

**WOMEN IN POWER IN KYRGYZSTAN. AN ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF
WOMEN'S UNDERREPRESENTATION.**

By

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ABSTRACT

During the last decade, the issue of women in politics is actual. Political practice of feminist movement led not only to sharp increase of activity of women in all spheres of public life, but also changed a modern policy.

Feminist groups resulted new confident generation of females who can defend their own interests and rights and be an individual in the first place. In the last centuries emergence of feminism as ideology as the progressive phenomenon lead to new status of women. Now females carries out significant status and have the same rights just like men: the right to vote, to self-realize and to get education. However, above these basic rights the women gained privilege to be in government.¹

Women proved that global problems can be solved not only by objective and judicious men but also by women. Unfortunately, there are still many people who believe that politics and women are incompatible, despite that female leaders prove the opposite. At current time, women even often become responsible both for themselves, for family and the most important for country.

In many countries right now and even in our history we can observe female politicians that have done for their countries much more that some men politicians: Angela Merkel, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner(President of Argentina),Dilma Rousseff (Brazilian president), Benazir Bhutto(11thprime minister of Pakistan), Kurmanjan Datka, Roza Otunbaeva. This all proves us potential of human being should not depend on sex. During making important decisions and forming our government main factors should be responsibility, education, previous experiences etc, but not gender distinctions.² In the 21 first century there are many

¹IsmagilovaNuriaRifkatovna” “Women in Politics and Gender-Based Corruption in Central Asia: realities and responses“(Accessed March 13,2015)

² 2 Arneil Barbara.1999.Politics and Feminism: An Introduction, pp. 186-197

attempts to eliminate this tendency but in some countries including Kyrgyzstan the problem of lack of women in power still takes place, even though the country has accepted CEDAW convention and signed a Decree on the ways of improvement gender policy.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

INTRODUCTION.....1

LITERATURE REVIEW.....3

CHAPTER I: THE BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW OF CRITICAL MASS AND REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY CONCEPT IN KYRGYZSTAN5

1.1 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY5

1.2 THEORY OF CRITICAL MASS.....7

1.3 HISTORICAL CASES OF WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES IN KYRGYZSTAN..... 11

1.4 CRITICAL MASSES OF KYRGYZ WOMEN IN POWER..... 13

CHAPTER II: OBSTACLES TO INCREASING THE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN POWER.....15

2.1 FACTORS, WHICH PREVENT WOMEN FROM PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT.....15

2.3 CURRENT SITUATION OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT.....19

2.4 STEPS, WHICH HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO IMPROVE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN LEGISLATURE.....23

CHAPTER III: WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT, DIFFICULTIES IN THE PROCESS OF ELECTION27

3.1 WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN KYRGYZSTAN.....27

3.2 PROCESS OF ELECTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.....29

3.3 OPINIONS OF GENDER SPECIALISTS30

CONCLUSION.....33

INTRODUCTION

Since women have acquired the right to vote they actively joined politics. Years ago, the cases of women in power were rarity. Nowadays women prove day by day that politics is not a thing where only men can be experts at.

History of Kyrgyzstan can name numerous successful female politicians who perfectly coped with political affairs often even better than their men colleagues did. These female leaders deserve respect because they were in power despite eastern mentality, public opinion and stereotypes.³

In 2010, during tulip revolution and after overthrow of the second president Kurmanbek Bakiyev there was a big destabilization and chaos in Kyrgyzstan. It was very hard moments for citizens of the country, and at this moment, an immense responsibility for future of the state was taken by female leader Roza Otunbaeva. Long before this case, Kyrgyzstan already had some bright examples of women leadership: Kurmanzhan Datka ,Zhanyl Myrza.⁴ The issue of women in power is interesting in context of Kyrgyz politics, and this thesis has formulated a **Research question:** What factors prevents or enables females to be in the power? What should be done to raise their number in power?

Hypothesis: We live in modern times where there are no restrictions according to biological difference. But we still face with situations when in the process of choosing people to the branch of legislation we meet with discrimination towards women.⁵ According to quota, there should be 30 percent of women in parliament, but in reality, there are only 20percent, in

³ National Women Forum of Ngos of Kyrgyzstan <http://forumofwomenngos.kg/womens-political-participation/>(Accessed March15.2015)

⁴ Rebecca Anne Blackburn.2011. "Women of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan"p.1-8

⁵Pamela Paxton and Melanie M.Hughes .2007. Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective: A Global Perspective.p.1-19

regional government only 5 percent of women⁶. To eliminate this Kyrgyzstan has accepted CEDAW convention in 1990, which tells process of election should be facilitated for women, but unfortunately we don't see it.

Methodology: In order to analyze the concept of females in Kyrgyz politics nowadays there were attempts to understand which factors can lower the number of females and what has to be done for enhancing it. There has been interviews with numerous women who take different positions in Kyrgyz power and legislature. It helped us to understand certain experiences what had been done to increase number of women now and what should be done in future.

The first chapter of this research project describes the theoretical framework of the research, namely, exploring the connection between theory of critical mass and women's representation in power. There have been attempts to find out examples of critical mass theory in Kyrgyzstan. Also concept of representative democracy, how the theory corresponds with Kyrgyz politics in the context of women's representation.

In second chapter, there are analyses of difficulties, which female leaders face in power. There was research of an issue about form of the state and its influence on number of women in parliament. It is described the current situation and steps which were taken to facilitate the process of election for women.⁷In a chapter 3, there is a main concentration on the regional governments. Because Kyrgyzstan is divided to districts, local government has very important functions sometimes, even more important than central ones. In this chapter, it will be told about women in the regional government and about regional elections. Also in the final chapter, there are interviews with gender specialists.

⁶<http://forumofwomenngos.kg/ru/women-in-political-process>(Accessed March15.2015)

⁷ Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook .2008.Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation.p.725-736

LITERATURE REVIEW

Politics is an important arena for decision making, individuals who hold official positions in government get to decide how to allocate resources and many other decisions that influence society. This research is about women in power in Kyrgyzstan and why should we care about small number of women in Kyrgyz politics. This problem can be identified with a number of theories. Main theory in this research will be based on the representative democracy concept. In particular, it is the work of Anne Phillips "Feminism and Politics", Sylvia Chan "Liberalism, Democracy and Development", Julia O'Connor "Gender, Class and Citizenship in the Comparative Analysis of Welfare State Regimes" . Representative democracy is a very widespread concept; especially the connection between gender and representative democracy has always been one of the most interesting topics in women and power aspect. Therefore, this theory is the most suitable in the context of a problem of shortage of women in the government.

The idea of the equal rights and equal opportunities for men and women was the criteria of developed countries and it is embodied in the concept of representative democracy.⁸ This research was conducted to find out answers to several questions. Whether in the process of electing people to government our opinion can be influenced by biological distinctions, and whether it influences on the result of work of the person. Will the increase amount of women in legislature lead to visible differences in our life and bring reformations. There is an information about current number of women in power, and overview of history. Also factors which prevent women from participating in power is also provided.

⁸ Anne Phillips. .Feminism and Politics. 1998.P 50-68

Work of Carmen Luke, Jennifer Gore "Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy"⁹ and work of Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook "Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation"¹⁰ were used. In fact this theory was derived long time ago from physics. Critical mass in physics is necessary amount of some substance to start a chain reaction. Then sociologists borrowed this concept to explain many sociological phenomenas. Finally critical mass reached politics.

Critical mass theory is when women in power concentrate on number or proportion of women in power which is necessary to start radical changes in government. By radical changes it is meant to be the process of increasing number in legislature and what consequences it will lead to. According to theory, focal idea in exploration on female political representation is the thought of 'minimum amount'. Thus it is believed that ladies are not prone to have a noteworthy effect on administrative results, unless they develop from a couple of token people into a significant minority of all officials. As their numbers will expand women will have the capacity to work more successfully together and impact their male associates to acknowledge their role in government, and see in them colleague in the first place but not a woman. It is stated that growing number of women among politicians will gradually turn them into "critical mass".

