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Ethnic Conflict in Southern Kyrgyzstan

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ABSTRACT

An abstract of the thesis of Jennifer Jane O'Donnell for the Master of Science in Sociology presented May 1, 1997.

Title: Ethnic Conflict in Southern Kyrgyzstan

This thesis focuses on the interethnic relations between ethnic groups in Southern Kyrgyzstan using survey data collected from 500 students at Osh State University. This study examines the nature of attitudes of students and faculty regarding homogeneity, exclusionary attitudes, satisfaction with current living situation, and interethnic relations.

Research on interethnic conflict suggests that interethnic relations will depend on several variables, including the size and strength of the various ethnic groups, their political opportunities, their economic situation, and their communal ties. This line of research would suggest that the Kyrgyz would be in the strongest position among the ethnic groups in Southern Kyrgyzstan and would therefore have more exclusionary attitudes towards the other groups. Likewise, this thesis would suggest that the Uzbeks, ethnic Russians, and other smaller ethnic groups living in Southern Kyrgyzstan

would have the weakest position, and therefore would see their position and their interaction with the other groups in a more desperate light.

This thesis found just the opposite. The conclusions drawn from the data used in this thesis show that the Uzbeks, not the Kyrgyz, are more likely to express exclusionary attitudes towards the other groups. In addition, the data show that the Uzbeks are the most ethnically homogeneous group and have the strongest communal ties. The Uzbeks are more likely than the other groups to favor endogamous marriage, to live in ethnically segregated neighborhoods, and in general to exhibit the characteristics and attitudes of the dominant group, even thought they are not the titular groups. The findings also suggest that the smaller ethnic groups like the ethnic Russians are the most dissatisfied with their present living situation and current interethnic relations.

These results show that the political changes in the former Soviet Union in the last decade, especially in this part of Central Asia, have resulted in changes in the ethnic landscape but do not suggest that the result will be violent interethnic conflict. Instead, there may be a continuation of emigration by smaller non-titular groups such as the ethnic Russians.

ETHNIC CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN KYRGYZSTAN

by

JENNIFER JANE O'DONNELL

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"A considerable part of the territory of the former Soviet Union is a tangled knot of hate, destruction, non-comprehensiveness and alienation, which came from the nationalistic revival, fierce inter-group clashes of power and overwhelming frustration" (Akaev, 1995:xiii)

However, many ethnic groups besides the Kyrgyz reside in the new nation as well, as has been the case in each of the nations created after the Soviet Union's breakup. This is in part because the borders of the Soviet republics were not originally drawn to perfectly reflect ethnic territorial boundaries. In fact, the intent was often just the opposite. It is also because the Soviet Union moved ethnic groups forcibly and voluntarily to various parts of the Soviet Union far from their ethnic homelands for political and economic reasons.

As a result, in many of the newly-created nations, the titular group, the group for which the country is named does not even constitute a majority of the population. In Kazakhstan, for instance, the Kazakhs make up approximately 40% of the population. As a result, attempts by these new nations to develop national identities based on ethnicity has pitted ethnic groups against each other that were relatively equal in the old system.

Among the 15 former Soviet Republics are the five States that make the geographical area referred to as Central Asia: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Before becoming independent states in 1991, none of these five countries had been independent entities, but were bureaucratic identities largely created by Moscow.

The characteristics that identify Central Asia are its ethno-linguistic commonality in Turkic languages (except for Tajikistan where Persian is a spoken), its Islamic religious identity, and the geological features of high mountains and high Asia steppe.

Because of political instability, accurate statistics about this area do not exist. Kyrgyzstan is estimated to contain of over 80 ethnic groups. The Kyrgyz make up just over half of the population. Kyrgyzstan also has a large population of Uzbeks and smaller, but important, populations of Russians, Ukrainians, Tartars, Kazakhs, Germans, and Tajiks (United Nations Development site Program and the National Academy of Science of the Kyrgyz Republic, 1995).

The site of this study is the southern Kyrgyz city of Osh. This area has historically been settled by Uzbek farmers and traders because it shares its border with Uzbekistan and the historically important Fergana Valley. The percentage of Uzbeks living in this area is estimated to be 28%, but could be as high as 40%. Recent attempts by Kyrgyzstan to create a separate Kyrgyz nation in this traditionally Uzbek area led to the June 1990 rioting between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz in which 171 people were killed (Elebayeva, 1992). However, casual observations of the area show a

relatively peaceful coexistence between these two groups, and for that matter among all of the groups in the region. (Olcott, 1995)

The interethnic dynamic that is being played out in Southern Kyrgyzstan is one in which the formerly dominant Russian ethnic group is being displaced by the newly dominant Kyrgyz group in an area where the population has a large percentage of Uzbeks. As a result, interethnic relations are bound to change and are an increasingly important area to observe.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Since the 1990 Osh Incident and the 1991 break-up of the Soviet Union ethnic relations in Central Asia, the Fergana Valley, and the city of Osh have been of particular interest. Even so, research and literature on interethnic relations within this geographical area are both limited and somewhat contradictory. It is the aim of this thesis to examine the nature of relations among the ethnic groups in Southern Kyrgyzstan by studying the attitudes of students of different ethnic groups at Osh State University.

This study will investigate current attitude patterns of students at Osh State University toward interethnic marriage, interethnic friendship, and interethnic residential segregation as they relate to ethnic type: Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Russian, and "Other" groups. It also examines other issues known to predict interethnic tension, such as religion, language and economics.

The primary research question is whether the Kyrgyz are becoming more nationalistic by asserting what they believe are their rights as indigenous people to exclusive control of their homeland, and whether they express exclusionary attitudes and behaviors towards the other ethnic groups. It pays particular attention to the relationship between the titular group and the largest non-titular group, the Uzbeks.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

HISTORY OF KYRGYZSTAN

Kyrgyzstan is one of five newly independent Central Asian states in what used to be known as Soviet Central Asia. Kyrgyzstan is located in the center of Central Asia, sharing boarders with Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and China (For map see Appendix A). On December 8, 1991, like the other four Central Asian countries, it went from being a dependent appendage of the central Communist Party and state hierarchies in Moscow to being a sovereign member of the international community. With its independence came the need to create unique domestic and foreign policy whose content had to reflect the "national interest," an alien concept before independence due to the fact that most, if not all, of the government policy had been decided in Moscow (Chinn and Kaiser, 1996).

The territory of the present Kyrgyz Republic was originally part of the Turkistan Autonomous Republic of post-revolution Russia. Beginning in 1924, Soviet leaders divided this region and drew borders that separated the Central Asian Republics.

This territory became the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region with a local political and party organization. These purely formal and artificial boarders, created "national"

republics that contained large populations of non-titular nationalities: Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan, Tajiks in Uzbekistan, and so forth. (If these populations existed in large enough numbers outside their own "national" republic, they sometimes won some level of autonomy or semi-autonomous region.)

The boundaries of the Soviet republic were not drawn with an eye to possible independence, but rather to impede secession by any of the USSR's various national communities and to diminish the likelihood of regional cooperation. Yet seven decades of living with roughly the same borders none the less gave each of the five republics some degree of internal cohesion.

In 1926 the Kyrgyz Autonomous Republic was established within the Russian Federation of Soviet Republics. In 1936, on the basis of the new constitution of the USSR, the region then became the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic with status equal to that of the Russian Republic. On the whole, living standards improved during the years of Soviet power. Since the disintegration of the USSR, the independent Kyrgyz Republic has become the lawful successor to the territory of Soviet Kyrgyzstan and acquired international recognition. "The idea of Soviet Republics based on Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Tadjik, and Turkmen 'nations' was a theoretical construct of Soviet intellectuals rather than a primordial aspiration of any of those Central Asian peoples" (Smith, 1990: 197)

Of Kyrgyzstan's four neighbors, only Kazakhstan commands any sort of trust among the Kyrgyz. The Kyrgyz fear the imperialist ambitions of both the Uzbeks and

the Chinese, just as they fear the possibility that the civil war in neighboring Tajikistan could spill over into their republic. Relations with Uzbekistan are another, less immediate, concern. (Olcott, 1996)

Kyrgyzstan is divided into 6 oblasts: Chu, Issyk-Kul, Osh, Jalalabad, Naryn and Talas. The southernmost is Osh. Both Osh and Jalalabad oblasts border on Uzbekistan. More importantly, Osh oblast is reported to be one third Uzbek; "about one half-million Uzbeks live in close proximity with some 1.2 million Kyrgyz" (Olcott, 1996:105).

Living conditions in the Osh oblast are different from those in the Chu Valley in Northern Kyrgyzstan, where the capital is located. The Southern oblasts are more traditionally Asian and Muslim than the Northern oblasts , where Russian influence is much stronger. The people of the Chu Valley are closely integrated with Kazakhstan (Bishkek is four hours from Altmaty by car, a short distance by Central Asian standards) and, through it, with Russia. In both location and culture, Kyrgyzstan's south finds more affinity with Uzbekistan and, by extension, with the cultural life of the south Asian countries that lie beyond (Ollcot,1996).

"Kyrgyzstan is among the poorest nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States" (Diller,1993:255). Like the other Central Asian countries it contains many natural resources: fresh and mineral water, gold, silver, antimony, mercury, iron, tin, coal, and other materials. These resources, however, are mostly in high and remote mountain areas and to date remain relatively under-utilized.

Like other countries of the old Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan is composed of many ethnic groups, over 80 all together. The oblast of Osh is primarily Kyrgyz and Uzbeks: these two groups make up over 91% of the population, about 63% and 28% respectively. The next largest populations the Russians (2.9%) and Tartar (1.2%). (Human Development Report 1995:11)

ETHNIC GROUPS IN KYRGYZSTAN

Traditionally, the Kyrgyz people are thought to hold a number of desirable traits. They value education, for instance, and families often make great sacrifices to provide education to all members, including women. Another strong character trait is a profound respect for the elderly, irrespective of position or nationality. Public consensus and respect of one's neighbors is very important to the people of the Kyrgyz Republic. The peoples of the Kyrgyz Republic are said to be tolerant and altruistic. As is common with societies who were historically pastoral nomads they respond to economic difficulties with generosity, providing whatever assistance is needed. Another strong characteristic of the Kyrgyz is that they seek to avoid conflict whenever possible (Human Development Report 1995).

On the other hand, the mentality of the population of the Kyrgyz republic includes some characteristics inherited from the former Soviet system. The first of these is lack of initiative and decisiveness. There is a tendency for people to wait for orders from above. The second feature is a dependency on the ruling circles to provide everything that is necessary (Human Development Report 1995).

