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# Think Like a Mongolian: Cultivating Community Based Pasture Management

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*SIT Study Abroad*

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# Think Like a Mongolian: Cultivating Community Based Pasture Management

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*Abstract*

Since Mongolia's democratization and move to a free market, the country has been grappling with the best approaches to deal with pasture degradation caused by both climate change and lifestyle changes of nomadic herders. International donors and NGOs have implemented community based natural resource management projects with the missions mitigating the effects of pasture degradation and livelihoods of herding families through building capacity. While studies have been done regarding the effectiveness of these community based conservation projects, minimal research has been done to understand how the traditions, values, and culture of Mongolia herders affect the success of these pastureland conservation programs.

This three-week study examines the uniquely Mongolian challenges of implementing community based natural resource management of pasturelands in the light of current theory on resilience. Conducting 31 interviews with development officials, government members, and herders, along with performing participant observation, I examine the values and thoughts of Mongolians and the influences they these characteristics have on one of Green Gold Ecosystem Pasture Ecosystem Management Project's Pasture User Group community in Arkhangai *aimag*.

Through preliminary interviews I discovered that Mongolian mentality is difficult to define, so I broadened my study to examine the mentality many Mongolian have and isolate a list of characteristics that were applicable to group formation in this case study .Because of the limited role this program had in the community, I examined the values that prevented resilient group formation, isolating the following factors: kinship ties; independence and apathy; respect for the environment; money and success.

*Key Words:* Community Based Natural Resource Management; Resilience; Social Institutions; Pasture Degradation; Mongolian Culture

*Table of Contents*

Abstract	II
Table of Contents	III
Acknowledgements	IV
Introduction	1
Theoretical Context	2
Historical Context	4
The PUG System and Evaluation of Herding Groups	5
Methods	10
Results and Discussion	13
Defining Mongolian Mentality	13
Characteristics of Herder Mentality	16
Overview of Tariat	20
Governance in Tariat	21
Green Gold in Tariat	24
Community Relations	31
Attitudes towards Herding	34
Herder Reactions to Pasture Degradation	35
Social Implications of Pasture Degradation	36
Conclusion	43
Works Cited	44

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### *Introduction*

Traditionally a society based upon nomadic herding, over the past couple of decades Mongolia has been grappling with the challenge of pasture degradation. While statistics vary, approximately 70 percent of Mongolia's pasture lands have faced degradation. This is due largely to pasture mismanagement and overgrazing caused by the open access of rangelands since Mongolia's transition to a democracy over twenty years ago (Sternberg, 2008). With 20.6 percentage of the GDP coming from livestock production and between 30 and 40 percent of the population reliant on herding, this degradation has had a severe impact on the livelihoods of much of the Mongolia's rural population (Batsaikhan Usukh, Hans P. Binswanger-Mkhize, Raffael Himmelsbach, & Karl Schuler, 2010). To cope with the challenges of degradation, international donors as well as NGOs have been implementing community-based conservation projects with the mission of mitigating pasture degradation. The goal of these programs has been to improve the livelihoods of herding families through alternative income generation and building the capacity of herders. With organizations ranging from International Fund for Agricultural Development to United Nations Development Project (UNDP) to the Swiss Development Agency and Cooperation (Batsaikhan Usukh et al., 2010), most of the attempts to find solutions to the pasture degradation have come from international and multinational groups, not the herders facing these solutions. How effective have these theoretical frameworks for developing community to manage land use been in Mongolia?

Because these projects are still young, with the oldest having been started in 1999 (Dulamsuren Dorligsuren, Batjav Batbuyan, Bulgamaa Densambu, & Steven R. Fassnacht, 2012), few studies have specifically examined the implications of Mongolian culture, traditions, and values on the effectiveness of these communities developed from outside organizations. Thus, this study aims to examine the uniquely Mongolian context of implementing community-based conservation of pasturelands through a case study. Specifically, I ask: what are the characteristics of current Mongolian's mentality? How does this mentality influence the resilience (ability to cope

with change and stress) of community-based management programs? To answer these questions, I conducted a two week ethnographic study of a Pasture User Group (PUG) system, or system of herding groups, started through the Green Gold Pasture Ecosystem Management Project, a community based pasture management program funded by the Swiss Development Agency and Cooperation. I studied the Tariat Pasture User Group System in Arkhangai *aimag*, a recent pasture management program started in 2010.

To provide some context for this research, I will begin by examining the theoretical foundations of community based nature resource management (CBNRM) and of resilience then move to the historical context of group land management in Mongolia. Next, I'll analyze the key points of previous findings on community based pasture management projects in Mongolia. Afterwards, I'll present my findings from the field, beginning first with the varying notions and ideas of mentality then moving on to an overview of development organizations' understandings of a successful community based pasture use program, along the way evaluating their ability to build resilience. Following this preliminary information, I'll layout my findings from Tariat, describing herder's understandings and reactions to pasture degradation as well as herders' involvement in the community. Additionally, I'll examine the role of Green Gold in Tariat. I will conclude with a discussion of my interviews and observations and will answer the following sub questions that seem most relevant to my studies in the field:

- Is this PUG system a resilient community based pasture management program?
- How do Mongolian values and ways of thinking influence the PUG system in Tariat?

### *Theoretical context*

Community based natural resource management is closely tied with the theory of resilience as a way to measure success. As scholars define it, CBNRM is the “process by which landholders gain access and use rights to, or ownership of, natural resources; collaboratively and transparently plan and participate in the management of resource use; and the achievement financial and other benefits from stewardship.”(Baival Batkhishig, Bandi Oyuntulkuur,

Tsevlee Altanzul, & Maria E. Fernandez-Gimenez, 2012). In other words, it is the ability for a community to collaboratively use a resource in ways that both benefit its users while sustaining the integrity of resource. Specifically CBRM rests upon the notion that directly strengthening the capacity of social systems—or increasing trust, leadership, ability to interact with diverse groups and use various types of information—will indirectly benefit ecological systems (Baival Batkhishig et al., 2012).

To measure the success of these systems, academics of natural resource management often use the theory of resilience. Resilience is a measure of how a social-ecological system—or the people and the environment of a community— adapt to change. As Klein et al. (2012) state, it is defined as, “the amount of change a system can absorb without altering its essential structure and function.” In the case of herders in Mongolia, this means the ability for a pastoral society to continue to live their lifestyle of herding in a time of changing economic and political structure.

CBNRM can increase reliance through two key components: i) developing and utilizing knowledge about ecosystem use and ii) creating social institutions (rules, norms, policies and laws) that are “adaptive, flexible and locally responsive, multi-scale and diverse” (Klein et al., 2012). The first of these characteristics focuses on the ability of CBNRM to promote monitoring of resource use and use both scientific and traditional ecological knowledge. This directly relates to resilience, for the first key component of resilience is a) the ability to use a diversity of types of knowledge to sustainability monitor resource use (Baival Batkhishig et al., 2012). The second characteristic refers to communities that have strong networks in which common people work quickly and effectively with other citizens, government official, and other type of organizations. This similarly enhances resilience since it contributes to b) the ability to live with change and uncertainty and c) the ability to self-organize toward social ecological sustainability, two key measure of resilience (Baival Batkhishig et al., 2012; Klein et al., 2012). Both aspects of ecological knowledge and social institutions are critical in reaching the first final measure of resilience: d) the ability to implement diversity-enhanced practices, or create a community that effectively manages its resources through a variety of levels of governance

and knowledge. Although both ecological knowledge and social institutions are critical to CBNRM and thus resilience, the majority of this work will focus on the effectiveness of social institutions in Tariat.

### *Historical Context*

Group management of pasturelands has a long history in Mongolia. In pre-revolutionary Mongolia, herding was organized through territorial based groups known as *hoshuu*. Religious and secular officials regulated and delegated pastures to *khot ail*, or herding camps of a few households usually of the same family. Typically *knot ails* laid claim to specific winter camps, but use of summer pastures varied from year to year (Upton 2009).

In 1921, with the socialist revolution some customary usage remained but allocation of pastures by the religious and secular officials began to disappear. In the 1950s, herding practices and grouping transformed again as herding became organized into collectives. During this period the *khot ail* was replaced by the *suur*, herding groups of unrelated households. While collective system retained the tradition of seasonal mobility and migrations, traditions of pasture use changed as *suurs* began separately herding one of the five traditional herd animals (sheep, goats, camels, yaks/cows, and horses) (Upton 2009).

With the advent of democracy and a free market, management of pastures evolved again. This state support of land rotation and migration ended, herds and winter camps became privatized, and land remained property of the state, free for all to graze upon. Under the 1994 Land Law, *soum* and *bag* (administrative units in Mongolia)<sup>1</sup> governors were given the right to regulate movements between pasture and provide contracts for winter and spring camps. As a result most herders laid claim to certain winter camps and grazing lands (Upton, 2009).

However, as Maria E. Fernandez-Gimenez explains, migration movements and land use varied based upon the local conditions and traditional knowledge possessed by herders. Defining traditional ecological knowledge as “biophysical observations, skills, and technologies, as well as social relationships, such as norms and institutions, that structure human-

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<sup>1</sup> The *aimag* or province is the largest administrative unit each of which contain *soums*. *Soums* are made up of several *bags*.

environmental interactions (Fernandez-Gimenez, 2000),” Fernandez-Gimenez describes various qualities that make up this ecological mentality of Mongolian herders. Herders have an in-depth knowledge of pasture composition and can trace changes in pasture both to climactic factors as well as man-made changes, like livestock grazing, and development of towns and roads. This ability is key to the success of herder, and has resulted in the customary annual rotation between winter, spring, and summer pastures (Fernandez-Gimenez, 2000). It has also lead to social norms, specifically, the norms not to use winter and fall pastures during the summer and to the notion of reciprocity, allowing herders from other areas to use one’s land following a natural disaster.

