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Lund University Master of Science in
International Development and Management
June, 2015

Community Based Tourism in Arslanbob and Sary-Moghul,
Kyrgyzstan:
An Alternative to Labour-Migration?

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ABSTRACT

This research studies the perceptions of Community Based Tourism (CBT) workers towards labour-migration in the two mountainous southern Kyrgyz villages of Sary Moghul and Arslanbob. The qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews from 28 CBT workers and four key stakeholders reveal four Ideal Types of labour-migration amongst the CBT workers: i) CBT workers who wish to labour-migrate but have yet to have done so; ii) CBT workers who have labour-migrated and returned; iii) CBT workers who are circulatory labour-migrants; and finally iv) CBT workers who have never labour-migrated and currently have no motivation to do so. Qualitative analysis reveals participants from Ideal Type 1 migrating for sociocultural factors, whereas Ideal Types 2 and 3 labour-migrate due to economic factors. Ideal Type 4, a group predominantly composed of individuals with no interest in labour-migration reveals both social and economic factors as the determinants of labour-migration. It is found that in general CBTs have dis-incentivised labour-migration for all the Ideal Types with the exception of Type 4 which by definition does not seek labour-migration. Ideal Type 2 perceives CBTs dis-incentivising labour-migration both socially as well as economically, whereas Ideal Types 1 and 3 perceive the CBTs as dis-incentivising labour-migration purely socially.

ACRONYMS

BRIC - Brazil, Russia, India, China

CBT - Community Based Tourism

CMT - Circulatory Migration Theory

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GDP per capita - Gross Domestic product per person per annum

GNI - Gross National Income

HDI - Human Development Index

ILO - International Labour Organization

IMF - International Monetary Fund

IOM - International Organization for Migration

KCBTA - Kyrgyz Community Based Tourism Association

KGS - Kyrgyz Som

MST - Migration Systems Theory

MDG - Millennium Development Goal

NGO - Non Governmental Organisation

OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PPT - Pro-Poor Tourism

PPTP - Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership

ST-EP - Sustainable Tourism - End Poverty

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

UNFPA - United Nations Population Fund

UNWTO - United Nations World Tourism Organization

USD - United States Dollar

WST - World Systems Theory

WTO - World Tourism Organization

WTTC - World Travel and Tourism Council

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“As restrictive policies fail to curb immigrant flow, it is increasingly argued that the best immigration policy is development“

- Gullette 2007: 603.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This thesis researches the perceptions of Community Based Tourism (CBT) workers towards labour-migration in the two mountainous southern Kyrgyz villages of Sary Moghul and Arslanbob (Appendix 1 & 2). Historically, mountainous regions in southern Kyrgyzstan have the highest regional rates of labour-migration, with Kyrgyzstan placed second in the world in the dependency on international migrant remittances, mostly stemming from its workforce in Russia. In order for the researchers to study the perceptions of the CBT workers towards migration and the impact the CBT industry has had in dis-incentivising labour-migration, qualitative primary data has been collected through semi-structured interviews from 28 CBT workers and four key stakeholders throughout December 2014 and January 2015. The research has revealed four ideal types of migration attitudes, allocating all the CBT workers interviewed. These four ideal migration types are: i) CBT workers who wish to labour-migrate but have yet to have done so; ii) CBT workers who have labour-migrated and returned; iii) CBT workers who are circulatory labour-migrants; and finally iv) CBT workers who have never labour-migrated and currently have no motivation to do so.

Qualitative analysis reveals participants from the four groups having differing motivations for migration, return, or stay. Outward labour-migration is predominantly motivated by economic determinants, such as income, while return and stay are social, such as community feeling and family. The interviews confirm an overall dis-incentivising effect for labour-migration on behalf of the CBTs, yet the main benefits resulting from the employment are perceived as social, such as investments in human capital and the ability to interact with tourists. The seasonal nature of CBTs on the other hand keeps certain CBT workers in circulatory (seasonal) labour-migration in order to earn sufficient, all-year-round income.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Which labour-migration decision patterns exist within the CBT communities in Sary Moghul and Arslanbob?
2. Which principal factors pertaining to CBTs in Sary Moghul and Arslanbob have affected the willingness of CBT workers to labour-migrate?
3. How have CBTs affected the willingness of CBT workers to labour-migrate?

These three research questions begin analysis of the relationships of CBTs and labour-migration by firstly generally examining the labour-migration patterns present in the two CBT communities. The underlying reasons for labour-migration are further elaborated with the second research question examining the underlying determinants affecting the willingness of the CBT workers to labour-migrate. Finally, the researchers examine whether employment within the CBT network has had a dis-incentivising effect for the CBT workers. This thesis is qualitative in nature and is designed to be an entry point in understanding the relationship between CBTs and labour-migration in the two villages, and the Southern Kyrgyz context.

2.0 EXISTING RESEARCH

Academic literature examining the two separate fields of CBTs and labour-migration is plentiful. However, examinations of the interrelations between CBTs and labour-migration is absent from academic review. Despite the emergence of CBTs as a newer form of tourism in the end of the 20th century, a formidable stock of literature exists exploring the themes environmental sustainability, particularly in environmentally protected areas, as well as poverty alleviation. Literature on in the specific area of labour-migration is ubiquitous due to the new role of remittances in development which have surpassed official development aid. The initial wave of labour-migration began at the end of WWII with the start of the guestworker era in the Western countries. The earlier literature emerging from this time period views labour-migration from an overall macro perspective, explaining migration trends on the state level, followed by micro-theories explaining worker motivations to migrate. Due to the absence of intertwining studies of CBTs and labour-migration, the existing literature section reviews research examining literature examining the role of CBTs in poverty alleviation, the role of poverty in regional development, and the interlinkages of general tourism and migration.

Manyara & Jones (2007) "*Community-based Tourism Enterprises Development in Kenya*" evaluates the potentials and challenges for CBTs in poverty alleviation and identified the catalyst for the establishment of local CBT enterprises. The paper also explores, the role, degree and nature of external interventions are explored to understand how partnership approaches can better address community priorities and the role and degree of their external intervention. The local CBT workers voiced that their definition of CBTs is the enhancement of conservation, community ownership, community based, fully involving the local locality in the development and management of operations, while regarding the community as the main beneficiary (: 637). The critical aspects which determine the success of CBTs are the extent of support from the local community, sufficiency of basic skills, quality of management, quality of partners, proportion of reinvestments and maintenance, transparency, availability of exit strategies for external intervention.

Bartholo et al. (2008): “*Tourism for Whom? Different Paths to Development and Alternative Experiments in Brazil*” evaluates the Brazilian government’s policies since the 1990s to promote tourism which benefits the socioeconomic development of local communities. The government policies of tourism promotion which officially includes local participation and socioeconomic development have overlooked contextual peculiarities of the communities by imposing mass tourism, resulting in social and environmental harm to local communities. The two CBT cases analysed demonstrate the possibility of tourism benefitting local communities if properly planned to focus on the creation of real benefits and opportunities for the residents. The two coastal communities of Prainha Do Cante Verde and Silves are used as cases in order to demonstrate the various approaches taken up by either community to mobilise themselves both locally and internationally to become CBT destinations. The study explores the strong identities and resistance to mass-tourism, leading up to the communities’ engagement in CBTs. It is concluded that development strategies should come from within the communities, and its people as the actuators of the transformation to CBTs (: 117).

Gregory S. Gullette (2007): “*Migration and Tourism Development in Huatulco, Oaxaca*” examines the impact of mass tourism on labour-migration in locally depressed economies. The research notes that tourism has in fact incentivised labour-migration due to the fact that the government policy to initiate tourism had unintended consequences, leading to rising real estate prices from industrial scale tourism. As a result locals labour-migrated abroad into low-skilled work in order to raise the necessary capital abroad in order to purchase land in their home communities (: 607). Empirical data indicates that following the tourism developments in the region, the people of Santa Maria now experience greater emigration rates than the neighbouring areas. The idea of an integrated tourist city inevitably became a failure as a result of poor resource distribution. The research has also found a lacking inclusion mechanism for the people and tourism industry to come together. Further research includes the collection of longitudinal data in order to measure emigration levels in order to determine if emigration levels will worsen or improve over time (: 606-607).

3.0 BACKGROUND

The Republic of Kyrgyzstan, independent from the Soviet Union since 1991 is a Central Asian landlocked country neighbouring China from the East, Tajikistan from the South, Uzbekistan from the West, and Kazakhstan from the North, as shown in Appendix 1. The landlocked country holds a population of 5.7 million people on an area of approximately 200,000 km² which in turn is 94% mountainous and over 1000 meters above sea level (World Bank 2015 a). The country is situated on the historically prosperous silk road, but currently enjoys economic prospects below that of the world average with a GNI per capita of just \$1,210 (World Bank 2015 a). Kyrgyzstan is classified by the World Bank (2015 a) as lower middle income country while the UNDP in the Human Development Index (HDI) has groups Kyrgyzstan as a Middle Human Development country with a HDI value of 0.628 in 2014 (2014: 170). Kyrgyzstan is currently continuing its economic transformation from a previously communist economic system. The incidence of hindering factors such as corruption and economic isolation have on the other hand not made socioeconomic development as easy as for some other post-Soviet states. The country has instead seen a stall in entrepreneurship and the accumulation of state property under the control of oligarchs in the process of privatisation (Castells 2010: xiv b). Having experienced two revolutions during its independence in 2005 and 2010, the country is experiencing a combination of negative socioeconomic trends. These include a mismatch of skills in the labour market, partially contributing to the decreasing proportion of stable jobs, and increases in unemployment, temporary incomes, part-time employment, low skilled jobs (Building Migration Partnerships 2011: 20).

Progress made in regards to the Millennium Development Goals has been mixed, with targets expected to be met for extreme poverty and hunger, environmental sustainability and developing a global partnership for development (World Bank 2011: 3), but not for health and education (*Ibid.*: 4). Currently 38% of the Kyrgyz people live below the national poverty line, of these 66% live in rural areas (IMF 2014: 33). Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, Kyrgyzstan's urban population has demographically stagnated, whereas the rural areas have continued to grow (Schuler 2007: 79). The two southern Kyrgyz oblasts (districts) of Osh and Jalal-Abad (home to Sary Moghul and Arslanbob respectively) are presented in Appendix 2. These two regions hold 44% of the country's population, but 55% of the poor (World Bank

2011: 7), as shown in Appendix 3. Accommodating over half the country's poor allocates these two districts a poverty burden higher than the 38% national average. It is noted by the World Bank (2011: 8) that poverty in Kyrgyzstan increases with higher altitudes, as only 13% of the population resides in the mountains, of whom half live in poverty (*Ibid.*: 7). This can be explained through the fact that remoteness limits economic opportunities (*Ibid.*: 7). In addition to the geospatial factor, there exists an element of positive poverty correlation with the size of household as households with five or more members are also more likely to be poor. The push to lower poverty, especially in the most critical areas in the mountains, the need to connect the country to the global economy is needed. Tourism offers solutions to such problems and in the pursuit of attracting foreign capital through international visitors, Kyrgyzstan has in the recent decade taken several steps to acknowledge the importance of its international tourism sector. Kyrgyzstan, as part of other developing countries are recognising the ability of the tourism industry to generate profits, employ locals and reap the benefits of the sector granting greater focus to the developing world.

3.1 TOURISM FOR DEVELOPMENT

Tourism has gained recognition in the recent decades as an engine for economic growth and is gaining an ever greater importance in the world economy with its strong growth. The tourism sector is forecasted to expect growth faster than other main world industries at 4% annually in the coming decade (World Travel and Tourism Council 2014: 3). In the year 2013 tourism accounted for 9.5% of global GDP and employing 1 in every 11 workers internationally (World Travel and Tourism Council 2014: 3). The economic importance of attracting international visitors is becoming increasingly clear to governments due to the potential to reap tax revenue from the sector. In 2012 the world set a new record for 1 billion annual tourists and this number is projected to grow 5% annually (UNWTO 2014: 2). International tourism specifically in developing countries is expected to account for 57% of all travellers in 2030 (UNWTO 2014: 12). In 2013, tourists spent \$386bn in developing countries (Sustainable Tourism for Development Guidebook 2013: 16). Tourism to developing and least developed countries is growing faster than for the developed world, currently accounting for almost 50% of total

international tourist arrivals (*Ibid.*: 16). This progress can partly be attributed to the costs of air transportation having fallen by 60% during the last 40 years while the industry itself has grown 10 times (IATA 2011: 7-14), as demonstrated by Appendix 4 which shows steady declines in price over the four decade period and showing signs of levelling off since the beginning of the 2000s. The increased wealth of the world's economically deprived is providing asymmetrical increases to the international tourism industry, translating to more tourists from developing countries, such the Kyrgyz neighbour, China. This is apparent through research noting an economic elasticity for tourism being greater than 1 for countries with a GDP per capita lower than \$13,700 (WTTC & Oxford Economics 2014: 11). This means developing countries will consume tourism services proportionally more as their incomes increase relative to developed countries. This indicates a large growth potential for international tourism from developing countries, especially when taking into account that the World Bank estimates currently 2.2 billion people living below \$2.50 a day, translating their GDP per capita to \$5,200 (*Ibid.*: 11). The rise in the incomes of these people will translate to an exceedingly increasing pace of tourism growth, especially from the BRIC countries, of which Russia and China lie in Kyrgyzstan's proximity.

