

For example, in the male part of the yurt are items such as gear associated with hunting and horses, and the *ongon*, a religious object that women, especially non-kin, are not allowed to touch. In the female part of the yurt one can find household items such as kitchen utensils, hides, grindstones, and so on. In the *khoimor* section there is an altar on either side of which are chests. The "chest of the right side" stores the masculine items and the "chest of the left side" stores the feminine items.

The social distinction function of the house is also expressed through the allocation of space to honorable and less honorable places that indicate one's social status and age. For example, elderly men occupy the space on the male side, closest to the *khoimor*, and the lower a guest's social status, the closer to the door the guest sits. A similar order is observed on the female side of the house.

The vertical structural planning of the dwelling space is also important and serves as a determining factor in different systems. The analysis of the construction elements of the traditional house reveals a correspondence between the vertical structure of the yurt, the human body, and the Universe. One brief example from our data is the decorations of a house, and especially the felted-wool yurt, which comply with this schema. The lower parts of the yurt's wooden railing are referred to as "limbs," the upper ones are called "heads," and the ornaments on the upper part of the door are referred to as the door's "eyes." The objects inside the yurt are placed in accordance with the rules of the vertical structure and the objects' semiotic status.

The issue of typologizing traditional dwellings of the Mongol-speaking peoples remains unresolved. Conventional detailed studies mostly focused on felted wool items, while the wooden many-sided yurt of the Buryats, the traditional houses of the Northern territories of the Mongol-speaking people, remain understudied. There are several aspects that differentiate between the wooden and woolen yurts — differences in the genesis, the structural arrangement of space, and the performance of an intricate ritual preceding the construction of a house need to be examined.

In general the data on the typology and structure of the traditional houses point to numerous issues, both general and specific, related to the origins of the lexical denotations for different parts of the house, the correspondence of the spatial parameters of the house with the parameters of the external world, and the semantics of house decoration. The "grammar" of the communicative relations between people in terms of the contradiction between the inside and the outside of a house is a promising topic of research. The next goal of this project is to study the problem of the existence of traditional cultural forms in the context of Buryat residences in contemporary conditions. Specifically, I am interested in the gendered aspect of the organization of space and the meaning and functions of various spaces within houses.

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Ethnicity and Inequality Among Migrants in the Kyrgyz Republic

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My research investigates disparities in employment and living standards among migrants and non-migrants of varying ethnicities in urban settings in the Kyrgyz Republic. Its design was established to test the strength of the classic microeconomic approach to the study of migration, which states that individuals migrate to develop larger stores of social capital, boost living standards, and increase chances at greater educational attainment (see Borjas 1987,

Chiswick 2000). First I will outline the debate in the migration literature, then I will summarize information on migration statistics for Kyrgyzstan, and then I will discuss my recent fieldwork on this topic.

In the 1990s an emerging body of research began to show that migrants in the developing world were not necessarily becoming advantaged by their move from rural areas to cities (Massey 1996). A

study by Brockerhoff and Brennan (1998) with *Demographic and Health Survey* (DHS) data from several developing countries showed infant mortality rates to be higher in urban areas than rural areas in most cases. What this illustrates is that destination choice among migrants is extremely complex and that several factors, not just ones that are socioeconomic in nature, play a role in determining who migrates and where migrants go. Increasingly among these "new economics" theorists (Massey 1998), ethnicity is being considered a primary factor in migration patterns.

Central Asia is often neglected in debates of ethnic migration patterns. This is unfortunate, as the region is ethnically diverse and has been experiencing heavy migration flows since the breakup of the Soviet Union (Kolstø 1998; Shevtsova 1992). My study concentrates on the Kyrgyz Republic, a country that contains several ethnic groups, many of which are concentrated in specific regions and cities. Migration has been a prominent demographic characteristic in the Kyrgyz Republic, as in the rest of Central Asia, over the past decade.