However, current economic, social, and political changes due to the collapse of the collective system are challenging the effectiveness of this traditional understanding of land care. While Fernandez is unclear about the exact changes that are limiting the effectiveness of land care, she point to factors such as access to key camp sites and transportation as specific factors (Fernandez-Gimenez, 2000). She concludes that thus herders are unable to sustainability use pastures simply based on traditional practices. Rather institutions or legislation must be created to effectively manage pasture use, perhaps drawing on herders own strong understanding of the land. (Fernandez-Gimenez, 2000). Published in 2000, Fernandez-Gimenez’s study proceeds the many community-based pasture management program that donor organizations would soon be implementing in Mongolian herding communities.

#### *The PUG System and Evaluation of Herding Groups*

The herding group approach in Mongolia is part of an international movement of community based conservation. Started in the 1980s, the community based conservation focused mostly on resources of little interest to the local people and has since evolved to link ecological practices with benefits to the local people, thus being community based natural resource management, opposed to just conversation (Berkes, 2007). These practices have evolved along with the publication of Elinor Ostrom’s foundational work on resource management. She explains how communities of individuals have been able to sustain various ecological resources for hundreds of years

(Ostrom, 1990). From these case studies, she boils down a set of common design principles that have allowed these resources to be sustainably used. It is from these general principles that the herding group programs like the PUG system have been created.

The PUG system unites herders by shared territory to manage pastures. According to a report by the Swiss Development Agency and Cooperation, PUG membership is mandatory and all residences of a certain area are automatically members. As autonomous organizations, they are provided support by a regional NGO called an Association for Pasture User Groups (APUGs) at the *soum* level. Through these Associations, Green Gold provides financing, technical advice for managing pastures, and plans for these groups to continue to organize PUG activities once Green Gold Project funds end. Additionally, to strengthen the work performed by the PUGs, the APUGs work closely with the *soum* government. Ultimately the goals of the PUG program are to regulate the seasonal use of pastures, find technical and behavioral activities to facilitate pasture management, and work on marketing and diversification of animals (Batsaikhan Usukh et al., 2010).

Overall these programs have been lauded as a success, but a few points for improvement have also been acknowledged. While the Swiss Development Agency has found that while setting up a PUG has been easy, maintaining support overtime and getting groups to carry out projects, however, has been more difficult. To improve upon their programs, they have isolated several characteristics that lead to sustainable, successful PUGs, namely, having strong leadership, accountability, functions relevant to the needs of the people, and reinforcement from the local government (Batsaikhan Usukh et al., 2010).

In 'Lessons From a Territory-Based Community Development Approach in Mongolia: Ikhtamir Pasture User Groups,' Dorligsuren et al. (2010) describes the key projects and activities that have made the Ikhtamir PUGs a more resilient community. Dorligsuren et al. explains the ways in which the community increases its ability to cope with environmental, economical, and social changes. In terms of building more resilient social relations, the PUGs have annual meetings which increase communication and discussion between the 40 to 50 percent of the herder groups who attend them.

More successful has been the use of the revolving fund, which herders contribute to and use for collaboratively developed projects, like haymaking or marketing of products, as well as for personal use. These smaller projects are usually coordinated through smaller groups that are bound by “unwritten rules based on kinship and traditional social norms, values and networks.”(Dulamsuren Dorligsuren et al., 2012) As Dorligsuren et al. explains, “the Fund brought herders closer together and has mobilized both financial and human resources [and] herder families who belong to PUGs are bound by mutual obligations and are accountable to each other.” To improve the resilience of the natural environment, herders have created pasture use plans that have been approved by *soum* and *aimag* government officials. These plans reinforce traditional rotation of pastures and the creation of pasture reserves. The main challenges this report suggests are the need to consider traditional grazing patterns in the boundaries of PUGs, as well as develop strong national legislation that will allow herding groups to own the land. Overall, however, the program was lauded as a success (Dulamsuren Dorligsuren et al., 2012).

Batkhisig et al. reports similar results of increased resilience from a case study on UNDP herding groups in Jinst *soum* in Bayahonger *aimag*. The authors explain that during the five year during which the program was underway, it met with high success (Batkhisig et al). Identifying key characteristics of resilience; the authors explain that the project helped in several ways, including increasing knowledge about pasture use and degradation, empowering young leaders and increasing communication and cooperation with a diversity of NGOs and government officials. Like other PUG programs, starting land reserves and increasing trust amongst herders through the creation of a revolving fund were also key components of the program. The main problem the authors found was that the momentum to continue to develop these groups was lost after funds eroded (Bathishig et al).

Several scholars have also more closely examined the social dynamics of these herding groups, finding that social institutions are more complicated than then these previous reports suggest. In “Social Capital, Collective Action, and Group Formation: Development Trajectories in Post-Socialist Mongolian,” Upton evaluates the effectiveness of a herding group project at building trust

amongst the local people. In his study area of the several *bags* in the Gobi Gurvansaikhan National Park, he found that before the World Bank started its project, the members of the *bag* had little trust for one another, due to difficult times that arose from the collapse of the *negdel* system. Occasionally herders would collaborate with herders outside their immediate household or *hot ail* for large tasks like sheering cashmere or fixing winter sources (Upton, 2008). However, even though herders liked the ideas of more formalized collective work, they cited lack of trust as preventing more in-depth cooperation. However, through community building activities—like workshops, meetings—and social, economic and ecological challenges from recent challenges from a *dzud*, many began to see the group as beneficial. Despite wide membership, Upton notes that the commercial focus on membership fees as well as the kin based method of invitation, are factors that caused some to forgo membership. Overall, Upton found that herders perceived the benefits of joining the group to be high, while nonmembers often viewed groups negatively, perceiving them as difficult to join later and of reducing mobility. Thus, Upton concludes that a third party intervention can successfully build community and overcome lack of trust, but warns that it could have negative repercussions among nonmembers (Upton, 2008).

Bumochir further puts to question the success stories painted by previous reports through a three week ethnographic study of the social-cultural environment affecting the success of herding groups. He begins by explaining that the success of current projects like irrigation systems, fencing pasture, and creating pasture user plans have been effective. He suggests that this is due to the realization by many herders that herd size must be limited and in its place quality of animals should be increased. However, Bumochir notes that other cultural factors are preventing these projects from reaching their full potential. For instance, funding for projects usually goes to family members or friends of the project directors, due to project director's trust towards their relatives, friends and colleagues to successfully carry out projects opposed to "someone random". Thus, lack of trust that Upton attributes to developing between nonmembers and members is also an issue within the herding groups. Like Upton, Bumochir also suggests the focus on dues for the fund matching can also be problematic, ostracizing those who

can't afford to pay dues as well as wealthy herders who don't think they need the services associated with them.

While academics and NGOs have examined how well communities have been to create sustainable organization or meet criteria for more resilient organizations, besides Upton's and Bumochir's study, little has been done to examine the cultural context of these herding group, a context that is filled with contradictions. For, instance, as Ole Bruun (2006), describes in his ethnographic study, the Mongolian identify as "free and independent [...] an individualist, self-reliant population" (Bruun, 2006), an identity that is closely associated with herding life and environmental stewardship (Upton, 2010). In a different vein, Undarya Tumursukh, the National Coordinator of the National Network of Mongolian Women's NGOs, describes how Mongolia have faced "historical accumulation of internalized oppression," due to Chinese and Soviet rule, that has led Mongolia to feel dependent upon the state. Instead of uniting to improve civil society or work towards a common good, most Mongolian's give up before they begin to fight (Undarya Tumusukh, 2013). With a deep respect for the environment in contrast to their individualism and apathy towards helping themselves, Mongolians appear to have values that could potentially both enhance and detract from CBNRM. So what role does this Mongolian mentality have upon CBNRM? What other characteristics might this Mongolia way of thought have on CBNRM? Before I begin my journey to understand this mentality, I'll first describe the steps I took to understand these questions.

### *Methods*

Interviews and participant observation were the main methods used for this research project, with background material collected from secondary printed books and articles. A total of 31 officials, development professionals, and herders were formally interviewed.

Before starting my research, I spent three days observing and doing a small research project for Green Gold at their office in Ulaanbaatar. These three days provided me with contacts and an overview of their project and the herding groups in Mongolia.

For the first six days of my research period, I conducted research in Ulaanbaatar, interviewing a total of 11 individuals. I talked with both professionals in community based pasture management programs and pasture management about the resilience of community based pasture management. I also talked with four academics in anthropology and other social sciences about Mongolian mentality. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 1 hour and 15 minutes.

After five days of research in Ulaanbaatar I spent thirteen days in Tariat *soum*, in Arkhangai *aimag*, site of the Green Gold Project's PUG program. Tariat *soum* and Green Gold's project was chosen after the internship with Green Gold. During an interview with the APUG director of Tariat *soum*, welcomed me to his *soum* to do research. While Green Gold had only been active in the area for 2 years, the regional association had appeared to have made great strides in the past couple of years, further suggesting a good location to a successful example of a community based pasture conservation program.

