Role of Gender in Development: A Case Study of Central Asia, 1991-2009

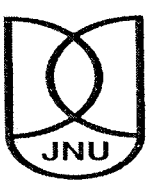
Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

MINAKHI DAS



CENTRE FOR RUSSIAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI-110067

2010

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

School of International Studies
New Delhi - 110067

Tel. : 2670 4365
Fax : (+91)-11-2674 1586

Centre for Russian and Centra Asian Studies

Date: 26 July 2010

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "**ROLE OF GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF CENTRAL ASIA, 1991-2009**", submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is my work and has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other university.

Minakhi Das.
Minakhi Das

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Prof. Anuradha M. Chenoy
(Chairperson, CRCAS)

Prof. Ajay Patnaik
(Supervisor)

Dedicated to my Grandmaa

CONTENTS

Acknowledgement

Completing a task is never a one-man effort. It is often the result of valuable time and effort of a number of individuals in a direct support and meticulous planning with the contribution of inputs by individuals that led to the formation of the dissertation. This dissertation is an acknowledgement to the intensity, drive and competence of several individuals who have contributed immensely towards its completion.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Ajay Patnaik for his guidance, advice and suggestions, without whom this dissertation would not be able to see the light of the day.

I am extremely grateful to my Center for Russian and Central Asian Studies, to our Chairperson Prof. Anuradha M. Chenoy and all the faculty of this center, especially Dr. Preeti Das for teaching Russian language, which was of immense help.

I thank the staffs of JNU Central Library, IDSA and Teen Murti Library for their cooperation.

I am also blessed by the company of my friends in JNU, who through their constant encouragement, friendly chat and advice made this dissertation a reality. To name a few, as it is not possible to include all of them here, Amrita, Jajati, Neelesh, Priya, Saroj, Sheena, Sreelekha, Tanu Di for their constant help and co-operation.

And above all, I hereby express my sincere gratitude to my parents and family who were unflinching in their encouragement.

Minakhi Das

Minakhi Das

List Of Tables:

CHAPTER I

Introduction

The development process affects men and women differently. Modernization of agriculture has altered the division of labour between the sexes, increasing women's dependent status as well as their workload. Women often lose control over resources such as land and are generally excluded from access to new technology. Due to technological breakthroughs, the role of women in the new international division of labour has become vital as the world economy has assumed truly global proportions. Women in the Third World now carry a double or even triple burden of work as they cope with housework, childcare and subsistence food production, in addition to an expanding involvement in paid employment. Everywhere women work longer hours than men. How women cope with declining status, heavier work burdens and growing impoverishment is crucial to the success of development policies in the Third World.

Prior to 1970 it was thought that the development process affected men and women in the same way. Productivity was equated with the cash economy and so most of women's work was ignored. When it became apparent that economic development did not automatically eradicate poverty through trickle-down effects, the problems of distribution and equality of benefits to the various segments of the population assumed major importance in development theory.

Some have presented women as the job winners of world market integration. Even the UN at one point described the current economic scenario as the 'feminization of employment' at the international level. A recent study in United States by TIME 2009 shows the change in this context. It says "it is expected by the end of the year, for the first time in history the majority of the workers in the US will be women, largely because of the downturn that has hit men so hard. This is an extra-ordinary change in a single generation, and it is gathering speed." But women have paid a high price for this in the shape of appalling working conditions, fewer rights, meager pay and no social security or sustainable livelihood.

Liberalisation policies have had negative impacts on poor people all over the world, and women have carried the greatest burden of these impacts. This, in turn, can add to gender discrimination and inequality. In many countries, the cost of living has increased and social

spending has decreased, resulting in more unpaid work for women in the provision of family health care, education, water collection, and transport of household goods. Access to basic services has declined, as have nutritional standards, with particularly negative impacts on women and girls. Instead of benefiting from trade liberalisation, rural women have often lacked the resources necessary to adjust to changes in export production and have thus lost livelihoods. Their opportunities to diversify into occupations or markets requiring land, mobility, or resources are often severely limited, due to the social restrictions and the discrimination that women face in society. Urban women, on the other hand, have in many cases gained precarious, poorly paid jobs in factories, with conditions which compromise the care that they can give themselves and their families. This incurs a range of social costs, which girls and women often have to pay.

In order to unearth the exploitative nature of today's internationally integrated market, socialist feminists have emphasized how gendered ideologies, structures and market forces lead to low wages and double burden for women. They claim that women provide an optimal labour force for global capitalism because, defined as housewives rather than workers, they are paid lower wages on the ground that their wages are supplemental to their family income. In their search for cheap labour and mega profit, multinational companies prefer to hire unmarried women who achieve high level of productivity at a lower wage. Feminist scholars maintain that 'far from being outside development, the exploitation of women's time, labour and sexuality was central to the process of capital accumulation, and that women had in fact incurred a disproportionate cost of the evolution of the world capitalist system'.

Economic changes associated with globalization may also provide the seeds for cultural transformations that improve the conditions of women. Because substantial changes in social norms, beliefs and values are also necessary to improve women's role in society and politics. Women today have emerged as a highly effective workforce and proved that they are better managers and can cope with stress without harming their mind and body. Present-day women have emerged as winners and have proved that they are better equipped to take on challenges.

Theoretical perspective:

The systematic gathering and examination of information on gender differences and social relations is necessary in order to identify, understand and redress inequities based on gender. Gender analysis is a valuable descriptive and diagnostic tool for development planners and crucial to gender mainstreaming efforts. The methodology and components of gender analysis are shaped by how gender issues are understood in the institution concerned. There are a number of different approaches to gender analysis, including the Gender Roles framework, and Social Relations Analysis. The Gender Roles framework focuses on describing women's and men's roles and their relative access to and control over resources. The analysis aims to anticipate the impacts of projects on both productive and reproductive roles. It takes the household, rather than the breadth of institutions, as the unit of analysis and tends to assume that women are a homogeneous category.

In contrast, the Social Relations approach seeks to expose the gendered power relations that perpetuate inequities. This analysis moves beyond the household to include the community, market, and state institutions and so involves collecting data at all these levels. It uncovers differences between women, divided by other aspects of social differentiation such as class, race and ethnicity. The aim is to understand the dynamics of gender relations in different institutional contexts and thereby to identify women's bargaining position and formulate strategies to improve this. It has proved challenging to adopt this approach in operational work. Other gender analysis frameworks include: the Moser/DPU Framework; the Longwe Method/Women's Empowerment Framework; and Levy's Web of Institutionalization. Recently, tools have also been developed to apply gender analysis to the analysis of markets, of macro-economic and sectoral policies, and of public expenditure and budgets.

An organizational strategy to bring a gender perspective to all aspects of an institution's policy and activities, through building gender capacity and accountability. The 1970s strategies of integrating women into development by establishing separate women's units or programmes within state and development institutions had made slow progress by the mid-1980s. In light of this, the need was identified for broader institutional change if pervasive male advantage was to

be challenged. Adding women- specific activities at the margin was no longer seen as sufficient. Most major development organizations and many governments have now embraced 'gender mainstreaming' as a strategy for moving towards gender equality. With a mainstreaming strategy, gender concerns are seen as important to all aspects of development; for all sectors and areas of activity, and a fundamental part of the planning process. Responsibility for the implementation of gender policy is diffused across the organizational structure, rather than concentrated in a small central unit. Such a process of mainstreaming has been seen to take one of two forms. The agenda-setting approach to mainstreaming seeks to transform the development agenda itself whilst prioritizing gender concerns. The more politically acceptable integrationist approach brings women's and gender concerns into all of the existing policies and programmes, focusing on adapting institutional procedures to achieve this. In both cases, political as well as technical skills are essential to a mainstreaming strategy. Any approach to mainstreaming requires sufficient resources, as well as high-level commitment and authority. A combined strategy can be particularly powerful. This involves the synergy of a catalytic central gender unit with a cross-sectoral policy oversight and monitoring role, combined with a web of gender specialists across the institution. The building of alliances both within the institution and with outside constituencies, such as women's organizations, is crucial for success. Mainstreaming tools include gender training, introducing incentive structures which reward efforts on gender, and the development of gender-specific operational tools such as checklists and guidelines.

The development debate has advanced considerably since the United Nation's First Development Decade in the 1960s, which emphasized economic growth and the "trickle-down" approach as key to reducing poverty. One of the notable advancements in the debate has been the move to consider gender equality as a key element of development. The end of the 1970s ushered in the concern with gender relations in development. Micro level studies drew attention to the differences in entitlements, perceived capabilities, and social expectations of men and women, boys and girls. Contrary to the unified-household model, the household has been considered an arena of bargaining, cooperation, or conflict. Reflecting the norms, laws, and social values of society, the differences in the status of men and women have profound implications for how they participate in market or nonmarket work and in community life as a

whole. These differences embody social and power relations that constitute the setting for the implementation of development programs, and these differences therefore influence programme outcomes.

There is a rich history of theoretical work on the relationship between Women and Development studies. Boserup's 1970 work- considered an early example of an academic, policy-oriented book that noted women's exclusion from development projects in the Third World. His work is often taken as signaling the origins of the Women In Development (WID) approach by pointing to women's invisibility and exclusion from development. WID was a way of 'mainstreaming' women through arguing that they should be treated on equal terms with men. This is the story of 1970s which is called the "equity approach". The WID (or Women in Development) approach calls for greater attention to women in development policy and practice, and emphasizes the need to integrate them into the development process. The WID perspective evolved in the early 1970s from a 'liberal' feminist framework and was particularly influential in North America. It was a reaction to women being seen as passive beneficiaries of development. It marked an important corrective, highlighting the fact that women need to be integrated into development processes as active agents if efficient and effective development is to be achieved. Women's significant productive contribution was made visible, although their reproductive role was downplayed. Women's subordination was seen in terms of their exclusion from the market sphere, and limited access to and control over resources. Programmes informed by a WID approach addressed women's practical needs by, for example, creating employment and income-generating opportunities, improving access to credit and to education. Women's 'problem' was therefore diagnosed as insufficient participation in a benign development process, through an oversight on behalf of policymakers.

WID then shifted its underlying discourse from equity to anti-poverty to efficiency in mid-1980s. The discourse of efficiency, which developed in the 1980s, resting on WID assumptions, argued that development would become more efficient if women's resources were utilized to the full. So this targeted women in order to increase their efficiency in the productive process, and thus promote economic growth through an efficient use of women's labour. This leads to a new approach: the Women And Development (WAD) approach.

WAD argued that as women's contributions have always been central to any possibility development of development, the question to be asked was why women were excluded from projects of development. Consequently the WAD approach focused not only on the integration of women into development but also on the dependence of Third World Nations on the richer nations.

The Gender And Development (GAD) approach is presently the discourse used by most scholars, policy planners to discuss the relationship between development processes and inequality of women. GAD aims to not only integrate women into development but to look for the potential in development initiatives to transform unequal social/gender relations and to empower women (Canadian Council for International Co-operation, 1991). In contrast, the GAD (or Gender and Development) approach to development policy and practice focuses on the socially constructed basis of differences between men and women and emphasizes the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations. GAD emerged from a frustration with the lack of progress of WID policy, in changing women's lives and in influencing the broader development agenda. GAD challenged the WID focus on women in isolation, seeing women's 'real' problem as the imbalance of power between women and men. There are different interpretations of GAD, some of which focus primarily on the gender division of labour and gender roles focus on gender as a relation of power embedded in institutions. GAD approaches generally aim to meet both women's practical gender needs and more strategic gender needs, by challenging existing divisions of labour or power relations. Although WID and GAD perspectives are theoretically distinct, in practice it is less clear, with a programme possibly involving elements of both. Whilst many development agencies are now committed to a gender approach, in practice, the primary institutional perspective remains as WID and associated 'antipoverty' and 'efficiency' policies. There is often a slippage between GAD policy rhetoric and a WID reality where 'gender' is mistakenly interpreted as 'women'.