In this research I will try to investigate whether in the process of electing people to government our opinion can be influenced by biological distinctions, and whether it influences on the result of work of the person. Will the increasing amount of women in legislature lead to visible differences in our life and bring reformations . Due to lack of information, many interviews were conducted which provided necessary information on this topic.

⁹Carmen Luke, Jennifer Gore.1992."Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy". Routledge

¹⁰ Sarah Childs, Mona Lena Krook.2008. "Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation" Political Studies: vol 56, 725–736

CHAPTER I: REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY AND CRITICAL MASS THEORY

1.1 REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

Two centuries were required for women to achieve legal equal rights with men. After achieving it, it has become obvious that there is a huge difference between rights for women, which are written in constitution and what is done in reality. To overcome this distance, to reach true equality of chances for women and men in power is the main goal of different female NGOs and gender expert's. Justice of this requirement is approved by the international community that found reflection in the Nairobi perspective strategy (1985)¹¹, in the Vienna declaration of general human rights (1993)¹², in the Beijing platform of actions (1995)¹³ and other documents. The idea of the equal rights and equal opportunities in the developed countries was embodied in the concept representative democracy. This equal political right for women was formulated quite recently - in the course of preparation for the World Beijing conference on position of women. The postulate that men and women possess equal civil advantage and both those, and others make an equivalent contribution to development of society. Here on what women have to have real opportunity on the identical bases with men to participate in all spheres of public life. The representation of both genders in governing bodies has to be somewhat equal, it is stated nowadays as 40/60. Unless it is possible to speak about a genuine democracy if a half of citizens is discharged from decision-making process.¹⁴

¹¹<http://www.un-documents.net/nfl-intr.htm> (Accessed on February 16,2015)

¹²Human Rights.<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ABOUTUS/Pages/ViennaWC.aspx>(Accessed on March3,2015)

¹³ United Nations Entity for Gender equality <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/>(Accessed on March 3,2015)

¹⁴ Anne Phillips. Feminism and Politics.P 224-225

At first what is a representative democracy? The democracy is the power of the people that means participation of each citizen in government.¹⁵ But each citizen, on the one hand, isn't able to take part in decision-making on all numerous questions which are under authority of the state, and on the other hand – the citizen is interested in what is happening decision-making level. For overcoming contradiction between needs and opportunities of citizens for the democratic states, so-called institutes of representation are used. The principle of democratic representation is that citizens give the vote to other people that are politically active, and naturally credible. These elects become representatives, and have an opportunity to make the state decisions on behalf of all the voters.

The Gender expert Nurgul Asylbekova¹⁶ considers that representative democracy a basis of the safe, democratic state which provides to all citizens of the country, equal rights which doesn't exclude possibility of women to be in power. The expert claims that today from all existing political systems representative democracy the most rational form which provides all citizens equal rights including also women who want to take part in political life of the country. The sign of the real democracy is considered equal representation of women and men in parliaments and in the government. According to Nurgul Asylbekova, an increased women participation in the state affairs and local government is not just European but a global tendency. Thus social and economic results of women in power were more than inspiring. Voters of Argentina, Brazil, Liberia, Costa Rica and Kyrgyzstan chose women as presidents of the countries. We have to adopt experience of the countries where the percent of participation of women in policy exceeds 30 percent. For example in the countries of northwest Europe women realized themselves as independent political force and achieved impressive progress in process of struggling for equal rights. Gender revolution was made in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, etc. for the last 30 years. So in parliament of Sweden -

¹⁵ Sylvia Chan. Liberalism, Democracy and Development P10-13

¹⁶ Nurgul Asylbekova, UN Gender Expert (in discussion on March 17, 2015)

42,7% of women, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Germany - is more than 30%.¹⁷ Practice of parliamentarism shows that 30% representation of women is a blocking factor and it is only good the desires directed on satisfaction of certain financially - industrial groups, to the detriment of socially significant projects. Fortunately, parliamentarians in these countries for the maintenance of a state policy changed. Social problems - health care, education, provision of pensions, protection of a family and the child, etc. became its main priorities. In these countries the law on quotas of women representation in power structures not less than 40%. In Sweden, any decision of the government is made after the analysis of consequences of how it will affect men and women, what measures should be taken to realize gender policy. In the western countries high representation of women and in the government for example in Sweden - 50% of women, Finland, Denmark, the Netherlands - more than one third of women among the cabinet. In Norway - 35%, in the cabinet of B. Clinton there were 5 women from 14 ministers. According to the expert,¹⁸ the democratic representation functions inefficiently in our country. The cause of inefficient work of democratic representation can that Kyrgyzstan lived in the communistic world with different values, mentality and tenor of life for a long time.

Everything back at that time strongly differed from the democratic. 20 years of the sovereignty and democracy are still insufficient. The representation of women in policy and their effective work requires observance of all principles of representative democracy. These are main principles of representative democracy: people's sovereignty, (any power proceeds from the people and is delegated by them), free elections of authorities representatives for limited term. Also political pluralism, the guaranteed access of all social groups to political institutes, control of the government by political institutes, elimination of political privileges for separate public groups and categories of citizens .¹⁹

1.2 THEORY OF CRITICAL MASS

¹⁷Women in National Parliaments. <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> (Accessed on March 24, 2015)

¹⁸NurgulAsylbekova, UN Gender Expert (in discussion, March 17, 2015)

¹⁹ Nadia Urbinati. Representative Democracy: Principles and Genealogy. P20-25

The term “critical mass” initially came from physics. Critical mass in science is certain amount of substance, which is necessary for chain reaction. Then a bit later, the term was adopted by social sciences. Within the theory of critical mass, many phenomena in various discourses are explained today: psychoanalysis, post-structuralism, feminism, post-colonialism, multiculturalism. First, what is critical theory? It is a number of approaches, currents and (theoretical) discourses which researches and criticizes society and culture, relying on social and humanitarian knowledge. Literally, the term "critical theory" collects under itself various approaches and knowledge based on criticism and the reflexive attitude towards knowledge or the current situation in any area, and try to explain emergence of objects of the knowledge.²⁰ For the very first time the theory of critical mass appeared at Frankfurt school and it is considered as post Marxical doctrine. In post Marxism, we can observe some form of bourgeois layer while in Marxism is absent. In this theory, this layer is represented by the intellectuals, which bring with itself any certain changes and most often criticism and rejection of all traditional and settled things.²¹

The same layer we can see in critical mass, which is represented by certain people whose main goal is to make global and visible change

Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno were founders of this theory. The theory of the Frankfurt school became so popular because it was caught by an ideological wave of that time. The main essence of the theory is that it is not necessary to accept everything by the principle of autonomy. Everything has to be subjected to skepticism, to understand why quite so and not vice versa. Such approach of life where person analyze everything traditional and settled is called skeptical approach. Founders of critical mass theory claimed that during postmodernism and capitalism time, everything in the world considerably changes and in order to correspond to modern times we have to also learn to think in the new way. Skeptical approach according to

²⁰Drude Dahlerup.2006. Critical Perspectives on Gender and Politics
The Story of the Theory of Critical Mass.P 152-170. StockholmUniversity

²¹ Paula Oliver, Gary Marwell.1985. A Theory of the Critical Mass. I. Interdependence, Group Heterogeneity, and the Production of Collective Action.P 522-556

founders of the theory has to help to find truth in any question. After all in while asking questions before accepting everything in autonomous way, the person starts analyzing pluses and minuses of each phenomenon and in process finds for himself a true way. Followers of this theory were considered as a critical mass and it turns out that critical mass were the intellectuals and innovators according to the post Marxism theory.²²

There is a set of approaches to an explanation of critical masses and one of them the phenomenon of social physics. It is very interesting approach to the theory. In this case, the social physics predicts behavior of certain people by means of special calculations and formulas. They take variables for formulas about collective masses. The most interesting moment of this theory is that scientists calculate behavior of people in different kind situations but they leave people a freedom of choice and actions. The description of the theory within social physics seems rather an exact science than humanitarian, however scientists in social physics not only describe process of the solution of a task and formulas and an explanation of variables, but they were ready to explain the process and why it occurs . For this reason, such approach is social. The main question sounds skeptical though is it correct to apply mathematical formulas and numbers when we face human factors.²³

