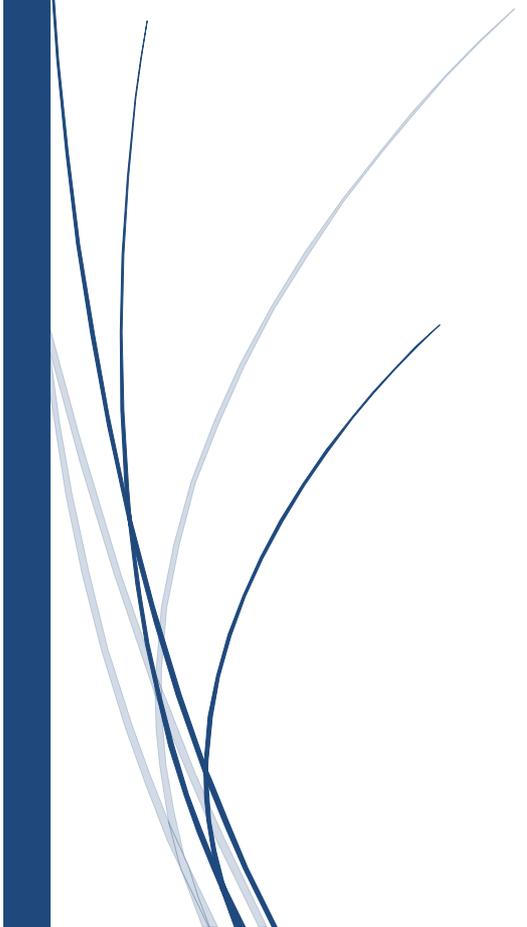




COMPARATIVE REPORT ON THE
RESULTS OF THE BASELINE
RESEARCH OF THE REGIONAL
PROGRAMME FOR SUSTAINABLE
AND CLIMATE SENSITIVE LAND USE
FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN
CENTRAL ASIA



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List of Abbreviations

CA	Central Asia
CC	Climate Change
CCCC	Climate Change Coordinating Commission
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
ELD	Economics of Land Degradation
EP	Environmental Protection
ES	Emergency Situations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
II	Interdepartmental Interaction
JFM	Joint Forest Management
KAP	Knowledge, Relationships and Practices
KR	Kyrgyz Republic
LRC	Sustainable Development Goals
MEKR	Ministry of Economy of the Kyrgyz Republic
MF KR	Ministry of Finance of the Kyrgyz Republic
MLSD KR	Ministry of Labor and Social Development of the Kyrgyz Republic
MM	Mass Media
NAP	National Action Plan
NC	National Communication
NLA	Normative Legal Act
NSC	National Statistical Committee
NSSD KR	National Sustainable Development Strategy of the Kyrgyz Republic
PTSD KR	Transition Program to Sustainable Development of the Kyrgyz Republic
RK	Republic of Kazakhstan
RT	Republic of Tajikistan
SAEPF	State Agency for Environmental Protection and Forestry
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

Glossary

Anthropogenic load is the degree of human influence, its activities on nature. Anthropogenic load includes the use of resources of species in ecosystems (hunting, fishing, harvesting of medicinal plants, tree felling), grazing, recreation, pollution (discharges to industrial, household and agricultural waste water, precipitation of suspended solids or acid rain from the atmosphere) and etc.

Anthropocentric worldview is the basis of anthropocentrism (Greek anthropos - man, centrum - center) is a philosophical idea, within which the universe is viewed as a "living" and "wise" system, the most important component (center) of which is man. It implies increased stress on natural resources.

Eco services are the many and varied benefits that humans freely gain from the natural environment and from properly-functioning ecosystems.

Empathic related to showing an ability to understand and share the feelings of another.

Empowerment refers to measures designed to increase the degree of autonomy and self-determination in people and in communities in order to enable them to represent their interests in a responsible and self-determined way, acting on their own authority

Environmentalism or environmental rights is a broad philosophy, ideology, and social movement regarding concerns for environmental protection and improvement of the health of the environment, particularly as the measure for this health seeks to incorporate the impact of changes to the environment on humans, animals, plants and non-living matter.