Tourism as a tool for development emerged in the 1970s, and resurfaced again in the 1990s with the concept of Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) seeking to bring net benefits to the poor from tourism (Harrison 2008: 851). The original focus of PPTs has been to bring net benefits to the poor from mass-tourism and incorporating them into the capitalist markets, although later discussion of PPTs focus on smaller scale tourism (Harrison 2008: 851-855). PPTs are an umbrella notion directing its attention to the flow of profit from tourism. The creation of the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership (PPTP) in the late 1990s lead many academics to demonstrate case studies of how small-scale tourism could alleviate poverty more effectively through the stimulation of local involvement, partnerships and procurement (*Ibid.*: 854). PPTP in turn contributed to the launch of the high profile Sustainable Tourism-End Poverty campaign in 2002 at the World Summit for Sustainable Tourism in Johannesburg by the World Tourism Organization (before being named UNWTO) (*Ibid.*: 854). The ST-EP campaign consisted of three elements: i) the incorporation of a poverty component in the UNWTO's technical assistance programme; ii) the creation of the ST-EP Foundation, to finance research and cooperation with other organisations to promote

poverty alleviation through tourism; and iii) the establishment of the ST-EP Trust Fund to finance technical assistance projects specifically geared for poverty alleviation (*Ibid.*: 854).

3.2 TOURISM IN KYRGYZSTAN

The development and research of tourism in Kyrgyzstan is mostly limited to the country's eastern region, specifically the lake of Ysyk-köl located North East (Schneider and Stadelbauer 2008 & Watanabe et al. 2009: 3). Although the Kyrgyz Law of Tourism was created in 1999, the country had already begun developing its mountain tourism during the Soviet period (Watanabe et al. 2009: 3). There is no existing data on tourism in Kyrgyzstan before 1995 (Thomson & Foster, 2003: 171), however, it is known that the role of tourism had become increasingly important in Kyrgyzstan from the 1970s (Schuler 2012: 75). During this time Kyrgyzstan attracted visitors from across the Soviet and Eastern Europe, who placed Kyrgyzstan among popular destinations such as the Crimea and Black Sea. Lake Ysyk-Köl, a 182 km long lake in northern Kyrgyzstan, was during the Soviet times one of the most attractive recreational resorts for USSR travellers and the number one tourist destination in the country (Thomson & Foster, 2003: 169). Currently, most tourists who travel to Kyrgyzstan are cultural tourists visiting the historical sites of the Silk Road. Although Kyrgyzstan received some substantial assistance from the World Tourism Organization (WTO) in order to promote tourism in the region, the country gains little from the Silk Road tourism. The cultural and historical remnants of cities such as Samarkand, Khiva, and Bukhara make it difficult for Kyrgyzstan to offer competing attractions. Instead Kyrgyzstan has established itself as a destination for adventure tourism, focusing on ecotourism particularly in the country's isolated mountains are globally known to hold a variety of human culture, ethnic groups and nomadic traditions (*Ibid.*: 169-171; Stadel, 1997 in Godde & Price 2000: 3).

Kyrgyzstan's tourism sector directly contributed KGS 5.7bn (1.6%) of GDP in 2013 with expected growth of 0.9% in 2014 (WTTC 2014: 5). The total contribution of Travel & Tourism constituted 100,500 jobs in 2013, representing 4.3% of total employment. The proportion and absolute number of people employed directly in the tourism sector is forecast to fall by 4.8% in

2014 to 96,000 jobs (4.1% of total employment). By 2024, travel and tourism is forecast to account for 104,000 jobs (4.0% of total employment). In comparison to the global averages, the Kyrgyz figures fare lower and suggest the country has not been successful in reaping the financial benefits of the international tourism flows. In terms of incoming tourist flows to Kyrgyzstan, the most recent data from 2009 accounts 48.3% from Kazakhstan (approximately 1 million people), 22.1% from Uzbekistan (approximately 500 000), and 7.1% from Russia (160 000 persons) (Building Migration Partnerships 2011: 32).

As the Kyrgyz government faced economic regression following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, tourism became increasingly verified as a potential commerce to attract foreign revenue (Thomson & Foster, 2003: 171-172). The Kyrgyz government adopted a resolution in 2000 making entry visas more accessible for foreigners by adopting liberal migration policies (Building Migration Partnerships, 2001: 12; Thomson & Foster, 2001: 183). In the recent decade, the share of tourism's direct contribution to the Kyrgyz economy and employment has been in fluctuation, as shown in Appendices 5 & 6. The direct contribution¹ of tourism into Kyrgyzstan's GDP was at its highest in 2006, accounting for 2.5% of GDP. This figure has experienced an overall downward trend reaching a low of 0.7% of GDP in 2010 and levelling off at 1.5% between 2012-2014 (WTTC 2014: 3). This is in the form of the abolition of entry visas for Kazakhs, Tajiks and Russians for up to 90 days in the country, as well as simplified visa procedures for 45 more countries including the countries of the European Union (Building Migration Partnerships, 2011: 12). Kyrgyzstan began promoting the Great Silk Road en masse for international tourism in Central Asia following the end of the Soviet Union. However, the main difficulties in promoting tourism in the region are the i) distance from the main tourist markets; ii) lack of facilities and infrastructure; and iii) security risks posed to tourists. The main potentials identified on the other hand are "ecological and cultural assets", allowing Kyrgyzstan to offer a "strong, specialist ecotourism market". (Thomson & Foster, 2003: 169-171)

¹ Reflects total spending on travel and tourism by residents and non-residents on leisure and business, including the spending of the government (WTTC / Oxford Economics 2015: 4)

² The term 'field' is used to refer to being the migration destination. Also translating to 'wandering about' (Isabaeva 2011: 544)

³ Two participants were disqualified from the pool of respondents due to the fact that one was a Tajik migrant in Kyrgyzstan, and the other only in the process of training to qualify as a CBT worker.

3.3 LABOUR-MIGRATION IN KYRGYZSTAN

The fall of the Soviet Union and the termination of economic subsidies impacted the Kyrgyz economy particularly hard amongst the CIS states, with the rural population reacting with mass domestic and international labour-migration to regain previous standards of living (Isabaeva 2011: 542). International labour-migration has also taken over domestic labour-migration in remittances (*Ibid.*: 542). Following nearly two decades of independence, labour-migration has proven to be not only a trait for the older generation born in the Soviet era, but also for the generation born in independent Kyrgyzstan (Thieme 2012: 128). Annually, around 30 000 to 50 000 Kyrgyz labour-migrate abroad (IMF 2014: 36). The stock of Kyrgyz labour-migrants abroad ranges anywhere from 300 000 to 1 000 000 representing around a quarter of the population, consisting of predominantly youth (*Ibid.*: 9-12; The Economist 2013, IOM 2011: 36). The Kyrgyz migration trends are on the other hand slowing, as migratory outflow of 2012 was recorded as five times less than in 2008 (IMF 2014: 36). In 2014 the country ranked second in the world for the size of the remittances as a share of the GDP, being only behind Tajikistan. Remittances constitute 31% of the Kyrgyz GDP, with an upward growth trend and have allowed the country to overtake Liberia as the world's second most remittance dependent country in the world in 2014 (The Economist 2013; World Bank 2014 d: 4; World Bank 2015). Due to low employment opportunities mostly low skilled Kyrgyz have labour-migrated abroad to work in agriculture, trade, construction as well as services in Russia and Kazakhstan (Building Migration Partnerships 2011: 12). Despite the labour-migrants taking low skilled occupations, their departure creates a 'brain drain' situation in the country since many labour-migrants have skills but instead take low-skilled positions elsewhere (Thieme 2012: 131). Migrant destinations are in the global as well as Kyrgyz context treated as national aggregate flows with no indication of their precise destinations, therefore it is little known if there exist large Kyrgyz clusters within specific places in the larger recipient countries and their bigger cities (such as Moscow and Saint Petersburg in Russia) (Thieme 2012: 128). Contrary to public belief, labour-migrants do not acquire new, or relevant skills to bring back to their home countries due to the fact that most migrants cluster in a single industry, such as construction (Gmelch 1980: 147).

The Osh district in Southern Kyrgyzstan borders the districts of Sary Moghul and Jalal-Abad and is home to the country's second largest city, Osh. The district is the biggest absolute sender of

migrants within Kyrgyzstan, with 35% of all migrants originating from it (Building Migration Partnerships 2011: 39). This is attributed to Osh's high population density that was formed with high childbirth rates in the 1980s and 1990s, contributing to a lack of employment (*Ibid.*: 39). Sary Moghul has come to count on migrant remittances as a basic source of livelihoods (Reeves 2012: 180). Sary Moghul has Kyrgyzstan's lowest internal immigration and emigration rate (-3.9%), most likely attributed to the trade with the nearby Tajik and Chinese border (Schuler 2007: 84). Jalal-Abad (region of Arslanbob) has experienced high rates of migration (-5% to -8%) in the 1990s (*Ibid.*: 80). The Jalal-Abad district (home of Arslanbob) is in turn responsible for sending 12.9% of migrants (Building Migration Partnerships 2011: 39). Russia has remained the main migration destination for the Kyrgyz, receiving 80% of the migrants, whereas Kazakhstan is growing in popularity as a destination country (Schuler 2007: 79). In 2009, the country's migration balance stood at -29,551 people (Building Migration Partnerships 2011: 13). The average age of a Kyrgyz migrant is 32 years and over half possess university education, and most likely to be ethnic Kyrgyz (79%) as opposed to Uzbek (9%) or Russian (7%) (Building Migration Partnerships 2011: 39). The outflux of the Kyrgyz labour force represents a longer term obstacle for the country's development, as people are forced to migrate out of economic necessity, essentially representing 'bad investments' for the government which will not see a contribution to its tax base after having made investment in public goods such as education and infrastructure. Family members leaving their homes to work far away also represents a social problem in the form of broken families, which can lead to lost economic opportunities and lower production and living standards for the country as a whole. The effects of the Kyrgyz migration are both economic and social. Lost productivity and the lost investments by the government in education and healthcare mean no future returns. Socially, the "protracted male absence" social relations are put under greater strain due to women's disempowerment and gender stereotyping as women's work in the household is enforced and the migrant men acquire second wives in their area of residence (Reeves 2012: 181).

3.4 COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM IN KYRGYZSTAN

Community Based Tourism (CBT) is an offshoot of PPTP, but on small scale (Harrison 2008: 851). CBTs take advantages of Kyrgyzstan's niche in eco-cultural tourism as the CBTs offer an alternative to the previous Soviet model of 'mass-tourism' (Otterstad et al. 2010: 184) to an isolated region and require a lower density of infrastructure and services, while connecting the tourism sites to the natural environment and cultural heritage of each specific locality (Bartholo 2008: 110). The relationship of the visitor becomes re-defined into one of interactive kind with the host as the visitor being no longer an instrument of organised consumerism, and the host is no longer in command as the supplier of a standard package (*Ibid.*: 110). At the same time the community has major leverage on the aspects of development, management, and economic redistribution of CBTs within their locality (WWF International 2001: 2). The general characteristics of CBTs are the elements of i) involvement of the appreciation for indigenous cultures, ii) education and interpretation as part of the tourism experience, iii) mostly organiser for small tourist groups, iii) minimising the impacts on the environment and the socio-cultural context of the locality, iv) generation of economic livelihoods to protect the local environment and managers of natural areas, v) provide an alternative income and employment for local communities, vi) increasing local and visitor awareness for conservation (*Ibid.*: 2). These characteristics of CBTs have made it attractive for adoption and promotion by developing countries, including Kyrgyzstan in order to make up for the withered Soviet mass-tourism industry.