The concept of critical mass is widely used to explain women representation in legislation. Mainly it researches the amount of women in power and would it be effective if there will be more women there. In addition, another important question arises why women do not support their other colleagues in legislation. ²⁴Maybe it is one reason why there are not many female legislators. One explanation for this situation is that there are not many women in power right now; minor female groups in legislation branch do not want to take responsibility. Many men work in power and there is not simply a chance for women to take important

²²Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook.2007.Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation.P 725–736

²³Pamela E. Oliver andGeraldMarwell. Whatever Happened to Critical Mass Theory? A Retrospective and Assessment.Sociological Theory
Volume 19, Issue 3, pages 292–311

²⁴Politics & Gender. The Women and Politics Research Section of the American Political Science Association
197-220

decisions. They are already used to this situation and even to that fact that there are in minority group, they do not realize it is a problem. During the last twenty years, the concept of critical mass has been widely used in female representation in legislation branch. Gender experts are now very interested in this branch and they have very different opinions concerning the fact that increasing amount of women can make big differences. Some experts are very skeptical, some of them think that increasing amount of women can make positive difference in power. Others inclined to opinion that increasing number of women will not probably make any difference, unless they decrease women population in power. The reason for these opinions arise from theories of Kanter. According to him people in minority groups behave themselves in a very different way. Some minority groups work hard and they have productive result, they influence on others. However, it is also possible that participants of minority groups will not realize that they are one group and each of them will act like an individual.²⁵

Experts tried to analyze role of men in this issue. How will male legislators feel about increasing number of females in powers? As a conclusion, there were several models of behavior. First model says that men can be hostile, just because women are taking their place. Maybe they think that women have different roles in society and being in politics is not part of female's role. Second thought that men are too embarrassed to interact with females as their colleague. Men got used to interact with females only when they play role of their wives and secretaries otherwise they feel themselves a bit uncomfortable²⁶. Author meant that women in politics are still new tendency and getting used to it will take some time. Some experts claim that we can call this growing number of women a critical mass some of them claim that we cannot do it yet. Answer may seem a little harsh but it was said that increasing number of women in politics did not lead to any global changes, for us to name some group a critical mass it should make something revolutionary or any visible changes. Unfortunately, some experts did

²⁵ J Lovenduski. Women and Politics: Minority Representation or Critical Mass? P744-758

²⁶ Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook. Analysing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors. P 125-145

not see any positive global changes, which were done by female politics. In addition, for this reason they reject to accept women in politics like critical mass. Very interesting fact that most of these experts were men.

Despite disputes which arose the issue of relation critical mass theory to women in power most gender experts agree in one point of view. Perhaps people who have potential and ability to work have been in the power and the sex should not play role in the process of choosing legislatures.²⁷

1.3 CASES OF WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES IN KYRGYZSTAN

A tendency of gender equality began with formation of the Soviet power in Kyrgyzstan. It is considered that fight of women for equality in power began during the Soviet Union but referring to historical data, we see that we had outstanding women long time before Soviet Union.

After analyzing history of Kyrgyzstan it is possible to come to such conclusion that except the beautiful nature, great history, tradition and culture our country is famous for great women who made the huge contribution to development and formation of Kyrgyzstan. The paradox is that country with east mentality and with centuries-old patriarchy nevertheless can give example of great women including present. The list of female leaders of Kyrgyzstan can be continued infinitely, in research I want to tell about several of them who made the significant contribution to history and development of Kyrgyzstan.²⁸

In March, 2010 the Kyrgyz opposition council imposed to the authorities of the country requirements about reduction of tariffs, return of the sold strategic state enterprises, release of political prisoners, removal from official positions all close relatives of the incumbent president

²⁷ Donley T. Studlar and Ian McAllister. Does a critical mass exist? A comparative analysis of women's legislative representation since 1950. P 233-253. European Journal of Political Research

²⁸ Cherikov. Women role in Kyrgyz Policy.

http://rus.kg/news_rus/policy_rus/9955-scherikov-o-rol-i-zhenschin-v-kyrgyzskoy-politike.html (Accessed on 3rd of March 2015)

Bakiyev, etc. Council warned the authorities that if till March 24 they won't be executed, the opposition can start organizing local council for the purpose of establishment of "truly public authority". Otunbayeva became the head of executive committee. In April of the same year in Talas began emerging forces of protest. Performances developed into disorders and next day extended on the capital and some other cities of the country. Otunbayeva headed the provisional government ("the government of national trust") created by opposition which in the first place dismissed parliament and the government. In May, 2010 Otunbayeva was appointed as the president of Kyrgyzstan during transition period. ²⁹

At the current time Roza Isakovna has her own social fund which solves migratory problems and makes the contribution to education. The problem on which concentrate fund sounds as how to evolve diasporas in Kyrgyzstan to social and political life of our country. Experts of this fund try to look for the ways so that diasporas can make contribution to Kyrgyzstan. ³⁰

Elmira Ibrahimova the daughter of the famous public figure Sultan Ibrahimov, was born in 1962. In 2007, she became the member of the party AkZhol. In 2009, she was expelled from Akjol party for sharp criticism of the Bakiev regime and she resigned from the position of vice-prime minister. The reason to this was disagreement with the pursued Bakiyev's policy. This woman is worth great respect. She was not afraid to leave when she felt that the power in Kyrgyzstan appears in hands of not fair people that is why she preferred to leave. ³¹

Damira Niyazalieva was born on January 22 in 1960 in the village of Aral in Naryn .. From April to July, 2007 she worked as Minister of Health of Provisional Government of the Kyrgyz Republic. From October, 2010 to December, 2014 she was the chairperson of Committee of Zhogorku Kenesh concerning social policy. At the current moment, she provides

²⁹Lessons of Kyrgyz Revolutions. <http://www.stanradar.com/news/full/15695-uroki-kyrgyzskih-revoljutsij.html> (Accessed on January 27, 2015)

³⁰Charity fund of Roza Otunbaeva. <http://www.roza.kg/> (Accessed on February 16, 2015)

³¹<http://who.ca-news.org/people/2186> (Accessed on January 6, 2015)
http://rus.kg/news_rus/policy_rus/9955-scherikov-o-roli-zhenschin-v-kyrgyzskoy-politike.html

interaction of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic with following departments: the National commission of a state language, National academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic. Also State commission on affairs of religions of the Kyrgyz Republic, Assembly of the Public Associations "Assembly of the People of Kyrgyzstan" and Federation of Labor Unions of Kyrgyzstan. Damira Niyazalieva makes offers concerning candidates considered to an arrangement of the Kyrgyz Republic as the Prime minister in the supervised branches. She

This is the incomplete list of female leaders, who made a certain contribution to the country and put all the efforts to work for the good of the people. There were so many historical female leaders in politics and there are quite a lot of them right now who are not in this list. The described women are bright representatives of courageous, clever, initiative women who were not afraid to assume huge responsibility for destinies of the million population. They surely worth admirations and respect.

These women can be truly considered as critical mass because they are the ones who contributed themselves to prosperity of Kyrgyzstan sometimes even sacrificing with themselves. These women had a big influence on the fact that now Kyrgyzstan has more women in parliament.

1.4 CRITICAL MASSES OF KYRGYZ WOMEN IN POWER

The answer to the question if there is a critical mass in Kyrgyzstan is difficult and ambiguous. Critical mass is a small amount of people who bring changes. In respect of gender policy critical mass is small amount of women in the authorities, which promote increase of women in legislation, and positive changes in politics as a reason of increase a number of women. Disputes are still conducted in the theory of critical mass in gender policy. There are even doubts that increase whether it will be women or men in effect have no great influence on political processes. They exclude probability that the gender in general can play any value.

