

# Studying Son Preference in Kyrgyzstan: Insights from Historical and Contemporary Data

Gani ALDASHEV<sup>1</sup>, Catherine GUIRKINGER<sup>2</sup>, Zhanar KONYS<sup>1,2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Université Libre de Bruxelles <sup>2</sup>Université de Namur

10th Annual "Life in Kyrgyzstan" Conference 10 October, 2024



➤ Son preference is a widespread practice across numerous countries

- Son preference is a widespread practice across numerous countries
  - Strict patrilineality

- Son preference is a widespread practice across numerous countries
  - Strict patrilineality
  - Increased "economic value" of sons

- Son preference is a widespread practice across numerous countries
  - Strict patrilineality
  - Increased "economic value" of sons
- Gives rise to imbalanced sex ratios and gender-based discrimination against women

- Son preference is a widespread practice across numerous countries
  - Strict patrilineality
  - Increased "economic value" of sons
- Gives rise to imbalanced sex ratios and gender-based discrimination against women
- Existing research focuses on South and East Asia

▶ Pre-Soviet Union period: clear division of gender roles in Central Asia = only men held positions of power, and women were excluded from many spheres (Kamp, 2016)

- Pre-Soviet Union period: clear division of gender roles in Central Asia = only men held positions of power, and women were excluded from many spheres (Kamp, 2016)
- Worsening sex ratio in Kazakhstan in 1908 is 1.16 (Aldashev & Guirkinger, 2012)

- Pre-Soviet Union period: clear division of gender roles in Central Asia = only men held positions of power, and women were excluded from many spheres (Kamp, 2016)
- Worsening sex ratio in Kazakhstan in 1908 is 1.16 (Aldashev & Guirkinger, 2012)
- "Women in the USSR are granted equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life" (Constitution of the USSR)

- Pre-Soviet Union period: clear division of gender roles in Central Asia = only men held positions of power, and women were excluded from many spheres (Kamp, 2016)
- Worsening sex ratio in Kazakhstan in 1908 is 1.16 (Aldashev & Guirkinger, 2012)
- "Women in the USSR are granted equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life" (Constitution of the USSR)
- ➤ The Soviets manipulated the position and status of women and sought to undermine traditional Islamic patterns of life (Sahadeo, 2007)

- Pre-Soviet Union period: clear division of gender roles in Central Asia = only men held positions of power, and women were excluded from many spheres (Kamp, 2016)
- Worsening sex ratio in Kazakhstan in 1908 is 1.16 (Aldashev & Guirkinger, 2012)
- "Women in the USSR are granted equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life" (Constitution of the USSR)
- ➤ The Soviets manipulated the position and status of women and sought to undermine traditional Islamic patterns of life (Sahadeo, 2007)
- ➤ The economic well-being of Kyrgyz households in the 2010s correlates with the early 20th-century average wealth of their tribes (through the transmission of human and social capital) (Guirkinger et al., 2021)

- Pre-Soviet Union period: clear division of gender roles in Central Asia = only men held positions of power, and women were excluded from many spheres (Kamp, 2016)
- Worsening sex ratio in Kazakhstan in 1908 is 1.16 (Aldashev & Guirkinger, 2012)
- "Women in the USSR are granted equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life" (Constitution of the USSR)
- ► The Soviets manipulated the position and status of women and sought to undermine traditional Islamic patterns of life (Sahadeo, 2007)
- ➤ The economic well-being of Kyrgyz households in the 2010s correlates with the early 20th-century average wealth of their tribes (through the transmission of human and social capital) (Guirkinger et al., 2021)
- Backlash against Soviet models of blurring gender roles (Einhorn, 1995)



- Pre-Soviet Union period: clear division of gender roles in Central Asia = only men held positions of power, and women were excluded from many spheres (Kamp, 2016)
- Worsening sex ratio in Kazakhstan in 1908 is 1.16 (Aldashev & Guirkinger, 2012)
- "Women in the USSR are granted equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life" (Constitution of the USSR)
- ► The Soviets manipulated the position and status of women and sought to undermine traditional Islamic patterns of life (Sahadeo, 2007)
- ➤ The economic well-being of Kyrgyz households in the 2010s correlates with the early 20th-century average wealth of their tribes (through the transmission of human and social capital) (Guirkinger et al., 2021)
- Backlash against Soviet models of blurring gender roles (Einhorn, 1995)
- Lasting impact of the Soviet egalitarian policies (Lyon\_2002



► Russian colonial expeditions

- ► Russian colonial expeditions
  - ► Skryplev 1906-1913

- ► Russian colonial expeditions
  - ► Skryplev 1906-1913
  - Rumyantsev 1909-1913