CBTs in Kyrgyzstan were first set up in 1995 by Helvetas, a Swiss intercooperation organisation (Interview with the Helvetas Project Manager in Osh). There are currently 18 CBT groups working across Kyrgyzstan of which all come under the same umbrella organisation called the Kyrgyz Community Based Tourism Association (KCBTA). Kyrgyz CBT states its mission statement as "improving the living conditions of people in remote mountain regions, by developing rural tourism without harming the natural environment and culture of local people" (CBT Kyrgyzstan, N.d). KCBTA serves to provide CBT members with organisational and administrative support. CBT coordinators are chosen by their communities and are responsible for overseeing the overall CBT activities in their communities whereas KCBTA chairmen are elected on an annual basis by an election board from all 18 member communities (Helvetas

Project Manager). Today the CBT sector employs over 1400 people and involves 350 households across Kyrgyzstan (Helvetas Project Manager). The towns of Arslanbob and Sary Moghul began the initiation process for their first CBT services the years 2001 and 2006 respectively.

The lack of English language literature on the development and status of the Kyrgyz CBT network have lead researchers to utilise local key stakeholders, such as CBT program managers as well as guides from Sary-Moghul and Arslanbob. Information has been compiled by the researchers on CBTs on the national as well as local levels to understand how the network functions. In terms of the system's functioning and scaling up, aspiring CBT service providers apply to the regional coordinator for membership and the decision of taking in new members into the network is decided collectively between the CBT providers in the respective village (CBT project manager in Osh). Once accepted, new members have to go through a training process, which' duration is dependent on the local services provided. In the case of Sary Moghul this period lasts a season (CBT coordinator Alay region), whereas it's approximately a year in Arslanbob (CBT coordinator Arslanbob). During the training new members must pass the accreditation process before receiving CBT service certification (CBT coordinator Alay region). The training is now carried out in full independence from Helvetas, as the support and assistance from the organisation ended shortly after the implementation of the project and was handed over to the locals (CBT coordinator Arslanbob). In terms of size, there are approximately 100 CBT providing households in Arslanbob (Arslanbob CBT coordinator) and between 60-70 households in Sary Moghul (CBT coordinator Alay region). Unlike the CBT in Sary Moghul, CBT Arslanbob has in the past few years developed winter tourism in the region, attracting tourists all year around and thereby further strengthening the income security of its members (Helvetas Project Manager). The initial recruitment process of the locals to join the CBT sector proved to be difficult in the beginning, but as the financial benefits became more visible, people's interest in joining the network grew (CBT coordinator Alay region).

4.0 METHODOLOGY

The research method for this thesis has been chosen as qualitative research in order to understand a research problem from the perspective of the local population it involves (Mack et al. 2005: 2). The thesis uses a case study approach by focusing on the CBT workers of the two villages of Sary-Moghul and Arslanbob. The case study method offers four advantages in comparison to statistical models (George & Bennet 2004: 19). These are the notions of: i) the achievement of high conceptual validity; ii) the use of strong procedures for fostering new hypotheses; iii) the close examination of the hypothesized role of causal mechanisms in the context of individual cases; and iv) and their capacity for addressing causal complexity (*Ibid.*: 19). These four concepts explained, the case study approach as a qualitative research methodology firstly allows researchers to achieve high conceptual validity, identifying and measuring the indicators that best represent the theoretical concepts the researcher has set out to measure (*Ibid.*: 19-20). Secondly, the case study method allows new hypotheses to be derived at in the process of engaging in open dialogue with the research participants, allowing for change in research focus during the research. Thirdly, the detailed exploration of causal mechanisms takes place through constant contextual exploration by the researchers. Lastly, the ability to detect causal mechanisms is taken even a step further with the ability to accommodate complex causal relations such as complex interactions effects and path dependency (Ragin 1987). Similarly to Mack et al. and George & Bennet, the thesis also partly or fully satisfies Creswell's (2007: 37-39) eight characteristics of qualitative research. These attributes are i) Data collection carried out in Sary Moghul and Arslanbob; ii) Use of semi-structured interviews with CBT workers; iii) Primary data analysis from abstract into trends and themes using Nvivo; iv) A holistic account desired to understand the complex interrelationship between CBTs and migration; v) Use of a theoretical lens to view labour-migration socially and economically; vi) Emergent design, as the researchers used the first key stakeholder interviews to change the interview questions; vii) Researcher as the key instrument of collecting data; viii) Multiple sources of data such as interviews and official documents.

The research design of the thesis subscribes to the *case study* approach, involving the study of an a program or activity explored through one or more cases within a bounded system (Creswell 2007: 73). This is applied to the people working in the CBT industry within Sary Moghul and

Arslanbob. The type of approach is an *intrinsic* case study, which focuses on a specific case and resembles narrative research (*Ibid.*: 74). The intrinsic case study has been chosen over the *single instrumental* and *collective* case studies as focus is on the case itself, rather than the researcher “focusing on an issue or concern, and then selecting one bounded case to illustrate the issue” (*Ibid.*: 74). The researchers prefer the intrinsic case study as it is desired to see the relation of CBTs to labour-migration in Sary Moghul and Arslanbob.

4.1 DATA COLLECTION

The researchers have drawn inspiration for the data collection process from Patton’s (1990) guide of qualitative studies design for the sampling methods of this thesis. Patton’s work with purposeful sampling aligns with the intent of the researchers to study the interlinkages between CBTs and labour-migration using members of the CBT industry. He further elaborates that the method of purposeful sampling allows for the targeting and access to *information rich cases* (1990: 169) and in turn takes the shape of 15 strategies, of which the researchers have opted to use *typical case sampling* (*Ibid.*: 183). The strategy of typical case sampling is described as utilising key informants to identify what is typical and allow for the researcher to study average characteristics, a strategy “often appropriate in sampling villages for community development studies in developing countries” (*Ibid.*: 173).

The researchers began data collection by firstly contacting the CBT organisation Helvetas, stationed in Osh for the Southern Kyrgyzstan region. A meeting was set up together with one of the organisation’s project managers, a CBT expert with extensive knowledge on both the Arslanbob and Sary Moghul CBTs. The researchers were provided with substantial reading material from Helvetas prior to the data collection. An unstructured key stakeholder interview was also carried out together with a regional CBT coordinator based in Osh. As a result of the key stakeholder interviews, the researchers identified both villages as the cases for the research for the reasons of i) Sary Moghul having seasonal CBT operations, as opposed to Arslanbob with all-year round operations; ii) both villages located in the economically poorest areas of the country; and iii) the reasonable geographic proximity of either village to the city of Osh where

the researchers were based. Contact details and list of relevant CBT coordinators and assistants in both village were obtained through the two key stakeholders. CBT coordinators in both villages were contacted and informed about the intent of our research and what questions we intended to ask the CBT service providers. Preparations were made prior to the field visits, firstly i) employing a Kyrgyz-English and Russian-English interpreter, the researchers could communicate both with the ethnic Kyrgyz residents of Sary Moghul as well as the Uzbek residents of Arslanbob who spoke both Russian and Uzbek; ii) employing drivers; iii) reading the background information of CBTs in Kyrgyzstan, provided by the Helvetas key stakeholders, iv) the notification of either village of the arrival of the researchers to set up living accommodation and the employment of a guide to assist informing local CBT workers of the ongoing research and for the call for participants in the research.

The first field visit was taken to Sary Moghul for a duration of two nights and three days between 14-17 January. The researchers in total interviewed 18 CBT workers on a voluntary basis, while after the first day learning the inefficiency of paying house visits to the CBT workers due to the lengthy courtesy procedures, and instead switched over to a system of summoning the participants to the confines of the local CBT office instead. Approximately a week later the researchers applied the same methods in the visit to the village of Arslanbob for one night and two days, between January 19-20, where nine CBT workers were interviewed on the same voluntary basis. The interview questions utilised are semi-structured in nature, available in Appendix 7, which had been elaborated ahead of the field visits and taking into account at the information learnt from the two key stakeholder interviews. The sampling method utilised by the researchers was typical case sampling as key informants in the form of CBT coordinators in either village were used for the identification of research participants and qualitative, semi-structured interview questions posed. The researchers recorded the audio of all interviews, depending on the permission given, transcribing the participants answers and also taking field notes, hence using all the three forms of qualitative data (Mack et al. 2005: 2). Researchers note that the CBT workers were never directly asked by the researchers why they returned as it implies self-awareness of the determinants and will reduce the variety of the factors influencing their decision to only a few overriding elements, while also filtering the results based on the context and profile of the interviewer (Gmelch 1980: 140 & Taylor 1969).

5.0 THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

This research applies the concepts of World Systems Theory (WST) and Circulatory Migration Theory where appropriate, yet it must be noted that neither theoretical concept has been used extensively since this thesis examines a very specific case study, out of the scope of middle range and meta-theories. The section below highlights these theoretical concepts. The researchers will firstly present the WST meta theory and then a middle-range theory. Weber describes meta-theories as general laws which by definition lack content and value in order to accommodate all explanations of phenomena in a form as abstract as possible (Portes 2010: 3). Merton has instead proposed the concept of midrange theories to be more effective in articulating notions with empirical evidence, as well as the ability to analyse idea types (Portes 2010: 4-5).

The explanations for people's decisions to labour-migrate, return or stay varies according to the theoretical framework used, since there exists "*no single, coherent theory of international migration, only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another*" (Massey et al 1993: 431). Traditionally, labour-migration has been modelled through economic reasoning on the macro (state) level. The mechanistic, macroeconomic approach came about in the 1950s and 1960s, coinciding with the post war-reconstruction and the *guestworker* era on both sides of the North Atlantic (Hagen-Zanker 2008: 4). Following the era of macroeconomic norm in academia came the discussions of micro models in the 1980, discussing migrants' motivations in migratory decision making processes (*Ibid.*: 4). The difference between the micro and macro models is the attempt by macro models to explain and predict the flow of people, while micro models analyse the individual, the household and community levels and focus on the underlying motivations of migration (*Ibid.*: 4-5). This thesis uses a combination of multiple theories in order to explain the data collected from the field. Below is the presentation of the theories used and explanations for their selection due to their contextual compatibility with Kyrgyzstan.

5.1 WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY

The world systems theory (WST) developed by Wallerstein in 1974 is founded mainly on the observations made in the time period of 1945-1970 when the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America report identified tendencies of core and periphery regions and dependency theory was in wide academic discussion (Hall 2010: 235). The theory views countries as grouped into 'core' and 'periphery' regions. The core and periphery relationship was firstly described by Frank (1966) who described the core countries drawing natural resources from the periphery and consequently 'under-developing' the periphery region by reducing their role to raw resource providers (Hall 2010: 236). The WST has been selected for the analysis of Kyrgyzstan due to the country's colonial past as a former territory of the Russian Empire (1876-1917) and the Soviet Union (1917-1991). The general characteristics allocating Kyrgyzstan to the periphery group of countries are the isolation of the country from the global economy in a mountainous area, and consequently the low levels of GDP resulting from a lack of logistical access to world markets. In terms of poverty ranking, the country is placed second poorest in the CIS group of countries after Tajikistan (Cologlu 2010). In addition, Kyrgyzstan has been economically developed during the Soviet rapid industrialisation programme in the 1930s into a raw resource and low value added goods exporter, such as gold and textiles which have supplied the Soviet Union and within it the Russian core. Today, Kyrgyzstan continues being an exporter of raw materials and basic goods such as agriculture and textiles, with gold production constituting approximately half of the country's exports, 7.4% of GDP, and 15.5% of its industrial output (Reuters 2015).