The critiques of these (above mentioned) three approaches argued the fault of not taking culture into account. However, the labour, cultures and histories of women are rarely taken into account within either third world or development studies, or, when they are addressed, most

often treat women merely as victims in a system of cruel and unjust inequalities. Thus, both Development and Third World studies have reached an impasse in their assessment of future prospects for the Third World, due to their failure to see the centrality of women and the significance of culture.

A WCD approach takes as central that production and reproduction cannot be separated in the lives of most women. Women's productive activity is intimately related to their reproductive activity, including social reproduction. That is, women all around the world are usually expected to be in jobs where the necessary skills for women's work are derived from ideological notions of women's abilities as well as from the work of women that contribute to household needs, the raising of children, cooking food and so on – what may have referred to as the 'double shift'(KumKum Bhavnani,2003:07). A WCD lens brings women's agency in to the foreground as a means for understanding how inequalities are challenged and reproduced. In integrating production with reproduction alongside women's agency, a WCD approach can interrogate issues of ethnicity, gender, religion, sexuality and livelihood simultaneously, thereby providing a nuanced examination of social processes. Therefore, in trying to articulate a sence of what 'women, culture and development' can mean as an approach to real Third World development and positive social change (John Foran, 2003:11)

Conventional approaches to development view market institutions as pivotal to the organization of the social, economic and political lives of people. Developmental theories premised on the primacy of the market in defining women's political and social identities. At a macro level, women's political fortunes are implicitly tied in with their productive capacities – integration in to mainstream development processes is a precursory step to emancipation and recognition with in society and polity. Women's political and economic identities are mutually constitutive.

The development policies of international institutions and national governments continue to reflect the influence of the liberal-feminist framework. These policies maintain an incremental, reformist approach to working within the modernization paradigm. They still focus on bringing women "into" development, the women-in-development (WID) approach. As these policies are explored the assumptions of liberal feminism and the modernization paradigm

become easy to detect. At the international level, the work of such groups as Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) has now mushroomed into a global analysis of key development issues. DAWN is a network of feminists, researchers, activists, and policymakers that was formed in Bangalore, India, in 1984 and formalized in workshops at the NGO forum in Nairobi in 1985. DAWN has questioned the impact of development on poor peoples, especially women, in light of current global economic and political crises. The group's agenda focuses on the themes of environment, reproductive rights, population, and alternative economic frameworks.

Women across the Globe:

As stated above, from the 1970s itself women have come out from the four walls of their house and engaged in certain developmental processes. Globalization, can be one big reason for this. Thus, at a minimum, with globalization, more women have more options for income-producing employment. More numerous job opportunities mean more ways to get out of unequal relations; these options give women more chances to take their labour and skills elsewhere (Women and Globalization, 2000). One of the first places where women benefit from enhanced employment opportunities is the household. Women gain greater personal autonomy and independence, gain more control over budgeting and other domestic decisions and greater leverage in requesting help from men in domestic cores (Sassen, 1996:27). As households became more dependent on female incomes, the status and relative power of women improve. In addition to the relatively improved empowerment of women in the household associated with waged employment, there is a second important outcome – their greater participation in the public sphere and their possible emergence as public actors. Economic changes associated with globalization may also provide the seeds for cultural transformations that improve the conditions of women. Thus, substantial changes in social norms, beliefs and values are also necessary to bolster women's role in society and politics.

Women in the Third World face multiple challenges, among them poverty, unemployment, limited access to land, legal and social discrimination in many forms, sexual

abuse and other forms of violence. Though similar in form to those faced by women in the First World, there are specificities of history, political economy and culture that make these realities differently oppressive and exploitative for Third World Women. But the women of the Third World are not victims. As 'subaltern counterpublics', women in the Third World meet these challenges and confront them actively, often in remarkably creative and effective ways. In other words, there is far more to their lives than a set of interlocking 'problems' – there are many deeply fulfilling experiences, powerful emotions, beautiful creations and enduring relationships, sometimes born through struggles waged against the terms of existence.

There have been some significant changes in the women's work scenario in the past two decades, especially during 1980s, both in the developed and the developing countries. The women's workforce participation has considerably increased in most countries of the world. At the same time, the male participation rate has either stagnated or declined. The change in labour market conditions is so perceptible that instead of 'marginalisation', the process of global 'feminisation' is said to have been occurring (Deshpande and Deshpande, 1992). While this process of feminization has diversified the work opportunities of women, they have also brought several adverse consequences for women workers in terms of earning and work conditions.

Although concepts and measurement of labour activity pose intractable problems, more so in developing countries than developed, comparable data compiled by the international sources indicate that 9 out of every 10 industrialized, while 7 out of every 10 industrialising economies reported increase in female activity rates in the 1980s (ILO, 1980, 1988). This phenomenon of global feminization has increased female participation rates in the face of either decline or constancy in the male participation rates (Sudha Deshpande, 1999). This has not only increased their share in the total labour force but has resulted in feminization of certain jobs that were traditionally done by men. The process in all countries has weakened the bargaining capacity of the workers while threatening their unemployment security.

It has been argued that work within development studies has shifted from an emphasis on political economy to now include area studies and environmental studies, along with a greater interest in gender relations. The 1992 World Bank Report argued that "Women must not be regarded as mere recipients of public support. They are, first and foremost, economic agents."

The Bank's stated commitment to women's participation in economic development is fundamental part of its neo-liberal strategy for improving economic productivity (World Bank 1994), involving the embodiment of Third World poor women as able workers and entrepreneurs while ignoring their other roles as wives, partners, mothers, citizens and activists – roles that form the backbone of all societies.

Apart from economic sphere, there is a considerable increase in the development of women in social, political and cultural sphere as well. According to World Bank, "Greater women's rights and more equal participation in public life by women and men are associated with cleaner business and government and better governance. Where the influence of women in public life is greater, the level of corruption is lower. Women can be an effective force for rule of law and good governance."(World Bank, 2001:12,13). Thus, empowering women in the political process leads to larger allocations toward growth-enhancing government expenditures. Higher levels of development are also associated with larger shares of parliamentary seats held by women. Many developed and developing countries are following this rule and the result is increase of female representatives in parliament. Apart from politics, Technology also play a great role in shaping and transmitting ideological traditions to the construction of gender. Here technology can be seen as a form of communication, as liberating women from their constraints, endowing them with powers they did not have before.

The women's movement and women's activism have exploded with vibrant programs and scholarship in both the North and the South. In the last two decades, women's NGOs have grown and diversified, and the nature of their activism has changed in many cases. Many NGOs that were set up in the 19th century or early 20th century often attempted to supplement the welfare activities of the state, or they experimented with reformist policies. More recently, women-centred NGOs in the South have frequently been at the frontiers of the movement to promote alternative development practices. An example of this is a coalition of women's NGOs in the Philippines, which in 1986 formulated the National Women's Development Plan. Several countries have introduced new women-related research institutes and institutionalized women's-studies programs. China, India, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe have all started women-centred research institutions. At the University of the West: Indies, the Women

and Development Studies Program was institutionalized as the Centre for Gender and Development Studies. What distinguishes these networks, institutes, and centres from earlier women-related organizations is that they seek to give women, children, and men priority in discussions of development. They actively pursue alternative approaches to WAD, and their very existence serves as a reminder of the failures of earlier, modernization-oriented development policy for women.

Internationally, the women's movement has given birth to a number of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and groups that continue to challenge many of the implied and stated assumptions of the traditional feminist movement. These NGOs and groups offer indigenous approaches to solving women's problems in their particular environments. The focus of many NGOs is action, developing programs and institutions to improve the daily lives of women in their communities. Initiatives to improve women's economic situations demonstrate the need for indigenous solutions to women's problems. Nancy Barry, President of Women's World Banking, remarked, "What has become very clear is that what women need is access, not subsidies. They need opportunities, not paternalism".

Women's World Banking (WWB) is a nonprofit financial institution created in 1979 to give poor female entrepreneurs access to financing, market information, and training. It grew out of the 1975 United Nations World Conference on Women, held in Mexico City, to address the need for global structures to fund women in microenterprises. WWB currently operates in more than 50 countries and has provided assistance to more than 1 million clients internationally. WWB's goal is to help poor women create wealth (International Development Research Centre, Canada, 2000).

The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) is a union of 40 000 of India's poorest women. It is an example of a new development model relevant to low-income earners. The membership covers the range of self-employed women typically working in the informal sector and effectively marginalized by mainstream development strategies.

The Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA) was launched in April 1985 as a vehicle to encourage a gender perspective in action research and establish a network of women's organizations in the Caribbean. Its primary objectives include developing the feminist movement in the Caribbean, developing an approach to analyzing relations between men and women, and promoting the integration of research and action. In the words of the organization, We are a network of individual researchers and activists and women's organisations who define feminist politics as a matter of both consciousness and action. We are committed to understanding the relationship between the oppression in the society, and are working actively for change.

Review of Literature:

Jane Falkingham in his country briefing paper "Women and Gender Relations in Tajikistan" is discussing about tradition and changing gender roles in the private as well as public sector. Under the Soviet system, women enjoyed equal civic rights to men. The levels of labour force participation of Tajik women was high and political representation was higher than in most western European countries. However, they have been adversely affected by the lack of personal security following the war, and the economic impoverishment and declining participation accompanying both war and economic transition. After independence, traditional cultural and social values have enjoyed a renaissance. There has been a marked withdrawal of women from political life. Economic transition has also resulted in the discontinuation of many of the state structures and benefits that supported women in combining their reproductive roles, such as universal child allowances, and extensive child care facilities. There have been changes in family and household formation. And surprisingly violence against women has increased during the civil war in 1992-93.

One of the biggest transformations in gender roles in Tajikistan has the withdrawal of women from public life. Political and economic transition has been accompanied by an increase in gender inequality in the political, economic and social spheres. Strict quotas by gender ensured that women's representative participation during the soviet period was high by

international standards. However, since independence, there has been a dramatic change in the gender balance within politics in Tajikistan. In contrast to the former Soviet union, women's formal labour market participation in Tajikistan has fallen less than men's. However, women remained concentrated in the lowest pain sectors of agriculture, education and health where wages are very less. Prior to independence, women were rarely found in key economic positions such as the director of large state enterprises, and this remains the case today. The low representation of women in senior economic positions is the result of discrimination, direct and indirect, combined with traditional views about the appropriate roles for men and women in society. There are declining of education, deteriorating health and health care, inadequate social protection, gendered poverty etc. There has been a revival of Islamic practices. An increasing number of young women started wearing the *hejab*. There is also a growing tendency for men to impose their view of Islamic norms on women. Everything was going out of way till the growth of Civil Society and several Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs).

Non-Governmental initiatives were banned during the Soviet period, as the party and state machinery exercised strict control and covered most domains of activity considered as necessary for the well being of society, including leisure and culture. Over the last five years there has been a dramatic increase in the number of NGOs registered in Tajikistan, and in particular NGOs working on gender related issues. The Women In Development Bureau was established in 1995 as a quasi governmental body to promote the interests of Tajik women during the transition to a market economy, to assist in promoting local NGOs and developing projects for women, and to act as a liaison between local and international organizations. And after this there is considerable increase in the status of women in Tajikistan. However, women have seen in the labour market and participated in economic decision making. And there are amny Country strategy, programme and projects who are solely responsible to get women back to the public sphere.

