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Farm sizes and adaptation responses to climate change in agriculture: A reflection of Tajikistan's farming culture and history

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# Farm sizes and adaptation responses to climate change in agriculture: A reflection of Tajikistan's farming culture and history

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#### Abstract

Climate change is a global concern, having a negative impact on agriculture, for food security and sustainability. Farmers' adaptations are known to be key drivers for the resolutions. However, little is established about relationships between farmers' characteristics and adaptation responses to climate change under irrigated agriculture. We investigate how farm sizes influence the adaptations in consideration to irrigation-related, cognitive and socioeconomic factors reflecting farming culture and history, hypothesizing that large-size farms adapt to climate change as compared to small-size ones in Tajikistan, where collective farming, "Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz," had been practiced. The data were collected through a questionnaire survey with 800 farmers on their adaptations, farm sizes, climatic perceptions, irrigation water availability and socioeconomic factors. We conduct statistical analyses utilizing the index to characterize farmers' adaptation responses. The results indicate an importance of farm sizes on adaptations, demonstrating that small-size farms adapt less than large-size farms, but increases their adaptations when they have good climatic perceptions and irrigation water availability. Overall, this research confirms an advantage of large-size farms for adaptations based on Tajikistan farming culture and history. Thus, the ongoing land-fragmentation policy should be reconsidered for possible losses in adaptations, as it has been drastically increasing the number of small-size farms. Otherwise, it is essential to support the small-size farms for acquiring good perceptions and enough water.

Key Words: Farm sizes; adaptation responses; farming culture; history; Tajikistan

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## Nomenclature

AdaptInd Adaptation index
AdapNum Adaptation number
CPInd Climatic perceptions index
IWA Irrigation water availability

## 1 **Introduction**

Climate change has become a growing global concern and posed a negative impact on agri-2 culture, for food security and sustainability (Rosegrant and Cline, 2003, Burkel and Lobell, 2010, 3 Hanjra and Qureshi, 2010, Ziervogel and Ericksen, 2010, Sasson, 2012, Mahato, 2014, Nelson and 4 van der Mensbrugghe, 2014, Campbell et al., 2016, Orchard et al., 2020, Din et al., 2022). It is 5 established that climate change cannot be resolved only by mitigation (Jensen and Traeger, 2014, 6 Fujimori et al., 2018). Rather, adaptations are keys to not only resolving climate change but also 7 maintaining food security and sustainability under growing population with less resources, land 8 and water availability per capita (Linnenluecke et al., 2015, Rasul and Sharma, 2016). Particularly, 9 farmers are considered the main actors to initiate and take adaptation responses to climate change, 10 and their cognitive and socioeconomic factors are assumed to be the important determinants de-11 pending on culture and history in each region or country (Dixon et al., 2014, Huttunen et al., 2015, 12 Dang et al., 2019, Arnalte-Mur et al., 2020, Ardakani et al., 2020). Given this state of affairs, we 13 seek to address how farmers take adaptations in relation to cognitive and socioeconomic factors 14 that reflect farming culture and history. 15

In the last few decades, the impact of climate change on agricultural productivity has been 16 studied, using agronomic models and statistical approaches (Moore et al., 2017, Li et al., 2023b). 17 For instance, the statistical approaches have been used to examine farmers' adaptation responses in 18 relation to cognitive and economic factors (Below et al., 2012, Esham and Garforth, 2013, Li et al., 19 2023a, Sandilya and Goswami, 2024, Sun et al., 2024). Several studies examine the relationship 20 between climatic perceptions and the farmers' adaptations (Deressa et al., 2011, Islam et al., 2016, 21 Datta et al., 2022). Climatic perceptions and farm sizes are the key cognitive and socioeconomic 22 determinants for farmers' adaptations to climate change (Koirala et al., 2022). Several empiri-23 cal studies have explored the adaptations in relation to farm sizes, documenting both the negative 24 and positive results (Khan et al., 2020). The possible reasons for negative or positive results on 25 adaptations are claimed to be specific characteristics of the study areas, such as geographic loca-26 tions, cognitive and socioeconomic factors (Bobojonov and Aw-Hassan, 2014, Amare and Simane, 27

28 2017).

A group of studies have shown a negative relation between farm sizes and adaptation responses 29 to climate change (Acquah, 2011, Deressa et al., 2011, Tesfaye and Seifu, 2016, Maya et al., 2019). 30 Uddin et al. (2014) investigate the farmers' adaptation practices to environmental destruction and 31 climate change by collecting a questionnaire data with 100 farmers in Bangladesh, documenting 32 that the probability of adaptation responses decreases in large-size farms due to shortage of in-33 vestments. Kabubo-Mariara and Mulwa (2019) study the factors affecting adaptations to climate 34 change and variability by taking 658 households in Kenya as a sample, finding that an increase 35 in farm sizes have an adverse relationship with maize grain production for both adapters and non-36 adapters. Koirala et al. (2022) examine adaptation responses to climate change in relation to farm 37 sizes along with cognitive and sociodemographic factors by taking a sample of 1000 farmers in 38 Nepal. The results indicate that small-size farms adapt with their good climatic perceptions and 39 networking with other farmers as compared to large-size farms. Overall, these studies present that 40 small-size farms tend to respond to climate change with less required inputs and investments as 41 compared to large-size farms. 42

Another group of studies shows some positive association between farm sizes and farmers' 43 adaptation responses to climate change (Nabikolo et al., 2012, Abid et al., 2016, Vinaya et al., 2017, 44 Bakhsh and Kamran, 2019, Thinda et al., 2020). Several studies indicate that farm sizes, education 45 level, access to climate information, market, subsidies and credits have positive relationship with 46 farmers' adaptations to climate change (Alauddin and Sarker, 2014, Belay et al., 2017, Fadina and 47 Barjolle, 2018, Marie et al., 2020, Ojo and Baiyegunhi, 2020). Ali and Erenstein (2017) investigate 48 determinants of farmers' decisions on adaptation practices using a questionnaire survey from 950 49 farmers under both irrigated and rain-fed agriculture in Pakistan, presenting that the number of 50 adaptations tends to increase in farm sizes. Trinh et al. (2018) examine some key variables that shall 51 be considered to impact farmers' choices for adaptations in agricultural productions, taking 400 52 farmers from Ky Son commune in Vietnam, indicating that farmers tend to change crop varieties, 53 switch to new cultivar types and adjust the planting time when their farm size increases. Jha 54

and Gupta (2021) study farmers' climatic perceptions and socioeconomic factors in relation to adaptation strategies under rain-fed agriculture, collecting 700 farmers' data in seven districts of northern India. They find that large-size farms tend to implement most of the adaptation strategies, such as crop diversification, irrigation and soil management. Overall, the literature document that large-size farms tend to respond to climate change, being able to invest on technologies, machinery, infrastructures and other inputs, as compared to small-size farms.