This study integrates census data from 1989 and 1999 with DHS data from 1997. Substantive data collected from fieldwork has recently been added. The census data display a classic migration pattern for a developing country: heavy immigration and internal migration characterized by rural to urban flight. Analysis of the census data supports past studies in the region that showed a decline in the number of Russians, Ukrainians, and other Europeans in the population due to emigration. Generally, these groups have been migrating to their respective "homelands." This phenomenon is important to point out as it represents the most crucial form of "brain drain" in Central Asia. Russians and other Europeans have typically been the most educated and highly skilled members of the population in Central Asian countries. Therefore, there has been fear that the migration of this segment of the population could prove a liability to the former states of the Soviet Union as they attempt to develop their economy and technological base (Morozova 1993, Kolstø 1998).

All rural provinces in the Kyrgyz Republic show population declines after controlling for natural increase. The capital, Bishkek, is experiencing a dramatic population increase due directly to migration. Cross-tabular analyses of the DHS data support these findings, but also show

heavy intra-provincial migration within the heavily populated, rural, and very poor provinces of Osh and Jalal-Abad in the south.¹

DHS data are used to determine the relative advantage of migrants in comparison to non-migrants and different ethnic groups to each other. This data set consists of a representative sample of 3,848 women ranging in age from 15-49.² Unemployment and living standards (using a living standards index derived from World Bank and United Nation Development Program living standard indicators) are the independent variables. The three major ethnic groups that are being examined are Slavs (Russians and Ukrainians), Kyrgyz, and Uzbeks. Slavs, the most advantaged group within the population, have far lower unemployment rates and much higher living standards than the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks. Slavic migrants actually have higher employment rates than Slavic non-migrants. The Kyrgyz have higher employment rates and living standards than the Uzbeks, but the rates of the two groups are more similar than the rates of either group are in comparison to the Slavs. Employment rates among Kyrgyz and Uzbek migrants are higher than among their non-migrating counterparts, but their living standards are much lower.

Regression analyses demonstrate that migrants have living standards that are, on average, 30 percent lower than non-migrants. After controlling for education, age, and number of children, living standards for migrants who settle in urban areas went from 1.491 to 1.372. These coefficients are interpreted as odds ratios and represent a 12 percent increase in living standards, where the variable outcome is "low standard of living." However, much of this increase is due to the higher living standards among Slavic migrants in the Kyrgyz Republic in general and in cities in particular.

The fieldwork used in this study was conducted in July and August of 2002. Funding was part of the Pre-dissertation Field Research on

¹ Batken Province was not considered in the DHS data analysis as it was not an official administrative district at the time of the survey (1997).

² DHS data sets are only representative samples of women age 15-49. They are used primarily to investigate reproductive health and child health. However, they are very useful for examining other issues such as conditions among migrants and comparing conditions among rural vs. urban residents. DHS data was used because it is one of the few nationally representative independent data sets for the Kyrgyz Republic.

Urbanization and Internal Migration in Developing Countries Fellowship Program provided by the Mellon Foundation. The fellowship was administered through the Population Research Center, University of Texas at Austin. I conducted the fieldwork in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and the Kyrgyz Republic. In the Kyrgyz Republic, I conducted the majority of my research in the capital of Bishkek and in Issyk-Kul Province.

My field research involved structured interviews with migration officials and employers and informal interviews with both migrants and non-migrants. The interviews confirmed that in terms of internal migration most population flows are from the underdeveloped southern part of the Kyrgyz Republic to the more economically advantaged north. Bishkek is the ultimate destination of migrants, with the urban centers of Osh and Jalal-Abad in the south acting as transit points for movement to the capital. This helps explain the internal movement of Uzbeks within the southern provinces found in the DHS data analyses. Such a pattern exists in other developing countries, where ethnically based networks and enclaves allow migrants to move from rural areas to urban ones within the same province or other administrative district. Once in those urban settings, migrants use their ethnically based connections to find better employment and opportunities in even larger urban settings (such as capitals).

Not all migration flows are going directly to the capital. My field research found that Issyk-Kul Province is also drawing migrants due to its relatively stable economy which is based on the tourism industry active on the northern and eastern shores of Lake Issyk-Kul.³ This employment, however, is seasonal, and usually draws Russians and Kyrgyz from Bishkek. Flows from the south directly to Issyk-Kul Province are minimal at best. Issyk-Kul Province has traditionally had very few ethnic Uzbeks.