In addition to the economic structure of Kyrgyzstan bearing similarity to the typical periphery region described in the WST, the Kyrgyz migration patterns largely match Massey's (1993: 447-448) five labour-migration explanations. These are: i) International migration being a natural consequence of capitalist market and a side effect of entering the global economy; ii) The international flow of labor follows the international flow of goods and capital, but in the opposite direction; iii) International migration is especially likely between past colonial powers and their former colonies due to previously established established cultural, linguistic, administrative, investment, transportation, and communication links were established; iv) Governments can influence migration through regulation of international flows of capital and goods; v) International migration ultimately has little to do with wage rates or employment differentials

between countries as it follows from the dynamics of market creation and the structure of the global economy. The five characteristics of WST that apply to the Kyrgyz context are: i) Kyrgyz migration being in negative territory since the 1970s, with the net migration negative balance worsening with the beginning of independence in the 1990s (Schuler 2007). It is also noted by Schuler (2007) that the nature of emigration during independence has become more world oriented, no longer just limited to the CIS countries. This gives reason to associate migration with the country joining the World Trade Organisation in 1998 and formally joining the capitalist world market. ii) the flow of Kyrgyz migrants is on the other hand not directly related to the source of Kyrgyz goods imports, since Russia is the third largest exporter of goods to Kyrgyzstan, accounting for 11.1% of all Kyrgyz imports (CIA World Factbook 2013). The Kyrgyz migration to Russia on the other hand represents 88.2% migrate to Russia, 9.6% to Kazakhstan, and a total proportion of 98.9% choosing the CIS in general, with cultural and linguistic fluency being the main underlying motivators (Building Migration Partnerships 2009: 34 & Isabaeva 2011: 543). iii) Russia can be seen as a former coloniser of Kyrgyzstan as having previously incorporated the country into its empire, and then both being part of the Moscow-controlled Soviet Union. Since the vast majority of Kyrgyz (88.2%) set Russia as their destination for migration, it is clear the historic links established play a role due to the fact that Kyrgyzstan does not even share a border with Russia, therefore suggesting that geographic proximity is not the main factor in explaining the Kyrgyz labour-migration to Russia, and especially to its larger cities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg located in the far west of Russia, thousands of kilometers from the Kyrgyz homeland. iv) Kyrgyzstan has joined the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) in 2015, joining a Russian led economic union where tariffs on goods are reduced or removed, therefore raising the quantity of trade between the two countries, and according to the WST also raising migrant counterflows from Kyrgyzstan. v) It is unclear from the general Kyrgyz labour-migration data whether the main motivational drivers for migration are economic and whether the migrants took into account wage differentials when deciding to labour-migrate. Cologlu (2010) adds an element of domestic migration into the WST with the contribution of 'metropole' cities which can be found in the periphery and exist in the Kyrgyz case. Metropole cities are affluent centres in the periphery which have attracted affluence due to their facilitation of the peripheral country supplying the core with natural resources, while also drawing labour themselves from the rural periphery around itself. This can be exemplified

through the role of the capital city of Bishkek which has since 1991 been the centre of education, information, international communication, having the highest standard of living, and with a concentration of the Russian elitist minority remnant from the Soviet period (Schuler 2007). This has led the city to become a metropole, attracting domestic migrants from the country's rural and mountainous areas (Cologlu 2010).

The criticisms of the use of WST include its treatment of the periphery as a mere object of the core, implementing unilateral orders by the core (Chirot 2000: 558). Kardulias' (1999) notion of *negotiated peripherality* supports the idea of the periphery country having the ability to choose which orders to follow from the core region. Schneider (1977) also discussed the need to see the relationship between the core and the periphery as multifaceted, and the need to understand as to why both parties engage in such a system (Hall 2010: 240). In addition, the declining role of nation states in the ever-intertwining world economy questions the nation-state as the level of the WST unit of analysis (Van Hamme & Pion 2012: 65). This complexity of international trade flows furthermore blurs the distinction between the core and any periphery due to greater mutual dependence. It can be argued that Russia does not constitute as a core country due to not only its relatively low global leverage and importance, but also because of Russia's low level of socioeconomic development. Core countries benefit from the cheap factors of production present in the periphery (Lipietz 1997 through Van Hamme & Pion 2012: 67), which can be extended to migrants, which bring cheap labour to the core countries, allowing for higher national outputs. There exist inherent limitations in applying the WST to the Kyrgyz case, due to the meta nature of the theory, which gives it great scope, whereas this research examines a very specific case study. Whereas the WST is straightforward on the abstract level, there are limitations on the concrete level. Due to this limitation, the WST will be completed with a middle range theory, the Theory of Return and Non-Return Migration. The meta nature of the WST neglects micro components of the labour-migration due to the overarching macro focus (National Bank of Poland 2011: 28). The following sections analyse labour-migration the the two sections of Return & Non-return labour-migration, as well as circulatory (seasonal) labour-migration.

5.2 RETURN AND NON-RETURN LABOUR-MIGRATION

Labour-migrants have multiple reasons which influence the decision of return, ranging from professional, to societal, to personal (Alberts and Hazen, 2005). DaVanzo's (1976) theory of return and non-return migration examines the factors behind labour-migrants either choosing to return from their migration or stay abroad. Both return and non-return labour-migrants are found to reach the decision regarding their labour-migration through a calculation process of the perception of economic or social benefits which are perceived to exceed the costs of migration, with the costs being the financial sums dedicated to transportation and relocation, opportunity costs, and social costs of leaving loved ones. At the same time evidence by Lansing and Mueller (1967), Price (1969), Collignon (1973) suggest that the types of costs and benefits perceived by potential return migrants are quite different from those for non-return migrants. Gmelch (1980: 141) notes that push factors have little leverage on the decision of migrants to return, as opposed to economic. It has been specifically noted that return migrants tend to cite social-patriotic and familial-personal reasons for their decision to return (*Ibid.*: 141), whereas non-return migrants rather do not wish to go through the liquidation process of accumulated assets in order to take their finances with them with the move back home (National Bank of Poland 2011).

Return migrants are most often those who have not economically failed with their migration, but have not excelled either, belonging therefore in the middle ground. This is explained by the fact that those who have been economically as well as socially successful and satisfied with their migration have strong incentives to stay abroad. At the same time the labour-migrants who have been mainly economically unsuccessful with their labour-migration do not wish to return to admit their mistakes and suffer a lower social status within their home communities, while also enduring financial constraints which make return unaffordable (Gmelch 1980: 141-142). It is reported that in general labour-migrants intending to return make strong investments into housing during their period of labour-migration, therefore accumulating significant wealth in their home communities, incentivising not only their return to enjoy their accumulated wealth back home, but also experience a higher social standing in their communities due to their improved housing which grants the former labour-migrants greater access to community resources (*Ibid.*: 148-149). Hernandez-Alvarez (1968) and Kaiser (1972) attribute the return of migrants to economic push factors such as downturns in the migrants' industry in their host

country. The element of human capital accumulation in labour-migrants becomes important when viewing motivations to return home. If labour-migrants plan their stay to be of short nature abroad, they are not likely to develop their context specific human capital, such as learning the local language (Dustmann 1996 & National Bank of Poland 2011: 30). Returns are generally made around the age of retirement, and of individual will (OECD 2008: 19).

In terms of linking the concepts of return and non-return migration to the Kyrgyz case, it has been found that nationalism and strongly rooted connection to the home community is reported by return migrants in Southern Kyrgyzstan (Isabaeva 2011: 544). The notion that the home village is preferred over the destination is best exemplified by the local expression “*Kim ele talaalagysy kelsin? – üidö bolgon jakshy*” translating to ‘Who wants to be “in the field²”? – it is good to be home’ (*Ibid.*: 544). The role of migration is covering immediate needs and accumulating capital for long term investments such as housing (Isabaeva 2011: 542). Research in Southern Kyrgyzstan shows that investments by the labour-migrants is often made in housing or business (Thieme 2012: 132-133). Data also shows that many migrants depart with a plan in mind to return, while they may be unaware of how long they will be away they have hopes to return to their loved ones they left behind (Thieme 2012: 132-133). The young Kyrgyz define successful labour-migration as concluding with return (Thieme 2012: 128). The reality with Kyrgyz return migration is that labour-migrants are less likely to return to their origin, if it is situated in a rural area, and relocate elsewhere within the country (Thieme 2012: 128). Most of the migrants in southern Kyrgyzstan have specific aims prior to beginning their labour-migration (Thieme 2012: 133). Typical returns of Kyrgyz migrants to their home domains is born of socio-economic necessity and is not a single-stage relocation (*Ibid.*: 133). A return requires medium- and long-term planning as well as continued access to the return migrants’ wider international professional, social and economic networks, which are the main components of the current multi-locality of people’s livelihoods (*Ibid.*: 133).

² The term ‘field’ is used to refer to being the migration destination. Also translating to ‘wandering about’ (Isabaeva 2011: 544)

5.3 CIRCULATORY LABOUR-MIGRATION

The first wave of circulatory labour-migration began in the 1940s and 1950s with flows from developing economies to developed Western countries for the post-war reconstruction process taking place mainly in Europe (Zapata-Barrero et al. 2011:1). A second wave of circulatory labour-migration has taken place from the beginning of the 21st century, facilitated by private hiring companies and the creation of seasonal workers migration programmes, coupled with the prices of falling transportation (*Ibid.*: 1 & National Bank of Poland 2011: 6). Currently, circulatory labour-migration has been promoted as an innovative and viable way of regulating the flow of labour-migrants (Zapata-Barrero et al. 2011: 1). Temporary migration for work can be a win-win solution for sending and receiving countries and offers several advantages over permanent resettlement. Circulatory labour-migrants provide a much-needed source of labour for receiving, developed, countries which face shortages while sending countries benefit economically from the remittances of these workers send home and potentially gain skills and knowledge when these workers return (IOM 2011: 39) To specify the definition of circulatory labour-migration, Gmelch (1980: 136) notes that circulatory migration literature in most cases refers to *domestic migration taking place between cities and rural areas, all within a single cultural system*, yet this research applies the term in an expanded form to refer both to international as well as domestic labour-migration, regardless of the change in cultural context taking place for the labour-migrants during their seasonal labour-habits. Theoretical concepts of circulatory migration begun from the work of Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc (1994) who claim that conventional migration theories have not accounted for a new situation whereby migrants have committed to multiple countries (Khoo 2008: 195). The transnational theory of migration addresses this issue by focusing on the implication of the connection between the migrant's origin and destination countries (Faist 2000 & Levitt 2001).

Evidence for people engaging as circulatory labour-migrants are noted for both social and economic purposes. Gmelch (1980: 167) reports that workers in circulatory labour-migration have specific goals to accomplish during their stay abroad, such as raising a certain amount of remittances, while this does not apply for permanent migrants. The social factors of general labour-migration can be to a large extent to be found relevant in the analysis of circulatory migration. It is further noted by the researchers that the social function of migration may carry as

high of an importance as the economic function of migration, meaning migrants enjoy respect just for showing the courage to migrate, and not necessarily because of the money they bring in (Guendelman & Perez-Itriago 1987: 710). Initially after returning home, positive emotions are experienced from meeting family members, yet this novelty wears off and local economic and social realities set in, therefore making seasonal migration a coping strategy from local stressors (*Ibid.*: 712). Research by Guendelman & Perez-Itriago (1987: 710) indicate that the aspect of circular migration may be beneficial for the men's social ranking, as research in Mexico notes a rise in self-esteem and social status as they gain respect by attempting to improve their household's situation by taking the decision to migrate away (*Ibid.*: 710). The people most likely to become labour-migrants feel socially disempowered and at the bottom of the status hierarchy, therefore feeling higher incomes can translate into higher social status (National Bank of Poland 2011: 28). For this underlying reason, these labour-migrants do not wish to stay abroad as migrants are often ranked at the lower levels of social hierarchies. Therefore once enough capital has been accumulated, the labour-migrants wish to return to their home communities to better their social positions. In addition, the wish to return home ties the circulatory migrants more strongly with their home city or village, or a greater degree of nationalism. Social reintegration has a role in determining circulatory migration as many migrants who return back to their developing countries have become not noticed their integration to their host communities and upon return have reverse culture shock (Gmelch 1980: 143). Upon return to their countries of origin, the former migrants tend to experience an initial period of dissatisfaction as they experience reverse culture shock. Dissatisfaction is reported in some cases by half of the members of the group, shrinking multiple folds with the passing of every year (*Ibid.*: 144). Over time returned migrants become more satisfied with their lives back in their countries of origin. The factors presented above can be summed up to draw from both social as well as economic aspects. Although social aspects of circulatory labour-migration are plentiful, the single economic reason of remittances and accumulation of assets make up the monotonous economic spectrum of migrant decision making factors.