Agricultural sector have been reported to be one of the most vulnerable sectors against climate 61 change. Thus, it is important to understand how farmers are induced to take adaptation responses 62 under modern agriculture and to take proper countermeasures for food security and sustainabil-63 ity. While there are a series of articles to present some mixed results, little is established about 64 relationships between farmers' characteristics and adaptation responses to climate change under 65 irrigated agriculture. Given this paucity in the literature, we examine how farm sizes characterize 66 the adaptations in consideration to irrigation-related, cognitive and socioeconomic factors reflect-67 ing farming culture and history. To this end, we conduct a questionnaire survey with 800 farmers in 68 the two river basins of Tajikistan and collect data on their adaptation practices, farm sizes, climatic 69 perceptions (CPInd), irrigation water availability (IWA), cognitive and socioeconomic variables. 70 We conduct econometric analyses, employing an index which reflects the coverage areas by farm-71 ers' adaptation responses. This research hypothesizes that large-size farms adapt to climate change 72 as compared to small-size ones under irrigated agriculture in Tajikistan, "Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz," 73 had been practiced. Answering the question and hypothesis shall be useful for guiding the ongoing 74 debate regarding land-fragmentation and adaptation policies in not only Tajikistan but also other 75 nations facing similar problems towards sustainable development goals (SDGs). 76

## 77 2 Farming culture and history

Tajikistan is a landlocked country in Central Asia and 93 % of its territory is covered with mountains. While the agriculture is engaged in non-mountainous areas, i.e., the rest of 7 %, Tajikistan is still considered an agricultural country with a population of more than 10 million. Agriculture is the backbone of Tajikistan economy, contributing 24 % of the gross domestic product (GDP)
and employing 46 % of the population (World Bank, 2021). The total potential area suitable for
irrigation is estimated to be 1.57 million ha out of which 0.76 million ha is developed at present. In
Tajikistan, the availability of irrigated land per capita is 0.08 ha which is the lowest among Central
Asian countries (ALRI, 2020). Irrigated agriculture is critical for food security and sustainability,
providing more than 80 % of Tajikistan agricultural production (MEDT, 2013).

Development of large irrigation systems during the Soviet era had played an important role 87 on improving food security and sustainability through transforming Tajikistan agriculture into be-88 ing one of the main sectors. The development of vast tracts in the northern and southern regions 89 demonstrated an economically profitable practice for the agricultural development in the past. The 90 implementation of state programs on construction of the large irrigation systems has began from 91 1930, including canals, pump stations, reservoirs and other supplementary infrastructures. In par-92 allel, a collectivization process took place on merging small and inefficient individual farms into 93 a large state one, such as collective state farms (Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz) along with mechanization 94 and processing. The state agricultural enterprises had achieved a steady increase in productivity, 95 an increase in the gross harvest of agricultural products, having made not only a great contribution 96 to strengthening the food security of the states but also served as a model of cultures for collective 97 farms (Sulaymonshoev, 2011, Alimov, 2020). 98

For the development and management of the agricultural sector during the Soviet Union period, 99 some designated ministries had been working jointly with scientific-research institutes and experi-100 mental stations (Sotnikov, 1960). The collective and state farms had an adequate natural capital to 101 accelerate their material-technical bases including mechanized parks, storage, product processing, 102 cattle, poultry and seed breeding centers. In the 1970 - 1980, most of collective farms had good-103 quality agricultural specialists with high education. Such specialists were economists, agronomists 104 and engineers and they were working on mechanization, irrigation and livestock management with 105 farmers. For instance, the irrigation specialists were responsible for controlling, monitoring and 106

supervising water allocations within the farms as well as for improving water use efficiency. The 107 agronomists were responsible for controlling, monitoring and supervising crop adjustments and ro-108 tations, sowing and harvesting times, soil reclamation, breeding crop varieties, pests management 109 as well as adaptations to weather changes. Overall, agricultural sector was managed in a complex 110 manner from planning to productions by the Soviet Union. However, the centralized approach had 111 the pros and cons depending on the temporal changes through implementations of various poli-112 cies in some regions. The agricultural sector was known to have faced huge challenges, such as 113 inefficiencies, resource mismanagement and a lack of controls, and it became noncompetitive in a 114 globalized agricultural market after the Soviet Union (Rowe, 2010). 115

The collapse of the Soviet Union has been marked by political, institutional and sectoral 116 changes along with the degradation of government support during the transition from a centralized 117 to a market-based economy and have created significant challenges to agriculture in Tajikistan. In 118 the transitions, Tajikistan government had started decentralizing agricultural sector through adopt-119 ing a series of state policies and programs for a land reform. The main goal of the land reform 120 was to increase agricultural production, the degree of freedom for farmers, crop diversification and 121 efficient use of natural resources (land and water). Following the decentralization, the collective 122 and state farms were reorganized to individual small-size farms. The number of farms had in-123 creased from 5713 in 1997 to 187 220 in 2020, while irrigated land has increased only a little from 124 719 000 ha to 763 000 ha (SCLMG, 2020). 125

Figure 1a demonstrates an example where one specific area of 120 ha in the upstream region 126 of Kofarnihon river basin consisted of 15 plots with an average size of 8 ha, and it was part of one 127 collective farm in 2005. Figure 1b show that the irrigation system including distribution canals 128 remains unchanged from 2005 to 2020, while the number of plots has increased up to 237 with 129 an average size of 0.5 ha in 2023. It implies that the area becomes highly fragmented through the 130 land reform with an increasing number of small-size farms. In other words, the average plot size 131 has decreased approximately by 94 %. Consequently, several salient problems, such as the lack of 132 appropriate infrastructure, problems related to water allocations, equipment and services, limited 133



(b) Plot sizes in 2023

Figure 1: Changing plot sizes from 2005 to 2023 and irrigation systems. Source: Google Earth images for Kofarnihon river basin

information access and uncertainties, have persisted, and it is claimed that Tajikistan farms become
less capable of adapting to external factors for food security and sustainability. To examine the
claim, it is essential to study and understand the relationship between farm sizes and adaptations
to climate change for identifying a path to SDGs, considering an ongoing land-reform policy in
Tajikistan.

## **3 Data and methodology**

#### **3.1** Study areas and data collection

In Tajikistan, the five river basin management organizations (Syrdarya, Zarafshon, Kofarnihon, 141 Vakhsh and Panj) were created for the proper planning and effective management of water re-142 sources. These river basin organizations are based on the hydrological and regional administrative 143 boundaries, considering hydrotechnical infrastructures, water use and economic circumstances. 144 Among them, Kofarnihon and Zarafshon river basins are chosen as our study areas. Kofarnihon 145 river basin is located in the central-southwest part, covering over 30% of Tajikistan territory. The 146 climate is continental in the basin, being characterized by large fluctuations of daily and seasonal 147 air temperatures as well as uneven distribution of precipitations throughout a year. The average 148 minimum air temperature is -12.1 °C and the absolute maximum reaches 41 °C in the upstream 149 regions, while the average minimum air temperature is  $1.8 \,^{\circ}$ C to  $1.9 \,^{\circ}$ C and the absolute maximum 150 temperature reaches 47 °C in the downstream regions. The average annual precipitations range be-151 tween 252 mm and 1188 mm in the downstream and upstream regions, respectively (Gulakhmadov 152 et al., 2020). Zarafshon river basin is located in the central-western part of Tajikistan, covering 153 approximately 9% of Tajikistan territory. The average minimum air temperature is -12.1 °C and 154 the absolute maximum reaches 35 °C in the upstream regions, while the average minimum air 155 temperature is -1 °C and the absolute maximum temperature reaches 47 °C in the downstream re-156 gions. The average annual precipitations range between 600 mm and 159 mm in the upstream and 157 downstream regions, respectively (Normatov et al., 2023). 158