Epistemology is the theory of knowledge, especially with regard to its methods, validity, and scope, and the distinction between justified belief and opinion.

Gender regime is the coined by R. Connell that refers to the state of play of gender relations in a given institution that can either encourage or discourage gender equality.

Media consumption is a quantitative and qualitative assessment of media channels (information or entertainment media) used by one person or a group of people.

Natural objects is the natural ecological system, the natural landscape and the constituent elements that retain their natural properties

Ontology is the philosophical study of the nature of being, becoming, existence, or reality, as well as the basic categories of being and their relations.

Paternalism (Latin paternus - fatherly, fatherly) the interference of a state or an individual with another person, against their will, and defended or motivated by a claim that the person interfered with will be better off or protected from harm.

Subjectivity is a person's ability to act as an agent (subject) of action, to be independent of other people.

Stakeholder is anybody who can affect or is affected by an organisation, strategy or project

Symbolic capital can be referred to as the resources available to an individual on the basis of honor, prestige or recognition, and serves as value that one holds within a culture. A war hero, for example,

may have symbolic capital in the context of running for political office. The concept of symbolic capital was introduced by Pierre Bourdieu in *La Distinction*.

Targeting is a mechanism that allows you to select from the entire existing audience only the part that meets the specified criteria (target audience)

Utilitarian logic is an ethical theory which states that the best action is the one that maximizes utility. "Utility" is defined in various ways, usually in terms of the well-being of sentient entities. Jeremy Bentham, the founder of utilitarianism, described utility as the sum of all pleasure that results from an action, minus the suffering of anyone involved in the action.

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Executive Summary

The purpose of this Knowledge, Attitude and Practices (KAP) report is to identify problems and shortcomings of awareness and education about climate change among forest and pasture users and service providers in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, and establish controls/baseline indicators for assessing progress in implementing the programme.

The survey was conducted to develop adequate measures to address identified problems and challenges in the three areas of the regional programme for sustainable and climate sensitive land use for economic development in Central Asia.

Research Methodology

The survey was conducted using both qualitative and quantitative methods. For a quantitative study, a questionnaire on KAP methodology was developed, the sample size was 1345 respondents with the following distribution across the following settlements in 2 countries:

Table 1. Sampling frame for quantitative study

Country	Geographic coverage	Sampling
Kyrgyzstan	5 Pilot forestry enterprises: in Chui oblast (Frunze forestry enterprise), Issyk-Kul (Jety-Oguz and Balykchy forestry enterprises), Osh (Nookat forestry enterprise) and Jalal-Abad (Kyzyl-Unkur) oblasts.	720 respondents
Tajikistan	In forestry enterprises of two regions: - Sogd: Penjikent (363) - Khatlon: Vanj (29), Dangar (208), Moskva (25)	625 respondents

Collection of quantitative data was carried out from February 4 to March 4 2017.

For qualitative component, a guide for semi-structured interviews with service providers was developed to study in-depth opinions, attitudes, and practices. Collection of qualitative data was conducted from April 17 to May 20 2017, and was associated with considerable difficulties due to limited access to state employees in Kazakhstan and weak motivation for participation in the study of state employees from Kyrgyzstan.

Survey Findings

The baseline survey identified the following indicators for monitoring progress in implementation of the programme¹:

- Climate change knowledge index
- Positive environmental attitude index
- Positive environmental behaviour index
- Dependence on natural resources Index
- % of population who respondents who remembered environmental news

¹ The indices are calculated on the basis of quantitative indicators and therefore the report presents the baseline values for only two countries - KR and RT, where a quantitative survey was conducted. For description and calculations of the indices see Appendix 3.

- % population who know about the commencement of piloting the forestry reform in KR
- % population who consider that all relevant stakeholders/people participate in piloting the forest sector reform in KR
- Index of Positive Assessment of Introducing Approach of Joint Forest Management (JFM) in RT

The baseline values of indicators are presented in the table below.