Laeeq Futehally, in his edited book "Women In The Third World" has focused on Women in Developing societies. One of the basic point that emerged is that although exploitation of, and discrimination against women are global phenomena, their consequences are particularly tragic in the third world. Poverty, ignorance, deprivations of the basic necessities of

life, and the new pressures of transition from tradition to modernity combine to aggravate the inequalities that women in third world countries share with their counterpart in the developed world. At the same time some studies reveal some unexpected strength in the position of women in the traditional cultures of the Third World. It indicates that in some countries, notably, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Phillipines the traditional norms, values and patterns of behavior allow considerable autonomy, equality and dignity to women. Not only do some of the studies highlight the favorable position of women in traditional cultures but most of them contradict the widely prevalent notion that westernization and modernization promote the liberation of women. On the whole these indicate that women in developing societies rarely stand to gain in the modernization of their economies. On the contrary they have to carry new burdens and suffer new inequalities and indignities as their economies develop. For instance as industry grows men migrate to the cities leaving the women behind to carry the burden of the agricultural and other tasks that they have hitherto performed. In a sense women are left to cope with the traditional sector of the economy as men move into the modern sector. While their contribution to the traditional sector thus increases it may not even be recognized as "productive labour" or "gainful employment". This is sometimes a consequence of the fact that the subsistence farming and the traditional occupations to which women are left lie outside the monetized sector of the economy. But it is more often a consequence of the fact that women are required to work as wage-less family labour.

As regards the political status of women, most studies emphasize that political equality of the sexes forms part of the larger commitment to freedom and equality that inspired the developing countries to liberate themselves from colonial rule, and which subsequently guided them in framing their constitutions as independent nations. Consequently unlike their counterparts in the developed world, women in the developing countries have gained political equality as a constitutional right, without even having fight for it. Nevertheless, the political participation of women in developing countries is conspicuously poorer than that of men. The poor political participation of women was attributed to the fact that societal expectations regarding the obligations of homemaking and of motherhood are such as to prohibit women from taking an active role in politics. While an increase on the political participation of women was

considered to be vital to the advancement of the status of women, there is importance of education as an instrument for their liberation and freedom.

Mary Buckley in her edited book "Post-Soviet Women: from the Baltic to Central Asia" has discussed gender on a comparative perspective. This book is the first to take a systematic look at the position of women in the post-Soviet states of the former USSR. It is divided into two main parts and the first focuses on the economy, society and polity of the Russian federation; the second gives specialists' insights into social, political, economic and military developments in the other newly independent states. She pays special attention to women's own perceptions of their lives. The collapse of state socialism undefined systems in the general direction of market economies. They are the first to be laid off, are subsequently hired more quickly. One interpretation is that women are thus the victims of transition. They are vulnerable, find themselves in situations beyond their control and have their life dreams shattered. But this wholly negative picture is incomplete. Men too are victims of change affected by developments around them. But since 70 percent of the unemployed are female, the impact on gender of economic change has been differential. Women have suffered more in job losses, in a sexualisation of hiring practices, in the general spread or pornography and in violence from men. The percentage of women elected to the legislature has also fallen. So women's political representation is much lower than men's, especially since male parties do not speak for women in women's voices. The argument that women should return to the home is a most repetitive one made by men for women.

The author finds that women are desperately struggling to maintain subsistence. Everywhere, the early euphoria over independent feminist movements has dissipated, fewer women are involved in governments today than under socialism and social welfare guarantees, so critical to the well-being of women and children, have largely disappeared. Many working class and rural women, regardless of nationality, have been reduced to beggary. So, changes have occurred in different dimensions but economic changes are more visible. This book systematically examined changes and continuities across these states, focusing on women and work, social roles and women in politics. Drawing on interviews with women in factories, on farms and with women street sellers, politicians and activists, the book questions whether women

are "victims" or "agents" of change and describe various strategies of coping and adaptation to new economic and social instabilities.

Yvonne Corcoran-Nantes, in the book "Lost Voices: Central Asian Women confronting transition" has discussed gender in different perspectives, such as the changing position of Central Asian women in the private and public face of economic emancipation, relation between women, environment and reproductive health along with women in Islam and faith etc. It stated that economic restructuring and the advent of a mixed economy first and foremost affected female employment. Certainly, since 1991 the disintegration of supplies from the former Soviet Union to many industries seriously affected the main areas of female industrial employment. Yet it was the rationalization of the labour market structure, especially in professions where women predominated, which hit hardest owing to a discriminatory 'women first, men last' labour displacement policy. There are new employment laws and the extension of protective legislation designed to improve women's working conditions have had an adverse effect on the retention rates of female labour in industry and women's employment opportunities in a mixed economy. Such legislation has made female labour much more expensive to retain or employ than that of men, and this has seriously restricted women's choices and flexibility in the transition period. Rather than favouring women's employment in the rapidly expanding private sector, the gender specific labour legislation was considered to be a major disincentive.

The author undertakes a highly difficult task of representing the social-political position of women in the post-Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. The author has take the pain to present, explore and explain the complexity of the parallel existence of the three ideological patterns that participate in the status of women and shape the women's movement's political agendas in the region; the legacy of the soviet society that provided a significant high degree of gender equality, the re-emerging Islamic tradition, and the nascent morality pertaining to the transition towards neo-liberal capitalism and democracy. The simultaneous and inter-winning workings of these three levels of value systems, modes of political and moral reasoning create a rather complex reality of paradoxes and constitutive internal contradictions (K Kolozova,2001). Since Central Asia is generally considered to be the 'forgotten world' of the former Soviet Union, Central Asian women constitute the 'lost voices'

within those regions. Corcoran-Nantes considers how the shift to Western capitalist ideals has affected gender relations in the region. While the uneasy synthesis between socialism and Islam under the Soviet regime offered many women considerable status and personal freedom these gains have been rapidly eroded by 'democratization.' Corcoran-Nantes shows that the main threat to the socio-political status of women in Central Asia is not Islamic fundamentalism, but the imposition of free market principles and Western 'liberal democratic' ideals (Macmillan book Review). As a special consultant to UNESCAP, the author was one of the first researchers to undertake substantial research into the lives of women in the republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan in the post independence period.

Taking in to considerations the above discussions on various literature on my respective field the following are the research questions and hypothesis, on which the researcher will base his/her research.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

(1) After 20 years of independence, whether the economic and political participation of women is increasing or is it deteriorating?

(2) Despite the widespread assumptions of increased female participation in the global labour force, what is exactly women's participation rate in Central Asian economy?

(3)What are the factors which lead to increased or decreased female workforce participation in both rural and urban areas?

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

(1)Over the last 20 years, changes to the world economy have dramatically altered the experience of work for women. This study will examine these changes from a gender perspective.

(2)To explore the extent to which woman's participation in the paid workforce is increasing or decreasing.

(3)An inquiry into the role of civil society and NGOs related with women empowerment in Central Asia.

(4)To analyse the impact of post-Soviet policies on gender roles in Central Asia.

HYPOTHESIS

(1) Post-Soviet transition had more negative consequences particularly for women since it weakened sectors that traditionally employed women.

(2) Women have lost the impact they used to have on development in the Soviet period due to their disempowerment to a certain extent.

CHAPTER II

Women in the History of Central Asia:

As Aryans in India, Hittites and Mittani in the Fertile Crescent, Luwians in Anatolia, Kurgans in Eastern Europe, Acheans and later Dorians in Greece, they gradually imposed their ideologies and ways of life on the lands and peoples they conquered. There were other nomadic invaders as well. The most famous of these are the Semitic people we call Hebrews (Eisler 1987:44). It is what seems most definitely to unite these peoples of so many different places and times, the structure of their social and ideological systems. The one thing they all had in common was a dominator model of social organization: a social system in which male dominance, male violence, and generally hierarchic and authoritarian social structure was the norm. Another commonality was not developing technologies of production, but developing more effective technologies of destruction. There seems little question that from the very beginning warfare was an essential instrument for replacing the gender equal partnership model with the patriarchal male dominator model.

Central Asian nomad societies were certainly patrilineal and patrilocal. Although women's status was definitely lower than men's, their authority and prestige grew as women aged and assumed economically and socially important roles within the family and society. Hambly (1965) notes relatively free fraternization among men and women and their important roles in managing nomadic households and sometimes herds. Krader attributes women a domestic and agricultural empire within a nomadic empire. Inheritance, however, was a patrilineal corporate family matter. Nonetheless, Women had more authority and autonomy than their sisters in neighboring sedentary societies. Among political elites polygyny was common. It was not possible to practice the forms of seclusion so common in many sedentary Asian societies. Day-to-day life required women to take on a more public role in economic activities. Although the details cannot be confirmed for the entire history of Inner Asia, most visitors made comments to this effect (Barfield, 1989:25). The recovered commercial documents provide tantalizing insights into economic and social practices of that time. Information dating from Mongol times suggests that women in the steppe empires had more rights and independence than their counterparts in sedentary states. These indications are confirmed for the Uighur empire.

Women were entitled to own property and were free to manage and dispose of it as they saw fit. They were also entitled to act as guarantors in contracts, and were provided for in testamentary regulations (Kwanten 1979:58).

In as much as nomads led a hardy life, in many way similar to the prehistoric hunters and gatherers, we may assume that nomadic women were more important in society. For nomadic women even had to assume leadership in combat if their husbands were killed. Even today, nomadic women do not wear veils in Iran and Afghanistan, as do sedentary women in towns and villages and everywhere they are more independent than the women folk of settled regions. They not only assumed positions of leadership and authority, but also in their social position they seem to have had greater freedom than their urban sisters(Gavin Hambly, 1999). Several features of society in the centuries before the Arab conquest suggest this. Chinese sources, did, however, comment on the important position of women among the barbarians of Central Asia. When we remember that Cyrus II, founder of the Achaemenid dynasty, was killed in 530 or 529 BC by the forces of a Saka queen (Tomyris), we understand that the ability of women to lead man in battle was not least of the characteristics of elite nomadic women. So the impression may be conveyed that all women in ancient Central Asia enjoyed an honoured and previlegded position in society.

Broad themes of state and societal formation emerge in Isenbike Togan's "Patterns of Legitimization of Rule in the History of the Turks." Togan's article, tries to establish a general periodization for the history of "the Turks", both Central Asian and Anatolian, by examining the interaction of trade patterns and political formation, and linking ruptures in patterns of redistribution to larger trends in Asian history. Togan follows another directions in "In Search of an Approach to the History of Women in Central Asia" (Togan, 1999). Again comparing widely among pre-modern Turkic societies, she argues that a history of women that pays attention to change over time should examine the periodic reinforcement of patriarchy. Thus, a strengthening of gender hierarchies may be correlated to trends in centralization of the state. Togan notes, however, that age heirarchy within homosocial units is sometimes more significant than gender hierarchy, and she explores these overlapping forms of authority in Turkic societies. She suggests that when there was decentralization of the state, age heirarchy became more significant: "As women did not pose a threat to the noncentralized state authority they were able

to acquire greater authority in their microcosms in comparison with women in centralized state structures". As evidence, Togan first explores the increased use of gendered names and titles in centralizing Turkic states. Concerning women in Ottoman society, Togan asserts that they were subject to a repeatedly reinforced patriarchy but controlled their own resources; unlike Central Asians, they were not strongly shaped by homosocial age hierarchies. Relatively strong evidence to support this argument, about lives of Ottoman women beyond the ruling class, can be found in Ottoman judicial records. However the evidence that Togan uses to make arguments about pre-modern Central Asian Turk women relies on scattered records concerning women in ruling families, whose experience may or may not reflect changing social norms.

Studies on the Russian Empire revealed Central Asian oral epics several centuries ago. It mentions that there are significant women characters in epics, some analysis of the constructions of masculinity and femininity that are presented in epics would be welcome, as would more substantive examination of the arenas of storytelling that men and women have marked out and reproduce in Central Asian societies.

Women During Pre-Soviet Period:

Women in Central Asia were like human puppets, who were visible on the streets of Central Asia, not as human beings but as moving bundles, whose feet were only visible to the passerby (Patnaik A., 1989:10). Behind the veil the human being was regarded only as an object of lust, meant for pleasure and procreation. Early marriages were the common practice and marriages between minors and between a minor girl and an old man were wide-spread. Women had no intellectual culture, as they were not sent to schools. A host of traditions and customs, sanctified by religion, kept women away from having a life outside the household. They contributed most of the labour in the domestic handicraft production. But their transformation into an industrial labour force was denied under the existing conditions. In the conditions of general backwardness of Central Asia, and lack of industrial progress, the economic emancipation of women was a distant dream. The traditional nature of the society prevented

women from competing with men for limited spheres and opportunities allowed by the colonial power to the Central Asians (Patnaik A.,1989:10).