This research supports the predictions of Massey (1996) and the findings of Brockerhoff and Brennan (1998) and Massey et al. (1998) on how the migrant experience in cities of the developing world is changing. Like Massey et al., this study shows the

importance of ethnicity when looking at the changing face of urbanization and migration in the developing world. Those of Slavic origin, who have been the most advantaged group in Central Asia, continue to experience high employment rates and living standards, even when they migrate. Much of this may be due to their relatively higher levels of education and work skills. For Slavic migrants in particular, migration to cities means migrating to a setting that has been traditionally dominated by Slavs. No doubt the networks established between migrating and pre-established Slavs give them an advantage in terms of higher status employment and housing. Kyrgyz, and especially Uzbek, migrants have much lower employment rates and living standards than their Slavic counterparts. Uzbek migration has been concentrated in the south, where Uzbeks have traditionally settled. The south remains a relatively poor and underdeveloped part of the country. Thus, their chances of attaining decent employment and living standards are not great.

I presented the findings of this research at the Seventh Annual World Conference of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, April 11-13, 2002. The research continues and I am focusing what I believe are two weaknesses of the study thus far. First, I am examining the role that community (i.e., village and town) and clan-based networks play in internal migration patterns in the Kyrgyz Republic and Kazakhstan. It has been suggested by some that these types of networks might be more important than are broad ethnic ties. Second, I am investigating more thoroughly the migration process in places like Issyk-Kul Province and East Kazakhstan Province in Kazakhstan, where the tourism industry and other rural industries are not only deterring individuals within those provinces from migrating, but are actually drawing in migrants, at least on a seasonal basis.

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³ These data come from interviews conducted with officials from the International Organization for Migration, Bishkek, and employers and workers in the tourism industry in Issyk-Kul Province during July and August, 2002.

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Field Report on Oral and Archival Histories of Collectivization in Uzbekistan

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Introduction

In Spring of 2002 I worked in Tashkent and Nurota (Navoi Province), Uzbekistan, on the second year of what will be a four to five year oral and archival history project on the nature of Stalinist collectivization as experienced by peasants. My principal colleague, Dr. Marianne Kamp (University of Wyoming), and I will resume research starting February, 2003. To our satisfaction, this year we added members from Uzbekistan's Young Scholars Organization (*Yosh Olimalar Jamgharmasi*—YO) to our team, including Drs. Elyor Karimov and Komil Kalonov. Kalonov worked with me in interviewing 14 elders of the semidesert and mountainous district of Nurota. We spent eight days traveling throughout this district long famed for pastoralism and Qaraköl sheep production, gaining a sense of what the impact of collectivized agriculture and pastoralism meant to the lives of the interviewees and what kinds of key events or social processes they seemed able to recall. Working with contacts and local residents, we visited the elders in their homes and asked permission to discuss the topics covered by our questionnaire.

Kamp and I developed the idea to gather oral histories back in 1999-2000, and we began proposing the project to funders in late 2000. Kamp had worked in Namangan earlier, doing research that

involved interviewing elders, and I had carried out my own research on villages in Namangan. Although we were aware of the multitude of Soviet sources on collectivization in Uzbekistan and have since deepened our knowledge of this literature, we thought it was important to examine collectivization in Central Asia, as Western scholars have already been doing in Russia and Ukraine. We knew from the outset that we would have an enormous amount of work to do with the archival materials alone, but we also vetted the idea of finding witnesses, hoping that if we could find those who were still mentally competent we then would be able to present eyewitness evidence that had never been recorded or memorialized.

Methods and Strategies

The process of conducting this research has been marked by challenges, not just in the research process, but from our colleagues, both in the U.S. and in Uzbekistan. We knew that if we were to do this research thoroughly, we would need at least three years of fieldwork and archival collection, and we also knew that once we began to interview we would have to return to Uzbekistan often because our aged informants might not live much longer. Furthermore, we would need to carry out the research over this length of time because we would