The Kyrgyz

The Kyrgyz, or Kara-Kirgiz (meaning "the real Kyrgyz"), are the largest ethnic group in Kyrgyzstan. They have existed for over two thousand years and "belonged to the South Siberian type formed as a mingling of the Central Asian Mongoloids with the Caucasoid population of Kazakhstan" (Wheeler, 1966:15). They first occupied the section of south central Russia within the Yenisei River and Lake Baykal. This is where they developed their culture and their written language. For a detailed chronology of the Kyrgyz history see Appendix B.

The Kyrgyz are nomadic mountain horse people who have been living in the region now named Kyrgyzstan for about the last 300 years. The theme of their thousand-year-old national epic, the Manas, is their fight for totality, unity, and independence. Embracing the culture and values of the Kyrgyz people, this epic has been orally handed down since its beginnings. Comprising approximately a million lines of verse, the epic recounts the birth, deeds, and death of the nation's legendary founder-hero, Manas, his son Semrtey, and his Grandson Seytek. Mystical, magical and mythical, the epic describes the 40 Kyrgyz tribes' struggles for unification and freedom in heroic and tragic terms. For the Kyrgyz, it is the essence of who they are.

The Human Development Report 1995 states that:

> Perhaps the strongest characteristic trait that remains of the former way of life of the Kyrgyz people is tribalism that has somehow preserved despite the official collective ideology and the centralized distribution of financial and material benefits. Currently, the Kyrgyz version of tribalism, manifest in the selection of personnel for key ruling positions and the establishment of local alliances, has become an obstacle to

> national consolidation. In addition to tribalism, there is a certain alertness between ethnic groups that has been accentuated since the disintegration of the USSR. (The Human Development Report 1995:12)

When asked about the tribal heritage of their countries ministers they suggest that they do not know, due to the lack of importance it plays in society. Yet, one is considered "a lost Kyrgyz" without the knowledge of the tribal membership of, at least, the last seven generations of their paternal and maternal heritage (Khazanov, 1995).

The Uzbeks

The second largest ethnic group in the Osh area are the Uzbeks. They are by far the largest group of Muslims in Central Asia, and are the third largest group that occupied the Soviet Union, ranking after the Russians and the Ukrainians.

The Uzbeks are Turkic peoples that are grouped into the Caucasoid group; they are round headed, of medium height and have dark hair and eyes. The Uzbeks are the largest Turkish group in Central Asia and the largest in the world after the Turkic people of Turkey. Their name has been said to derive from one of the khans of the Golden Horde, Uzbek.

During the 15th century, the Uzbeks occupied the country between the Lower Volga and the Aral Sea. Coming south at the beginning of the 16th century, they conquered the settled regions of Bukhara and Samarkand, and later of Urgench and

Tashkent, and soon became mixed with the earlier settlers in these regions, including the ancient Iranian population of Khorezm and Sogd (Wheeler, 1966:15).

Like the Kyrgyz, the Uzbeks were originally nomadic, but they have been sedentary for the past three centuries. Traces of their old division into ninety-seven tribes still remain. In the Fergana Valley there are some elements that preserve the traditional way of life, including a tendency toward nomadism (Wheeler, 1966:16).

The Russians

Russians migrated to the Central Asian cities with industrialization between 1926 and 1970, becoming an economic rather than imperial elite, (Chinn & Kaiser,1996). In 1989, right before the break-up of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan had the highest percentage of Russians of any central Asian country next to Kazakhstan. "Russians reportedly are leaving Kyrgyzstan in significant numbers" (Diller, 1993:255).

Other Minority Groups

Though the Kyrgyz and Uzbek make up most of the population of Kyrgyzstan it is important to note that there are over 80 different groups within the country. Like the Russians, some of these groups exist in Kyrgyzstan because of forced migration during the Soviet period, while other groups represent remnants of aboriginal people in this area.

EMIGRATION

It is also important to note the mass departure of non-titular groups from Kyrgyzstan in the years during and following the break-up of the Soviet Union. Table 4 shows the number in thousands of net emigration by ethnic group.

Table 1 shows that in 1992, the year after the break-up of the Soviet Union, emigration increased by fifty-two percent raising from 33,800 to 77,500 and that in 1993 it increased by another forty-six percent from 77,500 to 120,600. It fell to only 51,100 in 1994. Between the years of 1989 and 1994, almost 200,000 Russians, 72,000 Germans, and 26,000 Ukrainians left Kyrgyzstan. Over half of the remaining Russians claim they wished to leave the country, but did not have the finical capabilities to do so. "Migration trends and survey data suggest that the majority of Russians in Central Asia will leave the region (Chinn & Kaiser, 1996:233).

TABLE 1

Net Emigration from Kyrgyzstan by Ethnic Group (in thousands)

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Total	16.0	41.9	33.8	77.5	120.6	51.0
Kyrgyz	***-.08***	***-3.4***	***-4.3***	***-2.2***	***-2.8***	***-1.1***
Russian	2.2	16.3	17.4	48.5	80.9	31.6
Ukranian	.3	2.3	2.3	6.8	10.6	4.0
Belorussian	.1	0.0	0.2	0.6	.8	0.3
Uzbek	.4	3.9	3.4	5.6	6.0	3.1
Kazakh	-.5	-0.3	-0.3	0.4	0.8	0.2
Azeri	.1	2.5	-0.3	-0.3	-0.2	-0.2
Moldovian	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Latvian	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
Tajik	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.2	-0.0
Armenian	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Tartar	0.7	1.5	1.0	3.4	8.8	3.4
Jewish	0.2	1.0	12.8	0.5	0.6	0.4
German	13.4	15.1	12.8	12.0	10.6	7.8
Uiger	..	-0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1
Dungan	..	-0.2	-0.2	-0.1	0.0	-0.1
Korean	..	0.0	-0.1	0.1	0.4	0.1
Turkish	..	-0.4	0.0	-0.3	-0.2	-0.2
Other	..	2.0	0.7	1.7	3.6	1.5

(Human Development Report 1995)

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

"Can we then expect that the successor states of Central Asia will experience the internal turmoil and external conflicts that have characterized so many other post-imperial successor states? Will they fall victim to ethnic strife and civil disorder? Will minorities be attacked and forced out?" (Banuazizi & Weiner, 1994:7)

INTERETHNIC CONFLICT

Interethnic conflict is a condition that can occur between groups of people that define themselves according to distinct cultural backgrounds. Interethnic conflict can stem from various conditions in the society and can take on different forms, resulting in different outcomes. Though some suggest that interethnic conflict is both natural and beneficial, others believe that it is detrimental to society as a whole.

Whatever the functions of ethnic conflict, the genesis of the conflict arises from a wide variety of sources. "Ethnic conflict arises from complex combinations of ethnic strength, class, inequality, political opportunity, mobilization resources, interdependence, and international interventions" (Williams, 1994: 49). All, or some, of these causes can be found in most societies, so that the locus of any particular ethnic conflict maybe one or more aspects mentioned above. In Central Asia, all of these

issues maybe found to one degree or another as the ethnic mix, political climate, economic opportunities, and social institutions are going through rapid and unpredictable changes. For the Kyrgyz the most important variable is the change in the political opportunities. They are now in the leadership position, the titular group, and as a consequence able to impose political hegemony over the other groups. On the other hand, to the Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan ethnic strength is important, as demonstrated by strong tribal and communal ties. For the ethnic Russians, their strength comes from the constant threat of foreign intervention from Russia into Kyrgyz affairs.

Chinn and Kaiser (1996) state:

> There would not be cause for conflict if the new "nation-states" fulfilled a nationalistic ideal-ethnic homogeneity of the population. However, nearly all of these post-Soviet states contain multi-national populations. The titular populations' claim to special rights and privileges in their homelands thus come into conflict with the rights and privileges of non-titular groups that inhabit the same territory (p.5).
>
> ... state titular nationalists who now control the political institutions of the post-Soviet states are pursuing territorial nationalism or national territoriality - the restructuring of ethnocultural, socioeconomic, and political relationships to ensure their nation's predominance in the territory perceived to be its historical homeland. In some cases, formal nationalism is evident in the constitutions, citizenship laws, language laws, and voting rights. In others, a more formal, mass-based anti-Russian and anti-outsider nativism has emerged, even though titular political elites are not promoting formal nationalism (p.6).

Another cause of interethnic conflict is ethno-nationalism, or what also may be called state titular nationalism. Hennayke (1992:526) argues that overt majority ethno-nationalism can be stimulated by the following:

1. when the present majority nation has been subordinated previously under colonialism.

2. where the majority ethnonationalism, especially its popular element, has been suppressed.
3. when the majority nation is threatened by external forces or by internal forces.
4. when the economic resources of a multiethnic nation-state are limited.
5. to solicit support for the adventurist politics of a state.
6. to regain lost pride.
7. when the survival of the majority nation is threatened.

While overt majority ethnonationalism can be stimulated by any of Hennayke's seven factors he points out that , "among the titular nations within the Soviet successor states, all of these conditions are present" (Hennayke, 1992:526).

Literature on ethnic conflict in this region is both limited and contradictory. Some writers claim that this area of Central Asia is filled with interethnic conflict. Others believe that latent interethnic conflict is increasing beneath the surface and that a spark may ignite interethnic war. Yet there are also those who claim that the area is surprisingly calm and are amazed at the lack of interethnic violence.

The first set of literature is based on the assumption that there is conflict in the area and that the conflict is based on interethnic tension. "Hundreds have died, and thousands have been injured, in fierce interethnic conflicts, in large measure the consequences of the denial of sovereignty and appalling economic misery... in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, interethnic hatreds are said to be at the root of violence" (Diuk & Karatnycky, 1990:15)

Some literature suggests the reasons behind the conflict were social discontent due to overcrowded living space or an increase in young Kyrgyz persons moving into

the area to find jobs, but does not discount the fact of interethnic tension in the area due to multiple ethnic groups living in this crowded space. "In the Ferghana Valley, where many of the young people live, the combination of social discontent and mixed ethnic groups living in close proximity has led to outburst of violence" (Diuk & Karatnycky, 1993:189).