A stratified sampling method was utilized to conduct our questionnaire surveys in Kofarnihon 159 and Zarafshon river basins (see figure 2). We consider both upstream and downstream regions of 160 Kofarnihon and Zarafshon river basins as the best possible proxy to approximate representative 161 agriculture with climatic zones from small-size to large-size farms in Tajikistan. A list of farmers 162 under irrigated areas was collected from each of the two river basins with support from the Ministry 163 of Energy and Water Resources and Agency for Land Reclamation and Irrigation. We randomly 164 selected 800 farmers with the strata of the upstream and downstream regions as well as the unequal 165 numbers of farms over the basins. As a consequence, 487 and 313 farmers were selected from the 166 upstream and downstream regions, respectively, and a simple random sampling within each stratum 167 was applied to finalize the sample selection for our data collection. Because the two basins have 168 unequal numbers of farms, we sought to reflect the difference through the above stratified sampling 169 procedures. We conducted the orientation sessions over two days, training research assistants and 170 conducting pretests of the questionnaires. The surveys had been conducted from May 15 to June 171 14, 2024 with local Tajikistan language. The 1<sup>st</sup> author administered the orientation sessions and 172 surveys, organizing the research assistants for interviewing farms. 173

#### **174 3.2** Key variables

The heads of farms (hereafter, farmers) were asked a series of questions related to their farm 175 sizes, adaptations and the corresponding areas. A list of adaptations is prepared following Below 176 et al. (2012) and Koirala et al. (2022). On top of it, we include some new adaptations, such as 177 "night irrigation," "drip irrigation," and "film farming," taking the farmers' suggestions during the 178 orientation sessions and field observations by the 1st author. In total, 34 adaptations are considered 179 across water management, soil management and crop adjustment and diversification for the anal-180 yses (see table 1 for the list). We also collect information related to cognitive and socioeconomic 181 factors of climatic perception index (CPInd), farming experience, information access, education, 182 irrigation water availability (IWA), equipment and services, distance to plots, income source, fam-183 ily size, gender and climatic zones (see table 2 for the details). We provide a list of adaptations to 184



Figure 2: A map of study areas in Tajikistan

farmers, asking them to indicate their adaptation practices and its area coverage (Below et al., 2012,
Koirala et al., 2022). With the information, the key variables of adaptation number (AdaptNum)
and adaptation index (AdaptInd) in our statistical analyses are derived.

The AdaptNum for the  $i^{\text{th}}$  farmer is calculated as follows:

189

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$$AdaptNum_i = \sum_{h=1}^{34} a_{hi} \tag{1}$$

where subscript *h* denotes an index of adaptations from 1 to 34 and  $a_{hi}$  is a dummy variable for adaptation *h*, taking 1 when the *i*<sup>th</sup> farmer adopts the adaptation, otherwise, 0. The AdaptInd for the *i*<sup>th</sup> farmer is calculated as follows:

$$AdaptInd_i = \sum_{h=1}^{34} a_{hi} w_{hi}$$
(2)

where  $w_{hi} = \frac{\text{Area coverage by } a_{hi}}{\text{Total cultivated area of the } i^{\text{th}} \text{ farmer}} \in [0, 1]$ . Equations (1) and (2) imply that both AdaptNum<sub>i</sub> and AdaptInd<sub>i</sub> range between 0 and 34. The AdaptNum<sub>i</sub> is the summation of adaptations, while the AdaptInd<sub>i</sub> is a weighted average of adaptations by  $w_{hi}$  for the  $i^{\text{th}}$  farmer.

The other key variables in our study shall be farm sizes, CPInd and IWA. We find that there is no 197 official categorization of farm sizes in Tajikistan. Based on our field observations and discussions 198 with staff from the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Tajikistan, we decide to categorize 199 farm sizes into three groups, creating two farm-size dummies along with one base group: (i) large-200 size farms (farm sizes > 3 ha) as a base group, medium-size farms (3 ha  $\ge$  farm sizes  $\ge 1$  ha) 201 as the medium-size dummy and small-size farms (farm sizes < 1 ha) as the small-size dummy 202 (see table 2). Regarding CPInd, we ask farmers to answer 10 questions on their perceived changes 203 in summer and winter temperatures, precipitations, rainfall frequency and intensity, snowfall fre-204 quency and intensity, drought, cold waves and hot waves over the last 10 years, following the 205 approach by Koirala et al. (2022) and the pretesting of our questionnaires. Farmers report their 206 perceptions on the changes in these climatic factors, and we assign 1 for the perceived "change," 207 otherwise 0 (see table 2). Finally, we calculate CPInd to be the summation of their answers from 208

		s (%)		
Adaptation practices           Agricultural water management	Large-size farm $(N = 261)$	Medium-size farm $(N = 394)$	Small-size farm $(N = 144)$	Overall $(N = 799)$
Agricultural water management				
Night irrigation	81.99	67.51	55.56	70.09
Bucket irrigation	0.77	1.78	9.72	2.88
Construction of reservoirs and channels	0.00	0.51	0.00	0.25
Diversion ditches	4.60	6.09	11.81	6.63
Hedges	16.86	4.06	2.08	7.88
Use of vertical wells and pumps	4.98	2.54	0.69	3.00
Drip Irrigation	1.15	0.25	0.00	0.50
Runoff harvesting	0.77	0.25	0.00	0.38
Destocking (drainage cleaning)	15.71	20.05	22.92	19.15
Aquaculture	3.45	3.05	14.58	5.26
Winter irrigation (Freezing)	58.62	22.59	19.44	33.79
Mulching	1.92	3.05	2.08	2.50
Soil management				
Deep tillage (30-35sm)	88.52	50.76	29.17	57.57
Crop rotation	71.26	52.03	34.03	55.07
Extend farmland outside of the ward	2.68	3.81	2.78	3.25
Restoration of degraded lands	3.07	0.76	0.69	1.50
Crop adjustment and diversification				
Cultivation of high-quality crops	19.92	34.77	25.69	28.25
Crop breeding	3.45	1.78	1.39	2.25
Planting short-term variety crops	5.36	6.60	4.17	5.76
Planting early crops	6.90	14.47	3.47	10.01
Planting high yielding varieties	6.90	15.74	7.64	11.39
Cover crops	2.68	0.51	0.69	1.25
Film farming	4.60	2.28	0.00	2.63
Adjustment to sowing date	71.65	55.58	50.00	59.82
Adoption of different varieties				
(drought/ pest/ heat stress resistant)	3.07	9.64	10.42	7.63
Cultivation of cold-resistant crops	3.07	2.54	4.17	3.00
Cereal crop production	67.43	55.33	38.19	56.20
Revegetation	56.70	47.21	36.11	48.31
Grow vegetables in off season	1.53	2.54	1.39	2.00
Mix cropping	14.18	6.60	11.11	9.89
Apply farm yard manure/ organic fertilizer	92.72	89.85	92.36	91.24
Apply inorganic fertilizer	90.04	90.36	91.67	90.49
Keep livestock	25.67	53.81	59.72	45.68
Keep bee farming	1.53	2.28	2.08	2.00

## Table 1: Percentages of farms that implement adaptation practices by their sizes

Notes: Large-size farm (farm sizes > 3 ha), medium-size farm (3 ha  $\ge$  farm sizes  $\ge 1$  ha), small-size farm (farm sizes < 1 ha).