In terms of tying the circulatory migration concepts to the Kyrgyz case, the migrants are documented to be of younger demographic and predominantly (69%) male (IOM 2011). Temporary labour-migrants tend to be better educated than relative to their national peers, having a two times higher likelihood of holding a college degree (23%) than the respective national

peers (12%) (*Ibid.*: 37). One of the main benefits stated by circulatory labour-migration is the notion of human capital gains in the form of professional skills learnt abroad. There is no evidence of this taking place in regard to Kyrgyz labour-migrants, since they are not only working in low-skilled occupations, but they are also on a very limited number of industries, lowering the quality and variety of skills learnt and brought back to the country. Prospective temporary migrants do indicate that they would like to go to places other than the Russian Federation for work, so bilateral agreements with other partners may open new doors for temporary workers who are less educated and less qualified. Circulatory labour-migration is prevalent in Kyrgyzstan as almost half of the adults (41%) in 2011 have wished to migrate abroad specifically for temporary work (*Ibid.*: 38). This figure has also increased from around 30% in 2010 (*Ibid.*: 38). While these potential temporary migrants are roughly about the same age as average temporary migrants, in reality more than half (56%) are women. A much smaller percentage of potential temporary migrants in Kyrgyzstan favour the Russian Federation as a desired destination (50%) than actually work there (86%), and indicate they would like to go other places such as the United States (13%) for work. (P. 38)

6.0 DATA ANALYSIS

The researchers collected preliminary information through four key stakeholder interview with CBT coordinators and a programme manager in Osh, followed by a primary data collection process with the use of semi structured interviews from the 28 CBT workers in Sary Moghul and Arslanbob. The information from the four key stakeholders allowed the researchers to design the semi-structured interviews for the CBT workers as well as allowing the researchers to analyse the preliminary results from the interactions with the 28 CBT workers. This was done through the identification of the interview questions which had provoked a limited number of answers, allowing the researchers to quantify the results. Such questions explored topics such as gender; occupation within the CBT industry; whether the person has a wish to labour-migrate abroad; the individual or household decision for a person to labour-migrate; and the person's social or economic grounds of labour-migration. These values were aggregated and constructed into a table, presented in Appendix 8, also breaking down the answers separately for Sary Moghul and Arslanbob. The completion of this table of principal findings in the early stages of the research allowed the researchers to begin viewing the interlinkages of CBTs and labour-migration in either village. The knowledge gathered from this preliminary data assisted in the thematic coding of the key stakeholder and CBT worker interviews in the stage of qualitative data analysis.

The preliminary data gathered serves the functions of explaining basic information about the sample group and the CBT workers of the villages in general, as well as allowing the researchers to contrast their expectations of the field data with that of the reality. The effect of the preliminary field data revised several expectations of the researchers toward the information to be collected. Firstly, it was expected by the researchers that the link between CBTs and labour-migration would be strong and clearly evident from people's perceptions of the CBT industry, which was assumed by the researchers to provide the CBT workers mainly an alternative means of economic livelihood. This link received no confirmation from the preliminary data (Question 7.2) due to the fact that 61% of the Sary Moghul respondents and 60% of the Arslanbob respondents indicated Social reasons to be the main factors the CBT industry provides to dis-incentivise their labour-migration. This is further enforced by the fact that only 31% in Sary Moghul and 20% in Arslanbob found Economic reasons to be the main dis-incentivisation. Furthermore, the researchers assumed economic grounds to be the main motivational driver of

migration from the villages, without even making assumptions for the main motivational drivers for return migration. There was also no evidence of economics being the primary driver of migration, as social and economic motivations received equal support by the CBT workers in Question 6.3.2 as for their motivation to labour-migrate (50% for economic reasons vs. 42% for social reasons in Sary Moghul; 50% for economic reasons vs. 50% for social reasons in Arslanbob).

The interview transcripts have been coded into the thematic nodes and child nodes for all 26³ transcripts and four key stakeholder interviews, presented in Appendix 9. The average profiles of respondents from either village based on the table of aggregated results found in Appendix 8 is the following: the sample Sary Moghul is on average younger than Arslanbob (26 years vs. 46 years); men are in the majority in both villages, but Sary Moghul shows greater gender balance (24% vs. 11%); ethnically, residents of Sary Moghul are Kyrgyz, whereas Arslanbob is Uzbek; the CBT workers in Sary Moghul are employed as guides (27%), accommodation providers (27%) and entertainment providers (27%), whereas the CBT providers in Arslanbob are instead focused on guiding (60%) and providing accommodation (40%); labour-migration has been considered more by the residents of Sary Moghul than of Arslanbob (71% vs 44%); the average time employed in the CBT sector is shorter in Sary Moghul than in Arslanbob (2 years vs. 13 years); the idea of labour-migration occurred relatively recently for the Sary Moghul CBT workers average than it has for their counterparts in Arslanbob (2 years ago vs. 17 years ago); the CBT industry has dis-incentivised labour-migration more for the Sary Moghul CBT workers than it has for those in Arslanbob (75% vs. 50%); and, the opportunity to work with CBTs have improved the social and/or economic situations of the Arslanbob participants more than those of Sary Moghul (89% vs. 65%). Nvivo furthermore enabled the researchers to analyse the qualitative interview findings from the field and organise it. Once the interview transcripts were arranged in the program the data was examined in order to identify the factors influencing migration, return and stay. This process of grouping the participants into ideal types yielded four migration types. These ideal types, defined by Weber as a mental construct, grounded on past experience and are designed to explain specificities of social reality, such as processes or events, while contrasting to each other (Portes 2010: 3). In the words of Portes (2010: 3) “ideal types are

³ Two participants were disqualified from the pool of respondents due to the fact that one was a Tajik migrant in Kyrgyzstan, and the other only in the process of training to qualify as a CBT worker.

rubbed against empirical evidence, and establish whether theoretical expectations-implicit in the concept-actually hold”. The four ideal types noted in this research analysis are examined individually in their respective sections below:

Ideal type 1: CBT workers who wish to domestically or internationally labour-migrate, but have not yet done so

Ideal type 2: CBT workers who have labour-migrated domestically or internationally and returned

Ideal type 3: CBT workers who engage in circulatory (seasonal) domestic or international labour-migration

Ideal type 4: CBT workers who have never labour-migrated and currently have no motivation to do so

6.1 IDEAL TYPE 1: CBT WORKERS WHO WISH TO LABOUR-MIGRATE BUT HAVE NOT YET DONE SO

“There is nothing to do here, not even for university graduates. This is why most of those who go to Russia for immigration are young people who just finished school. There are no factories here. Even if you would spend all your life in university there would still be nothing to do here”

-Guide in Arslanbob

The first ideal type includes CBT workers predominantly below the age of 30, wishing to labour-migrate but have for various reasons not yet done so. The CBT workers in this group have stated that if the opportunity to labour-migrate presents itself they would labour-migrate. One of the main driving factors of labour-migration in this group are social reasons for wishing to labour-migrate, specifically, the improvement of social capital through cultural experiences abroad and the acquisition of new languages. The workers have also voiced hindrances for their desire to labour-migrate, such as the need to care for one's parents and fulfilling the obligations related to family run businesses. Several CBT workers stated the frustration they felt over the lack of

opportunities for young graduates in the region, arguing that despite having qualifications their knowledge cannot be economically utilised in their villages. It has been voiced that this very reason also contributes to school dropouts as youth plan their migration abroad, rather than attempt to pursue livelihoods in their villages. CBTs show moderate effect in dis-incentivising labour-migration. This is predominantly for social reasons, as the respondents in the group have voiced the benefit of being able to learn about foreign cultures and languages through the incoming tourists in the village.

Applying the first ideal type to the theoretical concepts exercised in the research, the World Systems Theory can explain the intent of the group members to accumulate social capital such as languages. The main destination for Kyrgyz migrants is Russia, and acquiring the Russian language is important throughout the former Soviet bloc where Russian acts as a common international language. The strong influence of the Russian language is a post-colonial trait which has lingered decades after the fall of the Union in a country with no physical border with Russia, nor a national (turkic) language bearing much similarity to that of Russian. This ideal type contains most likely both return and non-return labour migrants. Statistically, the majority of the members who do migrate will be return-migrants as demonstrated through migration research in Western countries. It will be expected that this will also be true for the Kyrgyz labour-migrating to Russia, although the former colonial cultural closeness might allow for easier integration into the Russian society.

6.2 IDEAL TYPE 2: CBT WORKERS WHO HAVE LABOUR-MIGRATED AND RETURNED

“There are many people competing for the same jobs, heavy work and low salary is why I decided to come back”

-Accommodation provider in Arslanbob

The second CBT worker labour-migration ideal type are people who at one point have been domestic or international labour-migrants and have return to their respective village. They have become members of the CBT industry either immediately or at any one point after their return. The group members voiced concerns over the economic costs of labour-migration, stating that the disposable incomes are higher in their respectable Kyrgyz villages living within family houses, than paying for the costs of living in Russia while also earning higher absolute incomes. As disposable income fell abroad due to rising prices several returnees said they believed they could save money if they stayed in their home towns. For many of them this was realised through the CBTs. Subjects also expressed the strong social ties they had with their communities and keeping the traditional values of returning to find a spouse. Analysis finds that participants return to their communities for predominantly social reasons, such as feeling fatigue abroad, making them reflect back on their home villages. CBTs have dis-incentivised labour-migration socially and economically, as the members feel perceive social benefits in the community through their role in CBTs, as well as an alternative income sufficient enough to sustain life at home and not consider labour-migration a viable option.

These migratory reasons reflect the WST, which states labour-migration from the periphery to the core, yet the years of 2014 and 2015 have been especially challenging to Russia with falling oil prices on world markets, and politically motivated Western economic sanctions. The combined effect of these are stalled economic growth in Russia, undermining the country’s role as a core region for the Central Asian periphery. The WST states that migratory flows follow market creation, not necessarily wage rates, in which case there is reason to believe that emerging global actors such as China are challenging the core status of Russia. The fact that the Russian economy has been under strain and the rouble has had multiple falls in value in 2014

and 2015, undermines Russia as a low-risk labour-migration destination. In terms of the reasons for their return, the findings from the preliminary results are again confirmed as being predominantly social reasons. The majority of the participants belonging to the group of returned CBT workers have voiced their reasons of return specifically as family related, involving in most cases children in addition to the spouses left behind during the period of migration. A number of CBT workers had returned even as their children continued their labour-migration abroad to remit savings to back home.

6.3 IDEAL TYPE 3: CBT WORKERS WHO ENGAGE IN CIRCULAR LABOUR-MIGRATION

“In the wintertime I have time to watch over my animals, and I am able to work over at the coal mine. This is what enables me to continue working with CBTs even after the tourist season is over“

-Guide in Sary-Moghul

CBT providers in this group have stated they are able to stay in their respective villages because they have alternative sources of income, such as herding and working in the coal mines. Service providers in both villages state that they believe in general less people would migrate if full time employment with the CBTs would be offered during the winter season as well. The CBT members in both Sary Moghul and Arslanbob report that they labour-migrate during the winter season and return in the summer in order to work with tourism. Suggesting that economic factors are found behind migration and return patterns. Despite the CBT network in Arslanbob being all-year-round, the service providers in the region report that this is insufficient to provide constant full time employment. Generally the CBT workers use the money earned through migration as well as CBTs to construct or improve their housing. The participants in the group find that CBTs have dis-incentivised labour-migration only socially through improving their social standing in

the village. The fact that they do not see real economic benefits in CBTs translates to the necessity to be circulatory labour-migrants.

The WST as a meta theory does not explain the decision making processes behind migration, but instead sees migration from the periphery to the core (Russia) which is the location of market creation. The determinants for labour-migration presented above refer mainly to economic determinants, with clear statements given that the CBT service providers would choose to reside in their home villages and not participate in circulatory labour-migration if CBTs would be able to cover economic needs at all times. The researchers do not confirm the findings of other circulatory migration authors who note an equal importance of social factors in relation to economic in migratory decision making. The participants have not provided evidence to suggest social determinants of their migration habits, such as improved social status or acquired human capital which has been suggested by various migration experts. It has also not been elaborated whether the migrants set economic goals, yet investments in housing suggests the accumulation of capital in their home communities demonstrates willingness to return to the home community, not permanently migrate away.