Some of the literature suggests that interethnic tension exist and that conflict is presently latent waiting for even a single small incident to ignite the area in an interethnic war not unlike the interethnic conflict that occurred in the middle of 1990. "Indeed, if any more proof were required that the Fergana Valley poses a tinder box needing only a spark, the June, 1990 clashes between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the Osh region of Kyrgyzstan is a perfect example" (Center for Post-Soviet Studies, 1996:Internet)

The Osh Incident

In the beginning of June 1990, Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the Osh region of Kyrgyzstan engaged in brutal fighting. "This rising nativism was not directed against non-Central Asians. In the Osh Oblast, the conflict pitted local Kyrgyz, who held most of the political power in the region against Uzbeks, who were the economically privileged group locally. A growing wave of unemployed Kyrgyz migrated to Osh in search of work and adequate housing, both of which had become increasingly scarce. The fact that Uzbeks occupied prestigious economic positions in Osh generated a

feeling among part of the Kyrgyz population, especially the young people, of wounded pride and deprivation in their own land" (Chinn & Kaiser, 1996:229)

Though some research has been done about the reasons behind and the outcome of the incident, all of the facts are still not known. Even statistics about the final death toll vary from one source to another. On August 17, 1990, months after the situation, "the Soviet news agency TASS had placed the death toll at 230, with 400 still unaccounted for. Other official statistics claim that the incident, now considered a war by local people, left 171 dead: 120 Uzbeks, 50 Kyrgyz, and 1 Russian and over 1,000 wounded in fighting. The official commission appointed in the aftermath estimated they over 5,000 crimes were committed during the conflict, including rape, robbery, arson and assault. "According to unofficial accounts, the results may have been nearly one thousand deaths" (Olcott, 1996).

Though there was "no discernible single 'event' that could be isolated as the crucial moment that caused the outbreak of violence," (Center for Post-Soviet Studies, 1996:internet), some believe it was set in motion when "Kyrgyz political elites reallocated land from a predominantly Uzbek collective farm to provide housing exclusively to Kyrgyz" (Chinn and Kaiser, 1996:229).

Yet others believed it was directly due to interethnic tensions in the area. "In Kyrgyzstan, ethnic rioting and pitched battles in June 1990 had led to the deaths of more then one hundred Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, to the wounding of another five hundred,

and to the torching of hundreds of residences and government and party buildings" (Diuk & Karatnycky, 1990:15).

Aynur B. Elebayeva who has written articles on the Osh incident is another specialist in the area who claims that there is interethnic tension and that it is not latent but that it is being ignored and covered up by those that have been commissioned to seek it out. Elebayeva examined attitudes of oblast leaders and experts pertaining to the 1990 Osh incident and states:

> Interest in the detailed character of relations between specific nationalities under socialism until recently had been regarded in Soviet social science as a vestige of the past to be overcome. The ultimate objective of nationality policy of the former Soviet Union was the complete elimination of all nationality problems and contradictions within the framework of newly established interethnic communities. But the events of recent years very clearly have shown that problems and contradictions existed under socialism, and under aggravated socioeconomic and political conditions led (and will continue to lead) to interethnic conflicts. (Elebayeva, 1991:78)

She goes on further to suggest that studies commissioned by the Ideological Section of the Central Committee of the Kyrgyz Communist Party, found that Kyrgyzstan was not "the most calm and most free of inter-nationality conflict" (Elebayeva, 1991:79). However, these survey results were not taken into account and were dismissed as not warranting further research. This further fueled the myth of a republic calm and free of conflict. Elebayeva then added that this denial has rendered it nearly impossible to forecast the development of ethnic processes in the republic, as well as the degree of interethnic tension (Elebayeva, 1991).

In her 1991 article, "The Osh Incident: Problems For Research," Elebayeva main objective was to discuss the results of a study commissioned by Askar Akayev, Kyrgyzstan's president. The study surveyed Kyrgyz and Uzbek specialists and asked what they though were the causes of the 1990 incident. The respondents assigned weights to various factors that they offered as causes of the incident. The following is a list of things mentioned as possible causes and the percentage of times they were mentioned.

1) Unsatisfactory living conditions (49%)
2) Unemployment (48%)
3) Activity of Oblast leaders (45.7%)
4) Loosely organized groups (43.3%)
5) Provocation and spreading of rumor (43.3%)
6) Biased hiring practices (35%)
7) Activity of leaders of the republic (30.7)
8) Preferential allocation of land sectors for individual use (29%)
9) Segregation on a nationality basis in the workplace (22.7%)
10) Segregation of place of residence (22.7%)
11) Failure to satisfy cultural language needs (4.7%)
12) Intensification of the influence of religion (4.3%)

(Elebayeva, 1991:78)

Among those that believe that this area of Central Asia is calm is Martha Brill Olcott, one of the most prolific writers. Olcott notes, "The preponderance of evidence in Present-day Central Asia suggests that, rather than being a tinder-box of ethnic strife, the region is instead one in which ethnic constituencies have responded very sluggishly, if at all, to sharp and constant provocation" (Olcott, 1995:119) and goes on further to say that: "Central Asia has suffered virtually every social ill - hyperinflation, rising unemployment, rising death rates, falling birth rates,

deteriorating heath care, government corruption and crumbling infrastructure- which could be expected to increase social tension and so make interethnic violence more likely, yet Central Asia has recorded no large scale disturbances since 1991" (Olcott 1995:116).

Olcott suggests that the Osh incident had less to do with interethnic and economic issues then the old Soviet system's desire to keep the smaller Soviet nations weak. "Lurid rumors and inflammatory videotapes (video cameras being a commodity not easily obtained in the late Soviet era) circulated freely after the Osh riots and others, suggesting strongly that there were forces in Soviet society which had interest in keeping racial animosity high" (Olcott 1995:118).

Olcott goes further and suggests that it is easier for someone to suggest that interethnic toleration is high in this area than to put the blame of the Osh incident and the other incidents in this area on a higher conspirator. "Rather than attempt to document the truth of the dark rumors of conspiracy, it is somewhat easier to document what amounts to the obverse, that ethnic toleration among Central Asians in late 1991 and early 1992 was in fact quite high" (Olcott, 1995:118).

Olcott's conclusion on the interethnic tension in the area is that due to all the press that the incident got the people in this area are working hard to avoid such conflict in the future, and instead of the incident in 1990 being a forecast of what is to come it was a deterrent to any further incidents of this type. "Television accounts of the 1989

Fergana riots and the 1990 Osh riots had made Central Asians well aware of the cost of civil disorder" (Olcott, 1995:118).

The Center for Post-Soviet Studies is another organization that suggests that despite the incident in 1990 and the current social, political, and economic situation in this part of the country it has remained free of violent interethnic conflict. The Center for Post-Soviet Studies published a perspective on Central Asia saying that the Fergana Valley has "been the site of several interethnic disputes in recent years" and that "the potential for conflict here is not only in a dispute between the three republics which most share the precious land and water, but also between a multitude of ethnic groups within each country (Elebayeva, 1991:79)." But he goes on to say that "despite a profusion of newly awakened ethnic, nationalistic and economic groups, who must share dwindling agricultural lands with ever-decreasing water resources and a fast growing population, the Fergana Valley has remained calm" (Elebayeva, 1991:79).

After the 1990 Osh incident there has been little serious attention in the literature paid to interethnic relations in this area. Talk of these events is minimal, at least with outsiders, and one is warned that it is best not to probe into such issues. But as can be seen from the previous literature on this area, opinions on the existence of interethnic tension in the area vary.

Due to the conflicting literature and the current economic, political, and social situations in this area it is important to further analyze the current state of this country as well as interethnic relations within it.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study will explore the relations between the ethnic groups in this important region. It will examine the differences in background between the major groups in the region. It will also be examining the feelings of these groups to see if they believe that their ethnic group is being treated fairly in these time of economic struggle. Finally, it will look at their opinions about interethnic relations in general, and about their own personal interactions with people from other ethnic groups. Due to the literature on interethnic conflict in this area, this research will pay particular attention to the relationship between the Kyrgyz and the Uzbeks, while using the "Other" ethnic groups for comparison.

The study will first look at questions pertaining to the background of the respondents to determine if any of the groups are more ethno-centric or if any of the groups are consistently different than the other ethnic groups. It will look at issues such as area of origin, satisfaction with present living condition, primary language spoken, religious and political beliefs, parents' occupation, type of high school attended, and strength of ties to own ethnic group.

Second, it will examine ethnic strength, whether members of the titular group or any of the non-titular groups have exclusionary behavior, such as having predominately the same ethnic type friends, not wanting to marry outside of their

ethnic group, or having family that doesn't want them to marry outside their own ethnic group.

Finally it will check to see if any particular ethnic group or groups is more likely to say that they feel there are tense interethnic conditions, such as their ethnic group being treated unfairly, biased hiring practices, worsening interethnic relations, high ethnically segregated neighborhoods, high ethnic segregation at the University, or lack of programs and opportunities in their major language at the University.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This thesis will use data collected during spring term of 1996 at Osh State University (OSU) in Osh, Kyrgyzstan. OSU was established in 1992 upon the reputation and foundation of Osh Pedagogical Institute, which was organized in 1951. From 1951 to 1996 the institute was responsible for educating over 25,000 teachers in a wide range of academic specialties. OSU is the leading educational, cultural and scientific center of Southern Kyrgyzstan. The University consists of nine divisions divided into 48 departments.

The survey was conducted by the Department of Psychology in the division of Pedagogy led by Professor Akimjan Zakirov under the direction of Bakyt Beshimov, OSU's president. The survey's main purpose was to examine the respondents' attitudes about various ethnic and interethnic issues and was conducted in part to respond to the University's concern for the potential of increased ethnic tensions as the University sought to include more ethnic programs, as a response to the Osh incident of 1991.

Given the sensitivity of the survey topic, with the Osh incident still fresh, the University researchers, led by Dr. Zakirov, found they had to approach the topic

indirectly. The social distance scale was used to help decide which question would best measure interethnic attitudes. Along with this consideration further questions on the survey related to Aynur B. Elebayeva's article "The Osh Incident: Problems For Research" which listed the top reasons that Kyrgyzstan's "experts on social and economical problems in the region" (Elebayeva, 1991:80) felt lead to the 1990 Osh incident.

The final survey consisted of fifty items that asked a range of questions from items such as basic demographical questions to questions about the ethnic composition of their friends as well as expectation and important issues surrounding the selection of a mate, and living conditions of Osh. The final instrument was written in English and then translated into Russian, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek. See Appendix C for questionnaire in English.

Four departments at the University were selected to take part in the research. The four departments were selected on the basis of their ethnically diverse composition (see Appendix D). Though there were departments chosen to participate in the survey that consisted of a higher percentage of members from certain ethnic groups than appeared in the University as a whole they were selected so that the results would not have to account for known non-zero probability. These departments included the Foreign Language Department, Pedagogy Department, Kyrgyz/Uzbek Philology Department, and the Russian/Germanic Philology Department.