During the two weeks in Tariat *soum*, five days were spent in the *soum* center interviewing local officials and observing the work taking place in the APUG, Tekh Uranmandal. During this period three government officials and the APUG director were interviewed for approximately 30 minutes to one hour, with two providing follow-up interviews. The remainder of the study period was spent taking daily commutes to three different *bags*: Tsagaan Nuur *bag*, Khurgo *bag*, and Boorol Juut *Bag*. Tsagaan Nuur and Khurgo *bag* were chosen because they faced severe pasture degradation and Boorol Juut *bag* provided a nearby opportunity to attend the annual *bag* meeting. In Tsagaan

Nuur *bag*, I attended their *bag* meeting, conducted seven interviews, and spent one day as a participant observer with a herding family. In Khurgo *bag*, I held eight interviews. At both research sites, interviews generally lasted between 30 minutes and one hour. During several of the interviews with herders, husbands and wives would jointly answer the questions while during others questions were answered by one household member. In Boorol Juut, I attended one *bag* meeting and conducted two short interviews with herder after the meeting, last approximately fifteen minute each. Throughout, information was gathered from drivers and other community members through informal interviews and conversations.

During both study periods in Ulaanbaatar and Tariat, interviews were semi-structured. I came in prepared with a list of questions from which some would be asked while others would not, depending on the nature of the information I was gathering. Throughout, questions varied and built upon each other as more information was collected. Most interviews were recorded via a hand held recorder, as well as through hand written notes. In Ulaanbaatar, most interviews were conducted in English, a few in Mongolian through a translator, and one in a combination of Japanese and English. In Tariat, I interviewed all informants through a translator.

This study has several limitations. To fully understand the nuances of Mongolian mentality, the study would greatly benefit from a more in depth examination of relevant literature and more time in the field. Two weeks is not enough time to gather a complete picture of the way a community collectively thinks and acts. Moreover, with only one study site my conclusions on Mongolian mentality may not be representative of Mongolia more broadly. Additionally, more time spent doing participant observation would have greatly enhanced the project, since interviews often don't capture the details of unconscious decisions made by individuals. However, due to misinformation at the beginning of the study period in Tariat, arrangements were made to stay in the *soum* center, rather than spending the majority of the time with herding families. Thus, interviews became the main form of gathering information.

Another limitation was being a foreigner and having to use a translator. With a childhood spent in the in Tariat as well as a college education in the

States, my translator had excellent English skills as well knowledge of the regional, rural terminology, and customs. Nonetheless, through the translations nuances were sometimes lost and the informants likely felt less comfortable divulging information to a foreigner through a translator. Additionally, during observations, my understanding of what people were talking about was filtered through what my translator thought important to tell me, providing for the possibility of missing out on details that I found important that she did not. Additionally in the case of the interview conducted both in English and Japanese, information was lost due to limited English abilities of the informant and my own limited Japanese skills.

In some cases, the use of a voice recorder during interviews further inhibited the data collection. Several individuals, allowed the use of the recording device, but during the interview it became clear that they felt less comfortable talking with the recording device.

Additionally many Mongolians believe that talking about negative things can create bad omens (Dulam, Bumochir). Because of this herders may have been more likely to minimize the importance of negative things when asked to evaluate programs, other herders, and the government. This could also limit the validity of my data.

However, despite the many limitations to this study, I hope that with evidence provided here, I can provide the basis for further research.

### ***Results and Discussion***

#### *Defining Mongolian Mentality: a term of infinite and no characteristics*

Throughout, my research I found defining mentality, specifically Mongolian mentality, highly difficult. From the outset, I discovered more dead ends than answers, for the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, and psychology don't use the term "mentality." I finally discovered a meaning for mentality in the discipline of critical theory. According to a dictionary of critical theory, mentality is defined as "a historical form of collective unconscious [that] explains how a large population of individuals act and think in a similar fashion without direct coercion (Buchanan, 2010)" While in the tradition of critical theory, mentality is often used to explain changes in national mindset before a revolution, for the purpose of this project I focus on Mongolian mentality as both historically unconscious and conscious thoughts and values that affect how the Mongolian people act and think.

The characteristics of Mongolian mentality proved even more elusive than a definition for "mentality." According to Bumochir, an anthropologist from the National University of Mongolia, Mongolian mentality can be translated into Mongolian and is a term that Mongolians would use to describe "traditional knowledge, culture, [anything] recalling the past." However as Bumochir explained, narrowing down mentality into anything more concrete than this open ended definition is not possible:

If we try to list the qualities/contents of what can be Mongolian mentality, that can be endless. [Mongolian mentality] is quite fluid. It is what people define and what people make. People easily come up with one custom and claim that it has been a traditional for hundreds of years. It doesn't matter if it's true or not. What matters is that people are claiming that it is Mongolian. And then it is Mongolian. So this Mongolian mentality: rather than being a concrete definite entirety, it's a procedure that is in constant change—in constant construction, in constant reconstruction.

Thus, Bumochir explains, Mongolian mentality, rather than being something definable, is anything that Mongolian embrace as a Mongolian characteristic. "It's not the academics who name such a thing, but instead the people who construct it." (Bumochir)

Other academics at the National University had similar views on Mongolia mentality. Spending an afternoon soliciting interviews from social

science departments, several linguist professors deferred being interviewed because they believed that because they were either not Mongolian themselves or had foreign spouses they could not define the term. Because of their personal associate or identity as a non-Mongolian, they would not be qualified to define Mongolian mentality. Additionally, while I hoped to gain an array of disciplinary perspectives of Mongolian mentality through an interview with a historian and a political scientist, the first explained that mentality was simply not something that historians study (Oyunjargal Ochir, 2013).

Historian Oyunjargal Ochir further added to the inability to define Mongolian mentality by explaining that it outright did not exist. While commonalities in spiritually, thinking, and lifestyle do exist among Mongolians, a defining Mongolian way of thinking, she explained, did not. Mongolians often share the ability to learn quickly, or have a love for eating meat, but these are just cultural similarities, not a way of thinking. To illustrate this point, Oyunjargal explained that as a researcher she occasionally gets asked to give her perspective as a Mongolian. Taking a “Mongolian perspective,” she deemed simply unprofessional, biasing ones results or understandings of an issue. Ultimately, she concluded that ways of thinking vary from person to person, not from nationality to nationality.

Despite Oyunjargal’s view that Mongolian mentality does not exist, from the interviews I conducted with social scientists, I was able create a list of possibilities for what Mongolia mentality might include. For instance Bumochir listed of 10 to 15 characteristics that Mongolians would frequently consider Mongolian mentality. These traits ranged from respect for ones parents and nature, to avoiding things that could be bad omens to being lazy or thinking creatively. A few of these traits were repeated by the anthropologist Dulam, who explained that the symbolic meaning was highly important to prevent bad omens and that Mongolians have a deep respect for their environment. Coming from the perspective of political science, Batbold Tserendash provided different ideas of Mongolian mentality, highlighting what he considered the most important qualities that influenced political decisions. For instance, he explained that democracy was a very Mongolian characteristic because it built upon the Mongolian traditions of dividing labor equally between family members and the freedom that a nomadic life provides.

Taking Bumochir's suggestion that Mongolian mentality can only be defined by those who experience it, I also talked to several community members in Tariat about their thoughts about what consisted of Mongolian mentality. One of my drivers added the importance of kin and of having a good reputation, as being characteristics of Mongolian mentality. All herders said that it was simply following Mongolian traditions, and few went into further detail about what "traditions" were particularly important to Mongolian mentality.

An additional challenge to finding a definition for mentality arose from the fact that mentality as I had defined it, included conscious as well as unconscious beliefs. Requiring that Mongolian's self identify as having a particular quality as Bumochir suggested, ruled on characteristics that Mongolians themselves may not realized are true of the way that they think. Wanting to retain this aspect of mentality, I attempted to find traits both that the people believed are true of Mongolians as well as common ways of thinking that Mongolians may not on their own attribute as characteristic of their nationality while in field.

To further complicate the definition of Mongolian mentality, Oyunjargal spoke of an attitude that was currently gripping Mongolia. As she explained to me, after a spending several years in Japan, she returned to Mongolia and was aghast at the mean spirited actions and bad things that Mongolians were doing; due to language barriers I did not fully catch her examples, but I assume that she was referring to actions like corruption. Very success oriented, Mongolians are not considering the means for which they reached their ends. Oyunjargal used the students she had in class as an example. She explained that she frequently faced students who would come to class, demanding that they get a certain grade whether or not they put in any effort to deserve the grade. Oyunjargal reiterated, however, that these were not characteristics of Mongolian mentality, rather this success oriented phase that Mongolia was passing through.

#### Creating a Framework of Analysis

Thus, what is Mongolian mentality? And what should I should I use as my framework for analyzing the PUG system? Because I had received such open ended answers, for the remainder of this paper, I will focus on the values

and ways of thinking that seemed to best to illustrate what was happening in my focus area of Tariat. Whether Mongolian mentality through self identification, an unconscious behavior or cultural norm, or a new fad or value that seems to be influencing the people, I have tried to highlight a few select cultural norms and values that have and will continue to influence community based pasture management in this Mongolian community. Beforehand, however, I will give a quick overview of what development officials deemed as the driving mentality, or values and way of thought, behind pasture degradation, group formation and resilience.

### *Characterizations of Herder Mentality*

#### Causes of Land Degradation and Group Formation

Sukhtulga, a private consultant who until recently used to work for Green Gold, and Jigjidusuren, a professor at the Research Instituted for Animal Husbandry, told similar narratives regarding how herder attitudes had caused land degradation. According to Sukhtulga, since the onset of democracy, herders have become lazy, expecting success to be handed to them. Herders used to move twelve times in a year and now they only move once a year, he explained. Jigjidsuren attributed land degradation to selfishness. Herders today, he explained, are losing their traditions and are only thinking about themselves. For instance, herders of the past used to follow their animals, now they are only thinking about themselves and their own convenience. Traditional notions of rotating and migrating are disappearing (Jigjidsuren). Thus, selfishness, laziness and the dream of success had caused livestock numbers to increase.