Variables	Definitions and descriptions
Dependent variables	
Adaptation number (AdaptNum)	A total number of adaptations taken by the farmer.
Adaptation index (AdaptInd)	The farmer's aggregate index value is determined
	by summing up all adaptations, each weighted according to its proportion coverage relative to the farm sizes.
Independent variables Farm-size variables	
Large-size farm (base group)	A dummy variable that takes value 1 if farm sizes is $> 3$ ha; otherwise, 0.
Medium-size farm	A dummy variable that takes value 1 if farm sizes is $\leq 3$ ha & $\geq 1$ ha; otherwise, 0.
Small-size farm	A dummy variable that takes value 1 if farm sizes is $< 1$ ha; otherwise, 0.
Cognitive variables	
Climatic perception index (CPInd)	Various changes in temperature, rainfall, snowfall, drought, hot waves and cold waves perceived by farmer over the last 10 years, rated on a scale of 0 to 10.
Farming experience	The level of agricultural experience for the farmer ranges between 1-5. 1 - less than five years; 2 - 5 to 10 years; 3 - 11 to 15 years; 4 - 16 to 20 years; 5 - more than 20 years
Information access	An aggregate number of access on agricultural information in local, region, province and country levels that ranges between 0 - 32.
Education	The level of schooling for the farmer ranges between 1-4, 1 - primary school; 2 - middle school; 3 - high school; 4 - university or above
Socioeconomic variables	4 - university of above.
Irrigation water availability (IWA)	The level of water availability ranges between 1-5 1 - water does not reach and 5 - water abundant.
Equipment and services	Summation of the number of farmers equipment types and received agricultural services.
Distance to plots	Distance in kilometers (km) from farmers home to their land.
Income source	A variable that takes value 1 if the farmers' main income
(base group = non agriculture)	is from agriculture; otherwise, 0.
Climatic zones (base group = upstream)	A dummy variable that takes value 1 if the farmer is located in downstream; otherwise, 0.
Family size	The number of family members of the farmer.
Gender (base group = male)	A dummy variable that takes value 1 if the farmer is female; otherwise, 0.

### Table 2: Definitions of the variables

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Figure 3: A conceptual framework that describes the relationships between the variables (farm sizes, climatic perceptions, farming experience, information access, education, irrigation water availability, equipment and services, income source, distance to plots, climatic zones, family size, gender and interactions) and adaptation number (AdaptNum) or adaptation index (AdaptInd) by  $\beta_i^K$ s for  $K = \{AdaptNum, AdaptInd\}$  and  $j = 0, 1, \dots, \ell$ .



10 questions (Below et al., 2012, Koirala et al., 2022). The information on IWA is collected using
an ordinal five-point scale that represents 1 "water scarce," ... and 5 "water abundant" (see table 2).
We use this way mainly due to the lack of other measurements for water availability at farm level
in Tajikistan.

#### **3.3** Conceptual framework and data analysis

Figure 3 introduces a conceptual framework for our empirical analyses on the basis of the observations for farmers in Tajikistan as well as some existing theories in adaptations. Tajikistan farmers are known to have different objectives in their farming activities, being similar to other countries' cases (Solano et al., 2001, Mandryk et al., 2014). Some farmers prioritize food security along with their consumptions owning to various circumstances and situations, meaning that their

objectives are maximizing food production. On the other hand, other farmers focus on minimizing 219 the risks, trying to avoid food production below certain thresholds as their 1<sup>st</sup> priority or stably 220 ensuring a certain level of cash incomes as their side businesses. Therefore, economic theories of 22 profit maximization and cost minimization cannot be directly and uniformly applied to adaptations 222 in Tajikistan. Following Koirala et al. (2022), we refer to some theories in sociocognitive models, 223 such as protection motivation theory and private proactive adaptation theory, for the conceptual 224 framework in this study. These approaches consider cognitive and socioeconomic factors to be 225 determinants of adaptation responses to external changes (Rogers, 1983, Rogers and Prentice-226 Dunn, 1997, Grothmann and Patt, 2005). Previous studies also underscore that such cognitive and 227 socioeconomic factors are important for farmers' adaptations in agriculture (Amare and Simane, 228 2017, Belay et al., 2017, Ojo and Baiyegunhi, 2020). 229

The conceptual framework is developed to offer a comprehensive perspective for understanding 230 how AdaptNum and AdaptInd are characterized by cognitive and socioeconomic variables along 231 with their interactions. To this end, we apply Poisson and median regressions to quantitatively 232 estimate parameters  $\beta_i^K$ s for  $j = 0, 1, \dots, \ell$  and  $K = \{AdaptNum, AdaptInd\}$ , each of which 233 represents the relationship between the AdaptNum or AdaptInd as a dependent variables and the 234 independent variables as specified in equations (3) and (4). For AdaptNum, we select a Poisson-235 regression approach, because it is a variable of nonnegative integers and there are only a limited 236 number of observations for each count. In other words, it is assumed that AdaptNum follows a 237 Poisson distribution conditional on a vector of some independent variables, X, with the following 238 specification: 239

Prob(AdaptNum<sub>i</sub> = 
$$h|\mathbf{X} = \mathbf{x}_j) = \exp[-\exp(\mathbf{x}_i\beta^{K\prime})][\exp(\mathbf{x}_i\beta^{K\prime})]^h/h!,$$

240

(3)

where K = AdaptNum, h = 0, 1, ..., 34 is the number of adaptations the *i*<sup>th</sup> farmer takes,  $\mathbf{x}_i = (1, x_{1i}, x_{2i}, ..., x_{\ell i})$  is a vector of  $\ell + 1$  independent variables consisting of intercept, farmsize, CPInd, IWA, cognitive, socioeconomic variables and the corresponding interaction terms, respectively. Finally,  $\beta^{K} = (\beta_{0}^{K}, \beta_{1}^{K}, \dots, \beta_{\ell}^{K})$  is a vector of the coefficients associated with  $\mathbf{x}_{i}$ to be estimated. The estimate for each coefficient is obtained through the quasi-maximum likelihood estimation method for the Poisson regression based on equation (3) (Wooldridge, 2019). We calculate a marginal effect of one independent variable on AdaptNum from each estimated coefficient, when the independent variable increases by one unit or from zero to one, holding other independent variables at their sample means.