Table 2. Values of indicators of the baseline survey

Indicator	Maximum possible score	Indicator for KR		Indicator for RT	
		Pilot	Control	Pilot	Control
1) Climate change knowledge index	120 points	52.6	51	48.9	37.5
2) Positive environmental attitude index	240 points	77	74.1	77.3	73.8
3) Positive environmental behaviour index	240 points	79.9	86.4	159.9	160.6
4) Dependence on natural resources Index	300 points	68.3	62.1	36.7	40
5) % of population who respondents who remembered environmental news	100%	12.9%	18.6%	13.8%	12.7%
6) % population who know about the commencement of piloting the forestry reform in KR	100%	7.7%	14.1%	NA	NA
7) % population who consider that all relevant stakeholders/people participate in piloting the forest sector reform in KR	100%	57.7%	64.3%	NA	NA
8) Index of Positive Assessment of Introducing Approach of Joint Forest Management (JFM) in RT	100 points	NA	NA	49.1	47.3

The following data are among the most important results of the field survey:

90% of respondents in KR and 88% of respondents in RT agree that climate change is taking place. 6% of respondents in KR and 1% in RT have never heard of climate change, and 7% of respondents in KR and 3% in RT could not formulate their opinion on climate change and its causes and features.

88% of respondents in KR and 96% of respondents in RT state they understand what climate change means, with proportion of women and men who have defined the concept is equal. Among the most frequently cited feature - the effects of climate change were the following:

- Changes in weather (79% of respondents in the RT and 60% in KR noted this feature);
- Frequency of extreme weather conditions (36% in KR and 28% in the RT);
- Changes in duration and severity of seasons of the year (31% in KR and 29% in RT);
- Changes in forest cover (33% in KR and 10% in RT);
- Air pollution, air quality changes (30% in KR and 24% in RT).

Among the causes of climate change, the respondents highlighted the following:

- Climate changes are the consequence of industrialization and economic growth leading to greenhouse effects (76% of respondents in KR and 64% in RT);

- Changes are linked to challenges of economic development (82% in KR and 91% in RT).

The results of the survey on media consumption of respondents include the following important aspects:

- Television remains the main channel for informing the population: 81% of respondents in Kyrgyzstan and 79% in Tajikistan indicated TV as the main source of information on climate change;
- 16% of respondents from Kyrgyzstan prefer to receive information via Internet and the same percentage consider radio the main information channel. In Tajikistan, the situation is different: only 1% of respondents identified Internet as key information channel and 8% selected radio.
- Interpersonal communication and information interaction in communities remain the most important channels of information: 18% of respondents in KR receive information about climate change from local authorities, 34% from friends, relatives and neighbors, and 14% - at assemblies with fellow villagers (in RT, respectively: 13%, 22% and 14%). It seems important that religious institutions do not stand aside: 2% of Kyrgyz respondents and 3% of Tajik noted the mosque as source of relevant information.
- State employees in addition to legal and regulatory acts call training seminars and trainings as preferable.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The below matrix reflects main recommendations formulated on the basis of received results of the survey:

Table 3. Main recommendations formulated on the basis of received research results

Context	Recommendation
Due to differences in gender regime ² in RT and KR, women's and men's assessments of their understanding of climate change and adaptation measures vary considerably: Tajik women tend to assess themselves as more informed than most men in adapting to climate change, except for issues of resource-saving technologies. In KR, the picture is the opposite: men more often declare that they possess full or some information on the above aspects than women.	Targeted info / media campaign that is able to provide equal opportunities and knowledge to all categories of people and users of forest and pasture services. It is especially important to take into account the role of women as transmitters of cultural knowledge and technologies, training women in adaptation measures could become a factor of empowerment ³ in communities.
Such factors as age, territory of residence of respondents are of great importance for perception and understanding of climate changes and adaptation to them.	In developing a media and information campaign, the key principle is targeting. So, for example, for the elderly people products and messages should provide not only information, but also allow them to acquire culturally approved images and the role of "wise" distributors of knowledge and skills on adaptation to climate change.
Major part of respondents imagine negative scenarios for development of the future (in 10 years), but not in terms of natural phenomena, but political-economic, which indicates the dominance of utilitarian logic in communities	Media and info products should take into account the customary logic and address, if not to mathematical arguments about the benefits and costs, but to formulate empathic images and roles of pragmatic people who make a choice in favor of pro-environmental solutions.