Supporters of the theory claim that increase of women in power will lead to positive changes in life of the country.³²

According to the expert Nurgul Asylbekova appearance of women in policy brought positive changes and innovations. The expert is convinced that the gender plays a role and those innovations and changes happened only because their initiators were women. As changes and achievements with the advent of women politicians Nurgul gave an example fund "Initiative of Roza Otunbayeva". A main objective of fund is initiation and implementation of programs and projects, which will promote social, political, economic development of the Kyrgyz Republic. Expert thinks that fund of an initiative one of the most successful projects, this was initiated among female politicians. The fund does not concentrate on the solution of only one problem, but covers many current important problems and makes efforts for their decision. Besides the fund of an initiative intensifies participation of various Diasporas and ethnic minorities in political and civil life of Kyrgyzstan. Nevertheless, a main goal of the fund is improvement of quality of education.³³

In three years of existence the Fund made significant progress and managed to make a lot of projects for the development of education, science, culture, art, education, spiritual development of the personality, a healthy lifestyle, and improvement of quality and access to services of the childhood, motherhood and youth.

According to the expert the main issue isn't that women are capable to bring any changes. They undoubtedly are able to do it. However, according to the theory of critical mass, a certain group, which is in minority, has to promote increase in the participants that unfortunately we don't observe in the power of Kyrgyzstan. Women who are in legislative right now maybe show results but as any critical mass, it has to promote increase in number of women in parliament and the regional power, which we do not observe today. Therefore, in our

³² Sandra Grey. 2001. WOMEN AND PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS. P 3-6

Philip Ball.2005. How one thing leads to another.P 9-14. Farrar, StrausandGiroux

³³Nurgul Asylbekova (National Program Officer in UN Women for Gender Equality and the empowerment of women) (in discussion on March 17, 2015)

power we cannot call women a critical mass because women do not fulfill all points, which is required by critical mass.³⁴

Today the statistics looks thus: 22 percent from 120 deputies of Zhogorku Kenesh are women. The world economic forum investigated the level of gender equality in 2013 and included that Iceland is in the first places of a rating. Kyrgyzstan the 63rd place, the Kazakhstan – 32nd , Tajikistan – 90th , Russia – 61st places.³⁵

CHAPTER II: CURRENT OBSTACLES FOR INCREASING A NUMBER OF WOMEN IN POWER IN KYRGYZSTAN.

2.1 FACTORS, WHICH PREVENT WOMEN FROM PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

Undoubtedly the problem of lack of woman in parliament is unresolved because still in our country there is no the gender differentiated policy for simplification of a women role in politics. According to the convention CEDAW³⁶we violate all required rules. There are no conditions for women, which would facilitate their participation in elections. Article 7 of the Convention CEDAW obliges the states to take all necessary measures for elimination of discrimination of women in political and public life of the country, including elections, the state posts, and also development and implementation of a state policy which would facilitate role of women in politics. During election process, it is very important to talk about female role in politics, and their equal rights with men with citizens who are going to vote. We do not observe preelectional conferences and seminars where we would talk with citizenship representatives

³⁴Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook.2007.Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation.P 725–736

³⁵ Female politics want to make important solutions. http://www.gezitter.net/society/34314_jenschinyi-politiki_hotyat_prinimat_resheniya(Accessed on February 9th of 2015)

³⁶The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.1979. Un General Assembly
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw> (Accessed on March 2, 2015)

about importance of gender equality in parliament and quotes that should meet standards, which says that 30 percent of all elected candidates have to be females.³⁷

Inaction as well as breaking of the rules is considered as violation of the CEDAW convention. Unfortunately, voters during election do not understand a role of gender equality and its big importance during the course of elections. In our country people who take direct participation in elections such as parties, propagandists do not discuss with the population the principles of a gender equality, perhaps because they consider them unimportant.³⁸

In our country there is an absence of economic, political, availability to women. There is also a problem of a low quality of social services and all this in total slows down process of participation of women in policy. It is necessary to mention lack of etiquette during elections, many people inadequately react to appearance of women in policy, directly specifying about their paramount role as a reproduction, occupation by the house and family. Perhaps this psychological factor is part of the reason why in our power there are not enough woman. There are no tools for high-quality elections to advantage of women. Here it is possible to include a lack of qualified election staff, which understand the presence of gender inequality problem and don't violate the CEDAW convention. The equipment, booklets, printing editions, which can adequately present female candidates of all segments of the population are absent during process of election.³⁹

Unfortunately, such actions proceed from year to year because the problem is suppressed. There are many factors, which disturb a solution and modification of elective process. It is partly corruption, unskilled work of TSIK, legal illiteracy of women and stereotypes.

Apart from CEDAW conventions, here it is relevant to list some social factors, which is an obstacle for women representation in power. Avazkan Omorova the deputy member of the

³⁷Violation of females' right in Kyrgyzstan.<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>(Accessed on February 12, 2015)

³⁸FAQ about CEDAW convention.<http://www.wsc.kg/46/>(Accessed on February 23, 2015)

³⁹ Unifem.2009. CEDAW in Kyrgyzstan way to fairness. P 1-8

village Zhoosh of the Karasuu area characterized this problem. According to her opinion, there are three main points for women underrepresentation in elections. First reason is that all people are interested in the social status of women. Whether the woman is married or single, whether she was born in this definite region or moved recently. If the woman is not married, people will start worrying that she will marry and leave. In addition, if you moved recently people prefer to choose the local candidate. Second, if you stand on behalf of political party, you will not be elected according to your potential but regarding different criteria. Third, money play large role in election process. If the woman has problems with finances, she is better to forget about elections. Even if you will have equal political rights, you will not be involved in decision-making process.⁴⁰

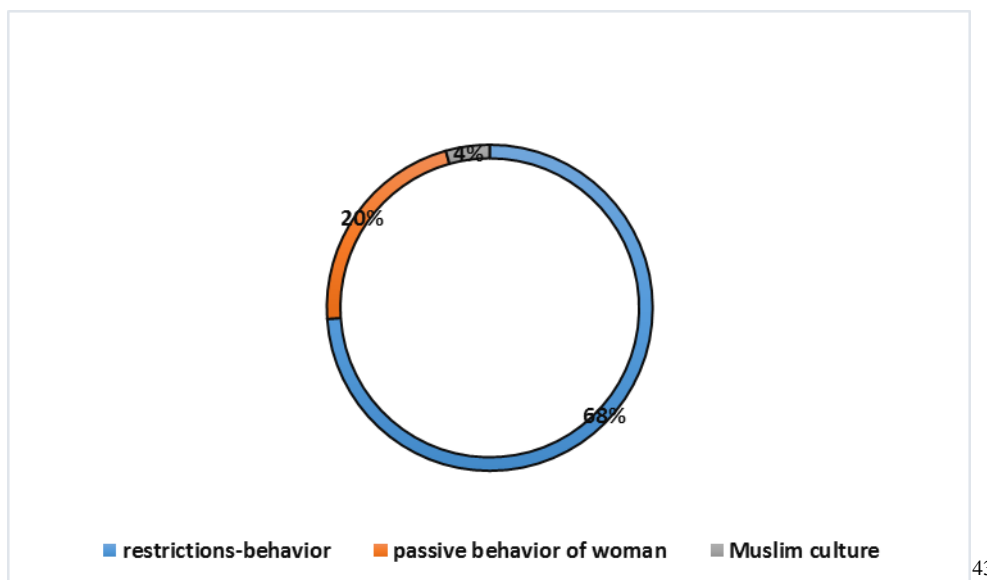
Example of village of Zhoosh, in this village there are 31 mandates, 14 women were proposed as the candidates, but only four passed. This numbers can already tell a lot about current situation of women in parliament. In 2012, the inter-parliamentary assembly published the report in which it was said that the principle of equality between men and women is not observed. Besides, it was emphasized that in many countries the woman remained out of government. Human rights activists, from Kyrgyzstan accept the fact that recently position of gender equality improved, but Kyrgyzstan did not reach gender equality in the elected power bodies yet. The candidate of sociological sciences, the representative of "The center of protection of women" Topchugul Shaydullayeva considers that in Kyrgyzstan gender stereotypes still remain and we didn't reach gender equality in the elected power bodies. For example, there is a tendency where woman withdraws the candidacy in case the man from her village or her close relative wants to participate in this election. She does it because she does not want to be a barrier. In addition, there are cases when the family of the woman opposes her