For AdaptInd, a median regression is employed to characterize the relationship with the same set of independent variables we use in equation (3). The median regression is known to be preferred over the mean-based regression for characterizing a nonnormally distributed dependent variable in relation to some independent variables (Sarker et al., 2012, Hirose et al., 2023). Because AdaptInd is identified not to follow a normal distribution according to the Shapiro-Wilk test, we judge that the median regression approach is proper in our analysis (Corder and Foreman, 2014, Khatun, 2021). The regression specification is expressed as follows:

AdaptInd<sub>i</sub> =  $\mathbf{x}_i \beta^{K\prime} + \epsilon_i$  (4)

where AdaptInd<sub>i</sub> is the adaptation index the  $i^{\text{th}}$  farmer takes,  $\mathbf{x}_i = (1, x_{1i}, x_{2i}, \dots, x_{\ell i})$  repre-258 sents a vectors of  $\ell + 1$  independent variables consisting of intercept, farm-size, CPInd, IWA, 259 cognitive, socioeconomic variables and the corresponding interaction terms, respectively. Finally 260  $\beta^K = (\beta_0^K, \beta_1^K, \dots, \beta_\ell^K)$  is a vector of the coefficients associated with  $\mathbf{x}_i$  to be estimated through 26 the least absolute distance estimation method, K = AdaptInd, and  $\epsilon_i$  is an error term. Each 262 coefficient is interpreted as a change in the AdaptInd median when one continuous (or dummy) 263 independent variable increases by one unit (or from zero to one), holding other variables constant. 264 The conceptual framework depicted in figure 3 and the regression specifications outlined in 265 equations (3) and (4) enable us to determine the crucial factors for addressing the research question 266 and hypothesis in our study. We proceed to take the following steps. First, we conduct Mann-267 Whitney non-parametric tests to determine some qualitative relations between the key variables 268

(Conover and Iman, 1981). Second, we apply Shapiro-Wilk tests to judge whether or not AdaptInd 269 is normally distributed (Shapiro and Wilk, 1965). Third, we estimate four regression models for 270 each of AdaptNum and AdaptInd to be a dependent variable as robustness check: Model 1 includes 27 farm-size dummies as the independent variables along with an intercept. Model 2 additionally 272 includes cognitive variables. Model 3 additionally includes cognitive and socioeconomic variables. 273 In model 4, to further characterize how the relationship between farm-size dummies and dependent 274 variables changes, we include interaction terms between farm-size variables and CPInd as well as 275 those between farm-size variables and IWA on top of the specifications in model 3. 276

### 277 **4 Results**

Table 1 present the percentages of farms that implement certain adaptations by their sizes. For 278 instance, about 82 % of large-size farms use irrigation at night as an adaptation, and the percentages 279 for medium and small-size farms are 67.51 % and 55.56 %, respectively. About 89 % of large-280 size farms are practicing deep tillage, while the percentages are 50.76 % and 29.17 % for medium 281 and small-size farms, respectively. Only about 3% of large-size farms are reported to implement 282 adoption of different varieties that include crops resistant to drought, pest and heat stresses, and the 283 percentages are 9.64 % and 10.42 % for medium and small-size farms, respectively. Table 1 reveal 284 that some adaptations, such as night irrigation, deep tillage, crop rotation, adjustment to sowing 285 date, cereal crop production and use of fertilizers, are popular as adaptation practices among farms 286 in Tajikistan (Construction of reservoirs and channels, drip irrigation, runoff harvesting, restoration 287 of degraded lands and cover crops, are not popular). The results appear to reflect the cost of each 288 practice, specific environment, climate and farming history and culture, demonstrating the wide 289 variation of the percentages in most practices by farm sizes. Overall, large-size farms are dominant 290 with respect to the percentage in 16 practices out of 34 ones. On other hand, small-size farms are 29 dominant only in 5 practices, and for the remaining 13 practices, clear-cut tendencies across farm 292 sizes are not observed. Overall, the percentages of adaptation practices can be said to have some 293



Figure 4: Boxplots for the number of adaptations (AdaptNum) and the adaptation index (AdaptInd)

<sup>294</sup> linkage with farm sizes.

Table 3 indicates that the total sample size is 799, while 261, 394 and 144 observations are 295 collected for the large, medium and small-size farms, respectively. Farmers take 7.32 adaptations 296 on average and the median is 8. The averages (medians) for large, medium and small-size farms are 297 8.41 (9.00), 7.09 (7.00) and 5.98 (7.00), respectively, implying that AdaptNum displays an upward 298 trend as the farm size increases. Boxplots in figure 4a also confirm the same trend by farm sizes. 299 The average AdaptInd for farmers is 4.22, and the median is 4.40. The averages (medians) are 4.62 300 (4.97), 4.18 (4.01) and 3.60 (3.80) for large, medium and small-size farms, respectively. Thus, the 301 statistics indicate that AdaptInd is also likely to increase with farm sizes, being in line with the 302 trend in the boxplots (figure 4b). Therefore, the trends in AdaptNum and AdaptInd over farm 303 sizes are considered consistent with each other on the basis of the summary statistics and figure 4. 304 To statistically assess the distributional differences of AdaptNum and AdaptInd among the farm 305 sizes, we employ a nonparametric Mann-Whitney test for each pair of small-size, medium-size and 306 large-size farms. The null hypothesis is that the distributions of AdaptNum (or AdaptInd) between 307 different-sized farms are the same. The results show that the null hypothesis is rejected for every 308 pair at 1 % level, implying that the distributions of AdaptNum (or AdaptInd) differ across farm 309 sizes. 310

The average climatic perception index (CPInd) for farmers is 8.28, and the median is 9.00. The