In combination with laziness, has been patience and calmness, traits that Mongolian's have developed since becoming a Buddhist society. This trait has allowed herders, and Mongolian's more generally to put up with widescale corruption. "Here in Mongolian you sit and wait and do nothing. This is also a problem," Sukhtulga explained. These two traits, Sukhtulga explained, came hand in hand with herder's love of freedom, and expectations in a democratic society. Democracy made herders believe that life is easy, and that they could simply enjoy their freedom, without putting in all the work it takes to be a herder. To explain this point, he provided an example how herders were doing nothing, but expect to eventually live in a flat.

Natural disasters, economic vulnerability, and the realization that herding is challenging has led to the strong interest in herding groups, according to development experts. “Herding is a tremendous amount of work if you really do it properly. Some people do not realize that. But now they understand it more and more” (Sukhtulga, 2013). Key to this realization have been the *dzuds*, or harsh winters, that have decimated livestock numbers. As a result, herders are realizing the benefits of working together and joining herding groups. Now “life is forcing [herders] to be together,” Sukhtulga stated, explaining why nine out of ten herders either have joined or would like to be part of a herding group (Sukhtulga). Like Sukhtulga, Jigjidusuren, has found that the realization that herding is challenging and that pasture lands are severely degraded as prime reasons that herders will decide to join groups. Erdeneochir, the Rural Environment and Protections Officer of the World Bank, had similar views about the reasons for herders joining herding groups. In the past 15 years, due to increased understanding of and experiences with climate change along with financial challenges, herders’ mentality has been changing, and they are realizing the necessity of working together (Erdeneochir).

#### Linking CBNRM Success to Mentality

##### **Characteristics of Successful Herding Groups**

Government Support: *includes formalizing land use rights, incentives to keep livestock numbers low, and building trust between stake holders*

Strong Planning: *includes both community development and pasture use*

Involvement/Trust: *herders must feel trust towards members and have commitment to the group*

Access to Knowledge: *herders must know how to care for pasture and an understanding of funding sources available.*

Strong Leadership: *having leadership skills beyond herding*

Experts had varying views on successful pasture management program. Jigjidsuren Suktulga, Erdeneochir, Enkh-Amagalan and Altunzul explained that government support was necessary. Suktulga focused on the need for the government to provide ownership of lands for herding groups, so the group would feel motivated to invest in the group. Similarly, Enkh-Amagalan argues for the formalization of land use by certain groups, increasing groups’

responsibility as well as protecting their rights from outsiders coming in. Jigjidsuren, however, explained that government incentives to keep livestock numbers low was critical. Erdeneochir, on the other hand, focused on the relationships between the government and the people. “We must build the trust between government and herders,” Erdeneochir explained, “so the problems of the community can be best addressed”. Altunzul, the senior researcher from the consulting agency Nutag Partners, and Jigjidsuren focused on the involvement of the local government, but did not mention the exact capacity which it should function.

Altunzul and Ganbaatar, the National Coordinator of the GEF Small Grants Programme at UNDP, added strong pasture management plans to the list. Altunzul specifically explained that these plans should incorporate both community development—through holding workshops—as well as plans for using the pasturelands.

Sukhtulga also explained that herders have to contribute equally to the project, either through monetary funds, or through skills and labor. Also critical for the ability of these organizations to continue to support themselves are the investments of community members; members “must at least worry about the community and take care of it.” Ekh- Amgalan of the Policy and Research Center agreed that involvement in the community was crucial. However, he explained that, the most important thing was for family ties and preexisting friendships to be the basis of communities because of the high level of trust that these relationship already have. Altunzul added that herder must be highly active in these groups. To do so, they must be well informed of sources of small business funding from the government and know about changes in the market. With this knowledge, herders will be able to fully take advantage of the opportunities available to them (Altunzul). Jigjidsuren added that knowledge of how to care for pasturelands was also critical.

Sukhtulga and Erdeneochir also focused on strong management. Erdeneochir explained that having a herder with a strong understanding of herding combined with good leadership skills was important to the success and sustainability of a herding group program.

The characteristics that these development professionals listed generally fell into the characteristics attributed to strong social institutions.

The importance of government to regulation, relationship building, and incentivizing land use practices helps promote diversity of stakeholders, allowing a community to better “live with change and uncertainty (Fernandez-Gimenez, 2002). Improving leadership, along with trust and involvement of the herders, contribute to the other key point, critical to resilience, the “ability to self organize.” Finally the development professionals’ focus on access to knowledge and strong pasture use plans contributes to the “ability to appreciate various types of knowledge and timely utilization of that knowledge,”(Fernandez-Gimenez, 2002) thus also contributing to the resilience of the knowledge of environmental use. Together these professionals appear to be examining an encompassing look at resilience.

Thus, development officials in Mongolia generally had similar views as those in pre-existing literature regarding community based pasture management in Mongolia. For strong leadership had been mentioned by Batsaikhan et. al, the case studies of herding groups discussed capacity building, building pasture use plans were discussed by Dorligsuren et al., and government support had been a theme throughout.

Additionally, like these reports, these development professionals largely did not tie Mongolian culture, values or thought into the workings of these groups. Even when I pressed them for answers, I got little information about mentality beyond the reasons for pasture degradation and group formation mentioned in the previous section. For instance, Altunzul did not think that mentality or recent developments were at all related to the success of herding groups. Erdeneochir, when asked to discuss the lessons learned for creating successful herding groups, discussed the logistics of running herding organization, like monitoring, opposed to culturally specific changes. When asked about Mongolian culture’s influence on these groups, Ganbaatar stated that it was not relevant.

The only culture and value specific characteristic I received from my interviews<sup>2</sup> were notions of family and kinship, which interestingly was seen both negatively and positively. As mentioned, Ekh-Amgalan generally found these pre-existing social networks critical for the success of herding groups;

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<sup>2</sup> Enkh-Amgalan briefly mentioned the traditions of respect for nature in regard to land use and environmental care, but did not go into much detail.

for utilizing this pre-existing social capital was critical to sustainability, by being the basis for which herding groups could expand. However, Erdeneochir of the World Bank explained what he dubbed as “relative-based management” as something to avoid. Hinting that nepotism could divide the community like Bumochir’s study suggested, he explained that the World Bank’s policy was to work through governmentally divided communities such as *bags*.

Thus, with this contrasting view of the role of kinship, and the development experts’ understanding for motivations for joining groups, I head to Tariat for two weeks, with few leads regarding how the values of Mongolian herders would affect the community based pasture management program.

#### *Overview of Tariat*

Tariat is located in Arkhangai, covering 173,000 square meters of Mongolia’s forest steppe region. Generally characterized by having forest covered mountains, along with valleys and steppe, Tariat is also the site of a beautiful lake and many volcanoes, making it a well known tourist attraction, attracting thousands of tourists each year. The *soum* boasts a growing *soum* center with eight tourist camps nearby. With a population of 5026, 1934 of the 3179 working age population are herders, and despite the large tourist industry, livestock production is considered the most important economic driver (Governor). The *soum* boasts 172 thousand livestock, focusing on sheep, yak, goat, and horse. As the fourth in the nation for yak production, the *soum* has a particularly high number of yak, totally over 30 thousand (Governor).

Since 2000, three of Tariat’s seven *bags* have faced pasture degradation. Because of its location in forest steppe, much of this degradation has been caused by pasture mismanagement and increased herd sizes, as opposed to climate change, which has been a larger factor in other areas of the country (Bulgamaa D, personal communication). Because of this pasture degradation, since 2000, the *bags* Tsagaan Nuul, Terkhi, and Khorgo have been migrating to neighboring *soums* during the winter (*soum* governor). According to Upton, these migrations are practices that took place under socialism, but had been ended with the advent of democracy in Mongolia (Upton, 2010). The herding population has decreased from 5600 thousand to around 5000 since 2006, due to herders moving to Ulaanbaatar in response to

the devastating effects of the *dzud*. However, despite these challenges to herding, most of the population is fairly well off, and poverty levels in the *soum* are low. The economic status of the herders is illustrated by the fact that many of herders are beginning to build permanent homes in the *soum* center (governor).

### *Governance in Tariat*

#### Government Responses to Pasture Degradation

In response to pasture degradation, the *soum* government has implemented and begun several policies. According to the *soum* governor, the government has been making contracts with the neighboring five *soums*, particularly the three surrounding *soums* so herders facing pasture degradation can migrate to these areas. Contracts are usually made based on the number of months herders will be staying, the number of animals Tariat herders will be bringing, and the cost that herders will have to pay to bring their animals. Typical cost for herders range from 100 tugrik for each goat and sheep, 600 tugrik for horse and 500 tugrik per yak/cow. According to the governor, conflicts often arise because herders provide lower figures than the actual number of animals that will be brought to the neighboring *soums*. However, the government is not involved in working out these conflicts, leaving negotiations to be dealt with between the Tariat herders and their hosts.

Ultimately, however, the *soum* government wishes to eliminate the need for migration. Because the migration taxes are high, and neighboring *soums* are also facing degradation, the *soum* wishes to find a system that will allow herders to return to a system of grazing in which herders simply rotated between seasonal camps. In order to reach this goal, the government has a three pronged approach: improving the pasture management schedule, improving the quality opposed to the quantity of animals and growing feed for animals.