A total of 496 questionnaires were completed and analyzed in this project. There was a total of 298 ethnic Kyrgyz, 47 ethnic Russians, 82 Uzbek, 14 Tartar, and 18 "Other". 294 of the respondents completed the survey in Russian, 105 completed the survey in Kyrgyz, and the remaining 97 completed the survey in Uzbek. Table 1 shows a detailed breakdown of the respondents by other important demographic characteristics.

Upon the completion of the survey, the raw data was released to the PSU research team. The data was then translated into English and was coded and entered into a database using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

The sample was divided into four groups ethnic Kyrgyz, ethnic Uzbeks, ethnic Russian, and "Other". The "Other' group was a combination of all other ethnic groups at OSU. Analysis of quantitative data was based mostly on cross-tabulation using ethnic identity as the independent variable and such items as: strength of ties to ethnic group, most important trait when choosing a mate for marriage, considering someone from another ethnic group for marriage, family's ethnic preference for your mate, condition of interethnic relations, ethnic identity of friends, other ethnic for the dependent variables.

Table 1 shows the respondent demographics by survey language, the language the survey was taken in, ethnic identification, gender, religious preference, political affiliation, age, and faculty at the department.

TABLE 2

Profile of OSU Respondents

	n	%
SURVEY LANGUAGE		
Russian	294	59
Kyrgyz	105	21
Uzbek	97	20
ETHNIC IDENTITY		
Kyrgyz	304	61
Uzbek	113	23
Russian	47	9
Tartar	14	3
Other	18	4
GENDER		
Female	414	83
Male	82	17
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE		
Muslim	405	82
Christian	49	10
None	22	4
Atheist	13	3
Other	4	1
POLITICAL AFFILIATION		
None	276	66
Democratic	158	32
Communist	46	9
Liberal	2	.5
Social Democrat	2	.5
Other	7	1
AGE		
<18	114	23
19	138	28
20	108	22
21	61	12
22	21	4
23	8	2
24	6	1
25	4	.5
26>	36	7.5

DIVISION		
Russian/Germanic Philology	219	44
Kyrgyz/Uzbek Philology	126	25
Foreign Language	87	18
Pedagogy	37	8
Other	27	5

LIMITATIONS

This research is bounded by a number of limitations and weakness. The major limitations of this research are related to the fact that this data was collected in a foreign country and was not collected by the author. Since the survey was conducted by Osh State University for their purposes the author was unable to control the sampling process and the contents of the questionnaire. Another prominent limitation was the time restraints put on the collection of data and the language barriers encountered in an area that is language diverse.

There are many limitations placed on collecting data in a foreign country. One of them is the language barriers encountered by a researcher who does not speak the native language of the area. In this part of the world the limitations are pronounced due to the fact that the population speaks numerous languages.

There are also other limitations due to the respondents' lack of familiarity with the written survey as a means of collecting information and opinions. When faced with the task of completing the survey, many of the respondents asked for in-depth explanation to directions and checked with each other on what certain questions meant. The respondents were unfamiliar with written survey as a method of collecting

data and were not used to giving their opinions in that way as well as expressing their opinions in general.

There were also limitations due to the fact that this part of the world is particularly sensitive to outsiders asking for opinions about sensitive events that have happened in the area. To conduct any type of research or to collect any type of data in the area was impossible without direct approval and presence of some type of community leader.

Due to the previous limitations and the time restraints placed on the researcher it was more feasible to use data that was already being collected in the area on relatively the same topic. The researcher was faced with typical problems of secondary data such as lack of control over the type and wording of the questions being asked in the survey. It was difficult to find survey questions in the data that helped answer the questions that this research attempted to get at.

WEAKNESSES

The research is also bounded by a number of weaknesses. One of these weaknesses is that the study used for this research used convenience sample of students and faculty in four different divisions at Osh State University. It surveyed complete classes of students in these departments. The classes were not selected randomly but were selected to include the largest proportion of students from different ethnic groups.

The results of the survey should not be generalized to the population of Osh Oblast since the population of this sample were students and faculty from Osh State

University, and there was no way to compare how typical they are of the population of the Osh Oblast. It is also important to note that OSU is a university with a high percentage of female students so the sample has a high proportion (82%) of female respondents, the University is 67% female.

The survey also faced problems of internal validity due to the fact that it was translated from English into three separate languages: Kyrgyz, Uzbek, and Russian, and then the results were translated from these three languages into English for the researchers use. Some of the problems of internal validity were solved by having multiple translators translate random surveys to ensure proper translation.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

This chapter examines data regarding the ethnic attitudes and behavior of respondents in Southern Kyrgyzstan. Specifically this chapter provides analysis and discussion of Osh State University respondent data regarding students' and staff's background, perceptions about their own ethnic group, and opinions about interethnic relations. Though the study is designed to examine interethnic conflict in Southern Kyrgyzstan in 1996, it also focuses on whether or not the Kyrgyz, the titular group of the country, are becoming more nationalistic and more ethnocentric.

No hard evidence is found to support the contention suggested by some writers of strong or violent interethnic conflict in the area (Diuk & Karatnycky, 1990). Rather the findings support the point of view consistent with such writers as Martha Ollcot who suggests that there is little tension between the two largest ethnic groups in the area, the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks. This lack of interethnic tension, Ollcot suggests, is in part a result of the awareness among the Kyrgyz and Uzbek leaders of the damage interethnic conflict could and did have, as during the Osh Incident.

The conclusions in this chapter also show that contrary to expectations, the Uzbeks, not the Kyrgyz, appear to be the most exclusionary in their attitudes and

behaviors towards the other ethnic groups. In addition, the Uzbeks are also the most satisfied with their current situation, have the strongest ties to their communal groups, are more apt to live in ethnic areas, and are more upwardly mobile than the other ethnic groups. In sum, the data show that the Uzbeks display attitudes and behaviors expected of the titular group, not the Kyrgyz.

Finally the conclusions presented in this chapter point out that smaller ethnic groups, especially the Russian are the most dissatisfied with their position in Kyrgyzstan. They have less ethnic awareness, are less exclusionary in their attitudes, have weak ties to communal groups, are more favorably disposed towards exogenous marriage patterns, and perceive themselves as losing prestige in the present Kyrgyz society. In fact, as other studies have shown, the Russians are leaving Kyrgyzstan in great numbers.

OSU STUDENT AND FACULTY BACKGROUND

The first set of question this study examines is if the titular group, or if any of the groups are more ethnocentric, or, if any, of the groups were consistently different than the other ethnic groups. The study looks to see if any group, or groups, are consistently demographically different than the other ethnic groups, in such areas as; place of birth, primary language spoken, religious and political beliefs, parent's occupation, type of high school the attended, and plans after college, and strength of ties to own ethnic group or if any of the ethnic groups were more ethnocentric, which could be a symptom of interethnic conflict.

The following section, which includes Table 3 through Table 12, discusses some of the results of this study that shed light on these questions. They seem to show that it is the Uzbeks, not the Kyrgyz, that are the most ethnocentric and exclusionary.

The first survey question examined in this section is where the respondents are from. It asks if they were from the city of Osh, from a village outside of Osh, but still in the Osh Oblast, or if they were from outside of the Osh Oblast altogether. Table 3 shows that only 29% of the Kyrgyz respondents of this survey are from the city of Osh, the other 71% are from villages in the Osh Oblast or from an area outside of the Osh Oblast. Just the opposite is true of all the other ethnic groups surveyed in this study, of the Uzbek, Russian, and "Other" respondents over 70% are from the city of Osh while only about 30% are from outside of the city of Osh.

TABLE 3

Area of Origin by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Area of Origin	Osh City	88 29.0	76 67.3	30 63.8	22 68.8	216 43.6
	Osh Village	63 20.8	6 5.3	8 17.0	3 9.4	80 16.2
	Out of Osh Oblast	152 50.2	31 27.4	9 19.2	7 21.9	199 40.2

$p < .001$

This table suggests that the Kyrgyz are more rural, they tend to live outside of the city rather than right in the city and that the city of Osh is primarily composed of Uzbeks. It also shows that even though Osh University is a Kyrgyz University, it is

placed in a city that is predominately Uzbek. This is supported by statistics of the area that claim that: "of the Kyrgyz that constitute roughly 50% of the population of the Osh Oblast only 15.4% are city dwellers" (Elebayeva, 1990:81).

When asked what they considered their primary language most of the respondents, 60% of the Kyrgyz, 98% of the Russians, and 97% of the "Others", replied that they considered Russian as their primary language. The Uzbeks were the only group surveyed that had a higher percentage of people that claimed that Uzbek was the language that they used primarily, only 31% of the Uzbeks responded that their primary language was Russian the other 69% stated that there main language was Uzbek.

TABLE 4

Major Language Spoken by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Language Spoken	Kyrgyz	104 34.2%	0 0%	1 2.1%	0 0%	105 21.2%
	Uzbek	18 5.9%	78 69.0%	0 0%	1 3.1%	97 19.6%
	Russian	182 59.9%	35 31.1%	46 97.9%	31 96.9%	294 59.3%

$p < .001$

Table 4 begins to show us how much more ethnocentric and exclusionary the Uzbeks are than the Kyrgyz. The high percentage of respondents claiming that Russian is their major language can be explained by the many years that Russian was considered the official language of this area and that it is still legally considered the

"language of international communication in all of the Central Asian States (Chinn & Kaiser,1996:223). What can be explained by ethnonationalism is the high percentage of Uzbeks that claim that Uzbek is their primary language compared to how many Kyrgyz consider Kyrgyz as the primary language. It is especially relevant considering that in 1990 the Kyrgyz language was voted the official language of the country of Kyrgyzstan "for the protection and development of the Kyrgyz language and the national culture of the Kyrgyz people" (Chinn & Kaiser,1996:224).

It also interesting to note that though 6% of the Kyrgyz claim that Uzbek is their primary language, none of the Uzbek respondents, even though they live in and go to school in Kyrgyzstan, consider Kyrgyz as their major language spoken. This could be explained by the fact that these Kyrgyz attended an Uzbek high school, and none of the Uzbeks attended a Kyrgyz high school.

TABLE 5

Religion by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Religious Orientation	Muslim	272 89.8	106 93.8	5 11.1	22 68.8	4.5 82.2
	Christian/ Orthodox	8 2.7	2 1.8	35 77.8	4 12.5	49 10
	Other	7 .7	2 1.8	3 6.7	3 15.7	17 3.4
	None	16 5.3	3 2.7	2 4.4	1 3.1	22 4.5

$p < .001$

When asked about religious orientation it is not surprising that the majority of Kyrgyz (90%) and Uzbeks (94%) considered themselves to be Muslims, while the majority of Russians (78%) considered themselves to be either generally Christian or specifically Russian Orthodox. The "Other" category was the most diverse with about 69% saying they were Muslim, 13% saying they were Christian, 16% stating they were another religion and about 3% stating no religion.