Similarly the social position was also horrible as women were guided by strong religious norms and values. From the childhood itself they socialized in a way to be under the dominance of men. Instead of playing like the boys she spends time in the kitchen helping her mother. She had to learn and get used to the idea that she is not equal with men. She could not share meals with men at the same table. Pregnant women were regarded as impure and childlessness was regarded as the greatest shame for a woman. Women had no right to divorce and had to accept the conditions of her existence without any way to escape from it. Men could buy them as wives and discard them as well.

With the fall of colonial Rule after the October Revolution in 1917, Central Asia entered to a new era. Central Asia broke free from its economic backwardness and socio-cultural medievalism. Not only were the inequalities between nationalities in the form of special privileges discarded by Bolsheviks, but the elimination of inequality in all forms became the goal of the society under the Soviet system.

Women During Soviet Period:

Since the beginning of the Socialist period, the leaders have been committed to the ideal of women's liberation in all regions of their country to the ideal of placing women on an equal footing with men in all aspects of economic, social and political life while simultaneously providing them with full moral and material support for fulfilling their role as mothers (Nancy Lubin, 1981). There is no doubt that under Soviet rule immense success has been achieved in improving the position of women in Soviet Central Asia, particularly among the indigenous nationalities. Under the Soviet system, women enjoyed equal civic rights to men. Soviet period created fundamental changes. Throughout Central Asia the concept that women belong to men was ubiquitous: their social status was acquired through father, brother, husband, and son (Tokhtakhodzhaeya, 2000). Socialization was geared to gender roles: for the woman, the role of wife, mother, and housewife; for the man, provider and head of household.

Marx, Engels, Lenin in their works wrote a lot about women's emancipation and the equality of men and women. For example, "Marxism has stressed the rights of women to a degree perhaps unparalleled among political movements. It has emphasized the subordinate position of women with respect to men in the capitalist system, denigrated attempts to achieve equality for women solely by legal means and contended that, female equality could only be achieved under socialist system in the context of full participation of women in the labour force and the transformation of child bearing and housekeeping in to public responsibilities."(Engel, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State). Lenin believed "socialism was not possible without the full emancipation of women and also that full equality for women was not possible without socialism."

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 brought with it the great promise of women's equality: Marxism-Leninism held that as socialism was established, women would achieve equality with men. Important Bolshevik feminist activists like Inessa Armand and Alexandra Kollontai challenged the new regime to hold fast to that egalitarian goal. As a result, the state examined a range of issues important to women and implemented policies designed to improve the position of women in the society. Consideration of those issues, however, was always undertaken within parameters defined by the Communist Party. In part because the party faced acute difficulties in consolidating its rule and establishing socialism, women's interests were sacrificed to what was defined as the greater good. In fact, from the revolution forward, women's equality was never an end in and of itself, women's political participation never a primary goal. As the Soviet state became increasingly centralized and repressive under Stalin, it placed sharper limitations on women (and on men), cut off the relatively wide-ranging discussion about women's rights and equality that characterized the early 1920s, and designed and implemented policies to ensure that women served the causes of national political consolidation, economic construction, and, later, the war effort. Even with the post-Stalinist thaw in Soviet society and policies in important areas affecting women, no one in the government fundamentally questioned the state's right to establish priorities and to define women's role in them (L. Racioppi and C. See, 1995). Despite the opening up of the political system under Gorbachev and in the post-Soviet period, the legacy of the state's manipulation of women for its own purposes continued to shape the discussion

about women's rights and position in post-Soviet societies and state policies affecting women, especially in labor, family, and reproduction.

The economic measures undertaken by the Soviet government provided material security to women, made them independent owners of property and simultaneously drew them in to social production. With a new horizon opening up before them and with material basis of their equality consolidated, women were no more prepared to be treated in the old way.

By 1936, under Stalin's reign, Central Asia was divided into Soviet Socialist Republics: Kazakh SSR, Uzbek SSR, Turkmen SSR, Tajik SSR, and Kyrgyz SSR. With a culture founded on Islam, traditional *adat* laws and religious *shariat* laws governed the lives of the indigenous Central Asian people. However, with the "soviet-ization" of the region, strong attempts were made to remove Islamic influence and assimilate Central Asians into the Russian population. As "oppressed" members of a Muslim patriarchal society, women were the main targets of this assimilation under an ideology of gender equality and female emancipation. A new legal and judicial system was implemented across the Republics to weaken the control of women by male relatives, banning practices such as arranged marriages, polygamy, and the payment of a bride price. Attempts were also made to unveil women in order to remove the physical evidence of the practice of Islam, including restricting veiled women from participating in the labor force and forcing men to unveil their wives with the threat of unemployment.

Another tactic of assimilation was the Communist Party's institutionalization of the Zhenotdel, the Women's Department of the Central Secretariat, in order to educate and mobilize women. The Zhenotdel set up women's clubs to raise political consciousness through social activities such as reading circles and literary classes. Though it played an important role of providing education and skills to attend schools and universities and obtain employment, the Zhenotdel promoted an "outsider" philosophy of sovietization. Article 122 of the constitution of the USSR adopted in 1936 spelt out in detail the rights of women. Women in the USSR are granted equal rights with men in all areas of economics, governmental, cultural and social-political life (D.M.Heer and Nadia Youseff, 1993). The opportunity for the attainment of these rights of women is guaranteed by the provision of rights equal to those of men with respect to work, equal pay, rest, social security and education and governmental preservation of the

interests of mothers and children, governmental aid to single mothers and the mother of many children, the granting to women of paid pregnancy leaves, and a broad network of maternity homes and kindergartens.

Despite efforts of sovietization, Central Asians largely preserved their Islamic-based culture in the private sphere, through methods such as the sole recognition of marriages by Islamic law (rather than civil law) and the ostracization of acculturated women. The heavy-handed attempts to acculturate Central Asian women did not produce evidence of greater gender equality until the rise of a new generation of women in the 1960s. The benefits of greater gender equality under Soviet rule were produced with high costs of forced acculturation, and the reemergence of gender inequality in the public sphere following the independence of the republics has led to a questioning of the actual impact of the imposed gender equality tactics of the Soviet Union. It has been argued that the imposition of gender equality by the Soviet Union has resulted in the reinforcement of traditional Muslim gender values in the new independent countries.

Gender segregation was especially rigid in the plains of Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmen villages, and the southern areas of Kazakhstan and Kirgizia. In the mountainous areas of Tadzhikistan gender segregation was less rigid than in the plains and women were more independent, since the household was in women's hands (Andreev, 1953). In the cities of Kazakhstan and Kirgizia where polyethnic groups predominate, traditional norms and the Shariat were more of a formality (Tabyshalieva, 1998). The role of education in the socialization of Central Asian Muslim women was important in the Soviet period. Formal education for all and obligatory work for women outside the home led to the formation of a female social group within class: worker, peasant, intelligentsia. The intelligentsia encouraged education for girls that was geared to professions differentiated by gender. Thus, teaching and medical work were considered appropriate for women, commensurate with their roles of mother, wife, housekeeper. Soviet modernization gave rise to a special form of male and female conformism, a double standard between Russified norms of behavior at work and in social spaces, but the observation of traditional norms of behavior within the family and in personal relationships between men and women.

The position of women in the Soviet workforce was particularly interesting because successive Soviet leaderships paid lip-service to the goal of equality of the sexes. This raises the question of the extent to which equality has been promoted. In fact, the Soviet labour force was heavily dependent upon female labour, including those involved in childbearing and nursing. In 1928 women constituted 24% of the labour force, and later the figure became 51%. Women comprised 49% of the industrial labour force, 51% of those working on collective farms and 45% of state farm workers (Data of 1975). By the end of the 1960s, 80% of working age women were employed outside the home and 7.5% were studying. The average length of female employment rose to 33.5 years in 1970 from 28.7 years in 1959 (Buckley, 1981). Such an extensive involvement of women in the work force means that questions of labour resources and economic productivity seriously affect, and are affected by working women. However, this high participation rate of women in the economy has not come about from the ideological commitment to equality alone.

Demographic and economic factors have played a major role in their mobilization. Indeed, with the regime's goal of maintaining a high rate of economic growth, it was inevitable that a large percentage of women would be active in the labour force, especially at a time when they comprised the majority of the population. Three factors made female labour increasingly attractive: firstly, it was cheap; secondly, it was apparently passive and largely did as it was told; and thirdly, the supply of child labour was dwindling. The norm was to pay women half, or slightly more than half, of the wage paid to men for identical work. As increasingly strict regulations were placed on the employment of children, who also constituted cheap labour, the recruitment of women was stepped up. All these factors served as incentives to hire women instead of men. Indeed, early twentieth-century factory inspectors were troubled by the increase of over twelve thousand females in the work force between 1900 and 1901, alongside a decrease of over thirteen thousand males. In the early years after the Revolution most women participated in economic activity in rural areas for at least part of the year, involved largely in peasant production in what was then a predominantly agricultural country. Although women suffered unemployment during the New Economic Policy, the tremendous commitment to economic expansion reflected in the subsequent Five Year Plans drew women into the labour force. In sum,

rapid economic growth, an enormous deficit in the size of the male population; and labour shortages have been some of the key factors encouraging female employment in the USSR. Adherence to ideological guidelines on equality inspired by Marx and Engels has been less instrumental in promoting what today amounts to the highest world percentage of women in the work force. Female employment is due to more economic demands than to doctrine (Mary Buckley, 1997).

An information on women as "good workers" reveals that almost 68 percent of the nearly 100 million Soviet women over age 16 are employed, accounting for 54.5 percent of all workers. (Roughly 48 percent of all such U.S. women are employed, accounting for 41 percent of the labor force.) For most Soviet women, working is quite simply an economic necessity, either the husbands don't make enough money, or the women don't have husbands. The rate of pay for men and women in the same jobs is the same. But women predominate in sectors where earnings and wage rates are lower. On average, their wages amount to 60 to 75 percent of men's. Since sickness benefits and pensions (women's retirement age: 55) are computed on the basis of wages, inequality follows women into the sickroom - or into retirement. Most women are eager to marry and attach greater importance to the family than to work outside the home. But their efforts to be "good wives" can make it difficult for them to improve their skills as "good workers." (Madison, 1978).

Despite the gains that women enjoyed under Soviet government, many observers were struck by the reality that female labour in both agriculture and industry remained heavily concentrated in unskilled, often manual work, at the bottom of job. pyramids where pay was relatively low. In short, the large proportion of women active in the labour force had not eradicated the disparity between the distribution of males and females at different levels of job hierarchies. In fact, a Soviet economist pointed out that in the 1970s the increase in the number of manual workers in industry came 'almost exclusively' from women (Sonin, 1978:12). The proportion of women employed in under-mechanized work such as warehouse workers, letter carriers, goods examiners and distributors rose from 59% in 1959 to a high 74% in 1970. In addition, the labeling of occupations as male and female persisted. Some jobs were perceived as

fitting for women, some for men. Occupational segregation by sex persisted. Furthermore, there was a tendency for sectors in which women were over-represented to become even more female. The position of rural women was perhaps least attractive. Whereas men in the countryside tended to do mechanized work, women were preoccupied with under- mechanized jobs, such as animal husbandry. Whereas rural women concentrated in animal husbandry and field work, urban women predominated in light industry and the service sector.