To reach its first goal, the government has been working to develop a pasture management plan. This past April, in conjunction with Green Gold, the government held a conference with the Department of Agriculture from Arkhangai, *soum* land managers from neighboring *soums* and PUG directors from each of the *bags*. During the conference, the quality and uses of the different pastures in the *soum* were mapped. From this mapping, a plan was

created regarding the location of seasonal camps along with which herders and what length of time these camps would be used (governor). Currently however, the implementation of this plan is being put on hold as the government prepares for its anniversary celebration. It is scheduled to be discussed with herders this coming June by the land manager and Green Gold (APUG Director).

To reach the second goal and third goal, few strides have been made. To increase animal quality, the government has been encouraging herders to bring in better breeds of males to increase the quality of offspring at *bag* meetings. However, individual work has not been carried out. The *soum* government has not yet initiated any feed growing projects, but herders have been discussing the possibility at *bag* meetings. If they apply for funding from the *soum* government, the government will fund the project (governor).

#### Government Priorities

These pasture management projects have been initiated by a government that is working to develop the *soum* in a variety of ways. From observations at *bag* meetings and discussions with the Environmental Inspector, community development, especially regarding the environmental stewardship, is a top priority. At both the Tsagaan Nuur *bag* meeting and the Boorol Juut *bag* meeting, the *soum* director pushed herders to take advantage of a new *bag* development fund, which would allow herders access to as much as 1 million tugrik to develop an innovative project, like the hay growing idea mentioned earlier. Additionally, according to the Environmental Inspector, this year is the year of the collective in the Arkhangai. As a result, he is encouraging *bags* to start different types of collectives to create a sustainable plan of use. For instance, at the Tsagaan Nuur *bag* meeting, he affirmed the ideas the *bag* members were tossing out regarding the formation of a forest collective. In the past year, two new collectives have been created; one to monitor forest use and the other to prevent poaching of the Tuul fish.

In addition to supporting bottom up action and community based conservation, the *soum* government also largely focused on funding and finances. At both *bag* meetings, a large portion of the meeting went to discussing fundraising, grants, retirement funds, and loan projects. Whether asking the people to fund the yak statue for the *soum*'s anniversary celebration,

urging herders to take part in a new nationally sponsored retirement program or *bag* development fund, or advertizing the new loan program by the local bank, finances took up much of the discussion at *bag* meetings.

### Herder Relations to Government

Views regarding the role of government varied between households. Several older herders suggested that governments need to do a much better job of regulating pasture use. Others believed that because livestock was private property, the government could not be involved. One older herder, Herder 14, suggested that the government was the source of all the problems faced by herders, from the importation of low quality Chinese motorcycles ruining pasture lands and herding practices, to the lack of regulation of pasturelands. Others had a more favorable and neutral or positive opinion. One herder explained that the newly elected officials seemed like they were willing to work on pasture issues, which appeared to be positive development. Two herders suggested that the government couldn't do anything to better manage pasturelands because herds were private property.

Herders' respect for and participation in the government varied between individuals and *bags*. In Boorol Juut, the *bag* meeting was held in a *ger*, and government officials were shown clear respect, taking the north side of the *ger* and being offered a bowl of tea and a meal, a traditional sign of respect in nomadic tradition. Additionally, my driver, as a previous government official, was often given similar treatment at the houses he took us to visit.

Compared to the respect shown at the Boorol Juut meeting, herders in the Tsagaan Nuur meeting were much more rowdy. Despite *bag* meeting rules that drunk individuals were not allowed, several drunken individuals disrupted the meeting, yelling and complaining about this or that action that the government had taken. Throughout the first couple of hours I attended this meeting, several individuals were escorted out of the meeting for being disruptive.

To be held, *bag* meetings must have 25 percent of the *bag* present. According to the *soum* governor, attendance usually hovered around 30 to 40 percent, suggesting that attendance was either not feasible or not prioritized by

many. Through informal conversations, I learned that herders often look at the schedule then decide to leave if the issues addressed are not of interest to them.

*Green Gold in Tariat*

“We will be a bunch of homeless people in the middle of the dust from mining,” if nothing is done to protect the environment, the APUG Director explained to me on a car ride to a *bag* meeting. A passionate visionary, the APUG Director, a Tariat native, had returned to start the Green Gold project. After traveling the nation and the surrounding countries working for a gold mining company, he had wanted to return to Tariat because it was more beautiful than any of the many places he’d visited. Talked of by the town as a good speaker and businessman, the APUG Director had returned to Tariat both to save this environment he found so precious through starting a PUG system in the *soum* and run a for profit hotel and tourist camp.

Started on March 7, 2010, the Green Gold project in Tariat operates under the APUG, Tekh Uranmandal. From the surrounding seven *bags*, 13 PUGs were created from plans that the APUG director, the environmental inspector, the land inspector and another government official made at *bag* meetings (Batkhuu). According to the APUG director, the herders decided upon the geographic regions for the groups and elected a leader for the group (APUG Director). Today, despite the fact that the Swiss Development Agency and Cooperation has stopped funding the PUG, Tekh Uranmandal has an operation office in the *soum* center. Here, PUG records are stored, group activities and maps of PUG boundaries are displayed, and herders can come ask questions and apply for a loan. The APUG is housed in a private hotel run by the director (APUG Director 2013), but is not associated with the hotel in any other way, unlike a brochure produced by Green Gold states (SDC 2012).

Since the PUG system began, Tariat herders have participated in a variety of community building projects, educational events, financial projects, and land management programs. According to a PowerPoint provided by the APUG Director, the APUG has coordinated fall and summer rotation of pastures with three groups, held two seminars Arkhangai, and the neighboring *aimag*, and tried to carry out several vegetable and feed growing projects. Additionally the group has participated in a yak wool exhibition, taking first prize. While the vegetable and feed growing programs have not been very

successful due to the climate of the region, Tekh Uranmandal has developed a strong bonus program for the selling of cashmere and yak wool, along with a loan program (Jambaldorj, n.d.).

Before the Green Gold project was implemented in Tariat, cashmere was typically sold through dealers or middlemen. These middlemen would pay very low prices for the product, then sell them for a much higher cost. The Green Gold Project has allowed herders to bypass these middlemen. Green Gold has worked out a system in which they sell the cashmere and yak wool produced by the herders to the government. The government has a policy for providing high bonuses. For instance, if a herder sells yak wool directly to a company through a dealership, he will only receive 500 tugrik per kilogram of wool. But through this program, herders can receive a substantial bonus of an additional 2000 tugrik per kilogram. To facilitate this program PUG directors are in charge of collecting the wool and cashmere from the herders or herders can come directly to the small convenience store at the APUG director's hotel and sell the cashmere directly to the main office (APUG Director).

Some challenges have gone into implementing this program. As I learned as government officials reminded herders to only work with authorized PUGs during the Tsagaan Nuur *bag* meeting, many herders had continued to mistake other dealers as individuals selling to the government. Additionally the program had faced challenges created by herders collecting wet, as opposed to dry cashmere, and making other herders' cashmere wet as well. Because the factory does not accept wet wool, large amounts of the cashmere during the last season were not sellable. Overall, however, the program met with widespread success; the latest data provided by the PowerPoint states the since 2012, 274 households had sold 43 tons of cashmere to the Erdenet Carpet Company through the bonus program.

The other major program the PUG system operates is the Common Fund, a revolving fund that was originally half funded by the Swiss Development Agency and half from members of the PUGs. As a membership fee, all members were required to donate 50,000 tugrik to the fund. This fund has been used as a loan program for the members of the group. With the low interest rate of 2 percent and low requirement for number of animals, the loan is much easier to get than loans from the local bank. This service has been

used by 400-600 households and is most frequently taken out by herders during the months of February and March for New Years, student transportation fees to and from Ulaanbaatar, health care, the expenses for migrating to a different *soum*, and the tuition of children. According to the APUG director, both this loan program and the cashmere/wool selling program were developed at the request of herders.

In terms of pasture management, the main accomplishment of the APUG has been the hosting of the April pasture management planning conference, with the government. Tekh Uranmandal was responsible for inviting the 22 land managers from various *soums* and Tsesterleg, the *aimag* center and the PUG directors from all the *soums*. The event exceeded the APUG director's expectations, and the hope is to make this conference a model for other *soums* and *aimags* (APUG Director 2013). According to the Research Component Director of Green Gold in the Ulaanbaatar office, this process of creating the land management plan evolved from a similar smaller scale event that took place last year (Bulgama D, personal communication).

While the planning process seemed successful, the implementation of the plan appeared less so. According to the APUG director, only the PUGs farther away from the *soum* center had been following previous plans for land use and rotation created by the PUG directors. These *soums* do not face pasture degradation, and thus their residents do not need to migrate. However, the nearby three *soums* that face severe pasture degradation, including the main study sites of Tsagaan Nuur *bag* and Khurgo *bag*, have been less successful in carrying out these pasture use plans, and have only been following the designations made regarding summer camps (APUG Director 2013).

Overall, APUG Director explained the herding groups close to the *soum* center had been least involved in PUGs and thus they had been least successful. For instance, regarding the bonus programs, participation had been higher from herders who lived near the *soum*, because the *soum* center was on the main road, and middle men frequently came from Ulaanbaatar. Along with fewer resources farther from the *soum* centers, farther *bags* also had fewer activities and meetings, so attendance at PUG meetings is generally higher. In contrast other groups closer to the *soum* don't even know who their director is

(APUG Director). Because I was not informed that the levels of participation varied based on distance from the *soum* center until the day before my study was complete, I was unable to study these areas to confirm the APUG director's assertions.