In this table the Uzbeks appear to be the most homogeneous group, they are the group with the highest percentage of similar responses. The Uzbeks have the highest percentage of respondents stating that they are Muslim and have the smallest percentage of respondents claiming that they are any of the Religions or that they do not consider themselves as having a religion.

Though it appears that there is a high number of respondents that claim that they are affiliated with a certain religion it is important to note that though the respondents may be aware of being a certain religion they do not actively practice the religion. The Kyrgyz are a good example of this, though they say they are Muslim, they often refer to the fact that they are "Muslim on paper" and that they are somewhat unfamiliar with the actual practice of the religion. The Uzbeks on the other hand much more actively practice their religion and it is their religious elders that are referred to by members from the other ethnic groups.

When asked if they thought that the influence of religion was increasing in their ethnic group, 70% of the respondents felt that religion was increasing in influence in

their ethnic group. About 84% of the Uzbeks and 72% of the Kyrgyz stated that they did believe that the influence of religion was increasing in their ethnic group while only 45% of the "Other" group and 43% of the Russian group felt that religious influence was increasing.

TABLE 6

Increase in Religious Influence by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Religious Influence Increase	Yes	216 71.8	95 84.1	20 42.6	14 45.2	345 70.1
	No	85 28.2	18 15.9	27 57.4	17 54.8	147 29.9

$p < .001$

This table shows that most of the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, the two predominately Muslim groups in this study, feel that religious influence is increasing in this area and that the two other are roughly split when asked if religious influence is increasing in their group. This question was used not only to find out if religious influence was increasing but as another measure to see how ethnocentric-centric the groups were. Again the Uzbeks answered the most homogeneously by stating most often that they believed that religious influence was increasing in their ethnic group.

When asked what their political viewpoint was the majority of the respondents stated that they had none (56%) and the second most common answer was Democratic (32.6%) with only 9% stating that they were Communists and only 2% stated that they had another political viewpoint. The interesting difference is that 80% of the Uzbeks

and 65% of the Russians claimed they had no political viewpoint whereas only about 45% of the Kyrgyz and "Other" groups said that they had no political viewpoint. The Kyrgyz also had the highest percentage of respondents claiming that they were Communists (12%) with the next highest being the Uzbeks with 6%.

TABLE 7

Political Viewpoint by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Political Viewpoint	Democrat	118 39.2	14 12.4	14 30.4	14 45.2	160 32.6
	Communist	37 12.3	7 6.2	1 2.2	1 3.2	46 9.4
	Other	5 1.6	2 1.8	1 2.2	1 3.2	9 1.8
	None	141 46.8	91 80.5	30 65.2	14 45.2	276 56.2

$p < .001$

The importance of this table is that it shows that none of the groups have strong political affiliation. This is no doubt due to the political vacuum created by the collapse of the Soviet Union. Under Soviet rule political discussion was not officially allowed and there were no political parties. National changes in the political structure have not yet resulted in changes in political participation nor identification with political parties as Table 7 demonstrates. In addition, most of the respondents in the survey were female. As in other societies, politics may be a men's preoccupation.

It is also very important to note that the Kyrgyz group had the highest percentage of respondents that claimed that they held a Communist political viewpoint, 12%, while only about 6% of the Uzbeks,2% of the Russians, and 3% of the "Others" claimed that they held a Communist viewpoint. It is interesting here to note that Over 80% of the Uzbeks claimed to have no political viewpoint, but this may be due to the fact they are from a tribal society that is based on an elder system.

TABLE 8

Strength of Political Beliefs by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Political Beliefs	Strong	69 22.7	36 31.9	1 2.1	6 18.8	112 22.6
	Week	183 60.2	55 48.7	26 55.3	17 53.1	281 56.7
	Non-existent	52 17.1	22 19.5	20 42.6	9 28.1	103 20.8

$p < .001$

When asked the strength of their political beliefs about 23% of the respondents stated that they felt they had strong political beliefs, and about 21% stated that they had no political beliefs. While the Uzbeks had the highest percent stating they had strong political beliefs, the Kyrgyz had the highest percentage stating they had weak political beliefs, and the Russian and "Other" group had the highest percentage of those that stated they had no political beliefs. The Russians, however, had the lowest percentage of those stating they had strong political beliefs, only 2%, and the highest percentage stating they had no political beliefs, about 43%.

This table is interesting not only as a tool to assess the degree of the respondents strength of political beliefs, but as an aid in showing that while 56% of the respondents, in Table 7 claimed to have no political affiliation, only about 21% of the respondents claimed that they had no political beliefs. This is particularly interesting in the case of the Uzbeks where over 80% claimed to have no political viewpoint but that close to 32% of the Uzbeks respondents claimed to have strong political views.

Field research would also indicate that local groups, especially the Kyrgyz and the Uzbeks, view politics, as asked in this question, as implying the allegiance to or participation in local political issues. In this regard, the Uzbeks report a stronger strength in political beliefs perhaps because they have stronger ties to their tribal and communal groups. This is consistent with other findings that suggest the strength of Uzbek ties to their ethnic roots is stronger than other groups.

Tables 9 and 10 examine the occupation of the respondents' father and mother. A complete list of how occupations were coded can be seen in Appendix E. When asked what the occupation of their father was, the respondents that were Kyrgyz (41%) had the highest percentage of fathers that were professionals or para-professionals, that included professions such as doctor, lawyer, accountant. The Uzbeks had the smallest percentage (27%) of fathers that were professionals or para- professionals and had the highest percentage (41%) of fathers who were in the labor and service sectors of the economy.

TABLE 9

Father's Occupation by Ethnic Background

Ethnic Background of Respondent

Father's Occupation	Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Prof./ Para Prof.	114 40.9	30 26.6	17 36.1	11 34.4	182 39.7
Business	12 4.0	6 5.3	1 2.1	4 12.5	23 4.6
Laborer/ Service	75 24.8	46 40.7	17 36.2	7 21.9	145 29.3
Govt.	19 6.3	3 2.7	4 8.5	4 12.5	30 6.1
Retired	39 12.9	12 10.6	1 2.1	1 3.1	53 10.7
Unemployed	1 .3	2 1.8	0 0	2 6.3	5 1.0
Unknown	33 10.9	14 12.4	7 14.9	3 9.4	57 11.5

$p < .01$

When asked the profession of their mother, the results were quite different. The Russians had the highest percentage (72%) of mothers that were professionals or para-professionals, including professions such as doctor, accountant, and teacher. The Kyrgyz had the smallest percentage of professional or para-professional mothers, as well as the largest percent of mothers that were retired (16.8%) or worked in the home (17.2%). This may be due to the rural background of majority of Kyrgyz respondents see Table 3.

These results are interesting to compare to other statistics that claim that: "the absolute majority of the Kyrgyz population is engaged in agriculture (Elebayeva, 1991:81). Besides the large population of Kyrgyz that are involved in agriculture

many are found in positions of political authority. Osh State University is staffed primarily by Kyrgyz (87%); so are other government jobs, such as police and military. The composition of the oblast executive committee consisted of 85.7% Kyrgyz, 9.5% Russian, and only 4.7% Uzbek. On the other hand, a high concentration of Uzbeks are found in the service sector, 71% of the traders in the Bazaar are Uzbeks as well as 74% in food industry, and 79% of Osh's taxi drivers are Uzbek (Elebayeva, 1991).

TABLE 10

Mother's Occupation by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Mother's Occupation	Prof./ Para Prof.	129 42.6	64 56.6	34 72.4	16 50	243 49.1
	Business	2 .7	3 2.7	1 2.1	2 6.3	8 1.6
	Laborer/ Service	44 14.5	12 10.6	3 6.4	7 21.9	66 13.3
	Govt.	4 1.3	2 1.8	3 6.4	1 3.1	10 2.0
	Retired	51 16.8	9 8.0	2 4.3	1 3.1	63 12.7
	Unemployed	2 .7	0 0	1 are 2.1	0 0	3 .6
	House wife	52 17.2	15 13.3	1 2.1	4 12.5	72 14.5
	Unknown	19 6.3	8 7.1	2 4.3	1 3.1	30 6.1

$p < .001$

One of the major differences between the ethnic groups was with regards to the type of high school they attended. Table 11 shows that the majority of respondents from each of the ethnic groups attended a high school for their own ethnic group.

The Kyrgyz were the most diverse having the highest population that did not attend Kyrgyz high school. Almost 31% of them attended Russian high schools and 6% attended Uzbek high school. The Uzbeks attended both Russian schools and Uzbek schools but none attended Kyrgyz or English schools. The "Other" group attended Russian, Uzbek, and English schools but primarily attended only Russian schools, and none of them attended Kyrgyz school. The Russians, however primarily attended Russian schools with only a few attending Kyrgyz schools.

TABLE 11

Type of High School Attended by Ethnic Background

Ethnic Background of Respondent

High School	Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Kyrgyz	193 63.5	0 0	4 8.5	0 0	197
Uzbek	18 5.9	84 75.3	0 0	1 3.1	103
Russian	93 30.6	29 25.7	43 91.5	29 90.6	194
English	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 6.3	2

$p < .001$

This table again supports the idea that the Uzbeks appear to be more ethnically homogeneous than the Kyrgyz. The Kyrgyz appear to be the most diverse ethnic group when it comes to the type of high school attended.

The final table in this section looked at the strength of ties the respondents claimed to have with their own ethnic group. In Table 12 the Uzbeks appear to feel the strongest ties to their ethnic heritage with 78% saying that they have strong ethnic ties and with only 21% saying that they have weak ties and less then 1 percent saying that they have no ties to their ethnic background. The Kyrgyz are much more split them the Uzbeks with about 54% stating have strong ties to their ethnic background, about 45% claiming that they have week ties to their ethnic, and a little more then 1% claiming they have no ties to their ethnic background. The Russians and "Other" group claim to have the weakest ties with 87% of the Russians and 75% of "Others" stating they have weak ties. Almost 4.5% of the Russians claim to have no ties to their ethnic heritage.