² Defined in Glossary

³ Defined in Glossary

Context	Recommendation
<p>A high proportion of respondents who recognize the sacred, spiritual significance of forests for human life, along with such pragmatic aspect as forest valuation in terms of their own consumption and commercial benefits.</p>	<p>To reinforce and expand in media / info campaigns the sacred significance of forests, water, mountains and other natural objects and resources, using for this the elements of ethnic culture, intangible cultural heritage.</p>
<p>Measurement of Positive Environmental Attitude Index demonstrated the low level of concern of respondents in both countries about environmental problems and the dominance of the pragmatic logic of economic development, which does not fully correspond to the high subjective readiness of residents to adapt to climate change. There is a paradoxical situation, when respondents want sort of want to do something for the benefit of the environment, in order to adapt to climate change, but at the same time they do not feel that they are actors capable of changing something, influencing something. Therefore there are many rationalizing motives – from lack of money and time to impossibility of one person to impact anything.</p>	<p>In media images, to focus on stories, when "small" people acquired subjectivity and influenced the situation with the use of nature (short positive stories). Media stories should be built by the type of motivators.</p>
<p>The traditional media (TV, radio and newspapers) and informal local channels - networks of interaction with relatives and fellow villagers, with local authorities remain the main channels for delivering information relevant to life of a respondent, as well as information on environment and climate change. In RT, five of the most trusted sources of information are: TV, Jamoat, discussions with relatives, friends and neighbors, radio and meetings with fellow villagers.</p>	<p>Further studies are needed on the content of consumption for targeted addressing of the programme's media products. To use more actively the identified at the local level of influence leaders to advance information.</p>
<p>Understanding of climate change and adaptation measures among state employees varies and depends on the impact of various information flows, including the degree of employee involvement in information discourse organized by donor organizations Under the influence of donor interventions, employees absorb the rhetoric / language of development approach. But there is neither the sense of commitment and ownership of initiatives, nor institutionalization of principles and values.</p>	<p>Training modules and information interaction with the state employees to enhance capacity, strengthen the sense of commitment and ownership of project and programme initiatives. A separate intervention - instead of traditional seminars for journalists with a view to immersing them more in the problems, it is more expedient to conduct training with managers, key employees of relevant spheres for more effective media behavior and representations. Some of these seminars should take place in mixed groups of civil servants and journalists. When forming training groups, it is necessary to take into account gender and age balance issues.</p>

Introduction

The study in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan was conducted with the aim of developing adequate measures to address the identified problems and challenges in the three areas of the Regional programme for sustainable and climate sensitive land use for economic development in Central Asia

Within the framework of the goal, the following tasks for the survey were determined:

1. To study the knowledge, attitudes and practices of the population of the pilot territories on climate change, the ways of adaptation to them, the use of natural resources and their economic value;
2. Identify how respondents explain the causes of the changing climate and the changes in life practices under their influence;
3. Examine the barriers to responding to climate change among people, communities and management systems at the local and national levels;
4. Assess models and preferences of respondents in media consumption, including about climate change

The tasks for in-depth stakeholder interviews at the national level included the following tasks:

1. Study of knowledge, attitudes and practices of civil servants on the functional responsibility for activities related to climate change, the system of environmental and economic accounting (SEEA); initiatives on the economics of land degradation (ELD), forestry reform and the use of the GIS tool.
2. Subjective assessments of civil servants on the effectiveness and challenges of interagency cooperation on all the above issues;
3. Identification of promising measures from the respondents' point of view, undertaken by both government agencies and donor organizations to optimize the management of climate change adaptation processes, economic calculation of the values of natural resources and reform of forestry;
4. To study the views and practices of respondents on the information channels on these issues and their suggestions on the best methods of communication on climate change, the development of forest and pasture sectors and the economy of the environment as a whole.