In the Soviet Union women became a significant part of the retail labor force only in the 1930s. Like their Western counterparts, they were touted as having particular womanly attributes that could further retail trade and they were identified with modernity. Unlike them, however, their employment did not signify the success of capitalist consumerism. Rather it denoted the dawning of a new socialist era of rapid industrialization and the development of a specific form of "Soviet trade." The legitimization of this "Soviet Trade" helped a lot to establish gender equality in the workforce. This explored the feminization of the retail workforce as a window on the Soviet regime's efforts to mobilize retail trade and women in new ways in the 1930s. Feminization of the retail workforce resulted in more than an influx of women workers; it turned out to be critical to the regime's campaign to remake retail trade. As the trade campaign got under way and the female workforce grew, authorities rationalized women's employment by constructing a new woman retail worker who carried out "revolutionary, Bolshevik work." They identified "feminine" qualities with excellence in retailing and the "new" trade practices promulgated in the campaign for Soviet trade (Amy E. Randall,1999). Highly valued attributes of the idealized new trade that reportedly distinguished it from both capitalist trade and the already existing state-controlled system became coded as "feminine." The feminization of the retail workforce therefore contributed to the gendering of Soviet trade. In addition, the new retail system that emerged in the 1930s was officially legitimized, at least in part, because of its feminine face. Women became a significant proportion of the retail workforce only after the emergence of both unanticipated labor shortages associated with rapid industrialization and a major consumer goods and distribution crisis associated with the abolition of private retailing. Women's mass entry into retailing needs to be understood in this larger context (Amy E. Randall,1999). The feminization of the retail sector was thus due primarily to the imperatives of

industrialization and the regime's decision to initiate a campaign for Soviet trade. Initially, non-wage earning wives and daughters of workers as well as women already in the workforce (but in other spheres) were targeted for employment.

The Soviet regime's increased emphasis on women's "womanly" roles in the 1930s, including in retail trade, in conjunction with the abolition of the Women's Section of the Communist Party in 1930, the outlawing of abortion in 1936, and new pro-natalist policies, have generally been interpreted by scholars as proof of a retreat from women's liberation under Stalinism. Paradoxically, however, these changes were accompanied by the regime's greater recognition of women as workers and unpaid activists. Women were integrated as productive citizens in Soviet society. But still Women faced much discrimination. Women as "good workers" revealed that almost 68 percent of the nearly 100 million Soviet women over age 16 were employed, accounting for 54.5 percent of all workers. (Roughly 48 percent of all such U.S. women were employed, accounting for 41 percent of the labor force), (Madison, 1976). For most Soviet women, working was quite simply an economic necessity. Either the husbands did not make enough money, or the women did not have husbands. About 70 percent of Soviet doctors were women, as were some 30 to 40 percent of the engineers, college teachers, and scientific personnel. Such jobs, however, employed only one-third of working Russian women; the other two-thirds served in less exalted occupations: as factory workers, cleaning women, farm hands. Almost 20 million Soviet women (compared to 367,000 in the United States) worked in agriculture. In low-status occupations, as in high-status ones, men enjoyed privileged access to the supervisory jobs. Of collective farm chairmen and other senior farm managers, for example, only 2 percent were women. The rate of pay for men and women in the same jobs was the same. But women predominated in sectors where earnings and wage rates were lower. On average, their wages amount to 60 to 75 percent of men's. Since sickness benefits and pensions (women's retirment age: 55) were computed on the basis of wages, inequality followed women into the sickroom - or into retirement. Many pensions were inadequate anyway; the official "subsistence income" (or poverty level) had not been redefined since 1965; the average pension falls below it (Bernice Madison, 1976). Most Russian women were eager to marry and attach greater importance to the family than to work outside the home. But their efforts to be "good wives"

made it difficult for them to improve their skills as "good workers." The male's disdain for household tasks was deep-rooted, and the time a working wife devoted to shopping, cleaning, and cooking amounted to a "second shift" and made for an exhausting 13- to 15-hour day. The burden of the second shift increased by a shortage of modern appliances (such as washer-dryers or dishwashers), long lines in food stores, and poor-quality consumer goods.

Talking about Uzbekistan in 1920s, we can say that the Communist Party did a lot for the women folks. It brought an increase in activism among women. The Communist Party began to coordinate its efforts to propagandize and recruit women by establishing the Women's Division in 1919; in mid-1920, the Turkistan Communist Party's Women's Division opened a "Muslim section" in Tashkent's old city. Between 1920 and 1924, small numbers of Uzbek women in Turkistan, Bukhara, and Khiva began to embark on modern, state-sponsored pilgrimages that carried them to Tashkent and Turkistan's regional centers for education, to participate in meetings for "women delegates," and to see political power in action. Event sponsors and school administrators recruited young women for activities that would carry them far from their homes. In the spring of 1921, the Women's Division invited Turkistani delegates to attend a conference in Moscow for "Women of the East." In Turkistan, Women's Division workers carried out the rather arduous task of holding meetings in towns and provincial cities, convincing women to elect "delegates" for the conference, and arranging transportation to Tashkent. Among the elected delegates, there were some who ran away from home to circumvent a family head's refusal of permission to travel. When the delegates assembled in Tashkent in May, they were informed that the "Women of the East" conference had been canceled, ostensibly due to Moscow's food shortages. The women resolved to continue their pilgrimage, and the Turkistan Communist Party supplied the funds for their journey to Moscow. In Moscow, they attended a session of the Second International Congress of Communist Women to which food shortages were apparently no obstacle not as participants but for display purposes. Their presence at this meeting, in a parade honoring the Third Comintern Congress and in a play concerning liberation that they put on for Moscow workers, was reported by the Russian-language journal for Women's Division organizers, Kommunistka. The visitors' exotic garb, their veils and their unveiling, and their halting speeches received notice, but the Eastern women themselves went

nameless. For the Turkistani women, the journey was a first opportunity to travel far from home, and some found it a life-changing experience. Many of the participants unveiled on returning to Turkistan and became activists for women's rights (Marianne Camp, 2002).

The Soviet Union's leadership promoted Soviet holidays and disapproved of religious holidays. Public gatherings on the Soviet holidays--1 May (Labor), 9 November (Revolution), 8 March (Women) were occasions for inculcating and celebrating the revolution's values. However, Uzbek leaders, speaking in Uzbek to an Uzbek public, also made these public events into occasions for nation-building. On Women's Day, the emphasis on unveiling turned Uzbekistan's 8 March celebration into an occasion for the public contestation of Uzbek values and a performance of a new Uzbek identity. Calls to attend Women's Day celebrations were addressed to Uzbek women. To celebrate International Women's Day, other women, such as Russians, were to play the role of supporters of Uzbek women. The ceremonies held in cities and towns on Women's Day in 1927 included speeches by political leaders, followed by a parade of women approaching a central platform These women individually proclaimed their liberation and threw their *paranjis* and *chachvons* onto a bon-fire. The crowd listened to music as the veils burned. These *paranji* burning rituals took place on every Women's Day from 1927 into the 1930s, and on many other holidays, as well. For Uzbek activist women, removing and burning one's *paranji* was the ultimate symbol of transformation from housebound, unenlightened slave to modern, educated, politically active, liberated human being (Habiba, 2006). International Women's Day became a day on which Uzbeks demonstrated whether they would support the modern version of Uzbek womanhood or would express their anger against the state's modernizing, interventionist agenda by threatening, attacking, and even murdering unveiled women. They believed in the drama and symbolism of unveiling and of going out in public unveiled. They called for more propaganda and better government support for women's programs, but they did not want to abandon the ritual of public unveiling.

The main reason for encouraging women's liberation in the Central Asian republics have therefore been ideological in nature. Increased female participation in the labour force and in society at large, smaller families and hence fewer domestic concerns, economic independence for

women – all were mainly ways of achieving the broader ideological goal of transforming ideas and values. Although negative images of women continued to circulate in the 1930s, representations of women as a paid or voluntary force actively assisting in the construction of socialism gained ascendancy. Women received great kudos for their contributions to industry, agriculture, retail trade, collective voluntary activities, and the metamorphosis of everyday life. The predominant public image of woman was transformed to comrade, albeit an often overtly "feminine" comrade (Randall, 2004).

In the context of trade reform efforts, women's most stereotypical limitation- their alleged lack of political consciousness was explicitly reframed as a positive feature. Women's lower level of political awareness supposedly made them less susceptible to anti-Soviet political affiliations than men. In the context of the Purges in the mid-1930s, this characterization of women's political innocence gained even greater public value. Symbolically, women's increased presence in trade highlighted the decreasing number of politically suspect men, and more importantly, underscored the integration of the retail sphere into the political mainstream. Because of the time and effort which they expended at work and at home, most Soviet women participated for extended periods of time in economic and social roles, rather than in political roles. Although women in most advanced industrial nations tended to be less politically active than men, in the USSR there was a sounder excuse for this since a higher percentage of women worked full time, often in physically demanding work, unsupported by their husbands in housework and childrearing. Thus, many women simply did not have much spare time to devote to political meetings. Furthermore, where social and economic roles were unavoidable, political roles outside of voting and compulsory meetings within the work place, were for the most part avoidable, and frequently unattractive. Indeed, many Soviet men without the 'double burden' complained through letters to the press that politics cuts into too much of their time. This partly explained why those women who were politically active tended to be so close to home, where the amount of conflict between their economic, family and political roles was the smallest that it could possibly be, allowing for some political activity. For example, whereas women constituted 49% of the deputies to the rural, town, district and regional Soviets, their representation declined to 35% at the Union Republic level, and rested at 32% in the Supreme Soviet. The proportion of

female delegates decreased as they moved up the government hierarchy. This not only illustrated a preference for politics close to home, but also reflected prescribed set norms for the sexual composition of the Soviets. Furthermore, there was resistance to and related institutional constraints upon the upward political mobility of women. In addition, back down at the local level, female participation in the politics of their workplace remained lower than that of men. A similar pattern of activity concentrated at local, rather than regional and national levels was evident in the Party hierarchy. While comprising an impressive one-third of primary Party organization First Secretaries, women represented under 4% of urban and district Party secretaries. Above these levels women were markedly absent from the Party elite. At the 25th Party Congress in 1976 women constituted only fourteen of the 426 Central Committee members. No woman then was on the Politburo. Of those women who entered the Party and Government elites, their career patterns tended to differ from their male counterparts. The turnover of females in the Supreme Soviet was noticeably higher than among males, thereby interrupting the continuity of female representation. However, it should not go unnoticed that alongside the increasing concern in the Soviet press for female work and living conditions, came up revived institutional mechanisms for dealing with women. There had always been a reluctance on the part of the Soviet leadership to set up specifically female institutions, initially on the grounds that they might smack of 'bourgeois feminism', become independent of the Party, and thereby serve to divide the working class (Buckley, 1981).

Women were also there in the field of entertainment focusing their empowerment. During the stagnation years the cinematic representation of women focused on issues of emancipation which resonated in two parallel social registers: the negative effect of career on the personal lives of independent, educated women and on traditional gender relations. Elicited by the purported 1970s demographic crisis, female emancipation and its consequences became an officially sanctioned topic that ultimately opened up an interpretive Pandora's box and allowed a number of women directors' access to the profession for the purpose of addressing family and career issues. Women issues and especially female perspectives emerged more forcefully in their films. The elimination of censorship in the 1980s opened up discursive space during the perestroika and

early post Soviet years bringing broader range to representations of women, including regressively stereotypical and negative symbolic figuration on the big screen (Rimgaila, 2001).

Women During Post-Soviet Period:

Soviet rule brought about dramatic socio-political changes which included emancipation of women. Women were freed from the strict religious laws and practices to which they were subjected to, granted equality before law, afforded opportunities for education, and conditions created for them to join the workforce. These steps of the Soviet government enabled the emergence of an educated and skilled female workforce. In the post-Soviet era, while the newly independent states are busy in establishing democratic societies and introducing market economy, the attention paid to women and the status enjoyed by them differ from one state to another. The Central Asian government had to contend with contradictory policies of continuing the Soviet legacy of promoting women's equality on the one hand and promoting national culture, which , on the other hand, accorded women the status of a home maker and mother.