6.4 IDEAL TYPE 4: CBT WORKERS WHO HAVE NEVER LABOUR-MIGRATED AND CURRENTLY HAVE NO MOTIVATION TO DO SO

“I gave up the thought of migrating after becoming a mother”

-Accommodation provider in Sary-Moghul

CBT service providers who never labour-migrated and who do not wish to do so state multiple reasons for never leaving their homes. As a sidenote, although a number of subjects in this group have stated that they have free willingly chosen to not labour-migrate others have said they were never given the option by their family to consider such life-choices. In the Kyrgyz culture the responsibility to care for one’s parents falls on the last born son, for this reason, those who adhere to following the cultural norms, labour-migration is not an option. This is because last born sons are expected to live in the family home with their parents even after they marry and

have a family of their own. The researchers found that other subjects in this group who never had the wish to migrate to a large extent had other family members, mainly their grown children or siblings, who sent back remittances from abroad. For this specific group some of the key factors for never labour-migrating were related to factors such as old age, becoming parents, having patriotic connection to their home country, or feeling the obligation to staying closer and caring for their parents. This group does not perceive CBTs as dis-incentivising labour-migration, as they no longer wish to migrate.

Examining this with the theoretical concepts, the WST notes the importance of cultural and colonial heritage, but does not account for traditions and social norms. As stated before, the Kyrgyz are drawn to Russia for cultural similarity, yet family traditions make this difficult in the cases of the youngest sons and families with strong support for extended family structures. It is difficult to discuss the social or economic motivations for this group since a large number of the members claim never having had any motivation to migrate, yet it would be interesting to note which determinants arise for the members of this group, should they one day develop a wish to labour-migrate.

To summarise the four Ideal Types discussed above, a truth table (Ragin 2005: 1) is used in order to explain simple present/absent dichotomies. The binary answers allow for easy comparison, but at the same time limit the richness of the info and create a need for the researcher to tilt every answer to the fullest of extremes for easy comparison. The table views the determinants of labour-migration for all four ideal types. In turn the migration determinants are divided into social and economic factors. The last column views whether the arrival of the CBT industry has had a dis-incentivising effect toward labour-migration. The values assigned are: 0 = factor not mentioned; 1 = factor mentioned.

Table 1 - Ideal Types Truth Table

Ideal	Determinants for labour-migration					Effects of CBTs		
	Social factors		Economic factors			CBT disincentivisation of labour-migration?		
	Human Capital	Foreign Culture	Housing Investments	Higher Income	Remittances	Social		Economic
Community/Family						Foreign culture		
Type 1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
Type 2	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
Type 3	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
Type 4	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0

The values for each of the four ideal types indicate that people in Ideal Type 1 (CBT workers who wish to domestically or internationally labour-migrate, but have not yet done so) are motivated to migrate almost equally as much by social determinants as economic economic. CBTs have dis-incentivised labour-migration through economic factors. In addition, the young CBT workers reflect positively on being able to communicate with the foreign visitors, to an extent even provoking labour-migration in order for the youth to work and travel abroad to experience different culture and improve their human capital. In general it has been voiced that through interaction with foreigners, the CBT workers have gained respect amongst the community for learning new habits, such as *“the use of cutlery and maintaining clean yards”* (Accommodation provider in Sary-Moghul). This may in turn further encourage labour-migration for cultural purposes. CBTs have economically improved livelihoods at home to the extent that Ideal Type 1 participants voice incomes sufficient enough to live in their home communities, and not seek better wages elsewhere. Ideal type 2 (CBT workers who have labour-migrated domestically or internationally and returned) are mostly motivated to labour-migrate for economic reasons, but find CBTs dis-incentivising their labour-migration both socially as well as economically. This group of people are the most positively impacted by the CBT network, as no other ideal types value both the social as well as economic factors of the CBT network. Ideal type 3 (CBT workers who engage in circulatory domestic or international labour-

migration) are similarly motivated economically as ideal type 2, but the main difference here is their perception of CBTs only dis-incentivising their labour-migration socially. The members of this group do not view the CBTs as offering a sufficient all-year-round income and therefore supplement this with labour-migration, while otherwise staying in their home communities if finances were sufficient. Ideal Type 4 (CBT workers who have never labour-migrated and currently have no motivation to do so) are a difficult case to study due to their lack of interest for labour-migration. The group is more heterogeneous than the other three ideal types due to the fact that type 4 includes people who have never considered labour-migration, as well as those who have considered labour-migration but no longer do so. Socially the group is more traditional as they think of their home community as almost a sacred place, or respect the traditional family norms and responsibilities. CBTs have not dis-incentivised the group in either way due to the fact that the group members no longer consider labour-migration.

7.0 LIMITATIONS

The research conducted in Sary-Moghul and Arslanbob to study labour-migration trends and their interlinkages to CBTs will make an attempt to self-critique the decisions made to the research design and data collection process. Overall, the researchers have accepted the methodological drawbacks of qualitative research which include mainly the ability to establish causation and strength of correlation between the factors studied, in this case the researchers have not been able to explain to what extent CBTs dis-incentivise labour-migration through social or economic factors. The semi-structured interviews in retrospect based on the participant answers provided had semi-open ended questions instead of fully open-ended as originally intended by the researchers. This can be attributed either to the over-structured design of the interviews which broke questions into too small of pieces, or perhaps the reluctance of the researchers to pursue greater depth in answers under the given time constraints on the field. These two options fall under the domain of the researchers, yet the third option out of the researcher's' scope is the element of interpretation, as it was often noted by the researchers that mini dialogues formed between the interpreter and the participant, whereas the answers in English given back were relatively short compared to the amount discussed. Since the researchers have all the audio transcripts except two (which were not granted permission), it would be possible to use the services of a new interpreter to make sense of the conversations taking place between the participants and the interpreter in the ethnic languages. Due to the fact that many questions provoked only a limited number of answers, the researchers decided to use this to guide the research in its early stages by forming a table of preliminary results (Appendix 8). These limited findings on the other hand do not take advantage of the principal advantage of using the qualitative approach to research (Mack et al. 2005: 4), since closed questions do not allow for rich information.

The use of two case studies brings up the most common critique of selection bias (George & Bennet 2004: 22), yet this is more applicable to quantitative research as opposed to qualitative. It is noted that case study methods involve trade-offs among the goals of attaining theoretical parsimony, establishing explanatory richness, and keeping the number the cases to be studied manageable (*Ibid*: 31). Parsimonious theories limit the richness of explanations of particular cases, and as a result such theories must be stated in highly general terms to be applicable across

different types of cases. This thesis has used quite general theories of migration which has resulted in the data either not being fully supported by the theory, or the theories not receiving explanation or coverage of the areas examined. The use of Sary Moghul and Arslanbob as the two field locations and cases for the research deserve critique due to the researchers deciding upon the use of the two cases after initial key stakeholders meetings with Helvetas, the establisher of the CBT network. The researchers reflect that information from the key stakeholders may contain biased suggestions due to the stakeholders offering more successful CBT villages in order to demonstrate the impact of the project. At the same time the researchers are unaware of the opportunity costs by having conducted the study in other locations. Due to the fact that the results of the research are not generalised to the national level, the method of case selection becomes less relevant. The two villages serve as good cases for examining CBTs in the domain of labour-migration since the two villages have one of the highest poverty and migration rates in the country, while also having close geographical proximity to the researchers' base in Osh and due to financial constraints, long-distance transportation was economised on.

This research has extensively relied on personal perceptions for the primary data used in the research, making the work vulnerable to subjective biases. Ravallion (2012: 1) highlights that certain variables trigger biases, such as questions about education, employment status and relative economic status, while also asymmetrically impacted by gender. Ravallion discusses the issue of subjective biases in the context of the World Bank and its importance of measuring poverty through a Socially Subjective Poverty Line which measures people's perceptions of their poverty (*Ibid.*: 9), as opposed to the more objective top-down approach of income measurement. Ravallion (2012: 8) notes time as a sensitive factor to subjective bias, whereby idiosyncratic moods affect people's perceptions at some or all points of time, reducing the reliability of perceptual studies. Taylor (2006) reports generally more positive attitudes and perceptions by participants on Fridays as people look forward to having time-off during the weekend. Conti and Pudney (2011: 1093) note a change in perceptions depending on how the researchers pose questions, while "putting on a good show for the visitors" as well as a positive bias when the data is collected in person, as opposed to questionnaire. As noted by Ravallion (2012: 22), a person living in a deprived environment with limited exposure to better conditions is likely to rate her relative position more favourably than someone who lives in an affluent area and is exposed to even more affluent contexts. This is a frame-of-reference bias (Ravallion 2008). In

order to increase the reliability and validity of the research, the researchers have made an attempt to documenting the data collection methods and procedures used in order to allow the replication of the study (Silverman 2008: 275). The researchers of this thesis have made an effort within the space constraints to describe the procedures used and the underlying reasons for their use, allowing for a transparent insight into the process of the information collection. Ravallion (2012: 21) notes that people rate their own situations in relation to comparison groups such as co-workers or neighbours. This research has incorporated this idea with the final question exploring the relative economic and social standing of the CBT workers to their neighbours after beginning work in the CBT industry. The element of subjectivity is not inherently false to the aims set for this research, yet the other bias factors, such as time, may interfere with the researchers obtaining a general opinion which would hold true most of the time for the participants.

7.1 ETHICAL CONCERNS

Ethical issues have been categorised into five areas, as exemplified by Lipson (1994): I) Informed consent; II) Deception and covert activities; III) Confidentiality towards participants and stakeholders; IV) benefits of the research to participants; and V) Participant requests that go beyond social norm (Creswell 2007: 141). The researchers have tackled these five issues in the following manner:

I) *Informed Consent*. All participants were debriefed when the interviewers made contact with the the subjects to introduce the researchers, the nature of the work, and the rights of the participants to have their contribution retrieved at any point in time and to have the findings of the research disseminated. The debriefing form finally asked permission to record the audio of the interview, which was granted to the researchers in all but two cases. All the participants agreed to the terms presented in the debriefing form, with the exception of two, who chose to participate in the interview but not have the audio recorded. The debriefing form can be found in Appendix 10. The debriefing form asked for verbal agreement as opposed to signing, which the researchers were previously told by local key stakeholders would have been too off-putting due to recent government oppression of NGOs which had communicated with academics conducting

research. Due to the decision not to collect signatures from the participants for having been debriefed, the researchers have no evidence of participant consent. This also applies to the audio recordings, which have been used once verbal confirmation has been granted after the debriefing form. Confirmation for the agreement of the participants can be derived from the participants themselves or the translators who have served as witnesses to the debriefing form.

II) *Deception and covert activities.* The researchers have not withheld information from participants during the research, due to the research topic not being socially or politically sensitive. The researchers did not deem it to be necessary to engage in information manipulation with the participants since awareness of the aims of the research were not deemed to impact the results.

III) *Confidentiality towards the participants and stakeholders.* The debriefing form covered the right of the participants to remain anonymous and their right to retroactively pull their participation and contributions from the study. The researchers did not access internal documents from Helvetas or any other stakeholder organisation, limiting precautions to be taken to respect stakeholder confidentiality.

IV) *Benefits of the research to participants.* As set out in the debriefing form, the researchers will disseminate the final work to the participants and stakeholders. This will be specifically done by sending digital copies to the CBT coordinators in the villages and to the Helvetas Osh office. Due to the absence of funding for the research, the researchers will not have the work translated into local languages, or carry out presentations in the local communities of the findings. It is therefore hoped that once digital copies are sent to the CBT coordinators, these findings will be shared with all the participants from Sary Moghul and Arslanbob, as well as the key stakeholders interviewed from the CBT office in Osh.

V) *Participant requests that go beyond social norm.* The researchers informally asked the participants at the end of each interview if they had any questions for the interviewers, but no special requests arose from the participants.

8.0 DISCUSSION

The findings of this research have in cases opened new perspectives in the study topic while also revising some expected results in relation to the determinants of labour-migration return. The researchers expected to find clear economic links between the introduction of the CBT network and a dis-incentivisation of labour-migration. In reality although the participants attributed economic reasons for labour-migrating away from their villages, it was the social aspect in general that motivated return, and largely the social aspects of CBTs which motivated the CBT workers to stay. The four ideal types of labour-migration discovered by the researchers during the process of data collection guides the research and allowed for clear examination and juxtaposition of the various groups with their own combinations of labour-migration determinants. The conclusions for the three research questions set out for this research are summed up in an individual basis.

Research Question 1 *“Which labour-migration decision patterns exist within the CBT communities in Sary Moghul and Arslanbob?”*. The researchers identified four ideal types of CBT workers in regard to labour-migration. These are i) CBT workers who wish to domestically or internationally labour-migrate, but have not yet done so; ii) CBT workers who have labour-migrated domestically or internationally and returned; iii) CBT workers who engage in circulatory (seasonal) domestic or international labour-migration; and iv) CBT workers who have never labour-migrated and currently have no motivation to do so. All CBT workers interviewed can be allocated exclusively to one of the four Ideal Types, with none left out. This does on the other hand not necessarily mean movement between the groups is not possible. Examples of such cases are CBT workers who have previously not considered labour-migration (ideal type 4), but will one day begin considering prospects of labour-migration (ideal type 1-3). This inter group mobility is not universal between all groups, as one can not un-consider labour-migration, therefore making it illogical to move from ideal type 1 to ideal type 4.