This table shows that a large majority of Uzbeks respondents claim to have strong ties to their ethnic group while a smaller group of Kyrgyz claim to have strong ties to their ethnic group. The other interesting point that this table sheds light on is the feelings of the Russian group in Osh. The Russian respondents of this survey claim to have the weakest ties to their ethnic group with not even 9% claiming to have strong ties and a little more then 4% claiming to having no ties with their ethnic group, but this response rate may be due to the fact that the Russians maybe unwilling to express strong ties to their ethnic background due to the recent loss of power of the Russian government in this area.

TABLE 12

Strength of Ties to Ethnic Background by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Ties to Ethnic Background	Strong	162 53.3	88 77.9	4 8.5	8 25.0	262 52.8
	Week	138 45.4	27 21.2	41 87.2	24 75.0	227 45.8
	Non-existent	4 1.3	1 .9	2 4.3	0 0	7 1.4

$p < .001$

The previous tables showed that the Kyrgyz, unlike the other ethnic groups in the survey, are more likely to be from outside of the city of Osh. They also show that the Uzbeks are more likely to consider Uzbek as their primary language even though they are attending a Kyrgyz University . The Uzbeks and the Kyrgyz are both very homogeneous when it comes to religion and tend to agree more then the other groups that religious influence is increasing in their ethnic group. They also showed that most of the respondents of this survey hold no political viewpoint and that the Uzbeks are the least likely to state that they hold a political viewpoint yet claim more often than the other ethnic groups that they have strong political beliefs.

This section also looked at the occupation of the respondents parents and found very little difference except for the idea that the Kyrgyz fathers are much more likely to be professionals or para-professions than any of the other ethnic groups and that Uzbeks fathers are more likely to be in the labor and service industries than any of the other ethnic groups. It also found that a relatively high percentage of mothers are

professional or para-professional with Russian mothers having the highest frequency of being professionals or para-professionals.

This section shows that the titular group does not show signs of nationalist behavior, such as, being more homogenous then the other groups. In fact, if any of the groups are more homogeneous it would be the second largest group in the area, the Uzbeks. This is just as important a finding since this area boarders on Uzbekistan and conflict could arise again between the Uzbeks and Kyrgyz due to the fear of Uzbek intervention in the area (Olcott,1996).

OSU STUDENT AND FACULTY ATTITUDES ABOUT AND PERCEPTION OF OWN ETHNIC GROUP

Second, it will examine ethnic strength, this is whether members of the titular group or any of the non-titular groups have exclusionary behavior, such as having predominately the same ethnic type friends, not wanting to marry outside their ethnic group, or having family that doesn't want them to marry outside their own ethnic group.

This section gave particular attention to the relationship between the Kyrgyz and the Uzbeks, since the recent interethnic conflict in the area was between these two groups. Particular attention will be paid to whether or not the Uzbeks continue to have ethnocentric or exclusionary attitudes. This section will also give close attention to the attitudes of the Russians since it is this group that appears to have the weakest ethnic ties.

The first part of this section examines the number of friends that each of the respondents had in each of the ethnic groups and on preferences for selecting a mate.

TABLE 13

Friendship Pattern by Ethnic Background

Friendship Rank	Ethnic Background of Respondent: Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other
Kyrgyz Friends	4.89	2.81	2.89	1.55
Uzbek Friends	3.71	4.89	3.31	1.83
Russian Friends	3.87	3.22	4.36	2.19
Other Friends	3.68	2.54	3.65	2.94

$p < .001$

Table 13 shows the average rank of friends respondents from each group listed. The ranking was arrived at by asking about the number of friends each of the respondents had and then the responses were ranked from 1 to 5, 5 being the group with the highest number of friends and 1 being the group with the lowest number of friends. The final average was compiled by averaging the rank for all the respondents in each of the ethnic groups.

All of the ethnic groups had the highest average ranking of friends in their own ethnic group except for the "Other" group who had the highest rank average of Russian friends. Though all of the groups had the highest ranking of friends in their own ethnic group none of the groups seemed to have exclusionary attitudes towards any group. It is also interesting to note here that the Kyrgyz had a higher ranking for

Uzbek friends than the Uzbeks had for Kyrgyz friends, this would show again that the Uzbeks are more exclusive then the Kyrgyz.

TABLE 14

Consideration of Other Ethnic Group For Marriage by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Other Ethnic Group For Marriage	Yes	125 41.1	39 34.5	33 70.2	27 84.4	224 45.2
	No	179 58.9	74 65.5	14 29.8	5 15.6	272 54.8

$p < .001$

When the respondents were asked if they would consider someone from another ethnic group for marriage, there were some striking differences. The Russian (70%) and "Other" group (84%) were more likely to consider a person from another ethnic group than either the Uzbeks or Kyrgyz; 65.5% of the Uzbeks said that they would not consider marrying out side of their own ethnic group whereas 59% of the Kyrgyz said that they would not consider it.

The results of this survey are somewhat similar, but not as extreme as some of the literature on interethnic marriage in Central Asia that states: "the number of interethnic marriages between Muslim groups in Central Asia is very low and is continuing to decline" (Khazanov, 1995:123).

The results of this question again show that the Uzbeks are the most ethnically homogeneous, almost 65% of the Uzbek respondents would not consider marrying someone from outside of their own ethnic group. The Kyrgyz also appear to be

somewhat homogeneous with only about 41% stating that they would consider marrying outside their own ethnic group. The Russians (70.2%) and "Other" (84.4%) ethnic groups appear to be the least nationalistic by stating that they would consider marrying someone from another ethnic group.

TABLE 15

Family Preference For Mate by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Family Preference	Kyrgyz	244 80.3	1 .9	5 11.1	1 3.1	251 50.8
	Uzbek	3 1.0	91 80.5	1 2.2	0 0	95 19.2
	Russian	8 2.6	1 .9	25 55.6	1 3.1	35 7.1
	Other	1 .3	0 0	1 2.2	13 40.6	15 3.0
	No Preference	22 7.2	20 17.7	13 28.9	17 53.1	72 14.6

$p < .001$

When asked what ethnic background their family prefer they chose as a mate the Kyrgyz (80.3%), Uzbek (80.5%), and Russians (55.6%) stated the most frequently that their family would prefer that they marry someone from their own ethnic group. The "Other" group was the only group that did not have the highest percentage of respondents state that they believed that their family prefer that they marry someone from the own group (40.6%) but that they though that their family had no preference (53.1%).

The respondents seem to think that their family is more concerned with the ethnic background of a prospective mate than they themselves. Kyrgyz and Uzbeks had roughly the same percentage that said that their family prefer that they marry someone from their own group, but surprisingly the Uzbeks claimed more often than the Kyrgyz that their family did not have a preference when it came to the ethnic background of their mate, again showing that the Uzbek may be less exclusive even though they appear to be homogeneous. This table may also be used to show that though ethnic background in an important characteristic of selecting a mate, it is by now means socially unacceptable to consider someone from another ethnic group as a mate.

The second set of questions used in this study seems to convey that none of the groups surveyed have strong exclusionary attitudes toward any of the other ethnic groups. None of the groups exclude any particular group when it comes to selection of friends. The rate of those that would not consider marrying outside of their own group is not surprising, though it is interesting to point out that the respondents results suggest that their families tend to be a little more particular when it comes to the ethnic background of a perspective mate then they tend to be.

OSU STUDENT AND FACULTY OPINION ABOUT INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

Tables 16 through 23 discuss the final issue in this study, the opinion of the respondent about interethnic relations in general, and about their own personal interethnic relations. They looked at questions that would shed light on whether any particular ethnic group is more likely to say that they feel there are bad interethnic

conditions, such as, their ethnic group being treated unfairly, biased hiring practices, worsening interethnic relations, high degree of ethnic segregation of neighborhoods, high degree of ethnic segregation at the University, or lack of programs and opportunities in their major language at the University.

When asked how strongly segregated by ethnicity the area they were residing in now was, 71% of the respondents claimed that their neighborhoods were somewhat segregated. The Uzbeks had the highest percentage (35%) of respondents stating that they lived in a strongly segregated neighborhood. Only 11% of the Kyrgyz claimed to live in a neighborhood that was strongly segregated, whereas 11% of the Kyrgyz claim to live in a area that is not segregated compared to only 6 % of the Uzbeks.

This was an important question in that it shows that over 88% of the respondents felt that they lived in at least a somewhat segregated if not strongly segregated neighborhood, showing that though some of the areas of the city are segregated by ethnic background most of them are ethnically diverse.

TABLE 16

Neighborhood Segregation by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Neighborhood Segregation	Strongly Segregated	34 11.3	40 35.4	7 14.9	4 12.5	85 17.2
	Somewhat Segregated	234 77.5	66 58.4	33 70.2	18 56.3	351 71.1
	Not Segregated	34 11.3	7 6.2	7 14.9	10 31.3	58 11.7

$p < .001$

This section of the research was also interest in seeing how satisfied each of the different ethnic groups claim to be about their current living conditions.. Table 17 looks at the question of satisfaction with present living conditions.

This table shows that the Uzbeks are far more satisfied (very satisfied) with their present living situation than any of the other ethnic groups, 50% compared to the Kyrgyz (9%), Russians (2%) and "Other" (9%). The Russians and "Other" group were the least satisfied (not satisfied), 70% and 69% respectively. The Kyrgyz (58%) were generally satisfied (58%) with only 33% claiming to be unsatisfied.

This question shows us while the Uzbeks are predominately very satisfied with the living situation, and that the Kyrgyz are generally happy, that the Russians and other ethnic groups are generally not satisfied with their present living situation.]

TABLE 17

Satisfaction with Living Conditions by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Satisfaction	Very Satisfied	27 8.9	57 50.4	1 2.1	3 9.4	88 17.8
	Satisfied	175 57.8	36 31.9	13 27.7	7 21.9	231 46.7
	Not Satisfied	101 33.3	20 17.7	33 70.2	22 68.8	176 35.6

$p < .001$

Of all of the questions asked this question is the most crucial pertaining to our question of interethnic conflict in the area since Elebayeva cites this as the most frequently indicated reasons the experts offered as a reason behind the 1991 Osh

Incident between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks (Elebayeva,1991). This question shows that the majority of Uzbeks and Kyrgyz are at least satisfied with their present living situation if not very satisfied.

Though this question shows that the Russian and "Other" group are predominately unhappy with their present living conditions the results may have lead to the recent emigration and future emigration of these groups from Kyrgyzstan, rather than interethnic conflict (Human Development Report,1995).