#### Observations of Tekh Uranmandal

During my first two days in Tariat, I spent the night in the APUG Director's hotel and got a chance to observe what was happening at the office. The office appeared quite busy with herders coming in frequently throughout the morning to talk to the APUG director. Within twenty minutes of being in the office, three herders arrived; one asked for a loan, and another asked about the bonus program. I did not catch the purpose of the last herder. Additionally, my first afternoon, a group of herders came in to sell their wool at the APUG Director's store. The bustling office, along with professional looking wall posters of the APUGs in the office, made the NGO appear as if it was accomplishing much. As my translator summed up from our visit to the office, "I can smell development and change. It's good."

Additionally, the APUG Director appeared to be well respected by the community. Known as a good speaker and talker, he casually talked to the herders stopping by to sell their cashmere, updating them on the possibilities for the program. During an interview with a PUG director that the APUG director attended the atmosphere was also quite friendly, and all of us were offered *buun*, a buttery substance that in the region is a traditional show of respect to well liked guests. Compared to interviews that we conducted without his assistance, this was an increased show of respect.

#### Working with Tekh Uranmandal

Despite signs of success regarding working with the community, my experiences working with the organization suggest that it was not always as effective at enacting change. During my second week in Tariat, the APUG Director nearly stopped answering phone calls my translator made on my behalf. From the four to five calls she would make each day, he would answer once, twice if lucky. Additionally, we set up two appointments with him, but after an hour of waiting, he never showed up. Finally, on the third try, we were able to get the follow up interview that he promised. However, while he

promised to give a copy of some data regarding enrollment in the program the following day before I left the *soum*, he never did so.

Throughout my stay, times and plans continually changed at the spur of the moment. Rides that were scheduled for nine am wouldn't begin to leave until 11. Even though he made plans several days in advance, the APUG director would frequently change them just an hour or two before they were scheduled to take place. By the latter half of the stay, my translator and I were conducting most of our field work through the assistance of my translator's cousin, because of the lack of timeliness and unreliability of the APUG director. I assume we were not the only ones who faced similar confusion with working with the organization. While living in the hotel, herders would barge into our hotel room, looking for the director. Without defined hours of operation, no one knew exactly when he would show up or where he would be.

Moreover, as the one arranging my trip and research sites, the APUG director did not provide me with information that would be highly valuable to conducting successful research in the area. While he understood that I was examining how the Green Gold Project was working towards managing the pastures, he did not inform me about the pasture management planning he had facilitated or the fact that groups farther from the *soum* center had more effectively been carrying out these plans until the day before I was scheduled to leave, thus making it difficult for me to research these areas.

From working with Tekh Uranmandal, what struck me most was not the lack of professionalism towards us, but rather the role sense of time played into our relations. As the Peace Corps volunteer laughingly told me, the APUG director was running on "*Mongol tsak*" or Mongolian time. During Peace Corps training, a relaxed sense of time was something that he'd been warned about. While I'd experienced this notion of time some in Ulaanbaatar, it was much more prevalent during my stay with this community. For instance, I attended a *bag* meeting that started at 2 pm instead of 9 am and later visiting a herder's *ger*, although we'd finished all our business and were ready to move on, we stayed awhile to accept a bowl of noodles.

#### Herders' Perceptions of the PUG system

Herders had positive reviews of the programs as well as critiques. Enrollment in the program was high. Of the seventeen herders asked if they

were part of the program fifteen held membership to Green Gold, having contributed to the fifty thousand tugrik to the Common Fund. Of the fifteen members, two had assumed leadership positions as PUG directors. Of the thirteen regular members, 12 had taken part in the bonus program but only two had taken out a loan from the Common Fund. According to the PUG director from Khorgo *bag*, eighty of the ninety households in his territory were members and in Tsagaan Nuur *bag*, ninety-eight percent of the households were involved (PUG Director 1, PUG Director 2).

Herder 5 from Khorgo *bag* was highly satisfied with the program. She appreciated the high prices provided by the bonus program and had taken out a loan as well. Similarly, the semi retired herder 9 was highly complementary. “It’s a very useful organization that came at the right time.” However, he found that the NGO format of the organization was hampering its effectiveness. Leaders had to be paid so work could get done more quickly (Herder 9). Herder 1, the one non-PUG leader interviewed from the Boorol juut *bag*, was highly impressed. Having only joined the previous year, he explained how the program had spread by word of mouth, with herders only having good things to say about it. The bonus program he found especially beneficial because it was good for both the country and the herders, with the herders receiving higher pay and the government getting a lower price (Herder 1). Several other herders also had positive views of this program, remarking on how much more organized it was than before.

Negative views also existed. Herder 11 (a husband wife team) complained that the PUG system had done little to improve the life of herders and should be doing more, especially regarding pasture management. “Three years is not a short time. Green Gold should be doing something at this point.” These herders associated the hotel with the NGO Tekh Uranmandal, and accused the operation for of not being transparent: “They have a big hotel and store, but where does all the money go?” Additionally, they explain that the interest being collected from the Common Fund should be going to provide discounted hay or create a factory (Herder 11).

### Herder Participation in Green Gold Activities

Knowledge about the group and further participation beyond use of the loan program and the bonus program was minimal. None of the informants mentioned any other activities or involvement in decision making, except for two herders. Herder 2, the daughter of a PUG director, mentioned that the organization had hosted guests from Ulaanbaatar and had performed trainings on pasture rotation—that she had not attended. Herder 5 mentioned what appeared to be a similar event, the APUG director coming the previous summer to talk about rotating animals. One herder was asked the name of her group, which was displayed nicely in the APUG office, but did not know what it was. Another, Herder 6, asked about who participated, vaguely answered that she “kind of knew the members.”

I talked with two herders about decision making in the group. Herder 1, who had only been in the group for a year, explained that nothing had required that the group meet. Herder 6 wished that the group had created a pasture management plan. However, when asked whether if she proposed her wish it would get implement, she answered, “I guess I could tell him,” appearing to have little interest or faith in changing the work of the organization. The other herder said the group did not have any meetings.

Despite this lack of information and communication as a group, most herders explained that communication had been good within the group. Herders tended to agree that PUG directors did a good job of checking in on the group with herders. Herder 5 explained that the director came by “once in a while” while Herder 9 suggested that his PUG director was not as involved as he could be, but attributed this to the fact that the director was not paid.

### Comparison to Literature on Herding Groups

The PUG system in Tariat had some similarities to those described in the literature on herding groups. Like the Ikhtamir PUG program and the UNDP program, loans were a part of the program. Additionally, like Batsaikhan Usukh et al argue for, this PUG system is getting reinforcement from the local government. Additionally because Green Gold has been bringing together PUG leaders and government officials to make pasture use plans, this case study also appears trying to incorporate traditional grazing

patterns into herding plans similar to Dorligsuren et al recommendation to use traditional grazing patterns to determine group boundaries.

The literature on herding groups and actual workings of the Tariat herding group program contrasted in several ways. While the case study on Ikhtamir had mentioned the importance of group meetings as a place to develop community capacity (Dorligsuren et al 2010), this program did not seem to utilize this technique. Additionally, while in the Ikhtamir example revolving funds were used to increase trust and build the capacity of herders, they did not appear successful in reaching these goals in Tariat. Additionally, while Dorligsuren et al. cites small loan money as being used to further develop community relations, in this case loans were only used for personal projects. While Upton explains that nonmembers were often hostile to herding groups, from my interviews this did not appear to be a large problem faced, with members having negative views and nonmembers considering joining. Additionally, unlike Bumochir's study familial relations did not appear to be influencing how this PUG system worked.

#### *Community Relations*

In Tariat, everyone knew everyone. As the Environmental Inspector mentioned, this was great for passing around information; everyone could learn that a *bag* meeting was happening via work of mouth. I found out how true this was from living in the *soum* center. Dropping by a feast at a *ger* outside of the center for the night until 2 am, already when I woke up the following morning, my translator's relative had heard about where we had been. While news likely did not travel so fast amongst the herders living outside of the *soum* center, the lines of communication nonetheless seemed fast. My translator's cousin had had an accident the week before we arrived. As we were doing interviews with herders, it quickly became clear that news spread fast, for many of our interviewees asked about his health even in areas over an hour drive away from where my translator's cousin lived. My stay at a herding family's *ger*, or Mongolian yurt reinforced this notion that communication networks were fast in the countryside. Within the 24 hour period that we visited, four different guests dropped by to visit. As my host explained, that while seasonal variations existed regarding the number of

guests stopping by, the practice was quite frequent, and many days during the week several people would stop by to visit.

However, despite the fact that everyone knew everyone, cooperation was not strong between the people. A few herders lived in *hot ails*, but many also herded alone. One family who herded by themselves explained, they would hire extra help to herd part of their herd or assist with seasonal chores. For instance, my host negotiated with a friend to have them herd their sheep and goats, and during the summer, often hired on an extra hand to help with the milking of the yaks. Those who had family nearby often relied on them for help. One retired herder explained that his family herded for him from fall until spring, while a young herder told me she had set up a system with her husband's sister where they herded her yaks in exchange for her taking care of their goats and sheep (Herder 13). Thus while some cooperation existed between family members, outside familial relations most cooperation was a business transaction.

Despite this minimal cooperation, many herders liked the idea of increasing cooperation and coordination among herders. All eight herders asked about joining a group or collective said they were interested.<sup>3</sup> However, the nature of the activities the group would perform varied. Two herders specifically mentioned that they would like to be part of an organization that processed and sold dairy products (Herders 12, 13). Four herders were interested in groups similar to the collectives of the socialist era in which different individuals were in charge of taking care of different animals. Many herders also had hopes for increased actions of Green Gold. Opinions varied greatly on what this action should be, ranging from selling hay to processing dairy to three herders hoping that more would be done regarding pasture management (Herder 12, 2, 6).