	Farm-size dummy			
	Large-size farm $(N = 261)$	Medium-size farm $(N = 394)$	Small-size farm $(N = 144)$	Overall $(N = 799)$
Dependent variables				
Adaptation number (AdaptNum) Mean (Median) <sup>a</sup> SD <sup>b</sup> Min	8.41 (9.00) 2.61 2.00	7.09 (7.00) 2.53 0.00	5.98 (7.00) 2.59 0.00	7.32 (8.00) 2.71 0.00
Max Adaptation index (AdaptInd)	18.00	16.00	10.00	18.00
Mean (Median) <sup>a</sup> SD <sup>b</sup>	4.62 (4.97) 1.66	4.18 (4.01) 1.87	3.60 (3.80) 1.99	4.22 (4.40) 1.86
Min Max	0.17 9.87	0.20 9.5	0.00 9.09	0.00 9.87
Independent variables				
Cognitive variables				
Climatic perception index (CPInd) Mean (Median) SD Min	8.42 (9.00) 1.89 0.00	8.36 (9.00) 2.05 0.00	7.79 (8.00) 2.19 0.00	8.28 (9.00) 2.04 0.00
Max Farming experience	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Mean (Median) SD Min Max	4.21 (5.00) 1.07 1.00 5.00	4.04 (5.00) 1.23 1.00 5.00	3.89 (5.00) 1.27 1.00 5.00	4.06 (5.00) 1.19 1.00 5.00
Information access	2.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Mean (Median) SD	6.35 (6.00) 2.94	4.24 (4.00) 2.67	3.83 (3.00) 2.79	4.86 (4.00) 2.97
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max Education	17.00	15.00	12.00	17.00
Mean (Median)	3.10 (3.00)	2.91 (3.00)	3.01 (3.00)	2.99 (3.00)
SD Min	0.78	0.81	0.77	0.79
Max	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Socioeconomic variables				
Mean (Median)	3.25 (4.00)	3.43 (4.00)	3.34 (3.00)	3.35 (4.00)
SD	1.09	0.96	0.78	0.98
Min Max	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Equipment and services				
Mean (Median)	4.00 (4.00)	3.10 (3.00)	3.02 (3.00)	3.38 (3.00)
Min	1.38	1.00	1.25	1.00
Max	9.00	7.00	8.00	9.00
Income source (base group = not agriculture)	0.02 (1.00)	0.60 (1.00)	0.44 (0.00)	0.72(1.00)
SD	0.92 (1.00)	0.46	0.49	0.44
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max Distance to plate	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Mean (Median)	2.38 (1.50)	1.77 (1.00)	1.38 (1.00)	1.91 (1.00)
SD	3.05	2.99	1.31	2.83
Min	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
Family size	26.00	40.00	8.00	40.00
Mean (Median)	9.57 (8.00)	9.24 (8.00)	7.97 (7.00)	9.12 (8.00)
SD Min	5.36	4.51	3.81	4.72
Max	40.00	30.00	25.00	40.00
Gender (base group = male)	0.00.17.771			0.40.40.55
Mean (Median)	0.09 (0.00)	0.22 (0.00)	0.32 (0.00)	0.19 (0.00)
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

## Table 3: Summary statistics of the variables

<sup>a</sup> Median in parentheses.

<sup>b</sup> SD stands for standard deviation. Notes: Large-size farm (farm sizes > 3 ha), medium-size farm (3 ha  $\geq$  farm sizes  $\geq$  1 ha), small-size farm (farm sizes < 1 ha).

averages (medians) are 8.42 (9.00), 8.36 (9.00) and 7.79 (8.00) for the large, medium and small-312 size farms, respectively, meaning that farmers tend to have high CPInd as farm size increases. 313 The averages (medians) of irrigation water availability (IWA) for large, medium and small-size 314 farms are 3.25 (4.00), 3.43 (4.00) and 3.34 (4.00), respectively. The results show that there are no 315 considerable differences in average or median IWAs across farm sizes. The cognitive variables, 316 such as farming experience and information access, have a tendency to increase with farm sizes, 317 while education does not show such a tendency (see rows associated with "cognitive variables" in 318 table 3). The socioeconomic variables, such as equipment and services, income source, distance to 319 plots and family size, except for gender show an upward trend as the farm size increases (see rows 320 associated with "socioeconomic variables" in table 3). Overall, the summary statistics demonstrate 321 that farmers are homogeneous in relation to education and IWA, while they are heterogeneous in 322 relation to AdaptNum, AdaptInd, CPInd, farming experience, information access, equipment and 323 services, income source, distance to plots, family size and gender. 324

Table 4 reports the estimated coefficients, marginal effects and their respective standard errors 325 of the independent variables on AdaptNum in Poisson regression models. The results underscore 326 the robustness of the key variables across all four regression models, characterizing the relation-327 ships with AdaptNum. For instance, the marginal effects of the medium and small-size farms on 328 AdaptNum are negative and statistically significant at 1% level across all models. The results 329 demonstrate that medium and small-size farms do not adapt as compared to large-size farms. The 330 cognitive variables, such as CPInd, farming experience and information access, show positive re-331 lationships with AdaptNum, aligning with existing literature (Islam et al., 2016, Dang et al., 2019, 332 Ajani and Geest, 2021, Fischer et al., 2022, Ewalo and Vedeld, 2023). We also observe that so-333 cioeconomic variables, such as IWA, equipment and services, income source, distance to plots and 334 family size, are significant. Past studies suggest that IWA is crucial in semiarid and arid regions 335 (Sorg et al., 2014, Ndamani and Watanabe, 2015, Golla, 2021, Sharofiddinov et al., 2024), and 336 equipment and extension services play vital roles in agricultural production and farmers' adapta-337 tions (Fahad and Wang, 2018, Umunakwe et al., 2022). Interaction terms between farm-sizes and 338

Table 4: Estimated coefficients of the independent variables on the number of adaptations (AdaptNum) in the Poisson regressions

	Mode	11	Mode	12	Mode	13	Mode	el 4
	Coefficient	ME	Coefficient	ME	Coefficient	ME	Coefficient	ME
Farm-size variables Farm-size dummies (base oronn = 1 aros-size farm)								
Medium-size farm	$-0.17^{***}$ (0.03)	$-1.31^{***}$ (0.21)	-0.13 * * * (0.03)	$-0.96^{***}$ (0.21)	$-0.11^{***}$ (0.03)	$-0.86^{***}$ (0.26)	-0.27 (0.19)	$-1.14^{***}$ (0.27)
Small-size farm	-0.34***	-2.43***	-0.26***	-1.87*** (0.27)	-0.23***	-1.64	-0.86 * * * (0.26)	-1.83***
Cognitive variables Climatic perception index (CPInd)			0.05***	0.33***	0.04***	0.31***	0.03*	0.27***
Farming experience			(0.01) $0.04^{***}$	(0.06) $0.32^{***}$	(0.01) $0.03^{***}$	(0.06) 0.25***	(0.01) 0.04**	(0.06) $0.27^{***}$
Information access			0.01 **	0.09*** 0.09***	0.01**	0.07*** 0.03)	0.01 **	(0.09) 0.08**
Education			(10.0) -0.01	0.03	0.002	0.01	(200.0) 0.01	(0.05 0.05 0.13)
Socioeconomic variables Irrigation water availability (IWA)			(70.0)		0.04***	0.33***	0.03	0.37***
Equipment and services					(0.01) $0.03^{***}$	(0.10) $0.24^{***}$	(0.02) $0.04^{***}$	(0.11) $0.26^{***}$
Income source (base group = not agriculture)					0.03	0.23	0.06*	(0.00) 0.47* 0.026)
Distance to plots					$-0.02^{***}$	$-0.14^{***}$	-0.02 ***	-0.11
Family size					$0.01^{***}$	0.06***	0.01 ***	0.06***
Gender (base group = male)					0.01	0.04	(000) -0.001	-0.01 10.0–
Interaction terms (base group = Large-size farm) Medium-size farm × CPInd						(+7.0)	0.01	(17.0)
Small-size farm $ imes$ CPInd							(0.02)	
Medium-size farm $\times$ IWA							0.01	
Small-size farm $ imes$ IWA							(0.05) (0.05)	
Constant Sample size	2.13*** 792		$1.47^{***}$		$1.21^{***}$ 742		$1.40^{***}$ 742	
Climatic zones Likelihood-Ratio	No 79.92***		No 138.68***		No 180.09 ***		Yes 204.33***	
<pre>*** significant at 1 % level ** significant at 5 % level * significant at 10 % level Standard errors are in parentheses</pre>								

IWA are found to indicate the heterogeneous effects on AdaptNum, implying that AdaptNum by
small-size (medium- or large-size) farms is sensitive (insensitive) to IWA with a positive association.