TABLE 18

Ethnic Respect by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Ethnic Respect	Yes	245 81.1	91 82.0	23 48.9	21 67.7	380 77.4
	No	57 18.9	20 18.0	24 51.1	10 32.3	111 22.6

$p < .001$

Table 18 shows that when asked more then 80% of both the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks felt that their ethnic group had respect from other ethnic groups, whereas 68% of the "Other" category felt their ethnic group had respect and only about half of the Russian respondents felt that their ethnic group received ethnic respect form the other ethnic groups

This table shows that the Russian and "Other" groups are again more dissatisfied with the treatment of members in their ethnic but may be due to the upward mobility of both the Kyrgyz and Uzbek groups and the downward mobility of smaller less

powerful ethnic groups and may be the cause of recent and future emigration of these groups.

TABLE 19

Interethnic Relations by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Interethnic Relations	Getting Better	149 49.2	69 61.1	7 15.2	8 25.0	233 47.2
	Staying the Same	115 38.0	32 28.3	22 47.8	13 40.6	182 36.8
	Getting Worse	39 12.9	12 10.6	17 37.0	11 34.4	79 16.0

$p < .001$

When asked if they thought whether interethnic relations were getting better, staying the same, or getting worse 61% of the Uzbeks felt things were getting better as well as 50% of the Kyrgyz. Almost 48% of the Russians felt thing were staying the same but about 37% of the Russians and 35% of the "Others" felt that interethnic relations were getting worse.

In this table we can see the majority of Kyrgyz and Uzbeks respondents feel that interethnic relations are getting better and that a large percentage of the Russian and "Other" ethnic group feel that interethnic relations are getting worse, which again could lead us to believe that this is an area where the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks are upwardly mobile and the other smaller ethnic groups are moving down in prestige.

TABLE 20

Biased Hiring Practices by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Biased Hiring	Yes	96 31.9	42 37.2	26 55.3	17 53.1	181 36.7
	No	205 68.1	71 62.8	21 44.7	15 46.9	312 63.3

$p < .005$

The final question on attitudes about interethnic relations in general examined the attitudes of the respondents on biased hiring practices. When asked if they thought whether people were hired by their ethnic background about 68% of the Kyrgyz and Russians felt that hiring practices were not based on ethnic identity but about 45% of the Russians and 47% of the "Others" did claim that hiring was based on ethnic background.

This table shows that the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks are more likely to say that one is not hired on their ethnic identity than the Russian or "Other" ethnic groups. Which again could leads us to believe that there is very little ethnic tension between the Uzbeks and Kyrgyz or that the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks each have their own job sphere and do not compete with each other for jobs. It also shows that the other smaller ethnic groups in the area, especially the Russians, are the groups that are feeling they are not being treated as fairly when it comes to being hired.

The final questions in this section, Table 21 and Table 22, examines ethnic and interethnic attitudes at Osh State University. Table 21 examines the degree that the

various ethnic groups feel interethnic separation exist at the University and Table 22 looks at whether the respondents feel there are adequate programs at the University in their language.

TABLE 21

Interethnic Separation at OSU by Ethnic Background

		Ethnic Background of Respondent				
		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Interethnic Separation	A lot	14 4.6	4 3.5	2 4.3	1 3.1	21 4.3
	Some	183 60.6	72 63.7	36 78.3	18 56.3	309 62.7
	None	105 34.8	37 32.7	8 17.4	13 40.6	163 33.1

p= .34010

When asked if ethnic separation, a division of students drawn on ethnic differences, exists at OSU more then 62% of the respondents said that some separation exist, the Russians were more likely to say that there was some segregation 78% compared to the rest of the groups in which about 60% claimed that there was ethnic separation at the University. Surprisingly the "Other" group was the most likely 40.6% to say that there was no ethnic separation at the University.

This table is interesting in that only a small percentage, between about 3% and 5%, of responses from each of the ethnic groups felt that there was a lot of ethnic separation in the University. Though the Russians were the most likely to respond that there was some interethnic segregation at the University they were no more likely to say that there was a lot of interethnic segregation.

TABLE 22

Adequate Programs at the University in Your Language by Ethnic Background

Ethnic Background of Respondent

		Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other	Total
Adequate Programs	Yes	203 67.4	54 47.8	39 83.0	13 41.9	309 62.8
	No	98 32.6	59 52.2	8 17.0	18 58.1	183 37.2

$p < .001$

When asked if OSU offered an adequate number of class in their major language, the Russians had the highest percentage of positive responses (83%) the Kyrgyz had the next highest positive responses 67% while the Uzbek and "Other " group were split just about in half, half claiming that there was adequate programs in their language and half claiming that there was not adequate programs in their language.

This is the only area in which the Uzbeks felt that their ethnic group expressed an attitude that was not positive. It was also the case that the Russian group gave in the strongest positive response. This is probably due to the fact that most of the University's classes are still taught in Russian and that only in the last four years did it start to incorporate classes in Kyrgyz and not till even more recently to include classes in Uzbek.

This section looked at a mix of questions that might help one understand how the different ethnic groups in this area perceive ethnic and interethnic relations. The Russian and "Other" group were more dissatisfied with their present living conditions. That the Russians fell that there are adequate programs at OSU in their language and

that both the Russians and "Other" ethnic groups feel that there only at most some interethnic segregation at the University. is not because they don't get along with others living around them, whether they live in highly segregated neighborhoods or neighborhoods with very little segregation.

As far as interethnic relations at OSU are concerned, the majority of respondents claimed that there was some ethnic separation but very few of the respondents claimed that there was a lot of ethnic separation at the University.

SUMMARY

The information from Osh State University's survey, reported above, allows us to evaluate our original research questions. The first question asks whether any of the groups are more homogeneous or if any of the groups are consistently different then the other groups. Our data revealed that the Uzbeks are the most homogeneous group. It is the Uzbeks not the titular group, the Kyrgyz, that tend to live right inside the city of Osh, that have the highest percentage that claim to speak Uzbek instead of Russian or Kyrgyz, and that overwhelmingly state that they are Muslim and that religious influence is increasing among their ethnic group. The Uzbeks also claim to have the strongest ethnic ties to their community.

The second question this research examines is ethnic strength, whether members of the titular group or any of the non-titular groups have exclusionary behavior. Again it appears that the Uzbeks, not the Kyrgyz, are the most exclusive ethnic group. Though the Uzbek and Kyrgyz both appear to favor having friends from their own

ethnic group, the Uzbeks rank all of the other groups lower then the Kyrgyz do. The Uzbeks are also the least likely to considering marrying someone from outside of their ethnic group and they suggest that their parents prefer they choose someone from their own ethnic group as a mate.

Finally the results show us if any particular ethnic group or groups is more likely to express feelings of poor interethnic relations. In this case the Russians and "Other" ethnic groups tend to have the most negative feelings. They are the least satisfied with their present living conditions and feel more often that their ethnic group does not get respect. These groups are also more likely to state that there are biased hiring practices, such as being hired or not hired based on ethnic background.

This research also looked at interethnic issues at the University and found that though the Russians felt that there was more interethnic separation at the University they were the most satisfied with programs in their language at the University.

When summarizing the results of this survey one should pay particular attention to the relationship between the Kyrgyz and Uzbek due to the fact that the 1990 Osh Incident focused on these two ethnic groups. Though it is hard to draw direct conclusions about the relationship between these two groups, it is important to point out that both groups had a high percentage of respondents stating interethnic relations were getting better.

It is also essential to mention and take into consideration the high percentage of females that participated in the research. This is especially important due to the fact

that the Osh Incident involved males and that the incident may have been fueled by young, typically Kyrgyz, men entering Osh and looking unsuccessfully for work and adequate housing. It is important to note here that though the females did not actively participate in the conflict and that they may typically have a tendency to try to avoid conflict or even to try to deflect and prevent it that they are equally capable of drawing conclusions about interethnic relations in the University and around the city of Osh. They are equally affected by the economic hardships in the area and are a major part of the University and city of Osh and though it would have been ideal to survey an equal sample of both males and females that the high proportion of females does not drastically affect the results of this study.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

While staying in Osh and working at Osh State University, one senses a strong commitment to peaceful interethnic living. It appears that multiethnic groups are living in relative peace and working to develop a better oblast and in particular a better University. The results of this survey show that there should be concerns about growing nationalism amongst the Uzbeks, a predictor of interethnic conflict. They also show that there are specific areas in which the Russians and "Other" groups feel that they are not treated fairly. But this does not support the literature that suggests that this is a "tinder box" of ethnic conflict (Center for Post-Soviet Studies, 1995: Internet).

While literature on this area is particularly concerned with the relationship between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, of all the ethnic groups studied in this research they are the two ethnic groups that appear to be the most satisfied on ethnic and interethnic issues. The research also shows that it is not the Kyrgyz that are the most exclusive and homogeneous but the Uzbeks. This may be due to the fact that the city of Osh is located on the Uzbekistan boarder and to the idea that Osh is really an Uzbek city even though the boarders include it in Kyrgyzstan

The research does show that it is the other smaller ethnic groups in the area that are the most dissatisfied, especially the Russians. If the economy of this area continues to decline or if the mobility of these groups continues downward, one of three things could happen: the groups could stay and fight, stay and adapt, or more likely, there will be continued emigration.

Regardless of the results of this survey, it is incredibly important to keep a close eye on the new Central Asian states and on the Osh area of Kyrgyzstan in particular. The economic situation in the area could result in future violent ethnic tension or this area could remain violent-free and be used as an example of different ethnic groups living and working together.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are two major avenues of further research that should be suggested. The first is a more detailed and specific look at the relationship between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the Osh area. The second is an examination of the attitudes about current treatment and future plans of the smaller ethnic groups in Osh, paying particular attention to the Russians.

One could suggest that a more detailed and lengthy study of the Uzbeks and Kyrgyz would be in order. Though the results of this study suggest that these two groups are the most satisfied on interethnic issues, one can not set aside the 1990 interethnic violence that occurred between them. It is import to track the exclusionary

attitudes of the Uzbeks and the ambitions of the Kyrgyz to create a nation based on their own ethnic background.

The second suggestion for further research would be a more detailed look at the situation of the smaller ethnic groups to see how the conflict of downward mobility and unfair treatment by the larger ethnic groups is resolved. Though recent emigration trends seek to support a continuation of mass emigration of these groups, there is still the possibility of a stay-and-fight response.