- Russian colonial expeditions
  - Skryplev 1906-1913
  - Rumyantsev 1909-1913
- ▶ 8 uezds, 107 volosts, 44 tribes,  $\sim$  4700 extended families,  $\sim$  350000 individuals, sex ratio  $\sim$  1.26



Current territory of Central Asia





Historical map overlay

"Life in Kyrgyzstan" household survey

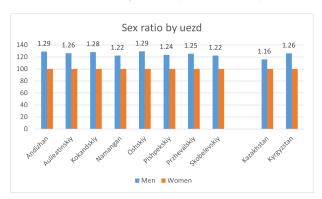
- "Life in Kyrgyzstan" household survey
- Panel data with 6 waves from 2010 to 2019; 2011-2012 used

- "Life in Kyrgyzstan" household survey
- Panel data with 6 waves from 2010 to 2019; 2011-2012 used
- Observed sex ratio = 1.07332

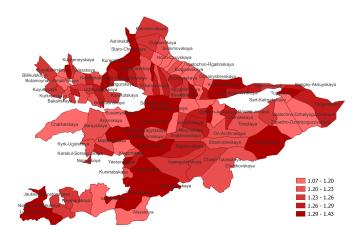
- "Life in Kyrgyzstan" household survey
- Panel data with 6 waves from 2010 to 2019; 2011-2012 used
- Observed sex ratio = 1.07332
- ▶ 10 180 births between 1942-2012

- "Life in Kyrgyzstan" household survey
- Panel data with 6 waves from 2010 to 2019; 2011-2012 used
- Observed sex ratio = 1.07332
- ▶ 10 180 births between 1942-2012
- ➤ 3 243 mothers, 2 481 households, 9 regions (7+2), 40 rayons, 38 tribes

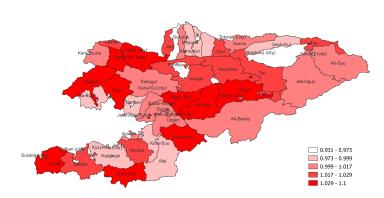
### Sex ratio by uezd (men/women)



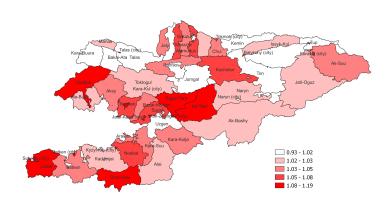
#### Sex ratio by volost (men/women)



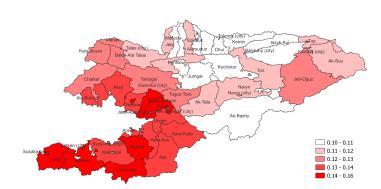
#### Sex ratio by rayon (men/women)



#### Sex ratio by rayon (boys/girls)

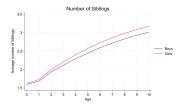


### Share of children by rayon



Number of ever-born siblings is higher for girls compared to boys

Number of ever-born siblings is higher for girls compared to boys



Number of ever-born siblings is higher for girls compared to boys



Instrumental birth

Number of ever-born siblings is higher for girls compared to boys



Instrumental birth

Sex-selective abortion

Number of ever-born siblings is higher for girls compared to boys



- Instrumental birth
  - Girls have more younger siblings than boys

Sex-selective abortion

Number of ever-born siblings is higher for girls compared to boys



- Instrumental birth
  - Girls have more younger siblings than boys
- regress nb\_younger\_siblings female;  $\beta = 0.11(0.03)$
- Sex-selective abortion

#### Stopping rule (Baland, Cassan, Woitrin, 2023)

Number of ever-born siblings is higher for girls compared to boys



#### Instrumental birth

- Girls have more younger siblings than boys
- regress nb\_younger\_siblings female;  $\beta = 0.11(0.03)$

#### Sex-selective abortion

Boys have more elder sisters than girls



#### Stopping rule (Baland, Cassan, Woitrin, 2023)

Number of ever-born siblings is higher for girls compared to boys



#### Instrumental birth

- Girls have more younger siblings than boys
- regress nb\_younger\_siblings female;  $\beta = 0.11(0.03)$

#### Sex-selective abortion

- Boys have more elder sisters than girls
- regress sh\_elder\_girls male;  $\beta = -0.0008(0.008)$