Research Methodology

To ensure completeness and reliability of data collected during the survey, both qualitative and quantitative methods of collecting and analyzing information were used. Methodological basis of the survey was a desk review, a survey of service recipients, and semi-structured interviews with major service providers at the national level.

Desk review

During the desk review, the existing secondary information and statistical data on theme in question were processed. The results of desk review enabled to develop a conceptual framework that was used to develop research tools (including design of the sample) and data analysis, and to build an information base on social context of the implemented project in pilot settlements.

Survey of service recipients

During the quantitative survey of service recipients, the Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices (KAP) of forest and pasture users in the pilot settlements in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan were measured in three themes related to the scope of the programme:

- (1) Forest and pasture sector;

- (2) Environmental economics;
- (3) Climate change adaptation.

The total sample size was 720 respondents living in pilot forestry enterprises in Chui oblast (Frunze forestry enterprise), Issyk-Kul (Jety-Oguz and Balykchy forestry enterprises), Osh (Nookat forestry enterprise) and Jalal-Abad (Kyzyl-Unkur) oblasts.

In addition to the survey in KR, a survey was also conducted in the Republic of Tajikistan (Sughd and Khatlon oblasts). The total sample size was 625 respondents. (Socio-demographic portrait of respondents of both countries is in Appendix 1).

A questionnaire for the survey was developed in English and then was translated into Russian, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek in KR and into Tajik in RT.

Pilot studies were conducted in KR and RT. During the piloting survey the following aspects of the questionnaire were tested: content, wording of questions, sequence of questions, layout of the questionnaire, clarity of instructions, ease of the survey process itself. The final version of the questionnaire was tested and used to collect data in Tajikistan by the partners of the project.

During analysis of quantitative data, a number of indices were calculated according to the adapted methodology of the KAP Survey in Lao PDR⁴. (Description of indices and procedure for calculating them is in Appendix 3)

Semi-structured interviews with service providers at the national level

In addition to measuring KAP in the above areas of the programme, 34 in-depth interviews with specialists with a high level of competence in the subjects in question were conducted in 3 countries: Kyrgyzstan (13 interviews), Kazakhstan (7) and Tajikistan (14). In all three countries, the overwhelming majority of respondents was represented by middle-level representatives of ministries and agencies. In Kyrgyzstan, out of 13 experts, half were women (6), in Kazakhstan there was also a similar situation, 4 out of 7 experts were women and 3 men, while in Tajikistan out of 14 experts interviewed, 12 men and 2 women. (List of Experts Appendix 2).

Background information on the countries

Due to the high share of agricultural sector in GDP of the countries of Central Asia region, and significant dependence of the economy on natural resources, given the potential of natural resources and the practices of their use, the differences in population and geography, the countries - KR, RT and RK - are assessed as highly vulnerable in the processes of climate change. Comparison of only some aspects of the current economic development of these countries enables us to see how specific the issues of adaptation to climate change could be.

Table 4. Proportion of agriculture in countries of the region (employment and GDP)⁵

Country	% of population engaged in agriculture	Proportion of agriculture, % to GDP	Main export commodities (agriculture)
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⁴ Manfred Oepen. 2013. KAP Survey in LAO PDR

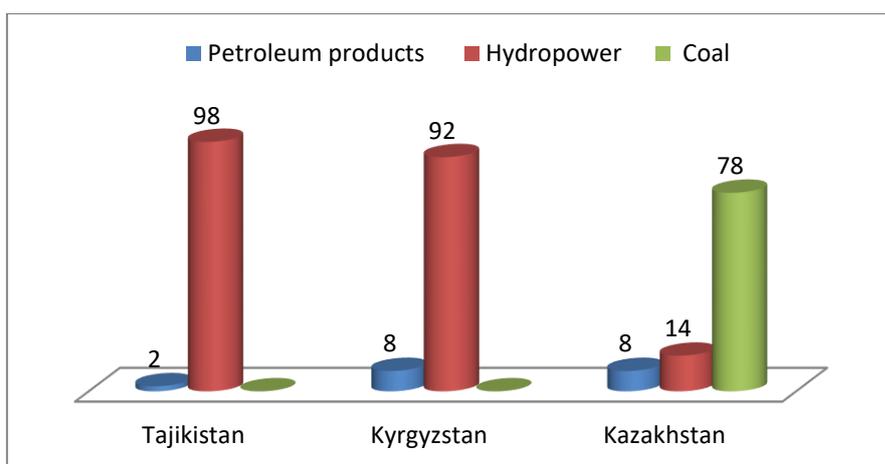
⁵ Gap analysis on adaptation to climate change in Central Asia; needs, recommendations, practices. Regional Environmental Centre for Central Asia (CAREC), Almaty, 2011 p. 36