Talking about the social changes after Soviet period is multi-faced in nature. The five Central Asian republics created out of protonations and even from clan, tribal and nomardic identities. However, the consolidation of national identities was still incomplete when the Soviet state disintegrated, and as a result, many of these newly independent states are still grappling with sub-national identities. All the Central Asian states have taken steps to strengthen their transition to market economy, they are at various stages of privatization, an important element of that process. The fall in employment and real wage, combined with declining spending in social sector and removal of subsidies have brought down the general living standard of the masses (Patnaik,2000:3-4). Difficult times have revived traditional institutions like kinship, clan and tribal ones for daily survival as well as social mobility. Among the other consequences of the market driven transition has been a certain "re-traditionalization", evident in such domains as the use of public space and the regulation concerning women. This was not the result of the awakening of the long suppressed tradition, but rather an unintended consequence of the state endorsed stress on ethnic identity, defined in opposition to Soviet modernity. This process

affected women, with the changing standards of modesty and proper behaviours required of girls and women. Education for girls is no longer seen as a guarantee of economic security.

Since declaring independence from Soviet Union in 1991, the republic of Central Asia has under gone major social, political and economic transition. The transition to democracy, privatization and free market economy has opened Central Asians to many opportunities including integration in to the global economy, which were not available under Soviets. In the political ideological shift that followed independence, there was an immediate distance from the recent Soviet past and a move towards a hopeful democratic present. For the most part, the shift from the communist party membership of the new democratic parties in all the Central Asian states, renamed but not necessarily reconstructed, was virtually seamless. With unseemly western financial support and international organizations came on to the region, with anti-communist, pro-western " liberal democratic" principles and zero tolerance of any suggestion which was better aspect of the Soviet system. In this democratic breakup of the Soviet Union, women were not visible. The economic structure and economic policies, the transition to market societies or capitalist development, geo strategic vision and relation with Russia and CIS devolution of socio economic structures and impact of these policies on the people as whole, women were encompassed within these priority areas and have no separate position as yet.

In the post-independence period there was a vigorous campaign in all the republics to convince women to leave forms of employment that were considered deleterious to their reproductive health. Protective legislation was once again tightened and reinforced owing to the reluctance of women to make the voluntary shift across the occupational spectrum to jobs considered more suitable for them. In Uzbekistan, in all identifiable of employment, women were taken off work considered heavy or difficult all over the country, and night work, which had been most helpful to women with younger children, was now prohibited for women. Similar strategies were used in both Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, where women were no longer allowed to work in 'difficult' or 'severe' working conditions. These proactive measures in favour of improving the conditions of female employment were, in what were rapidly becoming mixed economies, proving to be detrimental to the future employment prospects of women (Corcoran-

Nantes, 2005). Restricting women's choices with respect to the nature and terms of employment and replacing women with men in certain sectors, created a situation in which women are over represented among the unemployed.

In all the republics, agriculture continues to play an important economic role. Moreover, in Central Asia, where out-migration from rural areas has been far less significant than in other areas of the Soviet Union, it remains a significant employment sector for both men and women.

The socioeconomic crisis and the influence of globalization in the post-Soviet period have weakened the role of male as provider. More women must become full or part-time providers for their families. This, of course, changes traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity (Kasymova 2010). The working woman who feeds her family will spend the greater part of her day at work and she will go on business trips, while the husband remains at home and takes care of the children and the household. These changes create external and internal conflicts evidenced by discrimination toward women. Domestic violence, sexual abuse at work and in social places increased the vulnerability of Muslim women. These factors contribute to deviant behavior by women, such as prostitution, illegal business undertakings, and suicide. Female self-immolation was observed mainly in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. These tendencies were present not only in the cities but in rural areas through Central Asia (Tabyshalieva 1998). Women were more likely than men to lose their jobs as a result of economic reform. Studies shows that by 1995 even among registered unemployed people the proportion of women was falling, while more reliable, higher, unemployment figures derived from official survey data (UNDP,1998) indicated that women represented less than half of unemployed Russian citizens. Women see fewer opportunities for themselves in the private sector than do men, and therefore cling to their jobs. This would account for the rising proportion of women employed in industry: the men leave the factories, but the women remain, whatever the conditions.

Another area of the economy that has been expanded in the transition period, offering wide range of opportunities, both formal and informal, in which women are clearly in the forefront – trade, commerce and specialist services. Officially Central Asian women constituted

the majority of workers involved in trade as early as 1993, and numbers since then have steadily increased (Weber and Watson, 2000:223). Moreover, women administered more than half of the small cooperatives and business set up since independence. It was the unofficial and often unregistered commercial activities of all kinds which have attracted both men and women in the private sector of unemployment. The boom in the "Bazaar Economy" in the post-Soviet period was such that government officials were concerned that Central Asia was fast becoming a region of 'buyers and sellers rather than producers'(Y.C.Nantes,2005:97).

Entrepreneurial initiatives undertaken by women are visible in all the republics, especially in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. In the early years of the transition period independent organizations of business women began to emerge in order to protect the rights of women and lobby for credit and other forms of support. Owing to expanding commercial opportunities many women were engaging in some form of business activity, either full time or part time, because of the high financial rewards available in comparison to mainstream employment (Bauer et al. 1997:67-68). A wide range of micro-credit schemes had emerged after independence, sponsored principally by international agencies such as the Foundation for International Community Assistance (FINCA), Mercy Corps International, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank etc. Credit unions and credit schemes have been a direct response to the predominance of women in the commercial sector and their success in establishing successful small enterprises and cooperatives.

Since gaining independence in 1991, all the Central Asian countries have claimed to be democracies with parliamentary systems. However, all but Kyrgyzstan have been termed authoritarian. Since independence, there have increasingly greater barriers to employment for women, which has resulted in their underemployment across the region. The World Bank has raised a number of gender-based concerns, including the loss of state support for child care, deteriorating maternal health care, gender-based violence, and poor political representation. The disproportionate political representation of women is exacerbated by the greater struggles of women in households who have less time to participate in the civic life. Central Asian state government also made an effort to protect women rights. A 1995 Uzbek presidential decree

aimed at increasing women in the executive positions. In 1995 appointed the chairperson of the National Women's committee of Uzbekistan to the post of deputy prime minister and the regional representatives of the committee at the provincial, district, and municipal level functioned as deputies to the Governor to these territories. But the conversation of the women's committees in to quasi governmental organization meant that the women were now required to balance their quasi governmental role with their desire to work for finding solution to women problems.

Since independence, the growth of non-governmental organizations had been dominated by various social groups promoting the interests of women in a changing political and economic climate. Women from non-government organizations all over Central Asia had been exceptionally critical of the efficacy and scope of government initiatives in this area. These NGOs played an important role as the conduits of training schemes and funding initiatives for supporting the expansion of women's employment opportunities in the transition period. International organizations were the principal funding bodies for a wide range of schemes developed to support and enhance women's role in the economy.

CHAPTER III

Role of Women in Development

The analytic potential of gender goes far beyond pragmatic matters like policy design and implementation. Gender is a process embedded in the economic and political fabric of society. It bridges the productive and reproductive spheres, and greatly affects the social distribution of power. With class and ethnicity, gender is part of the conceptual base on which social and economic analysis must rest. Yet the study of gender and development has remained a field separate from the mainstream of social science. Why? The answer to this question must be twofold. The abstract character of studies of economic development obscured subtle differentiations whose importance became apparent only as a result of tireless field research. Moreover, the scholarship on gender places an overarching emphasis upon women's oppression, claiming that their experiences are not reducible to those of men (M Patricia, F Kelly, 1990). This has met with resistance in those academic circles where feminist protestations are seen with suspicion, and where specific definitions of objectivity and intellectual distance are the norm. The challenge then is to redress this political/ideological fissure by exploring those aspects in the theorization of gender that will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of economic development. The publication of Ester Boserup's landmark volume, Woman's Role in Economic Development (1970), which represented the first comprehensive attempt to examine the specific effects of modernization policies upon women in the Third World. Boserup's work energized and briefly anticipated an outpouring of writings that made women visible as part of societies all over the world. The embodiment of this type of scholarship was Rayna Reiter's influential anthology, Towards an Anthropology of Women (1975), which included case studies illustrating the impact of economic development upon women in rural and urban settings (M Patricia, 1990:611).

Men's appropriation of women's labor, partly achieved through the enactment of protective legislation and the family wage, removed women from the sphere of remunerated work, and consequently, from effective access to political power and economic resources. The improvement of women's social and economic condition would depend on the elimination of the sexual division of labor and women's full incorporation into paid employment. Economic globalization in the post-World War II era was stirred by economic and political factors that

altered the relationship between capital and labor. The very concentration of industrial production in core countries since the 19th century and the associated rise of real wages resulting from successful mobilization by workers eventually led to a crisis of profitability. That, in turn, provided a stimulus for technological change and the relocation of manufacturing. Relocation to less-developed countries allowed employers to tap large wage differentials while, at the same time, eluding rising workers' demands in advanced countries. The same process permitted investors to sidestep comparatively high wages and unionization rates in advanced nations and to harvest benefits derived from low-cost labor in the Third World. Host governments in Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean provided incentives that led to the growth of export-processing zones where millions of workers, most of them women, assemble products for the world market.

The explosion of computer and internet technologies, inextricably intertwined with the bio-technological revolution, has huge implications for the Third World and specifically for its women. In the new frontiers of exploitation, indigenous knowledge, as much as the bio-physical environment of Third World nations, form the capital to be extracted and commodified for First World consumption.

The restructured globalized economy has provided women with employment opportunities. Globalization has also meant a shift towards self-regulation of multinationals as part of the restructuring of the world economy that increases among others things, flexible employment practices, worsening of labour conditions and lower wages for many women workers around the world. In this context, as part of the global trend emphasizing Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in the 1980s, one important development has been the growth of voluntary Corporate Codes of Conduct to improve labour conditions (Marina Prieto-Carron, 2008). Feminization and the Disciplining of Global Labor Around the world, hierarchical gender ideologies serve to cheapen the direct costs of labor to capital by defining key segments of the population (notably women and children) as supplementary or devalued workers (Elson 1995, Enloe 1989, Runyon 2000). At one level, the pictures appear remarkably consistent; in country after country, industrial employers identify the inherently desirable qualities of their preferred labor force: "nimble-fingered," often youthful, and deferential female workers. Global factories reproduce similar models of organization wherein women dominate the lowest levels both of pay

and authority, whereas men occupy most positions of supervisory and managerial rank. Indeed, it is the hegemonic capacity of patriarchal norms to define women's labor as not only "cheap" but socially and economically worth less (and therefore less worthy of equitable pay and other treatment) that makes a gendered labor force so crucial to the accumulation strategies of global capital.

And yet the appearance of sameness is also deceiving. A closer look at the ethnographic record reveals considerable diversity in the discursive forms and material practices that gender hierarchies take within the global labor force. In some cases it is women's status as unmarried and subordinate "daughters" that makes them an attractively cheap and flexible pool of labor (Drori 2000, Kim 1997, Lynch 1999, Wolf 1992). In other contexts, it is women's status as wives and mothers that justifies their lower wages and limited job security (Kondo 1990). Disciplinary strategies may also (and often at the same time) position female workers as sexualized bodies whose subordination is maintained through erotic banter and other forms of sexual harassment. A heightened emphasis on feminine beauty, fashion, and commodified leisure activities associated with wage work can similarly position workers as feminized consumers rather than as productive (and valuable) laborers (Freeman 2000, Mills 1999).

In the dramatic break-up of the Soviet Union, women were not visible. Despite the statistics of women in political roles, the secondary status of women in places of power was evident. In the task of state building in independent Central Asia, several issues have been given priority. These include: the nature of political power and political system; the constitution and structure of governance; ideology and world view of the state and the contending ideologies; the economic structure and economic policies: the transition to 'market societies' or capitalist development; the foreign policies and geo-strategic vision, and relations with Russia and the CIS; the socio-economic structures; and the impact of these policies on people as a whole. Women are encompassed within these priority areas, and have no separate position as yet (Chenoy, 1996).

