and December 1993 electoral law, 216, 219
- Supreme Soviet: and parliamentary structure, 247–8
- Surkhandaria Oblast: and regional divisions in Uzbekistan, 83–4
- Surkhandaria: status of in Soviet era, 87
- Syr-Daria Oblast (Uzbekistan), 76
- Tagai: tribal predecessors of northern Kyrgyz, 75
- Tajikistan 15, 55
  - breakdown of regionalism in, 100
- Tajiks: as titular nationality, 65
- Talas Oblast, 111
  - and regional divisions in Kyrgyzstan, 82
- Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, 92
- Tarrakieti, Vatan, 200
- Tashkent Oblast, 83, 90
  - and industrialism as source of political power, 86–7
  - as source of national leaders, 87
  - and Uzbekistan electoral reform, 191–3
- Tereshchenki, S.A., 148
- Territorial Electoral Commissions (TECs), 238–9, 244–5
- Timur, Amir, 135
- Transcaspia, 55
- transitional bargaining game (TBG), 25
  - actors, preferences, and underlying power asymmetries, 158–66, 190–7, 215–25
  - characteristics of participants, 31, 34, 157
  - institutional outcomes, 185–6, 210–11, 250–1
  - as model of institutional design, 11, 48
  - perceptions and strategies, 166–85, 187–8, 197–212, 225–50, 251–2

Cambridge University Press

0521801095 - Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia:  
Power, Perceptions, and Pacts

Pauline Jones Luong

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- transitional bargaining game  
(TBG) (*cont.*)  
theoretical contributions of  
  perception as key variable in,  
  14–18  
  structure of, 31–7  
  structure and agency in, 34  
transitional context: circumstances  
  of unique to Central Asia,  
  105–6  
  as focus of HI accounts, 43–4  
  general features of, 103–5  
  of institutional design, 27–30  
  Kazakhstan as greatest test of  
  model, 214  
  in Kyrgyzstan, 187  
  summary of findings, 270–5  
  in transitional bargaining game,  
  31, 34  
  in Uzbekistan, 190  
tribalism: deemphasized in Soviet  
  era, 100  
  as potential threat in Central  
  Asia, 51–2  
Tselinograd Oblast, 92  
Turgai Province, 92  
Turgunaliyev, Topchuiybek, 113  
Turkestan, 55  
Turkmen: as titular nationality in  
  SSR, 65  
Turkmenistan, 15, 55  
Tursunbai, Bakir, 113  
United States Agency for  
  International Development  
  (USAID), 118  
Uralsk Province, 92  
Urazev, Shavkat, 190  
Usabaliyev, T., 80, 82  
Uzbekistan, 15, 17, 52–3, 56, 59,  
  267  
  centralization of power in,  
  121–30  
  compared to Kazakhstan, 215  
  economic reform in, 130–3  
  economic specialization in,  
  67–9  
  influence of international  
  community in, 133–4  
  as research subject, 18–20  
  Soviet legacy of regional  
  cleavages in, 65, 82–90  
  state-building orientation of,  
  134–6  
  structure of electoral system, 10  
  in transitional bargaining game,  
  270–9  
Uzbeks: and Russian expansion,  
  54–5  
  as titular nationality in SSR, 65  
  and ethnic divisions in  
  Kyrgyzstan, 81  
Vatan Tarrakiyati: and Uzbekistan  
  electoral reform, 191  
workers' collectives and residential  
  committees: and candidate  
  nominations, 163, 169, 200–1,  
  205, 230–1  
  and electoral commissions,  
  172–3  
World Bank, 115, 118  
Yedinstvo party, 183  
Zheltoksan party: regional base of,  
  144