Table 5 reports the estimated coefficients, their corresponding standard errors and the statistical 342 significance level of the independent variables on AdaptInd in median regression models. The 343 details of the median regression results for AdaptInd shall be discussed and interpreted as compared 344 to those for AdaptNum, because the AdaptInd is argued to be one of the most appropriate and 345 credible measurements for farmers' adaptations in literature (Below et al., 2012, Koirala et al., 346 2022). The estimated coefficients of medium-size farms on AdaptInd are statistically significant 347 with a negative sign in models 1, 2 and 3 at 1% level. Likewise, the estimated coefficients of 348 small-size farms on AdaptInd are statistically significant at the 1% level with negative sign across 349 all models. The results indicate that medium- and small-size farms tend not to adapt by 0.52  $\sim$ 350 0.96 and by  $0.78 \sim 4.52$  on the median AdaptInd, respectively, as compared to large-size farms, 351 holding other variables constant. Overall, the findings suggest that both medium and small-size 352 farms tend not to implement adaptations by the index as compared to large-size farms. 353

The coefficients of some cognitive variables, such as CPInd, farming experience, information 354 access and education, are statistically significant at 1% to 10% level at least in some models (ta-355 ble 5). The results reveal that farmers tend to increase AdaptInd by  $0.12 \sim 0.15$  when their CPInd 356 increases by one unit. Previous studies find that CPInd plays an important role in farmers' adapta-357 tion responses (Deressa et al., 2011, Abid et al., 2016, Koirala et al., 2022), being consistent with 358 the result. A year of farming experience tend to induce farmers to raise AdaptInd by  $0.11 \sim 0.17$ 359 AdaptInd, and it is in line with previous studies that show the positive impact on adaptation deci-360 sions (Fadina and Barjolle, 2018, Ado et al., 2020). Farmers are found to decrease AdaptInd by 361  $0.17 \sim 0.21$  as their education level increases by one unit. The negative relationship is not surpris-362 ing in Tajikistan in that most educated farmers have alternative occupations, inducing themselves 363 to take adaptations from nonagricultural income-generating activities. Other key socioeconomic 364 variables, such as income source and family size, are identified to be significant in some models, 365

	A	Adaptation ind	dex (AdaptInd	l)
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Farm-size variables				
Farm-size dummies				
(base group = Large-size farm)				
Medium-size farm	-0.96***	-0.65***	$-0.52^{***}$	-0.11
	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(1.01)
Small-size farm	-1.17***	-0.89***	-0.78***	-4.52***
	(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(1.27)
Cognitive variables				
Climatic perception index (CPInd)		$0.15^{***}$	$0.12^{***}$	0.06
		(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.08)
Farming experience		0.17 * *	0.13*	0.11*
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Information access		0.05*	0.03	0.02
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Education		-0.21**	-0.17*	-0.09
		(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Socioeconomic variables				
Irrigation water availability (IWA)			0.06	0.02
			(0.08)	(0.11)
Equipment and services			0.08	0.06
			(0.06)	(0.06)
Income source (base group = not agriculture)			0.36*	0.12
			(0.19)	(0.18)
Distance to plots			-0.04	-0.04
			(0.04)	(0.03)
Family size			$0.04^{**}$	$0.04^{**}$
			(0.02)	(0.02)
Gender (base group = male)			0.14	0.10
			(0.20)	(0.19)
Interaction terms				
(base group = Large-size farm)				
Medium-size farm $\times$ CPInd				-0.19
				(0.09)
Small-size farm $\times$ CPInd				0.28**
				(0.11)
Medium-size farm $\times$ IWA				0.01
				(0.15)
Small-size farm × IWA				0.51**
				(0.24)
Constant	4 97***	3 02***	2.36***	2.76***
Sample size	785	766	737	737
Climatic zones	No	No	No	Yes
Pseudo R-squared	0.04	0.06	0.08	0.08

Table 5: Estimated coefficients of the independent variables on the adaptation index (AdaptInd) in the median regressions

\*\*\* significant at 1 % level \*\* significant at 5 % level

\* significant at 10 % level Standard errors are in parentheses

following our expectations and intuitions. The two factors appear to contribute to farms' adaptation capacities, facilitating active engagement for adaptations (Assefa and Gebrehiwot, 2023).

We examine the interaction effects between farm-sizes and CPInd as well as between farm-368 sizes and IWA on AdaptInd. To this end, the interaction terms are included and estimated in Model 369 4, enabling us to derive the predicted median AdaptInd over CPInd or over IWA for each farm size. 370 Model 4 shows that the coefficient of the interaction terms between small-size farms and CPInd is 371 statistically significant at 5 % level. It implies that small-size farms tend to raise AdaptInd by 0.34 372 (= 0.06 + 0.28), when their CPInd rises by one unit. Similarly, the coefficient of the interaction 373 terms between small-size farms and IWA is statistically significant at 5% level, implying that 374 small-size farms take additional AdaptInd by 0.53 (= 0.02 + 0.51), when their IWA improves by 375 one level. Overall, adaptations by small-size farms can be interpreted to be highly dependent on 376 CPInd as well as on IWA with positive associations, while large-size and medium-size farms are 377 not. The results suggest some possibility that the interaction effects of farm sizes with CPInd and 378 with IWA practically influence AdaptInd in Tajikistan farming. 379

Based on the estimation results from model 4, we compute and graph the predicted median 380 AdaptInd over CPInd and IWA for each farm size in consideration to the interactions (figure 5). 381 The predicted median AdaptInd for each of large, medium and small-size farms in figure 5a demon-382 strates that the intercepts and slopes are idiosyncratic between small-size farms and other-size ones 383 (medium- and large-size farms). In particular, the intercepts for the large and medium-size farms 384 are higher than that for the small-size farms, and the predicted median AdaptInd has a upward 385 slope over CPInd only for small-size farms. On the other hand, it is evident that the predicted me-386 dian AdaptInd is not sensitive to CPInd for each of medium and large-size farms, being practically 387 flat. Likewise, the same tendencies of the predicted median AdaptInd over IWA are found across 388 farm sizes (figure 5b), presenting that adaptations by small-size (large and medium-size) farms 389 are sensitive (insensitive) to IWA with a positive slope. Overall, figures 5a and 5b are interpreted 390 to suggest that small-size farms in Tajikistan are vulnerable to or fragile against climate change 391 through a decline in adaptations, especially when they have neither proper climate perceptions nor 392



(a) Predicted AdaptInd over CPInd by farmers across farm sizes



(b) Predicted AdaptInd over IWA by farmers across farm sizes

Figure 5: Predicted adaptation indices (AdaptInd) over climatic perception index (CPInd) and irrigation water availability by farmers across farm sizes

sufficient water availability. It must be noted that large- and medium-size farms do not display
 such a tendency, and we conjecture that they possess some advantages for adaptations reflecting
 farming culture and history that have prevailed in Tajikistan as compared to small-size one.