### Kinship Ties

Like Bumochir and Enkh-Amgalan suggested, kinship was influential in Tariat. Two households were seriously considering starting some sort of collective or cooperative. Herder 12 wanted to form a collective with his

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<sup>3</sup> Herders seemed to interchangeably use the words “bulik” meaning group, “nukhurlul” meaning support group, and “hushoo” literally meaning groups that coordinated land rotation in pre-revolutionary Mongolia, and “negdel” meaning the state run collectives of the socialist era. Thus distinguishing characteristics between these groups proved difficult.

relatives. He already lived with a *hot ail*, but wished for more formal cooperation between relatives, to divide up chores and tasks. Herder 10 explained that because she did not have any relatives herding in the area, she had been talking to her husband's relatives about starting a dairy cooperative. She had not considered starting a cooperative with friends or strangers, because they would not be trustworthy (Herder 10).

Planning logistics also emphasized the importance of kin that seemed to be prevalent amongst herders. When the plans fell through, the APUG director was planning to give us a chance to spend the night with a herding family, and planned to have us stay with his kin. Similarly my translator always felt instinctively better about working with her relatives as opposed to others in the town. Before leaving for Tariat, she preferred making arrangements to stay with relatives, as opposed to the individuals associated with the Green Gold. During our first day visiting herding families, when she found out that our driver was the husband of another of her relatives, she felt more at ease. Similarly, when the APUG stopped responding to help coordinating research, my translator's relatives continued to help us make plans.

#### Attitudes Toward Foreigners

Community members' attitudes towards outsiders varied. Several tourists I met mentioned being asked for ridiculously high prices for a ride. For instance, one set of tourists were offered a ride for 189,000 tugrik that I received from my translators' relatives for 15,000 tugrik. Additionally, town members had critical views of the Peace Corps volunteer at school, believing he was only coming here because this experience would grant him a prestigious position in the States, rather than the traditional view of Peace Corps volunteers as volunteering in the hope to give back to the community. Visiting herders, I found that alone herders were generally willing to provide interviews even when approached by just myself and my translator. However, when we were accompanied by my translator's cousin or the APUG director, we were shown more respect, being provided with additional food, and in one case alcohol.

*Attitudes Towards Herding*

Alongside the positive views of cooperatives and collectives, herders also voiced a strong love of individualism. Of the nine herders asked about the best part of being a herder, four listed freedom as being the best, or one of the best part of herding. Whether simply freedom in general, freedom from economic stress, or the ability to “be their own boss,” herders appeared to have a strong sense of individualism, just as Sukhtulga and Bruun had described as characteristic of herder mentality. The ability to always have fresh organic food was equally referred to as being the best part of the occupation. The other aspects of herding: being outside, living a healthy lifestyle and getting to see the new life born during the spring were only mentioned once or twice, often alongside one of the previous characteristics.

Herders generally viewed other herders positively. Of the seven households interviewed six herding households believed that herders today were better than herders during socialism because herders owned their own animals and thus were more invested in their welfare. Continuing on this vein, four herders explained that a strong work ethic was needed, and herders needed to be fully involved. Two herders also mentioned respect and knowledge of animals as also critical to being a successful herder. The last herder of the seven households claimed that he did not know whether other herders were doing a good job or not. Thus, herders tended not to see other herders as being lazy, unlike Sukhtulga characterization of them.

Herders valued both the quality and quantity of their animals, but seemed more invested in the quantity. All herders asked if they were working to improve the quality of their animals answered affirmatively. Most had been bringing in higher quality males to improve the quality of offspring. None, however, had seen much of the benefit of this practice, because the animals were still too young to sell their wool. Herders mentioned having big herds as important. As one retired herder explained, big herds lead to a “flourishing life” (Herder 9). The household where I spent the night, would like candles in hopes to have big herds (Herder 12). When I asked my drivers about the reputation of herders we would visit, a large herd size was always associated with good herding. As Herder 12 explained, having a large herd took a lot of work and was also an indicator of the quality of herd. Large herds had to be of

good health or quality, or the animals would not survive long enough to increase the size of the herd.

### *Herder Reactions to Pasture Degradation*

Besides one young herder who had only been herding for five years, all herders in Tsagaan Nuur and Khurgo *bags* noticed changes in the pasture quality, which had affected herding practices. Of the herders who had experienced pasture degradation and asked about changes in herding practices, only one said that he had not altered his herding practices to cope with degradation. Rotating pasture more frequently, changes in distance of migrations, or beginning migrations were frequently cited changes in herding practice. In terms of migrating, instead of staying in Tariat for all four seasons, herders frequently explained that they had been forced to move to neighboring *soums* or *aimags* to find enough to feed their animals during the winter.

This migration has caused an array of social and financial challenges. Of the seven eight herders asked about changes in social relations, five stated that conflicts had taken place between herders migrating and the host communities. One herder showed me the evacuation notification he'd gotten from the host community he'd been staying in. The two others explained that as long as one communicated clearly all would be fine. Some herder attributed these conflicts to the government not making contracts with the *soums* in to which herders desired to move. Others explained that even though the government worked out contracts, they would be forced to negotiate with the local people, paying to stay on their land.

Thus, financial challenges were also a large part of the problems faced by herders migrating. Herders complained about having to pay not only for each animal as designated by the government, but also having to pay their hosts. For instance, Herder 12 explained that even though they had made friends with their host community and had been invited back, they had to pay all winter costs for the family of herders they joined in return for getting a chance to use their pasture. In addition to these costs, herders also explained how the process of transporting was costly. Of the three herders asked what the biggest challenge of migrating was, all explained that economic challenges were the greatest, with two also citing access to health care as secondarily large challenges.

While herders faced similar experiences with coping with pasture degradation, their understandings of its causes and its solutions differed largely. Of the nine informants asked about the causes of pasture degradation, five cited climate change or climate factors, or cited climate change and other man made factors. Five herders also suggested that the cause of pasture degradation was the fault of the herders, most pointing to too many animals, as opposed to improper rotating and pasture management as the cause.

Four herders also discussed the connections between pasture degradation and the Mongolian tradition of showing respect for the environment. As one herder explained to me, traditions regarding environmental respect were strong here, with events like annual *ovoo* (a Mongolia stupa) celebrations (Herder 12). Other practices like keeping water pure also permeated daily life. One elderly, semi-retired herder explained that the degradation was caused by the selfishness of herders, who, with the advent of democracy and a free market, had stopped respecting the pasture lands (Herder 7). However, the other three didn't see the pasture degradation as manifesting from a lack of respect to the environment. One herder wife and husband team explained that respecting the environment wasn't related to grazing too many animals. The costs of living had been increasing, so increasing herd sizes has simply been to help cope with costs (Herder 11). The last husband-wife team only connected lack of respect for the environment with the cutting of the trees, thus not blaming herding practices as in any way related to disrespecting the environment (Herders 13).

Thus, while respect towards the environment was important to the herders, it did not seem to be closely related to pasture use. For except for Herder 7, herders asked about this issue did not associate degradation with lack of respect for the environment. The fact that herders attributed pasture degradation to other factors besides herd sizes and mismanagement may have contributed to the lack of correlation between herders' action and respect and the state of the pasturelands.

#### *Social Implications of Pasture Degradation*

Herders frequently cited conflicts arising due to pasture degradation. Of the 8 herders asked about the social implications of pasture degradation 5 cited conflicts or fights arising when migrating to other *soums* and *aimags*.

Two other herders explained that as long as herders communicate clearly, no conflicts would arise, while one herder said that pasture degradation had not induced any changes in social relations. During casual conversations with herder12 (a husband and wife team), the wife explained that conflicts over land frequently arose in Tariat as herders used each others' traditional seasonal pastures (Herders 12).

Quality of grass and herd sizes also impeded cooperation amongst herders. Two herding families explained that previously they had migrated with other families, but due to the large herd sizes and quality of grass, households now migrated alone (Herders 5, 11). Similarly, Herder 12 explained that herds were too large to migrate together.

Pre-existing social ties as well as newly developed social networks also helped herders cope with the implications of pasture degradation. Herder 5 explained that they would migrate to where relatives lived. Herders 12 had recently stopped migrating to Undur Ulaan, over the past few years, a practice that they had restarted in 2000. In Undur Ulaan, theft had become a problem and host herders had been hostile to migrants. Because of these problems they had started migrating to Khangai a closer *soum* only 10 kilometers away. In addition to the benefits of these winter camps being closer, Herders 12 had made friends in Khangai, who had welcomed them back again.

*Is this PUG system a resilient community based pasture management program?*

The activities of the Green Gold Project have made progress towards the key characteristics development officials and policy workers claim to be crucial to success of herding group projects. While the plan has not been implemented and cannot be evaluated yet the process of creating a pasture use plan, made from the combined efforts of PUG directors, *soum* government officials, and neighboring *aimag* and *soum* officials suggests the Green Gold Project has been successful at involving diverse stakeholders in the planning process. According to the design principle of resilience, this diversity will help build Tariat's ability to cope with change. Other signs also suggest that the government's relationship to the people is progressing. The respect herders have towards government officials and the active participation of members at *bag* meetings suggest that herders are involved in helping to

strengthen relations. Government officials are also making efforts to strengthen this bond, through seasonal or monthly visits by *bag* directors to households, the new development of increased funding available for herders to start projects or businesses in their *bags*, and the support for the starting of collectives to monitor resources. Additionally, the government's favorable impression of the activities and suggestions of future support also reinforces this notion of collaboration.