Rapid social change in transitional societies leads to social upheavals. In the case of the former Soviet societies wide-ranging changes in social stratification are likely to occur. The

impact of these changes will first be felt by the women, both at work and at home. As a consequence of the break of the Union, it is well known that the Central Asian States suffered economic losses due to a variety of reasons. Privatization and structural adjustment have meant cuts in social outlays. The share of public expenditure for basic social services like education, health, pensions, child allowances, unemployment benefits, are thus the first to be cut. In the 1980s, the USSR spent substantial amount on education and health sectors. The total outlay for the social sector was 50-55 per cent of government expenditure. The current fiscal pressure has not only meant cutbacks on this account, but the Central Asian State governments are thinking of user charges and health insurances. Given the earlier dependence on a state health care system, UNICEF/WHO reports believe that 'crises may be looming' (UNICEF-WHO 1992).

In Central Asia less than a third of all 3- 6 year olds are in pre-schools (compared to 58 per cent in the rest of former USSR). Schools need massive investments. The current crises will reduce this. Moreover, since thousands of schools are run and financed by state-owned enterprises, privatization is creating a crisis in these schools (Kaser and Mehrotra 1992). It was due to the pre-schools and state-run schools (which provided mid-day meals), that women were enabled to work, and enjoy economic freedom. The future of thousands of women of working age is now uncertain. The level of absolute poverty has drastically increased in the CAS. Incomes have decreased and there is no compensation for inflation. The worst affected are the pensioners, unemployed and women. The ruble depreciated enormously since 1990, child allowances stood at Rs 245-350 (children to 6 years) in Kyrgyzstan; Rs 150- 204 (pregnancy to 18 years) in Tajikistan; Rs 40-130 in Turkmenistan and Rs 440 in Uzbekistan (Kaser and Mehrotra 1992). The hardship on the family and especially the mother is evident.

Like in the rest of the Soviet Union, women in the Central Asian States have been the first to be laid off. Seventy per cent of the unemployed are women, and this goes up to 90 per cent in some areas and industries. During the Soviet era, women's wages averaged 70 per cent of men's. Now this figure has dropped to 40 per, cent (Economist,1995). Women are being sacked so private companies can avoid giving unemployment benefits including child benefits and maternity leave. Women will go into the unorganized sector, secretarial and other gender related positions where they will be subject to further exploitation. It is here that the conservative

reaction can intervene in favour of ideas like 'family values', or 'back to the home'. Women in Central Asian States continue to have a better status than women in many Middle Eastern societies and the developing countries. Their literacy rate is 98 percent. School and college enrolment for women

Table 1: Literacy and Employment Status of Central Asian Woman

Country	Literacy		Economic Opportunities	
	Literacy rural as of urban 1992	Enrolment Ratio (Gross Enrollment Ratio) 1992	Economic Activity Rate (age 15+) Female (Per Cent) 1994	Female as Per Cent of Male 1994
Russia	96	70	55	70
Kazakhstan	98	68	54	67
Turkmenistan	99	-	59	74
Kyrgyzstan	97	-	58	74
Uzbekistan	99	-	61	78
Azerbaizan	97	68	56	70
Tajikistan	100	66	58	73

(Source: Human Development Report, 1995, UNDP)

remains the highest when compared internationally (Table 1). Despite rising unemployment, CAW continue to be involved in economic activity (Table 1).

Feminist studies emphasize the major role of institutions for gender inequality early and repeatedly. They argued that patriarchal structures perpetuate gender inequality. To overcome it, women must challenge existing power relations and change or abolish patriarchal institutions. A landmark World Bank study on gender equality (2001) also puts priority on the need to reform

institutions to establish equal rights and opportunities for women and men. Within the overall institutional setting, social institutions and cultural practices i.e. laws, customs, norms, traditions and codes of conduct – often are the main sources of persisting discrimination against women in developing countries. Examples include polygamy, unequal inheritance rights, obstacles to free movement and early family imposed marriages of teenagers (Dalia Dey, Asis Pain 2007). Where traditions still largely determine people's behaviour, standard policies to promote gender equality (building more school, giving micro-credit to women and so on) are important but not sufficient. Building schools where custom or tradition forbids girls to leave the house alone after puberty will not make much difference. Giving micro-credit to women in rural villages where they were denied access to land, technology and information will not deliver the desired effects.

Women and Economic Participation:

The Case of Kazakhstan:

Women's participation rate in the workforce—around 65% compared with 76% for men— has been steady since the transition from the Soviet period. Workforce participation rates are down from 85.8% for women and 84.4% for men in the early 1990s (Agency of Statistics and UNDP). These relatively high participation rates are built on the inheritances of the Soviet period, including high levels of education for women and the requirement for women to contribute to social production. Workforce participation rates are higher for both men and women in rural areas, in response to high levels of poverty. The proportion of GDP generated by men is much higher than that of women, reflecting gender-based biases and inefficiencies in the labor market and access to economic resources that limit economic growth and poverty reduction.

Financial indicators for the economy are strong, but the country's manufacturing base remains weak. High commodity prices, particularly in recent years, have enabled the extractive industries to modernize, but other sectors are being left behind. Oil, gas, mining, and metals directly account for 35% of GDP, nearly 80% of industrial output, and more than 80% of exports, but generate few new jobs (World Bank 2005b). After initial gains from aggressive economic reforms, productivity has remained stagnant in other sectors since 2001. As illustrated in Table 2, employment in agriculture had increased to 35% of all jobs in 2003, while

agricultural labor productivity has been falling for more than a decade. By 2003, women's employment in the agriculture sector had more than doubled, from 3.384 million (25% of the total) in 1998 to 7.095 million (29% of the total) despite the low returns on their labor, because of the lack of other job opportunities in rural areas.

Table 2. Agricultural Labor Productivity in Kazakhstan and Percentage of Women in Hired Employees

Agriculture Sector	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Labour Productivity ($ per worker)	1,309	1,178	738	833	838	894
Employment (%)	22	22	31	35	35	35
Women Employees (%)	25	24	24	24	26	29

(Source: World Bank 2005a)

Women hold only 3% of management positions, despite being just under 50% of the workforce. Most notably, within the public service, 77% of lower positions are held by women despite their higher education (Agency of Statistics 2004). Women make up 51.2% of all self-employed people, but self-employment is generally considered a stop-gap measure while seeking other forms of employment. About 42% of all women rely on self-employment, compared with 36% of men; in rural areas, 64% of women are self-employed in low-skilled agricultural activities. Women make up 51.2% of all self-employed people, but self-employment is generally

considered a stop-gap measure while seeking other forms of employment. About 42% of all women rely on self-employment, compared with 36% of men; in rural areas, 64% of women are self employed in low-skilled agricultural activities. Women generally have poorer access to economic resources than men, and with comparatively less time for extra training, self-employment may not offer them a reasonable return on their labor. Several government programs seek to encourage self employment through provision of microcredit. Without other support, such as business training, or access to markets for products or services, it is difficult for many women to expand self-employed activities into feasible enterprises (Country Gender Assesment, Kazakhstan, 2006).

The Case of Uzbekistan:

The World Bank has estimated (using the HBS data) that about 45% of the Uzbekistan population between the ages of 16 and 64 years (ILO definition of working age population) participates in the labor market. Using the official definition of the working age produces a slightly higher proportion of participants, about 48% of the working age population. The labor force participation rate among men is estimated at 60% and among women 31% (World Bank 2003:23-25). These estimates do not include those doing unpaid work in family work or home production, i.e., those on small subsistence plots. Similar results were obtained from the 2002 Health Examination Survey (HES), a sample survey carried out by the Ministry of Health, with support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF): this survey puts the estimate of employed women at 44%. The results of this survey showed that 44% of women interviewed were employed at the time of the survey, and 60% of men; 72% of women with higher education were employed, compared to 26% with primary or middle education.

Table no. 3: Number of Women Employed

	2002		2003	
	Thousands	%	Thousands	%
Economically active Population	9,367.8	-	9,621.2	-
Women	4,123.8	-	4,233.1	-
Employed	9,333.0	99.6%	9,589.0	99.7%
Women	4,102.4	99.5%	4,214.9	99.6%

(Source: State Statistical Committee, Uzbekistan, 2005)

On the basis of government definitions and administrative data, labour force participation is much higher than that estimated by the World Bank. Here as we can see from the above table that women's participation is much higher and almost 99% women are employed (this includes people working in collective farms). So they are estimated to be economically active. Agriculture accounts for one third of all employment, but about 49% of employment in rural areas. According to official administrative data 30% of the female workforce is working in agriculture.

The case of Kyrgyzstan:

In 1990, just prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, 83% of women in the Kyrgyz Republic were in the official labor force, supported by an extensive network of public services, such as day-care centers, kindergartens, extended maternity leave, and access to basic health care. By 2002, the employment rate for women had declined to 47.4%. Women had been hit hard by the large-scale retrenchments that took place during the economic decline of the early years of Transition (Government of Kyrgyz republic 2003b:53).

The Kyrgyz Republic has yet to achieve wage parity between men and women. Although the principle of equal wages for equal work is guaranteed by law, in practice many vertical and horizontal segregations are still persist. The employment market is also considerably bunched: women are employed predominantly in sectors such as education and health care and, at a declining but still significant level, in agriculture. Official data on registered unemployment rates needs to be considered with caution and do not provide a complete picture of real trends and how

they may be impacting upon women in particular. Low levels of unemployment benefits combined with very strict eligibility conditions provide weak incentives for both women and men to register, with the result that the population of discouraged individuals among the jobless is large and growing. The World Bank has suggested that this "pool of jobless and discouraged workers is one reason for the large extent of poverty" (World Bank 2003:51). Moreover, while the difference between men's and women's official unemployment rates is marginal (14.3% for women and 11.2% for men), the large number of economically inactive women indicates that women may be withdrawing from the labor market at significant rates. In 2002, for example, whereas 55.3% of women were registered as part of the economically active population (including the 14.3% registered as unemployed), 44.7% of women were defined as economically inactive (Government of Kyrgyz republic 2003b: 52-530. Women are also consistently more vulnerable than men to losing their jobs. By the end of 2002, 20.6% of unemployed women, compared to 15.6% of unemployed men, registered their reason for unemployment as being laid off. Women's greater vulnerability to unemployment appears to be irrespective of their educational level: more women than men are unemployed in all educational categories, including those with higher education, secondary specialized and general education, and those without secondary education (Government of Kyrgyz Republic 20033b:70). And while men are most likely to be unemployed for 1–6 months, most women are likely to be unemployed for 6 months or longer. In short, women are more likely than men to be unemployed in all regions of the country and at all educational levels, and are more likely to remain unemployed for longer periods of time.

While talking of informal sector, the significant contradiction in the formal labour market and the economic restructuring programme (after independence) has pushed many women in to informal labour market, which continues to provide employment for increasing numbers of short, medium and long term unemployed throughout the country. In 2002, 56% of women reported themselves as employed. According to census data, the share of women working in agriculture compared with other economic activities dropped significantly, from 64% in 1999 to 43% in 2003. In 2002, employment rates for rural women were 51.1% compared with 68.4% for men and women's wages in the agricultural sector in 2002 continued to lag well behind men's, with a

female-to-male wage ratio of 85.5%. Moreover, women head only 13% of all farm households (Government of Kyrgyz Republic 2003b)

The case of Tajikistan:

Economic collapse followed independence in 1991 and the difficult conditions were exacerbated during the period of civil war, contributing to a sharp rise in poverty. Employment in most economic sectors declined overall; the reported decline varied between 2.4% and 33% (World Bank 2005).For example, the employment share of the industrial sector decrease from 21% in 1992 to just 8.2% in 2003. But while employment levels dropped, the size of the overall available labor force grew from 3.125 million in 1999 to 3.644 million in 2003. Real GDP growth has been strong in recent years, averaging 9.5% between 2000 and 2003, (IMF and IDA 2004) more than other poor Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries (although real GDP at the end of 2003 was only 68% of its 1991 level). But employment did not expand to the same extent as GDP. Registered employment data showed declines from approximately 1.80 million jobs in 1999 to 1.75 million in 2002. Some of the reduction in unemployment results from workers moving to the informal sector, taking up labor migration options, or withdrawing from the labor market altogether.