Research Question 2 *“Which principal factors pertaining to CBTs in Sary Moghul and Arslanbob have affected the willingness of CBT workers to labour-migrate?”*. The research conducted has found evidence of CBTs dis-incentivising labour-migration by the CBT workers of Sary Moghul and Arslanbob. It must be noted that the reliability of perception research is low due to changing minds dictated by current contexts. The research nonetheless concludes that

even though economic factors were the underlying incentives for labour-migration, it is the social factors which have convinced CBT workers to return and to stay in their villages. Due to the fact that CBTs offer a greater social impact in comparison to economic, it can be said that CBTs have ‘developed’ Sary Moghul and Arslanbob according to the definition’s more later, holistic, notion (Bartholo et al. 2008: 104) encompassing the aspect of social progress. This is not to say economic indicators have become too insignificant to account for in the general discussion of development, but rather it question of “[...] considering their significance in relation to other factors, such as social [...]” (Bartholo et al 2008: 105). The research therefore concludes that the main benefits of CBTs are social, raising people’s social status by the means of bringing them into contact with foreigners, resulting in greater foreign language capability for the CBT providers, but also greater educational motivation and attainment for their younger family members, which in turn increases the likelihood of rising out of poverty, as 45% of Kyrgyz households live in poverty with an illiterate head of household, whereas only 13% live in poverty with a literate head of household (World Bank 2011: 15).

Research Question 3: *“How have CBTs affected the willingness of CBT workers to labour-migrate?”* has found CBTs to dis-incentivise mostly Ideal Type 2 (CBT workers who have returned from labour-migration). CBTs offer community benefits to the group’s members mainly economic benefits, allowing for sufficient income to reside in their communities and remain unified with their family and community. CBTs have little dis-incentivised Type 1 (Those who have considered migration but have not yet done so). The group members value their contact with foreign tourists through CBTs, yet this opportunity has also created a want by the relatively young members of the group to labour-migrate abroad to experience more foreign culture. Ideal Type 3 (Circulatory migrants) has been socially dis-incentivised, but not economically since the income from CBTs are perceived as insufficient, making the group members resort to circulatory labour-migration. Similarly to Type 2, they group members have a strong link to their community and wish to stay. Ideal Type 4 (Never migrated and currently not wishing to) has not been dis-incentivised from labour-migration through the CBT network since the group members do not have a wish to migrate, therefore not allowing for dis-incentivisation.

This thesis provides a basis for further research of CBTs and labour-migration to guide Kyrgyz migration policy making and reduce unintended policy consequences through an understanding

of the various labour-migration ideal types. The research can be expanded along various paths, such as researching the political and legal as the determinants for labour-migration, as voiced by a few members who had migrated abroad to feel better protected and experience a greater degree of the rule of law. A gender aspect can be incorporated into the study to see if there is any asymmetry in the CBT dis-incentivisation of labour-migration. Ethnicity can be incorporated into the research since prior research suggests that Jalal-Abad has a stronger net migration growth for ethnic Kyrgyz than for the whole population (Schuler 2007: 83).

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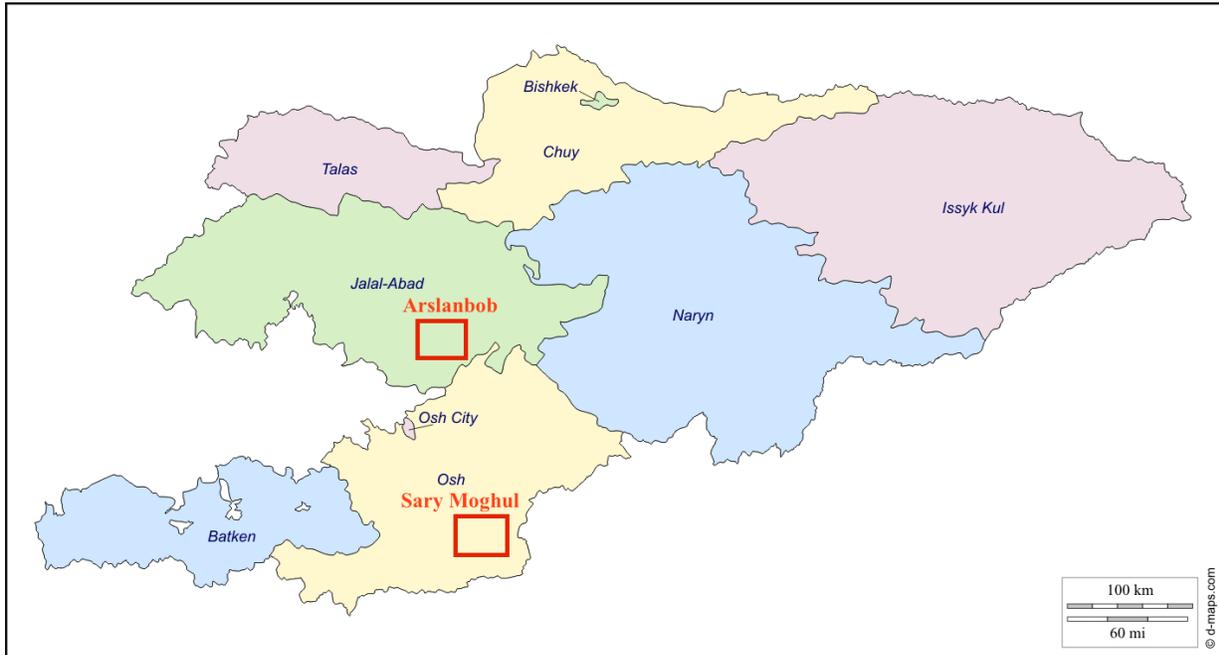
10.0 APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 - MAP OF CENTRAL ASIA



Source: Wikimedia Commons

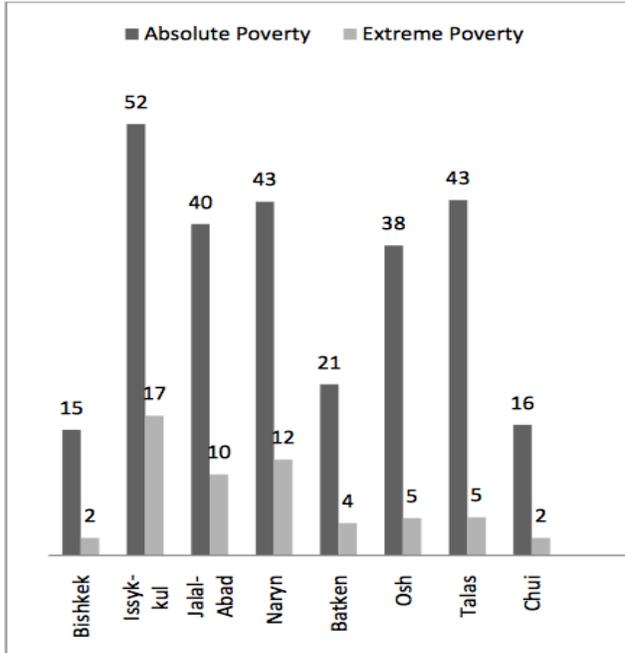
APPENDIX 2 - REGIONS IN KYRGYZSTAN



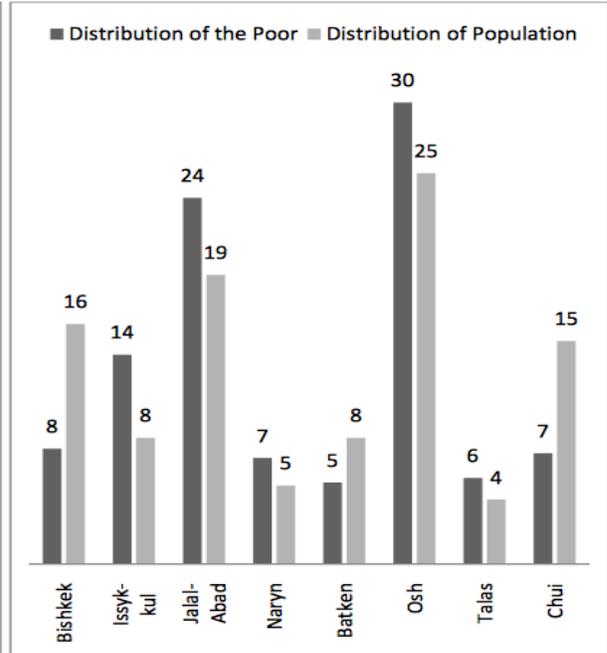
Source: D-maps.com

APPENDIX 3 - POVERTY IN KYRGYZSTAN

a. By type

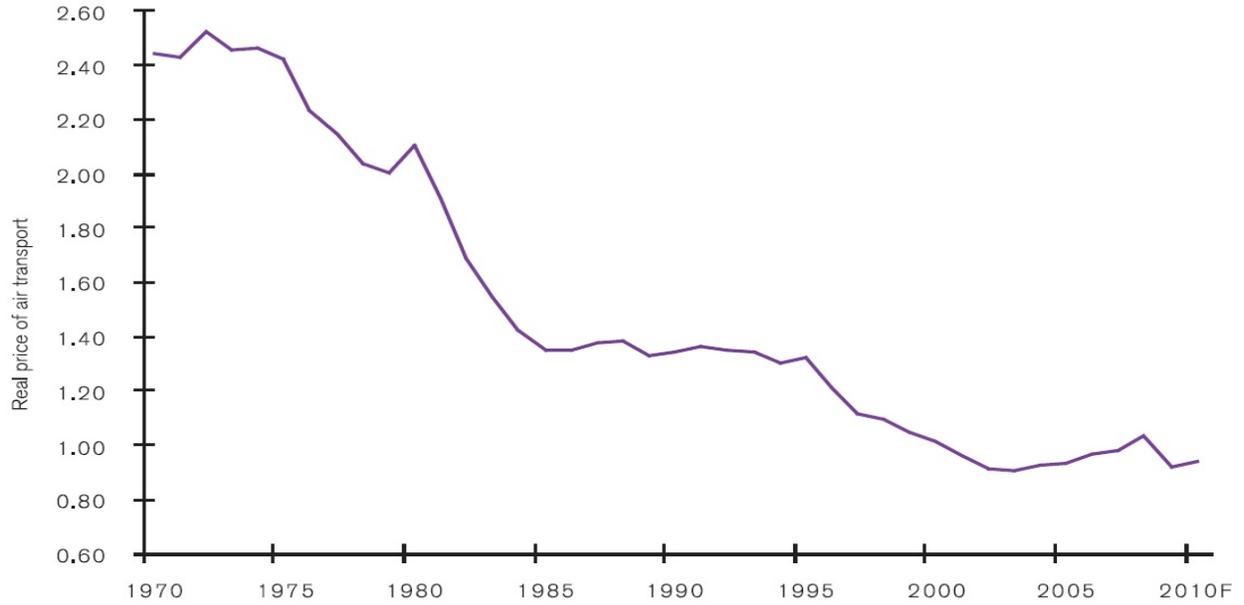


b. By population



Source: World Bank 2011: 8

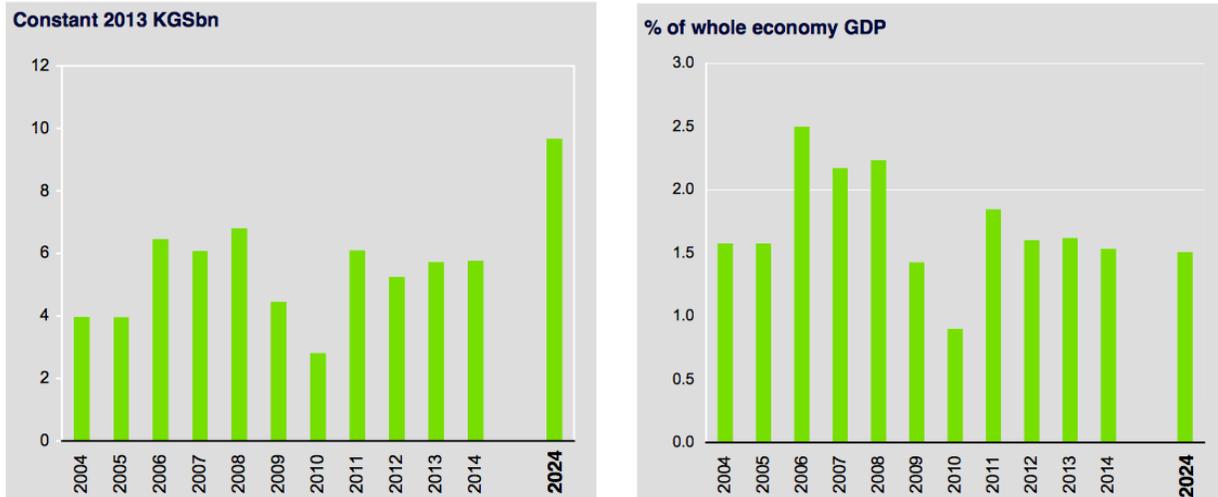
APPENDIX 4 - COST OF AIR TRANSPORTATION 1970-2010