⁴⁰Kyrgyzstan. http://www.gezitter.org/society/30316_nemalo_trudnostey_jdet_jenschin_na_puti_v_politiku/ (Accessed on March 3, 2015)

intentions. Alternatively, women sometimes are lazy. Because they do not appreciate their knowledge and potential. Our women have a low self-esteem. ⁴¹

Current Islamization of society also plays big role in women underrepresentation in society. According to Islam canons the paramount role of the woman — is a family, the house and children. Policy and self-realization unfortunately are minor and it is often said that policy and woman are incompatible things. According to results of the conducted survey, which was held in 2014 among women who have ever participated in election for a deputy mandate results look like this. ⁴²

Factors that can prevent women from participating in elections



It is also important to mention that patriarchal models, values and stereotypes significantly are preventive factors for women in policy. Law do not promote achievement of gender equality in policy. Any law in Kyrgyzstan besides required quote does not provide gender equality in Parliament, the cabinet and other supreme bodies. Advance in authorities is

⁴¹Female leadership in Kyrgyzstan.<http://anticorruption.kg/2012/03/30/liderstvo-i-zhenskoe-politicheskoe-uchastie/>(Accessed on March 3, 2015)

⁴²Risks of islamization.<http://www.odnako.org/blogs/islamskiy-faktor-v-kirgizii-riski-i-pomoshch-dlya-evrazii/>(Accessed on March 15, 2015)

⁴³Jeenbaeva. 2010. Violation of females' political right in Kyrgyzstan. P 1-10

traditionally carried out through specialized institutes, such as political parties. Political parties in Kyrgyzstan practically do not advance women. Absence of specialized institutes and mechanisms of women promotion is an obstacle for women. Insufficient support from women's organizations also plays a significant role in reduction of political opportunities for females.⁴⁴

2.3 CURRENT SITUATION OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

Discussion of a role of women in power in Kyrgyzstan gives rise many disputes to this day. There are division of two camps one consider that in power we have enough women and Kyrgyzstan wins first place in Central Asia on gender equality issues in power. There are opinions that in other countries, the quota of 30 percent of women in power isn't observed, and often it does not even exist.⁴⁵ Others incline to that that an indicator of presence of women as 22 percent are very small and critical result of which we should not be proud. Experts claim that there is such tendency that in the developed countries 30 and even more percent in power held by women. However, to make the final analysis it is necessary to analyses conclusions of two sides.⁴⁶

The number of female deputies in the world continues to increase 0,5% annually⁴⁷. Now female leaders around the world take on average 19,2% of places. According to the UN, only 43 countries reached a 30% quota of participation of women in legislative and executive bodies. In Kazakhstan there are 20 female deputies. In Russia, women occupy 70% of municipal and 56% of the state posts. Female deputies occupy 63 of 450 places in the State Duma. In 2009 Belarus won the first place in the CIS on a level of development taking into account a gender

⁴⁴Female leadership In Kyrgyzstan.<http://anticorruption.kg/2012/03/30/liderstvo-i-zhenskoe-politicheskoe-uchastie/> (Accessed on March 16, 2015)

National review of Beijing Declaration. Beijing+20
http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/Gender/publication/Kyrgyz_Beijing_Natl_Report.pdf (Accessed on March 15th, 2015) P 3-6

⁴⁵Jeenbaeva. 2010. Violation of females' political right in Kyrgyzstan. P 1-10

⁴⁶DaniyarTerbishaliev vice gender equality in parliament.<http://kabarlar.org/news/8633-daniyar-terbishaliev-vystupaet-za-polnoe-ravnopravie-zhenschin-v-parlamente.html> (Accessed on March 15th, 2015)

⁴⁷Annual increase of female deputies.<http://rus.azattyq.org/archive/news/20140312/360/360.html?id=25293637> (Accessed on March 5th, 2015)

factor. Now in parliament of the country there are 32% of female leaders. In Millie Medzhlis of Azerbaijan, females take 20 positions out of 125. In the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, female deputies take 36 places from 450. In the operating parliament of Kyrgyzstan 28 female deputies makes 24% of total number of parliamentarians.⁴⁸

The constitution of Kyrgyzstan (article 16, point 4) proclaims the equality of women and men, which means equal rights and freedoms, and equal opportunities for both men and women in power.⁴⁹ Some politicians especially male ones claim that gender equality in the country exists at the advanced level as women are present on high posts, 21% of structure of parliament, 60% of judges of the Supreme Court, 50% of the ombudsman, 33% of structure of Central Election Commission and Audit Chamber make women.⁵⁰ Actually, for years of independence Kyrgyzstan adopted important laws about representation of women in power, now there are quotas of women's representation in parliament fortunately. However, gender equality moves ahead with the help of civil society and international organizations. The main problem now is that female deputies in Zhogorku Kenesh do not always promote increase in number of women in parliament. Women do not initiate any legislative projects and do not aspire so that number of women in parliament would reach quota of 30 %. Activists of the gender movement and gender experts often claim that the representation of women in power Kyrgyzstan does not reach 30% as quota requires. Referring to conclusions of serious researches, they claim that societies, in which women in power make at least one third, are more stable and socially oriented. In addition, the examples of such countries would be Scandinavian countries. In Kyrgyzstan, women don't gather required quota in parliament also we don't gather quota even at the local level, even though now there is a world tendency of

⁴⁸ Increase of female deputies in Kazakhstan. <http://mojazarplata.kz/main/kz-news/v-kazahstane-velichilosq-kolichestvo-zhenschin-deputatov>(Accessed on March 15th, 2015)

⁴⁹ Constitution of Kyrgyz Republic. http://www.ksgp-cis.ru/docs/21/const_kyr.pdf

⁵⁰ Women representation in political parties of Kyrgyzstan. (Accessed on March 16th, 2015) http://www.kg.undp.org/content/dam/kyrgyzstan/Publications/gender/kgz_Gender%20analysis%20of%20political%20parties_RUS.pdf

increase in representation of women in local authorities. In local kenesh according to the results of elections of 2012 the woman made less than 16%. These facts on representation of women in power structures demand further efforts of all adherents of gender equality.⁵¹

In the past, there were attempts to create political women parties but unfortunately, an attempt was not successful. In "men's" parties women are called for formal compliance of legislation and creation of image of modern political party. Non-profit organizations, including women's NGO were big school of leadership for current deputies of parliament and other officials. However, female movement in Kyrgyzstan presented as NGOs and female networks, unfortunately, "grows old" and will marginalize more and more. On the one hand, it is a problem of the most women's movement, which could not provide big inflow of the youth supporting ideas of gender equality. In addition, the important reason is falling of education level of youth, general degradation of human potential. It is important to note also that there is a strengthening of a role of religion in socialization of younger generation. Therefore, at the current moment more noticeable are women's organizations and groups acting under the auspices of religious and so-called traditional values.⁵²

Another problem is that women have no access to material and to economic resources. In the Scandinavian countries, which are among the most advanced countries in the sphere of gender equality, progress in increase of level of political representation of women became possible because of the dynamic development of market economy. All things listed before was combined with state regulation of the social sphere. Experience of the Scandinavian countries testifies that economic development of the country and the considerable improvement of economic and social situation of women connected with it, emergence of conditions for economic emancipation of women facilitated entry of women into policy and public space. In Kyrgyzstan questions of improvement of economic opportunities for women were mainly

⁵¹Nurgul Asylbekova (National Program Officer in UN Women for Gender Equality and the empowerment of women) in discussion with an author. (17.03.2015)