However, clearly still progress can be made in terms of collaboration between herders and government officials. The disruptiveness of drunk herders, along with the complaints herders had about the government's role in regulating migrations in pasture lands, suggest tension and conflicts are still prevalent between the people and the government. While tension and disagreement are simply part of politics, to increase resilience, further work towards creating more positive relationships is possible. Additionally, the newness of the pasture use plan also limits the ability to analyze the effectiveness of this ability to work together.

Leadership in the Green Gold program also shows progress. From interviews, both PUG directors appeared invested in their work, and the one leader in Boorol Juut *bag* was also clearly invested and interested in improving his community. Additionally, none of the herders had any negative comments about the leaders in Green Gold. The APUG's director's friendly relations with the herders is also a positive sign of strong leadership.

However, the treatment that I received from the director of the APUG also suggests that the strength of the leadership is limited, with more work being done in words than in actions. By not telling us about changes in plans and frequently ignoring our phone calls and missing meetings, the APUG director lacked professionalism, a key characteristic for strong management, in his work. Moreover, not telling me that PUGs farther from the *soum* center were more effective again questions the professionalism and the validity of his statements regarding its success. These instances suggest that the leader's abilities are lacking and thus the organization's ability to build capacity amongst its members.

The Green Gold's weakest aspect was its lack of capacity building amongst its members. Because most members were only utilizing the bonus

program, the members seemed to have no group identity, and thus no strong commitment to the group. While investing in the Common Fund does suggest a certain trust and commitment to the PUG like Dorligisuren suggests, this monetary contribution has not mobilized its members. The fact that the members did not appear to know about or have meetings furthered their lack of cooperation and ability to work together.

The social environment of Tariat suggests that more progress towards building trust and commitment perhaps should have been made. Not only do the people who live in Tariat all know one another and frequently communicate with one another, but many seem eager to further strengthen cooperation through some sort of grouping. Why then has the Green Gold Project not been more successful at mobilizing people?

A few straightforward logistical problems may be at fault in addition to the weakness of leadership in the APUG and the minimal tensions between the people and the government. First in and foremost, the length of time that Green Gold has been acting in Tariat may be a cause. As the fact that Tariat has just developed the pasture use plan this past April suggests, further time to carry out plans and build capacity may be needed. Additionally, as Herder 9 mentioned, the lack of funding for the leaders may also contribute to the lack of progress. Or, as the APUG Director suggested, the fact that I studied *bags* near the *soum*, where other resources and opportunities distracted herders, may also contribute to the lack of mobilization. Moreover, the herder households interviewed had a diversity of views regarding what direction herding groups should go, ranging from more business oriented to environmental management to a division of the labor. This diversity of ideas may have also contributed to the lack of focused action on further pursuing any of them.

However, in addition to these logistical challenges to further action, the values and thought processes of the people of Tariat likely also contribute to the challenges of mobilizing to create a strong community based pasture system.

*How do Mongolian values and ways of thinking influence the PUG system in Tariat?*

Money and Success

The culture of valuing success that Oyunjargal describes along with living in a new market economy likely contribute to preventing herders from further collaboration. For Mongolians' success orientation appears to have influenced traditional notions of the importance of livestock. For the herders of Tariat clearly valued large herd sizes, praying for them and describing them as the origin of a "flourishing life" (Herder 9). Some of these attitudes towards large herds likely come from the traditional belief that good herders respect and understand their animals. However, herders also clearly associated animals as having monetary value; as two herders pointed out, one of the best parts of herding is financial security (Herder 5, Herder 11).

Development professionals' analysis of herders was reinforced by herders and the Tariat community showed an interest in money and the success associated with it. Sukhtulga's story of herders believing that by doing little work a democracy and a free market would allow them to get a flat is particularly illustrative of the power of success and money (Sukhtulga). While herders often had more practical views toward money, needing to pay for migration costs or children's tuition, taking attitudes and actions towards foreigners as an example, wealth was highly valued. The value placed on large herd sizes likely makes herders less likely to work together. The fact that herders reported that herd sizes are too large to migrate together and placed financial challenges over social challenges illustrates that larger herds and money are more important than the social assistance and companionship from migrating together.

Green Gold appears to be trying to capitalize on this want for financial stability and wealth through the economic focus of the programming in Tariat. Theoretically and in the case studies by Dorligsuren et al. and Bathishig et al., having herders contribute to the Common Fund could build a stronger sense of trust and thus cooperation. However, the ineffectiveness of this technique may be due to the fact that herders already have a strong sense of trust with others, specifically with their kin, in the community.

#### Kinship Ties

As many have emphasized and my experiences working with my translator and relatives have illustrated, Mongolians clearly place more trust on in relatives, and have less trust in those unrelated to them. Taking a

territorial based approach to grouping herders, Green Gold does not try to utilize the trust that herders have for their family members. These pre-existing networks of trust, as long held aspect of Mongolian mentality, may be hard to rearrange through economic activities like contributions to the Common Fund.

However, this existing social capital or trust can likely lead to increased cooperation in the future. As Ekh-Amgalan has explained, utilizing kinship networks is often an effective way to start to organize herders. After all these social networks can be expanded. As Herder 12 explained, through a friendship in a neighboring community, they had secured a winter camp. Thus, by focusing smaller projects based on kin like the case study of Inkhtamir, greater cooperation may start, thus building the social resilience of a community. This may in the future cause nepotism as Bumochir's findings point out, so use of family ties clearly needs to be monitored closely.

#### Individualism and Apathy

Traditional Mongolian mentality of individualism in a culture of apathy may further prevent herders from more actively pursuing solutions to pasture degradation and collective action. With many herders valuing the freedom as the best part of a herding lifestyle, the apathy that Undarya speaks of likely is also present. Because herders spend much time alone, and value the freedom they have, herders like Herder 4, may not feel like it's their right to speak out and act on ideas they have on changing and improving groups like Green Gold and the pasture degradation they face. Others, specifically the older generation of herders similarly believed that state should solve herders' problems, rather than herders themselves being the ones to work together to reach conclusions. Although herders' involvement in the government does suggest that they are willing be involved in public affairs, the combination of these characteristics may be a barrier to organizing on their own. Finding ways to overcome lack of empowerment and utilizing this love of individualism to facilitate community action will likely be critical to future success.

#### Relaxed Sense of Time

From my experiences with the APUG Director and the *bag* meetings along with my discussion with the Peace Corps volunteer, a relaxed sense of time appeared to be another characteristic of Mongolian way of thinking that

contributed to the building of social institutions. While the ability to work under such varying time frames may be an adaptive quality, helping Mongolians cope with stress, in this case it led to an overall slower way of making decisions, and overall less organization.

#### Respect for the Environment

Herders and Mongolians more generally have strong sets of belief that the environment should be respected, with nearly all interviewees asked about this belief answering affirmatively. At the outset of this research, deep appreciation and respect appeared a potential rallying point for working towards sustainable pasture management. However, except for one elderly herder, herders asked about respecting the environment and managing pasture did not relate respecting the environment with herding practices. Perhaps this was due to the varying understandings of the causes of pasture degradation, and the many beliefs that climate factors, not herding practices, were responsible for land degradation. Thus, currently respect for the environment did not appear to be a rationale for getting involved or a potential motivation for more resilient social institutions in the future.

### *Conclusions*

So, what is Mongolian mentality and how does it influence the resilience of community based pasture management? From the beginning, this proved to be a difficult and perhaps unanswerable question. With definitions, ranging from Mongolian mentality does not exist to Mongolian mentality is everything, using Mongolian mentality as a framework for analysis proved to be quite challenging for a three week study. Moreover, examining the intersection between the thought and values of people and the effectiveness of the theoretical effects of CBNRM proved to be a relatively little studied area and one little thought about by development professionals. Further complications to understanding the effects of the values and thoughts of Mongolians arose from the lack of progress that the PUG system study had made.

Nonetheless, examining the potential reasons for the lack of resilience building activities the PUG system in Tariat did lead to uncovering influences of Mongolian thought and values regarding mobilizing to conserve pasturelands. Specifically, the twin priorities of money and success may be preventing herders from valuing mobilizing or protecting natural resources. Additionally, while respect for the environment is clearly important to Mongolians, because Mongolians tend not to connect this respect to caring for the environment, this value does not compensate for or help to reduce the importance of money and success. Further preventing mobilization may be herders' strong sense of individualism and apathy toward working towards a common good. Finally, a relaxed notion of time may also contribute to challenges of simply organizing collectively, making action move more slowly. However, utilizing pre-existing preferences toward work with kin may further speed up the process of organizing in the future, since many have a pre-existing preference to work and collaborate with relatives. While further research on more effective groups needs to be conducted to understand how Mongolian values and thoughts translate into a well developed and resilient community based pasture management program, this study may prove helpful in troubleshooting the challenges herding groups face, as they become the increasingly popular method of combating land degradation in Mongolia.

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### *Interviews*

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#### Tariat Interviews

*Soum center*

*Soum Governor*  
Environmental Inspector  
Land Manager

*Boorol Juut bag*

PUG Director 1: Male  
Herder 1: Male

*Tsagaan Nuur bag*

PUG Director 2: Male  
Herder 6: Female  
Herder 7: Male  
Herder 8: Male  
Herder 9: Male  
Herder 12: F, M  
Herder 13: F

*Khurgo bag*

Herder 2: Female  
Herder 3: Male  
Herder 4: Female  
Herder 5: Female  
Herder 10: Male  
Herder 11: Male, Female  
Herder 14: Male  
Herder 15: Male, Female