Kazakhstan	Less than 10%	Less than 10%	Grain crops
Kyrgyzstan	55%	35%	Cotton, horticultural crops
Tajikistan	67%	25%	Cotton

Table 5. Proportion of agriculture in countries of the region (employment and GDP)

Country	Area ('000 he)		Gross output ('000 tons)	
	Irrigated	Cotton	Cotton	Horticultural crops
Kazakhstan	3450 (16%)	200 (less than 6%)	180	5.3
Kyrgyzstan	1050 (77%)	Less than 30 (3%)	48	2.45
Tajikistan	630 (68%)	220 (35%)	172	1.6

Diagram 1. Main sources of electricity in Central Asia region ⁶



Each of the three countries in the region is developing its strategies and measures to reduce / prevent climate change risks. Below is a table that allows you to compare the countries of the region included in the research sample by a number of key criteria for development and institutionalization of policies and practices for climate change adaptation.

Table 6⁷. Criteria for development and institutionalization of policies and practices for climate change adaptation

Criteria for institutionalization	Kyrgyz Republic	Republic of Kazakhstan	Republic of Tajikistan
Ratification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Framework Convention on Climate Change • The Paris Agreement under the UNFCCC, which regulates measures to reduce carbon dioxide in the atmosphere after 2020 	Joined <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 14 January 2000 • 23 September 2016 	Joined <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 15 May 1995 • 2016 	Joined <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1998 • 2016
Reflecting the climate change tasks of in country strategic documents	Actions on climate change are reflected in NSSD KR for 2013-2017 and KR follow-up Action plan for 2013-2017	"Kazakhstan 2050" strategy, Concepts of transition of the Republic of Kazakhstan to sustainable development for 2007-	National Development Strategy of RT up to 2030 and Medium-Term Development Programme of RT for 2016-2020.

⁶ ibid, p. 64

⁷ These tables are based on information from "Adaptation to climate change in mountainous areas of Central Asia. A series of reviews on adaptation." UN Environment, GRID-Arendal, Bishkek, 2017.

Criteria for institutionalization	Kyrgyz Republic	Republic of Kazakhstan	Republic of Tajikistan
		2024; Concept of "green economy" for the Republic of Kazakhstan (approved in 2013)	
Availability of a special action plan for adaptation to climate change	Priority directions for adaptation to climate change in KR until 2017 and five sectoral adaptation plans and programmes.	The concept of the country's transition to the Green Economy (2013) ⁸ Priority tasks: - increasing the efficiency of the use of resources (water, land, biological, etc.) and managing them; - modernization of existing and construction of new infrastructure; - improving the well-being of the population and the quality of the environment through cost-effective ways to mitigate the pressure on the environment; - improvement of national security, including water security.	Action Plan of RT on Climate Change (NAP, adopted in 2003); National Action Plan of RT on Environmental Protection (Environmental Protection NAP, adopted in 2006); Currently The Government of RT is developing a National Strategy for Adaptation to Climate Change for 2016-2030
Institutional mechanism for adaptation to climate change (existence of government coordinating body for activities related to climate change and representation level)	Responsible state body on environmental protection - SAEPF; Coordinating Commission on Climate Change (CCCC), consisting of heads of key ministries and agencies, representatives of civil, academic and business sectors of the country, chaired by First Vice Prime Minister of KR, 1.11.2012	The Ministry of Energy is the responsible body within the framework of the UNFCCC; the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Kazakhstan - with regard to adaptation to climate change in the sphere of forestry and water resources.	Committee for Environmental Protection under the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Forestry Agency under the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan, the Ministry of Economy and Water Resources ⁹
Reporting on UNFCCC	2008 - the second national communication was published, the third National Communication prepared	2009– the second national communication was published, the third National Communication prepared 2013 - the third to sixth national communication were published, currently the seventh NC is being prepared.	The First and Second and Third RT National Communications were prepared (2014). The work is underway on preparation of the Fourth National Communication and the First Biennial Update Report.