⁵²Democratically Party of women in Kyrgyzstan.<http://kyrgyzby.narod.ru/party/women.htm> (17.03.2015)

aimed at vulnerable groups and a long time were assigned to the international organizations which realized various projects on microcredit, distributed seeds and trained women in different types of beneficial activities. Issues about productivity and efficiency of such projects is contradictory, of course it is important to pay attention to the work with vulnerable women, but it doesn't create conditions for economic emancipation of women. For strengthening of political participation of women and entry of women into space of policy and decision-making it is necessary to strengthen in parallel participation of women in the market of high-quality employment and to develop middle class. Economic freedom and economic emancipation of women in critical masses will allow them to move ahead in policy at the national and local levels.⁵³

Problems of female political participation and strengthening of representation of women in the supreme bodies of the power include various aspects: improvement of the legislation, control of execution of standards of the constitutional laws on gender equality. It should be controlled at the level of decision-making first of all from parliament and the Prosecutor General's Office. It is important because in 2014 there were changes in the legislation concerning local government and the status of deputies in local kenesh. From 2014 according to legislation, it is impossible to combination the mandate of the deputy of a local kenesh with a senior position in municipal and government bodies. These changes will negatively effect on representation of active and talented women in decision-making process at the local level. Supporting the principles of gender equality, the state in parallel creates various barriers for increasing political participation of women. Other, not less important aspect, is a preparation of administrative and qualified staff, and control of performance of laws on gender equality in the sphere of personnel policy. It is important because performance of laws in

⁵³National review of Beijing Declaration. Beijing+20
http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/Gender/publication/Kyrgyz_Beijing_Natl_Report.pdf (Accessed on March 18th, 2015)

Kyrgyzstan always remains the key problem⁵⁴ interfering development of the country. But in ensuring gender balance process it is even more difficult to resolve issues of mental installations in society, to change the developed stereotypes the cultural norms serving as a barrier to full participation of a female society in policy.

2.4 STEPS, WHICH HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO INCREASE A NUMBER OF WOMEN IN LEGISLATURE

The movement for gender equality in Kyrgyzstan began since 1995 when for the first time the delegation of women of the sovereign Kyrgyz Republic participated in the IV World Conference on Women issues in Beijing⁵⁵ and adopted the Beijing declaration⁵⁶. After that Kyrgyzstan thought of an importance of gender equality and its necessity for the state. For the first time this theory was put into practice and faced the term of gender equality. The declaration concentrates on providing equal economic and political opportunities for women and elimination of discrimination against women. Since 1996 Zhogorku Kenesh adopted five conventions concerning women where it is said about equal political opportunities for women and men. It is necessary to tell about the convention CEDAW⁵⁷ that concentrates on equal rights of men and women. In particular, an Article 7⁵⁸ of the CEDAW Convention obliges the states to take all necessary measures for elimination of discrimination of women in political and public life of the country, including elections, the state posts. It also concentrates on the development and implementation of a state policy and claims that women have to have the right, equal with men, to hold elective state offices. In the General Recommendation for this

⁵⁴Nurgul Asylbekova (National Program Officer in UN Women for Gender Equality and the empowerment of women) in discussion with an author. (17.03.2015)

⁵⁵Beijing Report: The Fourth World Conference on Women
<http://www.jofreeman.com/womenyear/beijingreport.htm> (Accessed on March 17th, 2015)

⁵⁶Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing Declaration
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/declar.htm> (Accessed on March 17th, 2015)

⁵⁷Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
<http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf> (Accessed on March 17th, 2015)

⁵⁸Violence of political rights of women.
<http://wsc.kg/public/files/library/fb555b779ebb090cecb8d99c33b1e543.pdf>. P9-10

article, Committee highlighted that "participation of women in development of policy is necessary for development of gender approaches and gender prospect in a state policy".

The Decree of the President of Kyrgyzstan on involvement of female leaders to public administration was issued in 2002.⁵⁹ The Decree concentrates on taking measures of gender approach in the process of forming the state personnel policy. It is also mentioned about the necessity of changing the staff in parliament and involvement of women to senior positions in the ministries, the state committees of the Kyrgyz Republic, the state agencies and the state inspections, the state commissions at the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, regional and regional public administrations, local governments of the country. Also the decree talks about entering of additional changes into the staff list in a number of regional, regional public administrations and local governments of the cities because of the increase the positions which would be held by women. The first women's NGO opened from 2000-2005, they became first initiators of introduction of 30% quota of women in the government of Kyrgyzstan. The first NGO begin supported women in policy including also those female leaders whom we see today in power. Now there are 85 women's NGO.⁶⁰ All organizations have almost common goals such as gender equality, strengthening of a role of women in society, consolidation of women's movement in Kyrgyzstan and in Central Asia, development of capacity of women's organizations, and protection and advance of the rights of women. In 2007, there is an introduction of gender quota in political parties. In December 2007⁶¹ after introduction of quotas, there were 104 political, 13 from which were headed by women. Only one of these thirteen parties – Democratic Party of women and youth "New force" participated, but it did not break a 5 percent barrier and did not go to parliament on elections to Zhogorku Kenesh in December 2007.

⁵⁹The Decree of the President of Kyrgyz Republic
<http://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/act/view/ru-ru/3876>

⁶⁰ Forum on females NGOs <http://forumofwomenngos.kg/ru/sample-page/>(Accessed on March 18th, 2015)

⁶¹UNDP Report.Gender analyst of political parties of Kyrgyzstan.P 13-15

In 2008, Alliance of Female Legislative Initiatives was created. The purpose of Alliance was strengthening of a political female influence through lobbying of the gender focused legislative initiatives and monitoring of realization of gender policy. The first gender activists who actively began lobbyist campaign for the rights of women represented AFLI (Alliance of Female Legislative Initiatives). The development of gender politics in Kyrgyzstan was carried out together by the state and by female movement.⁶² It should be noted that originally ratification of the international documents, adoption of laws of the rights of women had declarative character and were not followed by progress in action. Almost each action, which was done by government for gender equality in power, was initiated and lobbied by female's nonprofit organizations. Some of them made real significant contribution such as Agency of social technologies, the Center of the help to women, Association of women entrepreneurs, Alga, ATsPGO, and Association of the crisis centers, the Crisis center Sezim, the Center of gender researches, Zhalalabad's leading Female, the Leader (Karakol) and others.

Women's movement of Kyrgyzstan underwent high-quality changes, having passed from the formal statement for protection of the rights of women to specific actions, having transferred focus of attention from consideration of female problems to gender problems, i.e. women began to take active part at development stages, realization and monitoring of programs of development. The male parliament, which existed about three years, not simply created an obstacle of absolute replacement of women from key body of decision-making at the national level, but it also promoted a regress of the national legislation. During work of this parliament, there were attempts to enter polygamy⁶³ and the principle of criminalization of abortions. The situation was very complicated because at the level of executive power the women were excluded from decision-making process. Right after parliamentary elections, the group of

⁶² Creation of Alliance of Female Legislative Initiatives <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1204629900> (Accessed on March 18th, 2015)

⁶³ Kyrgyzstan rejected to legalize polygyny <http://korrespondent.net/world/183939-kyrgyzstan-otkazalsya-legalizovat-mnogozhenstvo> (Accessed on March 19th, 2015)

female activists and feminists began a lobby campaign for implementation of the basic provisions CEDAW. They acted with idea of creation of a position of the Special Representative of the President of Kyrgyzstan⁶⁴ who would work on gender development issues in Zhogorku Kenesh. For promotion of the package of proposals, female activists organized a meeting with the President of the country.