We summarize the statistical and econometric results related to AdaptNum and AdaptInd, 396 providing the answers to our research question and hypothesis. As outlined in our conceptual 397 framework, AdaptNum and AdaptInd are influenced by cognitive factors, socioeconomic ones and 398 their interactions. The results demonstrate that farm sizes, CPInd, farming experience, informa-390 tion access, IWA and family size influence both AdaptNum and AdaptInd in a robust manner. 400 In particular, the summary statistics, boxplots and regression results uniformly suggest that farm 401 sizes are key variables to characterize adaptations, that is, adaptations tend to increase with farm 402 sizes. Estimated coefficients on the interaction terms and the associated graphs show that large and 403 medium-size farms stably take adaptations, irrespective of CPInd and IWA, while small-size farms 404 are sensitive to the factors or vulnerable against climate change. It means that small-size farms go 405 through a decline in adaptations or do not have an ability to adapt, especially when they do not 406 have good CPInd or sufficient IWA. The results may be due to traditional farming practices during 407 the Soviet period "Kolkhoz" and "Sovkhoz" where Tajikistan farmers are familiar with agricultural 408 production and management under large and medium-size farms, adapting to climate change. On 409 the other hand, Tajikistan farmers in small-size farms are known to suddenly become the owners 410 of newly allocated small agricultural plots, and they do not receive proper instructions or training 411 regarding how to manage and make productions under small farming (Van-Assche et al., 2013, 412 Shtaltovna, 2016). Therefore, such farmers may not posses any embodied knowledge, skills and 413 abilities to adapt particularly under the lack of their climate perceptions and water availability. It 414 is our belief that the statistical analyses present coherent results with one another, well reflecting 415 what is going on farmers' adaptations by farm sizes in Tajikistan. 416

Land fragmentation is a growing worldwide trend which is known to be influenced by external factors, such as population growth, economic uncertainties and policies, bringing farm sizes to be small over time (Tan et al., 2006, Hartvigsen, 2014, Sharofiddinov et al., 2024). In some coun-





(b) The proposed plot and farm sizes in final step

Figure 6: Proposed plot and farm sizes in intermediate and final steps of land consolidation.

tries, land fragmentation is empirically established to be beneficial as well as to increase farmers' 420 adaptation capabilities in agriculture (Kabubo-Mariara and Mulwa, 2019, Ntihinyurwa et al., 2019, 421 Koirala et al., 2022). In general, however, the superiority between large and small sizes or between 422 large-scale and small-scale business operations is not clear-cut in terms of profitability and adapta-423 tion capability, remaining inconclusive depending on the types of management practices, cultural 424 contexts and histories (Revilla and Fernández, 2012, Hollender et al., 2017). Against this back-425 ground, our research indicates that land consolidation is recommended to enhance agricultural 426 adaptations in Tajikistan and other countries who face the similar situations of old infrastructures 427 and poor water availability due to the cultures and histories. For instance, it shall be effective to es-428 tablish community-based management, such as enterprises or shareholders, through consolidating 429 small-size farms and their fragmented plots. Figures 6a and 6b depict two examples for possible 430 steps. Figure 6a suggests that approximately 80 medium and small-size farms in 120 ha with 237 431 plots can be consolidated to form five enterprises (shareholders) that consist of 12 plots on the basis 432 of the plot structures in the pre-reform periods. Figure 6b further suggests that the five enterprises 433 can be merged into one in 120 ha with 12 plots. The suggestions are expected to enable farmers to 434 (i) rotate and diversify their crops, (ii) have access to water irrigation systems and roads, (iii) in-435 crease water availability, (iv) improve efficiency of machinery and (v) reduce unnecessarily roads, 436 ditches and farm boundaries under the current water infrastructures in Tajikistan. Alternatively, if 437 such land consolidation is considered unfeasible, small-size farms should receive proper instruc-438 tions for climate perceptions or further provision of suitable irrigation infrastructures for sufficient 439 IWAs, increasing their adaptations. 440

## 441 **5** Conclusion

This study has examined how farm sizes influence adaptation responses in relation to irrigationrelated, cognitive and socioeconomic factors reflecting farming culture and history, hypothesizing that large-size farms adapt to climate change as compared to small-size ones in Tajikistan. We

utilize a questionnaire survey with 800 farmers on their adaptation responses, farm sizes, climatic 445 perceptions, irrigation water availability (IWA), cognitive and socioeconomic factors. The anal-446 yses reveal that farm sizes, climatic perceptions and IWA are key determinants to characterize 447 adaptations. The findings show that small-size farms do not adapt as compared to medium- and 448 large-size farms, and the adaptations by small-size farms are highly dependent on their climatic 449 perceptions and IWA. Overall, this research establishes that large and medium-size farms take 450 adaptations irrespective of climatic perceptions and IWA, while small-size farms are found to be 451 sensitive to or vulnerable against climate change. Therefore, the results indicate that the ongo-452 ing land-fragmentation policy in Tajikistan should be reconsidered due to the losses in adaptation 453 responses, as it has been drastically increasing the number of small-size farms. Otherwise, it is 454 crucial to provide proper guidance for how to manage and adapt through improving small-size 455 farmers' climatic perceptions and developing proper irrigation infrastructures to ensure their water 456 availability. 457

We acknowledge some limitations of this study and provide directions for future research. Our 458 analyses do not incorporate long-term farmers' adaptations in relation to climatic data. Our study 459 captures farm-level adaptations including their quantity and coverage areas in relation to various 460 factors and farm sizes with the cross-sectional data. Farmers' adaptations may go beyond the 461 results by analyzing the cross sectional data through a questionnaire survey. Thus, future studies 462 should collect panel data that include farmers' adaptations and climatic data over several growing 463 seasons or years. By doing so, further countermeasures for increasing agricultural adaptations shall 464 be identified. Moreover, we do not associate farmers' adaptations with their performances, such as 465 profits or productions in the analyses. In future, it is recommended to examine the relation between 466 some performance variables and adaptations in relation to farm sizes within a single framework, 467 utilizing switching regressions. This type of researches shall contribute to our understanding of 468 how the sizes matter for not only adaptations but also performances along with the relation between 469 the two. Despite the limitations, we believe that this study demonstrates a clear evidence, that is, 470 farm sizes are keys for adaptations and land fragmentation is not necessarily recommended in the 471

context of Tajikistan. The evidence shall be considered an important initial step for clarifying
the functions among farm sizes, cognitive and socioeconomic factors in agriculture as well as for
countering adverse effects from climate change on food security in countries facing the same types
of situations as in Tajikistan.

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