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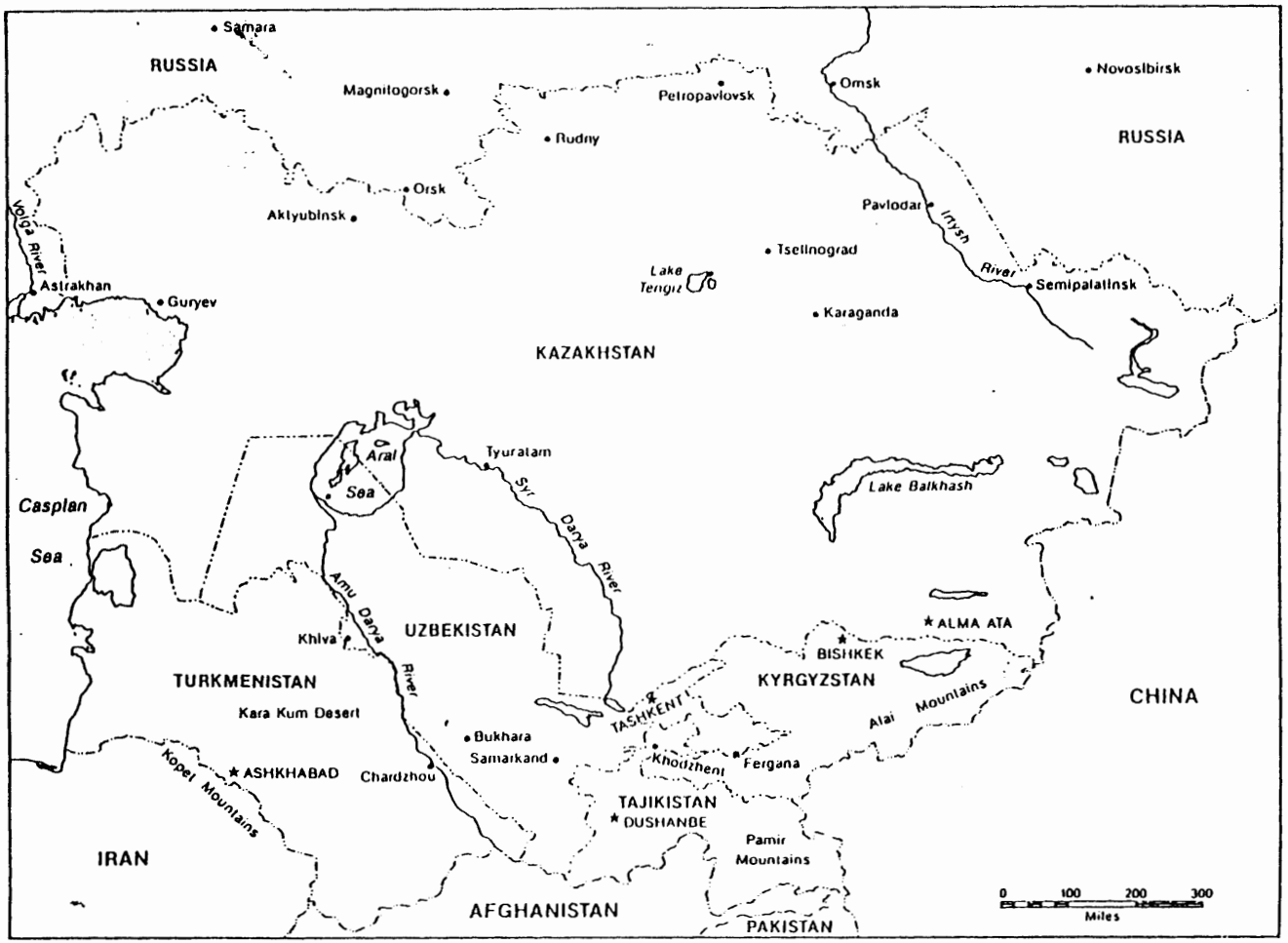
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MAP OF KYRGYZSTAN



APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGY OF THE KYRGYZ

201 BC	First written reference to the Kyrgyz Domain
840 AD	Kyrgyz destroy the Uigur Khanate Beginning of the Kyrgyz "Great Power"
800-1000	Beginning of the Manas epos
1293	Downfall of the Enisey Kyrgyz state
1500-1600	Completion of the formation of the Kyrgyz Nation on the Tien-Shan territory
1855-1876	Kyrgyzstan joins Russia
1916	Kyrgyz uprising against Russia, genocide
1920	Kyrgyz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics decreed.
1924	The Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Oblast is added to the R F Socialist Soviet Republic.
1926	The Kyrgyz Autonomous Republic becomes the Kyrgyz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.
1936	The Kyrgyz ASSR becomes the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic. The 1936 constitution is adopted. Describing the Kyrgyz republic as on of the eleven union republics
1989	Draft of a declaring Kyrgyz to be the official language of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic is published and the Supreme Soviet of the Kyrgyz passes law declaring it the official language of the republic.
1990	Leaders of the Central Asian republics , meeting in Frunze (now Bishkek), issue an appeal on social responsibility and sign the agreement on Economic, Scientific-Technical, and Cultural Cooperation among Central Asian republics.

1990	The Supreme Soviet of Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic is the last of the five Soviet Central Asian States to declare state sovereignty.
1991	Kyrgyzstan's Supreme Soviet is the first of the five Soviet Central Asian States to declare political independence of Kyrgyzstan.
1991	Askar Akaev is popularly elected to a five-year term as president of Kyrgyzstan
1995	Askar Akaev is reelected.

APPENDIX C

SURVEY

Please answer the following questions by circling the appropriate category or/and by filling in the blank.

1) Nationality:
   - Kyrgyz
   - Russian
   - Uzbek
   - Other _____

2) Gender (sex):
   - Male
   - Female

3) Date of Birth: _____

4) Strength of ties to nationality (how traditional do you believe yourself to be do you have an ethnic life style):
   - Strong
   - Weak
   - Non-existent

5) Which of the following is important when selecting a mate (circle only the most important one):
   - Education
   - Ethnicity
   - Income
   - Family wealth
   - Family position
   - Family relationship
   - Other

6) Would you consider other nationalities for marriage:
   - Yes
   - No

7) Which of the following nationalities would your parents prefer you consider for marriage:
   - Kyrgyz
   - Uzbek
   - Russian
   - Other _____

8) Do you think ethnic relations are:
   Getting better
   Staying the same
   Getting worse

9a) Do you have any Kyrgyz friends?
   Yes
   No

9b) How many: _____

10a) Do you have any Uzbek friends?
   Yes
   No

10b) How many:_____

11a) Do you have any Russian friends?
   Yes
   No

11b) How many: _____

12a) Do you have any Tartar friends?
   Yes
   No

12b) How many: _____

13a) Do you have friends of other nationalities?
   Yes
   No

13b) How many: _____

14) What type of middle school did you attend?
   Kyrgyz
   Russian
   Uzbek
   Turkish
   English

15) Area of study at the University: _____

16) What do you plan to do after your University studies? _____

17) What does your father do (employment/other)? _____

What does your mother do (employment/ other)? _____

18) What degree do you believe national separation to exist at the University?
Strong
Not too strong
Not at all

19) Do you think that people are hired according to their nationality?
Yes
No

20) Where did you come from (i.e. village)? _____

21) What area of the city/ oblast do you reside in now? _____

22) How satisfied are you with your present living conditions:
Very satisfied
Satisfied
Not satisfied

23) How strongly segregated by nationality is the area you live in:
Strong
Not too strong
Not at all

24) Do you feel your nationality group is treated fairly compared to other nationality groups?
Yes
No

25) Do you feel close ties with your neighbor?
Yes
No

26) Major Language spoken by you: _____

27) Other Languages spoken: _____

28) Does the University offer adequate programs in your language group?
Yes
No

29) Do you think you have enough opportunities to learn many subjects in your language and culture?
Yes
No

30) Religious affiliation: _____

31) Do you go to mosque/ church?
Yes
No

32) How often do you go to church/mosque? _____

33) Is the influence of religion increasing in your nationality group?
Yes
No

34) Political affiliation: _____

35) What party did you vote for last time? _____

36) What is the strength of your political beliefs:
strong
weak
non-existent

37) Do your local leaders have your best interest in mind when making decisions?
Yes
No

38) Does the country's leaders have your best interest in mind when making decisions (i.e. the president and his office)?
Yes
No

39a) Would you like to have friends of other nationalities?
Yes
No

39b) Which ones: _____

40) Have you given applications to (ran an ad in) a newspaper for a husband or wife?
Yes
No

41) Would you like to study abroad?
Yes
No

42) Have you refused marriage because your parents were against it?
Yes
No

43a) Would you like to have new religious opportunities (the option to practice another religion)?
Yes
No

43b) Which religion: _____

44) If your economic status got worse would you send your aging parents to a house for old people?
Yes
No

45) Do you like to visit your parents?
Yes
No

46) How many children do you want to have? _____

47) What kind of economic growth would be best?
Heavy industry
Light industry
Agriculture
Other

48) Are you satisfied with the cleanliness of the area you live in?
Yes
No

49) Are you satisfied with how the cleanliness Osh?
Yes
No

50) Are you:
A student
Faculty
Other: _____

APPENDIX D

Osh State University's Ethnic and Gender Breakdown by Department

	Physics/Math	Natural Science	Art	Pedagogy	History/Law	Theology	K/U Philology	R/G Philology	Medicine	Total
Kyrgyz	554	725	284	380	729	117	558	697	325	4369
Russian	27	8	9	26	8			105	4	187
Ukrainian	4		1		1			3		9
Uzbek	85	12	2	103	42	37	138	58	43	520
Kazak		1			6			2		9
Azarbijan				1	1			1	4	7
Tadjiks			1		6			2		9
Balkanur								2	1	3
Baskhir		2								2
Tartars	25	6	4	9				70	7	121
Jewish								1		1
Karachizen								1		1
Korean	2	1		1	4			7	2	17
German			1					4		5
Polish								1		1
Turkish	7	1		1	3	4		1	2	19
Uigar		1				1		30		32
Others									1	1
Total	704	757	302	521	800	159	696	985	389	5313
Female	465	498	129	508	252	40	614	793	263	3562
Male	239	259	173	13	548	119	82	192	126	1751

APPENDIX E

List of Occupations by Codes

Professional
Lawyer
Doctor
Professor
Computer Operator
Teacher
Engineer
Economist
Television Producer

Para-Professional
Journalist
Book Keeper
Lab Assistant
Nurse
Medical Assistant
Accountant

Business Owner/ Manager
Executive
Trader/ Businessman
Business Director
Shop Owner

Laborer
Factory Worker
Farmer

Service Provider
Taxi Driver
Cook
Clerk
Restaurant Employee

Government Worker
Inspector
Pilot
Airport Agent
Unemployment Agent
KGB Agent
Police
Military