Strategy of lobbying was timely fit, adequate and therefore successful. The president supported offers of women's groups of civil society. A. Niyazova began to work in Zhogorku Kenesh for the development of gender equality. Activists of women's NGOs looked for new institutional measures of struggling for the rights of women. There was no other way for them, except uniting and struggling together. They used various methods of lobbying of men deputies in male Parliament. For example, they applied a method of fax attack; they tried to draw attention of male deputies by giving flowers to them. Besides, they managed to conduct negotiations with each of them on the forthcoming discussion of laws «About Political Parties», the Law "About Additions and Changes to the Civil Code of Kyrgyzstan" where questions of introduction of gender quotas and polygene were brought up. Thus, after efforts of members of AFLI the Parliament voted in favor of women under the relevant articles of laws. As a result, there were adopted laws on gender equality, against violence, the special measures of support of women in power providing almost 30 percent of female representation in parliament of the country.⁶⁵

⁶⁴National Plan of reaching a gender equality file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/Kyrgyzstan_NAP_2007%202010_rus.pdf (Accessed on March 19th, 2015)

⁶⁵Analyzing political parties in Kyrgyzstan. http://www.kg.undp.org/content/dam/kyrgyzstan/Publications/gender/kgz_Gender%20analysis%20of%20political%20parties_RUS.pdf (Accessed on March 20th, 2015)

III: WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT, DIFFICULTIES IN THE PROCESS OF ELECTION

3.1 WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN KYRGYZSTAN

For the last decade, the considerable changes occurred in political, social and economic life of Kyrgyzstan, which captured and the sphere of local government. During purposeful implementation of the reform of local government, the republic laid very strong foundation for MSU on the constitutional bases and the Decree of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic of August 18, 1994.⁶⁶ Over 50 decrees, orders of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic, 30 resolutions of the government of the Kyrgyz Republic and some other regulations concerning decentralization of public administration and development of MSU were accepted during 8 years. Transition process of all settlements of the republic (villages, settlements and the cities) on the principles of MSU ended in 2001. Now 487 rural and city bodies of MSU functions on the territory of Kyrgyz Republic. The Association of the cities of the Kyrgyz Republic and Association of local governments of the villages were united in the Congress of local governments of the Kyrgyz Republic protecting interests of local communities. Now among 44 heads of the regional state administrations there is only one woman, in Sverdlovsk. Among 31 mayors of the cities there is no woman, from 453 heads of aiyl okmotu there are only 27 women (4,5%).⁶⁷

The decree "About Measures for Improvement of Gender Policy" has to provide not less than 30 percentage representations of women of the Kyrgyz Republic in local governments

⁶⁶Decree of the president <http://women.soros.kg/index.php/ru/2009-02-11-02-51-51/125-zakon-o-ravnih-pravah-mujchin-i-jenshin> (20.03.2015)

⁶⁷Rates of women in local power. <http://bpost.kg/news/glavami-ayyl-okmotu-yavlyayutsya-6-zhenshchin> (20.03.2015)

including the decision-making.⁶⁸ According to the document, all drafts of normative legal acts of the republic have to be subjected to an obligatory gender examination. At the announcement of competition on replacement of vacant post in the public or municipal service, equal conditions and possibilities of participation for both men and women should be provided. In electoral bodies of local governments: there is only one woman among 44 akim of areas, only 13% of women among deputies, and only 4,5% among all heads an ayyl okmotu.⁶⁹ What is the reason of such pathetic representation? In villages, there is a patriarchy of society, owing to strengthening and influence of religion, its penetration into all spheres of society. There is domination of old customs, traditions everywhere. The women are told that policy is not their field of activity. Maybe it is the true reason why representation of women is low. Men do not want to see females as leaders of zhamaat, an ayyl-okmotu, local deputies. Female leaders remained in the village at schools, regional hospitals, and libraries. The law of two-year prescription says that directors of schools, heads of the public or municipal authority of the health care working at the expense of budget funds aren't allowed to participate in elections of local kenesh. Qualified women staff were completely reduced in the regional government⁷⁰

It wasn't said anything about the necessity of increase a quantity of women in the regional power in Strategy of development of local government of the Kyrgyz Republic for 2013-2017 . Strategy discusses mainly availability and high-quality municipal services due to increase of efficiency of municipal management. Strategy is directed on realization of National strategy of a sustainable development of the Kyrgyz Republic for 2013-2017 and includes the realized purposes and tasks in the sphere of MSU. Strategy is the frame document and at this stage

⁶⁸30 percent quota

http://www.kg.undp.org/content/dam/kyrgyzstan/docs/dgp/2012/KGZ_SJ_Project_Data_on_involvement_of_target_groups_in_decision-making_RUS.pdf (20.03.2015)

⁶⁹ Quotas in local power

http://www.kg.undp.org/content/dam/kyrgyzstan/docs/dgp/2012/KGZ_SJ_Project_Data_on_involvement_of_target_groups_in_decision-making_RUS.pdf (21.03.2015)

⁷⁰file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/gender%20aspects%20of%20personnel%20policy%20in%20LSG.pdf
(Accessed on 21.03.2015)

defines only the main activities. Apparently, nothing was told about an increase of women in local government.⁷¹

3.2 PROCESS OF ELECTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Now there is a provision on realization of standards of the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, the Law of the Kyrgyz Republic "About local government" and it defines a process of elections to ayilokmotu. The head of ayilokmotu can become a citizen of the Kyrgyz Republic who has the higher education and experience in the public or municipal service not less than two years, or experience of work in public institutions of education, health care or on senior positions in the organizations and economic entities of private form of ownership.⁷² Further in decree it is told nothing about equal participation for women and men. It means that still there is no quotas for women in local government. The decree has very detailed description of process of ayil okmotu elections. The candidates are appointed by Central Election Commission⁷³ no later than 10 days from the first meeting of elected ayil kenesh. In case of a release of the head of ayil okmotu from a post earlier than 90 days prior to the termination new elections aren't appointed until first meeting of a newly elected ayil kenesh.

The elections of ayilo okmotu are held by a territorial election commission within 20 days from the date of arrangement.

Special representatives of Central Election Commission carry out coordination of preparation and elections of the head of ayil okmotu in the corresponding territorial election areas. The chairman of Central Election Commission has the right to send member of Central Election Commission for coordination and supervision of elections to the corresponding territorial election. Deputies of a local kenesh vote for the head of ayil okmotu by ballot. The

⁷¹Quotas in MSU

<file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/gender%20aspects%20of%20personnel%20policy%20in%20LSG.pdf> (21.03.2015)

⁷²http://www.shailoo.gov.kg/index.php?module=content&page=POLOJENIE_o_poryadke_izbraniya_glavy_ayil_okmotuAyyil_okmotynyn_bashchysyn_shayloonun_tartibi_jonyndo_JOBO&pagelang=ru (Accessed on 21.03.15)

⁷³http://www.shailoo.gov.kg/index.php?module=content&page=POLOJENIE_o_poryadke_izbraniya_glavy_ayil_okmotuAyyil_okmotynyn_bashchysyn_shayloonun_tartibi_jonyndo_JOBO&pagelang=ru (Accessed on 19.03.15)

elections of the head of ayil okmotu are considered taken place in case two thirds of total number of deputies of an ayil kenesh took part in them. Procedure of elections of the head of ayil okmotu is carried out according to article 49 of the Law of the Kyrgyz Republic "About local government", the present Provision.⁷⁴

According to the expert Samara Papieva the low rates of representation of women in ayil okmotu and in local governments is explained by absence of quota for women in ayil okmotu. The core of the problem is that the issues of gender equality are never raised in local government. Lack of quota for women and non-compliance the rights of gender equality complicates process of elections of women to representatives of local government.⁷⁵

3.3 OPINIONS OF GENDER SPECIALISTS REGARDING WOMEN IN POWER OF KYRGYZSTAN

In the modern world, the development of society is impossible without achievement of gender equality. Gender equality is one of indicators of level of democratization of society and level of its civilization. The existing system for providing and protection of the rights of women does not correspond to present economic realities, we simply do not observe gender examination of labor market. Achievement of gender equality is not possible without regular research and educational work. The responsible government officials have to have knowledge of the gender relations. It is necessary to research the relations between sexes in all spheres of life and we have to have detailed statistical data with breakdown on a sex. However independent monitoring revealed lack of system work on gender education, an irregularity and insufficiency of education of public servants about gender issues, lack of a gender component in system of professional development. The problems and priorities designated in the previous national plans in the field of education are also not executed fully and remain actual during the new period of national gender policy. The subject of gender equality has to go beyond