Source: International Air Transportation Agency 2011: 10

APPENDIX 5 - KYRGYZSTAN: DIRECT CONTRIBUTION OF TRAVEL AND TOURISM INTO GDP

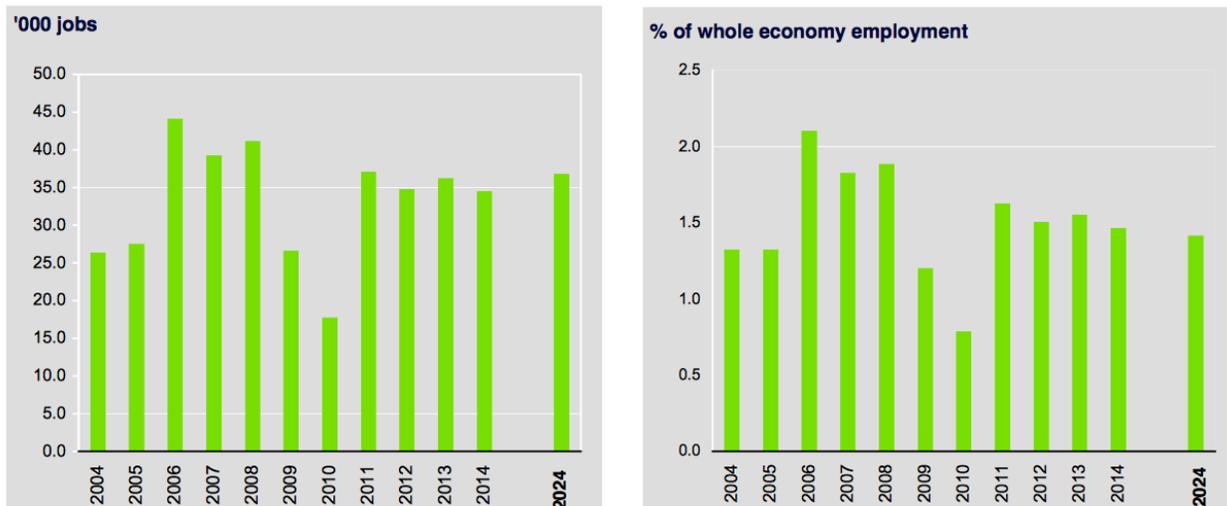
KYRGYZSTAN: DIRECT CONTRIBUTION OF TRAVEL & TOURISM TO GDP



Source: WTTC 2014: 3

APPENDIX 6 - KYRGYZSTAN: DIRECT CONTRIBUTION OF TRAVEL AND TOURISM TO EMPLOYMENT

KYRGYZSTAN: DIRECT CONTRIBUTION OF TRAVEL & TOURISM TO EMPLOYMENT



Source: WTTC 2014: 3

APPENDIX 7 - INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- I. Age?
- II. Gender?
- III. What CBT services do you provide?
- IV. How long have you been a provider of CBTs?
- V. In your opinion, how active are you in providing CBTs? Do you wish you could be more active?
- VI. Have you ever considered becoming a domestic or international labour migrant?
 - I. When was it that you wished to migrate?
 - II. Did you wish to migrate domestically or internationally?
 - III. What lead you to the decision to migrate?
 - I. Individual level / Household level
 - II. Social factors / Economic factors
- VII. Has your engagement in CBTs dis-incentivised you from domestic or international labour-migration? If yes, in what way?
 - I. Was the decision to stay made **Individually**, or in your **Household**?
 - II. Which **Social** or **Economic** factors incentivised you to stay?
- VIII. Has anyone from your household become a domestic or international labour migrant before your household joined the CBT network?
 - I. Was the family member's decision made **Individually**, or by the **Household**?
 - II. What were the **Social** and **Economic** factors of the family member migrating?
 - III. Are those household members sending back remittances?
 - IV. How many members does your household have?
- IX. In your opinion, has the household's involvement in CBTs reduced the likelihood of any of the household members to labour-migrate?
- X. Do you feel economically or socially better off than your neighbours after beginning your participation in CBTs?

APPENDIX 8 - TABLE OF RESULTS

Heading			Sary Moghul		Arslanbob		Total	
No.	Topic	Attribute	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%
1	Age	Range ⁴	20-58 years		18-66 years		18-66 years	
		Average ⁵	26 years		46 years		34.5 years	
		Mean ⁶ :	34 years		46 years		38 years	
2	Gender	Women	4	24%	1	11%	5	19%
		Men	13	76%	8	89%	21	81%
3	CBT services provided	Interpreter	1	5%	0	0%	1	3%
		Driver	3	14%	0	0%	3	9%
		Guide	6	27%	4	40%	10	31%
		Accommodation	6	27%	6	60%	12	38%
		Entertainment (horse riding, yack milking, music, dance)	6	27%	0	0%	6	19%
4	Time of providing CBT services	Range	1-8 years		8-15 years		1-15 years	
		Average	2 years		13 years		4 years	
		Mean	3 years		11.7 years		6 years	
5	Do you wish to be	Yes	14 ⁷	82%	8	89%	22	85%

⁴ The lowest and highest values

⁵ The middle value when all values are arranged from lowest to highest in ascending order

⁶ The product of all values added up and divided by the overall number of values

⁷ Eight people have indicated they are employed full time during the summer months, but have little work off season (Oct-April) during the non-tourists season.

	more active in providing CBT services?	No	3	18%	1	11%	4	15%
6	Have you ever considered becoming a domestic or international labour migrant?	Yes	12	71%	4	44%	16	62%
		No	5	29%	5	56%	10	38%
6.1	When was it that you wished to migrate	Range	2-27 years		3-31 years ⁸		2-31 years	
		Average	2 years		17 years		7 years	
		Mean	5.9 years		17 years		9.6 years	
6.2	Did you wish to migrate domestically or internationally	Domestically	4 ⁹	27%	0	0%	4	21%
		Internationally	11	73%	4	100%	15	79%
6.3.1	What lead you to the decision to migrate? Individual level /Household level	Individual	9 ¹⁰	64%	3	75%	12	66%
		Household	5	36%	0	0%	5	28%
		N/A	0	0%	1	25%	1	6%
6.3.2	What lead you to the decision to migrate? Social reasons / Economic reasons	Social	5	42%	2	50%	7	44%
		Economic	6	50%	2	50%	8	50%
		N/A	1	8%	0	0%	1	6%
7.	If you have ever thought about labour-migration, has your engagement in CBTs dis-incentivised you	Yes	9	75%	2	50%	11	69%
		No	2	17%	1	25%	3	19%

⁸ Respondent 26 indicated that he has always wanted to migrate, therefore his years of wanting to migrate corresponds to his age (31years)

⁹ 3 respondent indicated Domestic Migration to be equally important to International Migration, and these people are reflected in both the Domestic and International category for Sary Moghul.

¹⁰ 2 respondents indicated Individual Decision to be equally important as Household Decision, and these people are reflected in both the Individual Decision and Household Decision categories for Sary Moghul.

	from domestic or international labour-migration?	Maybe	1	8%	0	0%	1	6%
		N/A	0	0%	1	25%	1	6%
7.1	Has your engagement in CBTs dis-incentivised you from domestic or international labour-migration? Individual level / Household level	Individual	9 ¹¹	64%	2	50%	11	61%
		Household	5	36%	1	25%	6	33%
		N/A	0	0%	1	25%	1	6%
7.2	Has your engagement in CBTs dis-incentivised you from domestic or international labour-migration? Social reasons / Economic reasons	Social	8 ¹²	61%	3 ¹³	60%	9	61%
		Economic	4	31%	1	20%	3	28%
		NA	1	8%	1	25%	2	11%
8.	Has anyone from your household become a domestic or international labour migrant before your household joined the CBT network?	Yes	6	35%	4	44%	10	38%
		No	11	65%	5	56%	16	62%
8.1	Was the family member's decision made Individually , or by the Household ?	Individual	3	50%	3	75%	6	60%
		Household	2	33%	1	25%	3	30%
		Don't know	1	17%	0	0%	1	10%
8.2	What were the Social	Social	1	17%	0	0%	1	10%

¹¹ 2 respondents indicated Individual Decision to be equally important as Household Decision, and these people are reflected in both the Individual Decision and Household Decision categories for Sary Moghul.

¹² 1 respondent indicated Social and Economic aspects to be equally important, and this person is reflected in both the Social and Economic category.

¹³ 1 respondent indicated Social and Economic aspects to be equally important, and this person is reflected in both the Social and Economic category.

	and Economic factors of the family member migrating?	Economic	4	66%	4	100%	8	80%
		Don't know	1	17%	0	0%	1	10%
8.3	Are the household members sending back remittances?	Yes	6	100%	3	75%	9	90%
		No	0	0%	1	25%	1	10%
8.4	How many members does the household have?	Range	4-12 members		4-11 members		4-12 members	
		Average	8 members		5 members		8 members	
		Mean	8 members		6 members		7 members	
9.	Has the household's involvement in CBTs reduced the likelihood of any of the household members to labour-migrate? ¹⁴	Yes	8	47%	5	56%	13	50%
		No	0	0%	2	22%	2	8%
		Don't know	1	6%	0	0%	1	4%
		N/A	8	47%	2	22%	10	38%
10.	Do you feel economically or socially better off than your neighbours after beginning your participation in CBTs?	Yes	11	65%	8	89%	19	73%
		No	5	29%	1	11%	6	23%
		N/A	1	6%	0	0%	1	4%

¹⁴ Due to a flaw in the researchers' methodology, Question 9 was not asked from respondents who did not wish to migrate, even though in retrospect it should have been posed to everyone taking part of the study. As a result of this mistake, almost half the people were not deemed applicable to answer and it is unknown if they think other members of their household are dis-incentivised to labour-migrate after the respondent entered the CBT industry.

APPENDIX 9 - NVIVO THEMATIC CODING

1. CBT background
 - 1.1. Helvetas
 - 1.2. How happy people are with CBT
2. Social reasons of migration and return migration
 - 2.1. Cultural habits
 - 2.2. Empowerment
 - 2.3. Family
 - 2.4. Skills
3. Economic reasons of migration and return migration
 - 3.1. Household income risk minimisation
 - 3.2. Industry of work
 - 3.3. Investments of capital
 - 3.4. Unemployment
4. Push factors of returning migrants
5. Pull factors of returning migrants
6. Migration
 - 6.1. Factors for never migrating
 - 6.2. Location
 - 6.3. Return Migration
 - 6.4. Seasonal Migration (circulatory)
7. Seasonal CBTs
 - 7.1. Summer
 - 7.2. Winter

APPENDIX 10 - DEBRIEFING FORM

Thank you for sitting down with us, our names are Yasmin and Ernst. We are two university students from Sweden and we are doing interviews in Sary Moghul and Arslanbob to see if CBTs have affected migration to other countries like Russia, just just bigger cities like Bishkek. These interviews will be used as inputs to our thesis as we want to see what the CBT providers think about how CBTs have changed their lives.

If, at any point, you do not wish to participate in the interview, you have the right not to. All the interviews and information will be made anonymous, so no one will know what you said. You also have the right to withdraw your interview from our research if you choose to do so at a later point. We will make our research findings publicly available on the internet, and send the CBT coordinator a digital copy of our research that he can share with you in June, 2015. Are you okay to proceed?

Is it okay if we make a recording of the interview so we can later write down and analyse the information you give us?