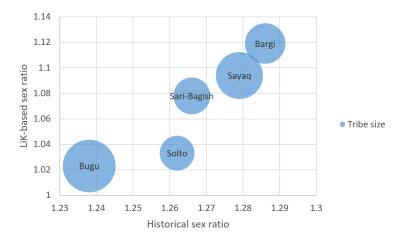


#### TEST RESULTS BY REGION

### Instrumental birth Sex-selective abortion regress nb younger siblings female regress share elder girls male

	Coef. Femal	SE		Coef.Male	SE
Kyrgyzstan	0.110	0.032	Kyrgyzstan	-0.001	0.008
Issyk-Kul	0.246	0.125	Issyk-Kul	0.030	0.028
Jalal-Abad	0.104	0.068	Jalal-Abad	-0.003	0.020
Naryn	0.035	0.158	Naryn	-0.019	0.040
Batken	0.461	0.114	Batken	-0.003	0.030
Osh	0.070	0.066	Osh	-0.014	0.018
Talas	0.198	0.163	Talas	0.056	0.039
Chui	0.054	0.078	Chui	-0.001	0.020
Bishkek	-0.007	0.059	Bishkek	-0.008	0.024
Osh city	-0.101	0.131	Osh city	-0.004	0.029

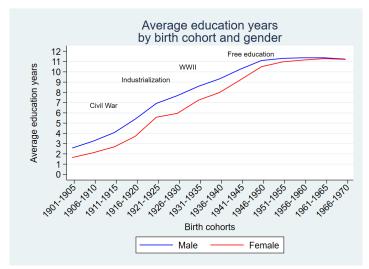
#### PERSISTENCE AT A TRIBAL LEVEL



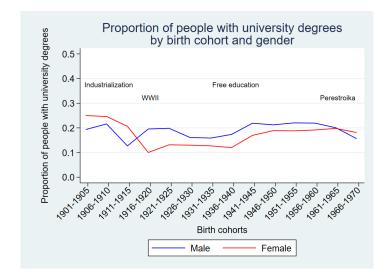
Sample size > 300



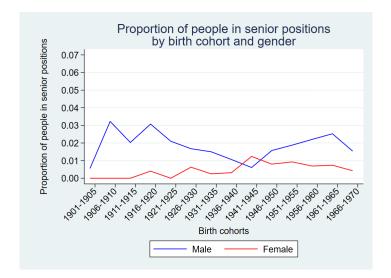
# ONE GENERATION BACK - EVIDENCE FROM THE SOVIET PERIOD



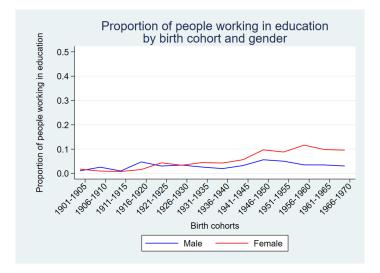
#### ONE GENERATION BACK - UNIVERSITY DEGREE



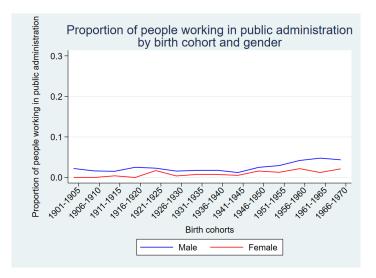
#### ONE GENERATION BACK - SENIOR POSITIONS



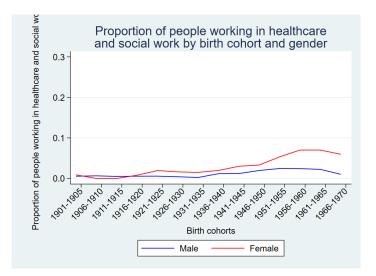
#### ONE GENERATION BACK - EDUCATION



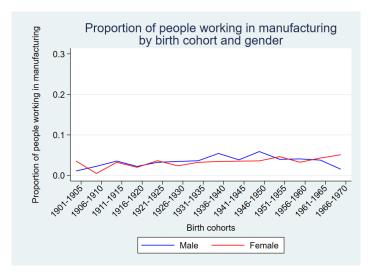
#### ONE GENERATION BACK - PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION



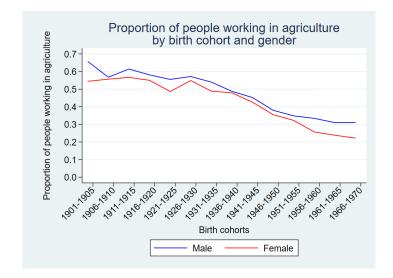
#### ONE GENERATION BACK - HEALTHCARE



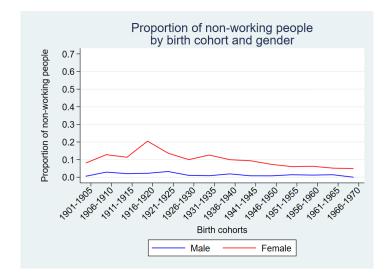
#### ONE GENERATION BACK - MANUFACTURING



#### ONE GENERATION BACK - AGRICULTURE



#### ONE GENERATION BACK - UNEMPLOYMENT



#### **NEXT STEPS**

- ▶ Deep dive into the existence of persistence in son preference and the mechanisms behind it
- Backlash or window dressing?

## Thank you!



zhanar.konys@ulb.be