⁷⁴http://www.shailoo.gov.kg/index.php?module=content&page=ZAKON_KYRGYZSKOY_RESPUBLIKI_O_mestnom_samoupravlenii_&pagelang=ru(Accessed on March019.04.15)

⁷⁵Samara Papieva. UN gender expert.(In discussion on 03.04.15)

competence of only one specialized expert groups. Introduction of a gender perspective in various education and mass media is the main tool in overcoming gender stereotypes. The subject of gender equality (in a historical, sociological and political context) has to be included in education programs, both school, and high school, to be discussed and broadcast by instruments of mass media.⁷⁶

Some consider that women aren't ready to this occupation morally and psychologically. It would be wrong to prove the return. Politics, really assumes a team game, ability to conduct an intrigue and to enter in a row arrangements with groups of people with whom you should hold hands as much as possible for the achievement of common goals. These goals does not always meet with needs of the population. Therefore for realization of the planned purposes the political elite often conducts opaque game, using instruments which include modern mass media and when it appears insufficiently, they use military forces and courts for the sake of their personal purposes. To prevent voluntarism of the power in political elite we need ideologically diverse and contradictory groups independent mass media and system of legal guarantees for citizens.⁷⁷ When we don't observe these conditions, we meet with criminalization of the power and the politics really turns into dirty business. Women who don't gain an experience of socialization in childhood through the collective games constructed on subordination and discipline, soccer, hockey, and in adulthood through different power institutes like army badly fit into the system of the political relations described above. However it is not a reason to leave a situation as it is. On the contrary, essential democratization of the power is necessary, which is impossible without quantitatively increase of women in political processes. If their proportion will significantly increase in power, for ruling elite there will be "threat" because women will be aspired to make policy purer, transparent and accountable. It breaks norms of a domestic tyranny, not in private any more but in public space. Women start

⁷⁶MustapaevaSeyil. The leading specialist of youth policy in Ministry of Labor, Migration and youth.(In discussion on 05.04.2015)

⁷⁷Nazgul Abdyrakmatova. Gender specialist in alliance of women legislative initiatives (in discussion on 03.04.2015)

speaking about problems and defects of power. In this sense the same-sex power is much more reliable. It crests statements of patriarchal character, and division of the power on the basis of sex.⁷⁸

It is impossible, inefficient and undesirable to choose men as deputies who would express needs and expectations of women. The gender imbalance in any parliament means that to the majority of gender needs are not be paid attention. Throughout all the XX century one government behind another ignored and even neglected needs and desires of women. In each country, there is a list of programs, which ignore interests of women or even harm them. Here some examples. Most of women is paid less, than men, for the same work. In many countries the domestic violence over women and sexual harassment are considered as normal phenomenon. Millions of women have a low wage and the low office status. Experience of our century shows that so far women won't receive equal or close to equal number of places in legislature, all achievements in policy, public life and adoption of the legislation which is of special importance for the gender majority will be very fragile and easily reversible. It is important to convince women to be more active in political and public life of the country. But at the same time the regional and international organizations have to change the existing structures of the power in order to give women the same opportunities as for men⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Ainura Usubalieva. Gender specialist in Kyrgyz state University. (In discussion on 07.04.2015)

⁷⁹ Ainura Usubalieva. Gender specialist in Kyrgyz state University. (In discussion on 07.04.2015)

CONCLUSION

Process of democratization of social development is impossible without full participation of women in political processes because women were always strong part of democratic society. The democracy requires that interests of citizens have to be heard, discussed and fixed in a legislative order. Women make a half of a world's population, and proceeding from this their voice have to be heard in democratic process. The democratic state needs women to be rather democratic, and women need democracy to change orders and laws, which interfere with them and society in general to achieve equality.⁸⁰ Dynamics of the last decade of development in Kyrgyzstan and, in particular, participations of women in the last elections showed instability of position of women in authorities. The statistics shows that in authorities there are not enough women. The smallest number of women is the share of the supreme bodies. Falling number of women in authorities testifies obstacles for women in power. Patriarchal models, values and stereotypes significantly bar the way to policy for women. Precepts of law don't promote achievement of gender equality in policy. Any law of Kyrgyzstan does not provide gender equality in Parliament, the cabinet and other supreme bodies of the authority of the country. Increase number of women in power is traditionally carried out through specialized institutes, such as political parties. Political parties in Kyrgyzstan practically do not increase number of women.⁸¹ Absence of specialized institutes and mechanisms of advancing women in authorities in a situation of the falling level of participation of women in political processes also is an obstacle for women. Insufficient support from women's organizations also plays a significant role in reduction of political opportunities of women. Participation of women and their organizations in the process of increasing number of women in policy is essentially important. Women and have to become the significant group

⁸⁰ Madeleine Arnot, Jo-Anne Dillabough. Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender, Education. P 1-20

⁸¹ <http://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/act/view/ru-ru/3720?cl=ru-ru> (Accessed 02.04.2015)

in decision-making processes and in the field of policy in general. There are different opinions about current position of women in policy of Kyrgyzstan. Someone doesn't see a problem of women's representation at all and 22 percent of representation in power and 4,5% in regional power seems absolutely normal to some people. However, objectively those are critical numbers and it is necessary to use the best efforts to stop discrimination of women in policy. In this research, it was told about factors, which prevent female representation in policy. These factors include stereotypes, lack of legislations and provisions on protection of the rights of women in policy. Formally, there are decrees, laws, and resolutions but in reality, low female representation in power show us that they do not work.

Experiences of some countries prove us that the social sector and economic development in the country increases when number of men and women in power is somewhat balanced. To be more precise countries which show rate of women representation around 25-30%, badly cope with problems of protection of motherhood and the childhood, the rights of the children, social protection. It proves that ensuring human rights according to the main democratic requirements is not fulfilled in specific region.⁸² Therefore a genuine democracy includes very important component — full equality of women up to parity with men in the governments, parliaments and at all institutes of the state providing social justice and stability in society. In spite of the fact that women in Kyrgyzstan play an important role they play a modest role in political system. Today an increase of women in the power has to be considered as democratic development of society. Former Attorney-General of Kyrgyzstan Aida Salyanova " It is important today to achieve that the woman came to politics not in the revolutionary way, but evolutionary".

Now upsurge number of women in power is considered as a sign of a humane and sustainable development of society, an equality of men and women and the parity representation in the governments, parliaments and other institutes of the state, really changes priorities of a

⁸²Nazgul Abdyrakmatova. Expert of gender issues. Alliance of women initiatives (in discussion on 03.04.2015)

state policy and country life in general. However, readiness of women for participation in process of leading a country, certainly, first of all depends on their level of education, professional and psychological readiness. Resistance to stress – an important component from a set of the qualities necessary for female politicians. In addition, conviction plays very important role, conviction for her ideas and principles and readiness to struggle for them despite anything. Naturally women don't accept confrontation, authoritarianism. She tends to solve her problems without power methods. Women introduce in politics an aspiration to a compromise, ability to listen and reconcile the conflicting sides.⁸³ However women in power never exclude a pragmatism and logic. Feminization of power is able to change management style and bring innovations to the management of government. If throughout all history of humankind, the woman could only inherit the leading post, since the beginning of the XX century leading female started appearing in politics because of conscious choice of political voters. There was a revolution among in perception of female politicians. Looking back to history, we can notice a fact that women come to power during the periods of crises. Choosing the woman as "political crisis manager" the population expresses desire to stabilize the situation in country. We have our own bright example of this case, this is the former president of provisional government Roza Otunbayeva. She took responsibility and courage to undertake a country management during very hard time for Kyrgyzstan and coped perfectly with duty conferred on her.⁸⁴

⁸³ Nazgul Abdyrakmatova. Expert of gender issues. Alliance of women initiatives (in discussion on 03.04.2015)

⁸⁴ The president of provisional government Roza Otunbaeva <http://lenta.ru/lib/14171007/>. (Accessed on 05.04.15)

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