KR and RT have a low level of greenhouse gas emissions, which is due to high proportion of electricity generation by hydroelectric power plants, and respectively, both countries joined the Kyoto Protocol

⁸ <http://www.climate.kz/rus/?m=html&cid=33>

⁹ <http://minfin.tj/downloads/postanovlenie-ru-2017.pdf>

regarding CDM part. At the same time, according to forecast scenarios, it is expected that climate change will reduce flow of water after 2030s and, therefore, reduce potential of hydropower resources. Without active measures to adapt to climate change in these countries, intensification of growth is possible of such degradation processes as: deforestation, erosion and degradation of pastures, increased melting of glaciers, floods, resulting in significant damage to transport and agricultural infrastructures, mountain (forest and pasture) ecosystems. Consequently, adaptation is critical to achieving sustainable development goals (SDGs), and inability to implement adaptation measures could lead to significant economic losses for the countries, especially in sectors such as agriculture and water resources, energy, health, emergency management, forestry and biodiversity.

Numerous analytical reviews, assessments and survey on adaptation to climate change in countries of CA region point among the main problems to limited technical and financial resources, weak human capacity. According to experts' estimates, these limitations lead to:

- Inability to develop and implement strategies for adaptation and disaster risk mitigation;
- Use of inadequate tools and systems for planning and implementing climate change strategies;
- Absence of necessary objective information for effective adaptation planning.

Such factors are aggravated by high proportion of poor population¹⁰ and increased anthropo-load. Given the poverty and economic deprivation, natural resources become vital for overall sustainability and stability of economies of the region. In accordance with main provisions of Rio+20 Sustainable Development Summit, countries in the region try to introduce "green technologies" and policies and help transform economic climate to improve of natural resource management.

In each of the countries covered by this survey, there are different groups of stakeholders¹¹ in the field of climate change and adaptation to these changes: in some countries there are coordination structures for optimizing activities of the state and society to adapt to climate change, in others – different state bodies are authorized on implementation of UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol (as in Tajikistan and Kazakhstan); civil society organizations are included to various degree in coordination mechanisms. These differences in configuration of authorized bodies affect the way how these agencies work to facilitate adaptation to climate change and what challenges they face in this activity. Qualitative part of this survey is specifically devoted to study these issues.

¹⁰ In RK, according to official statistics, in 2012 the share of population with incomes below the subsistence level in 2012 was 3.8%, having decreased by 3.2 times in comparison with 2008. According to KISEIP study, two groups of poor (those who have enough money only for food, but purchase of clothing is difficult, and those who lack money even for food) are 17.6% and 4.5% of respondents, respectively 22.1% of respondents. \ Republican weekly DAT. <http://planetanyne.ru/skol-ko-bedny-h-v-kazahstane/> In 2016, per information from the website of the State Committee on Statistics, the share of poor Kazakhs became already 2.6%. \ http://www.stat.gov.kz/faces/wcnav_externalId/homeNumbersLivingStandart?_afLoop=2076171013556936#%40%3F_afLoop%3D2076171013556936%26_adf.ctrl-state%3D143tgaliyf_50. In KR in 2015, the share of the poor was 32.1% in population structure of the country. \ <http://www.stat.kg/ru/statistics/uroven-zhizni-naseleniya/> In the Republic of Tajikistan, the share of the poor in 2015 was 31% (for comparison: in 2007, the poor were 53% of the population). <http://ru.sputnik-tj.com/country/20160621/1019940872.html>

¹¹ Defined in Glossary