Labor participation rates vary between rural and urban areas for both men and women. For example, only 15% of women aged 16–19 (and 23% of men) are active in the workforce in urban areas. This compares with 43.4% of women in the same age group who are active in the workforce in rural areas (and 47% of men), where it may be easier to find casual unskilled work, for example in the agriculture sector.

A higher proportion of women than men are employed in unskilled jobs in low-paid primary sectors—77% of women compared with 63% of men. It is difficult for people marginalized into unskilled jobs to move up or return to secondary sector jobs, particularly for young school leavers. More women than men are also moving into informal sector jobs, with 34% of women—but only 24% of men—reporting that they work for themselves (Falkingham

and Baschiere 2004a). The agriculture sector has been forced to absorb the majority of workers from the industrial sector; the highest increase in the percentage of the agriculture workforce was among women. In 1998 nearly 30% of women were employed in agriculture. By 2003 this proportion had risen to almost 40%, with a corresponding drop in the proportion of women working in the industrial sector (ADB 2000 based on TLSS data). This illustrates that a significant proportion of women still work in the lowest-paid sectors: agriculture, education and health care.

Vertical segregation of the labor market is also increasing in Tajikistan, as the proportion of women in skilled or management positions has fallen. Significantly, the proportion of women who are skilled agricultural workers has fallen from 10.6% in 1999 to only 0.6% in 2003. Women's representation in the category of legislative, senior official or management positions has also fallen, from 0.6% in 1999 to only 0.3% in 2003. The proportion of women in the professional category has risen (although less than the increase for men) from 5.0% in 1999 to 8.9% in 2003, but women still make up the highest proportion of the workers in elementary occupations, and the proportion has increased from 50.3% of the workforce in 1999 to 76.9% in 2003. The proportion of men has also increased, but to a lesser extent, illustrating the general lowering of skilled employment in the economy (ADB 2000 based on TLSS data).

The Case of Turkmenistan:

Both men and women in Turkmenistan have generally maintained high rates of literacy, education, and economic activity since independence. In the labor market, many categories of work were and continue to be dominated by either women or men. Women in Turkmenistan lag behind men in business development. The Government of Turkmenistan's economic focus includes increasing the number of women in business. The government has plans to provide training and financing to expand women's business opportunities as part of its 2020 business development program.

Women in Turkmenistan can be found in the widest variety of self-employment, entrepreneurship programs and business development policy tend to encourage women to engage in traditional crafts (i.e., carpets, embroidery, felt, woven camel's wool for bread bags, silk fabric, hand loom, camel's wool blankets), sewing, backyard farms, and, to a limited degree, food processing.

Out of the analysis of these four countries we can say that women face greater economic insecurity because of discriminatory factors and distortions in the labour market. Women have more difficulty finding secure employment and earn less than men for several reasons. In all four countries, women's unemployment rates are higher than those of men. But still we can find a little bit increase in women employment because of recent trends. We cannot say that women are not contributing anything to the GDP, the amount is very small as most of the women are from informal, unorganized sectors of economy.

Women and Political Participation:

Women's political participation encompasses a wide range of actions and strategies. It includes voting and voter education, candidacy in national and local elections, lending support to candidates who carry gender-sensitive agenda, campaigning against those who have policies that are anti-women's rights and advocating for the integration of a women's rights agenda in the platforms of candidates and parties (Caroline Rodriguez Bello). Political participation strategies include mechanisms that enhance women's political participation. Examples of these are gender quotas that allot 30 to 50 percent of decision making positions for women; gender mainstreaming strategies that promote a culture of gender sensitivity in government; national machineries for women, which have the primary role of leading and monitoring gender mainstreaming strategies of government; gender or women's budget that allot a percentage of national budget for gender mainstreaming and affirmative action for women's advancement. In legislatures of some democratic countries, women's sectoral representatives have been appointed on terms and capacities at par with elected representatives. A more recent mechanism that provides a leeway for women's political participation is the party list system where women's groups can bid for seats in the legislature.

An old Kyrgyz proverb claims that "a frog-headed [stupid] man is better than a golden-headed [intelligent] woman." It is tempting to suggest that the proverb reflects the overall attitude toward women in Central and South Asia. Gender stereotypes and discriminatory legislation continue to hinder women's ability to pursue careers in politics, business, and many other fields. Nonetheless, hope remains. For example, an unprecedented number of women have taken up seats in Afghanistan's new parliament and so also in many Central Asian states.

Table 4: Women and Political Participation

Country	Local Municipalities or Equivalent Female Council Members (Per Cent) 1990-94	Female Mayor (Per Cent) 1990-94	Parliamentary Upper and Lower Chambers		Executive share of Women at Ministerial Level 1994
			Seats held by Women 1994	Share of seats held by Women 1994	
Russia	30	0	52	8	0
Kazakhstan	-	-	20	11	6
Turkmenistan	-	-	8	5	3
Kyrgyzstan	30	-	22	6	5
Uzbekistan	-	-	48	10	3
Azerbaizan	-	-	1	2	5
Tajikistan	-	-	7	3	3

(Source: Human Development Report. 1995, UNDP)

The post-Soviet transformation period has been accompanied by significant economic and social costs, including the widening of the gender gaps in politics, economy and the social sphere. Tajikistan, which receives the largest amount of international aid and has the worst record of gender inequity in Central Asia, has quickly responded to the worsening situation by

introducing quotas favoring female representation in politics, labor market and education. Gender quotas exist throughout Central Asia. Under the Soviet system, women in the region enjoyed rights and opportunities equal to their male counterparts. But many of those opportunities dried up in the chaos of the Soviet collapse, leading governments to step forward and impose a mathematical solution to a suddenly complex gender equation. The countries of Central Asia, many of which are still led by their communist-era elite, are routinely criticized for human rights abuses and rampant corruption. But even the region's staunchest critics acknowledge that local governments have made important strides to improve the gender balance in politics -- even though many believe it's little more than a cosmetic attempt to enhance the countries' images abroad (Najibullah, Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty). Even Uzbekistan -- a country that regularly appears at the bottom of international rights and transparency rankings -- has instituted a 30 percent quota for women in parliament. By law, one out of every three lawmakers in Kyrgyzstan's parliament is female.

A few years ago there was a lot of prejudice against female law-makers, and it was quite hard time for them to survive in that arena. But this time is no more there. Now in Tajikistan, all government agencies are required to appoint at least one woman to a high-ranking post, although such titles usually reach no further than the level of deputy heads. Neither Kazakhstan nor Turkmenistan has a quota system for women, but both countries strive to take the gender balance into consideration. The unofficial agreements prevailed in that country is that women must be included in all levels of decision-making. Women sometimes have better chances to advance in the workplace than men. Specifically, at state corporations there is an understanding that women are more responsible than men and less corrupt. So there is a tendency to promote women.

For example, in 2003, 568 women deputies (17.1%) were elected to local governments in Kazakhstan, a drop from 19.2% in 1999. Currently, 11 deputies in the Parliament are women (9.5%) - 8 in the lower house (10.4%) and 3 in the Senate (7.7%). A woman was elected Deputy Prime Minister in 2003 for the first time (UN, CEDAW 2005). More women are active in lower levels of government, as political responsibilities are carried out closer to home, but they still find it hard to have their voices heard. Five women are deputy heads of oblasts, and 17% of regional deputy heads are women. Of the heads of rural and village districts, 11% are women,

and 18% of the deputy heads are women. In Almaty and Astana the share of women represented is higher than the national average. In compliance with the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan, "On Public Service," a new model of public service has been used in Kazakhstan since 2000. The principle of equal rights to access public service and promotion according to abilities and professional training forms the basis of the model. Consequently, the proportion of women government staff increased from 56% in 2000 to 58% in 2004. Of heads of executive bodies, 22% are women, and 11% of the judiciary are female. On the instruction of the President, every ministry, agency, and oblast administration has established a reserve of women specialists to be promoted into the decision-making levels.

Kyrgyzstan, the 2002 elections, only 6.7% of deputies in the parliament were women (7 of the 105 deputies). Only 10.7% of the 65 female candidates gained office, whereas 17.5% of males were elected (Statistics from Central Election Commission, 2004). Women comprise only 1.3% of all elected deputies in the Kyrgyz Parliament. In 2004, only 2 women occupied ministerial positions in government, out of a total of 14 such posts. Only one female was appointed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during 1994–1997. The percent of women employed in government positions is also very low, particularly at senior levels. As of 1 October 2003, women only occupied 21.8% of "top" (i.e., minister and deputy minister) positions in government, with those positions being concentrated in ministries such as education and culture, health, and labor and social protection. At junior levels, the balance of representation is also strongly in favor of men (62.6% versus 37.4% for women), suggesting a predominantly male cadre of employees from which future "top" and "chief" employees will be drawn (GKR 2003e).

Similarly in Tajikistan, in February 2005, 11 women were elected to the Assembly of Representatives, representing 18% of the total, which is the same proportion as were sitting prior to the election. The proportions are slightly smaller in other elected bodies, with 12.1% in the National Assembly and 11.5% in local assemblies. Almost 21% of judges in all courts are women, and 45% of heads of prosecutors offices are women. This is a higher proportion than in other Commonwealth of Independent States countries (GRT and UNDP 2003b). More women are in decision-making positions in local- and district-level government - 27% of heads of

village-level governments and 43% of deputy heads are women (UNIFEM 2005, GRT and UNDP 2003b). This is common in many countries, as it is easier for women to participate in political activity close to home. While it is important that, as programs are delivered within the communities, women are visibly involved in decision making, more women must be present in the highest levels of government.

When Uzbekistan become independent and began to change its structure, the Women's Committee remained and was given a substantially higher profile when its leader was named to a new position, Deputy Prime Minister and Chair-woman of a Committee on women's affairs. It should be noted that, except for the head of human rights, this set aside position is the only cabinet post in the Uzbek government held by a woman.

Women in Private and Public Sphere:

Soviet industrialization and "modernization" in Central Asia took an enormous toll on the environment and population, especially women and children. In the south, particularly in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, but also in southern Kazakhstan and parts of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, the cotton monoculture raved the environment through the excessive use of pesticides, defoliants and herbicides, which saturated the soil and leached into rivers and canals, and ultimately into the now-dying Aral Sea. Because the agricultural workforce is primarily female, women and their children - who also pick cotton during the harvest - suffer from respiratory diseases, malnutrition and high levels of anemia. In northern Kazakhstan, nuclear testing has caused contaminated land, radioactive rivers and airborne radioactive dust, which led to increased rates of mental retardation, fetal deformities and genetic mutations. Central Asia's population is overwhelmingly rural (two-thirds of the population live outside of major cities) and many communities lack basic amenities such as sewage systems and reliable sources of potable water. As caretakers in these traditional communities, women try to protect their large families (which average from 4-6 children) from disease and exposure to chemical and nuclear contaminants, the legacy left by Soviet colonization (Soviet Environmental Destruction, 1993). In stark contrast to images of women only as victims of environmental degradation, women are

playing key roles as activists, health professionals and defenders of wildlife in the growing Central Asian environmental movement. At a recent NGO conference held in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, women constituted approximately half of the invited representatives of indigenous NGOs. They have established and work in a variety of organizations in the fields of biodiversity conservation, environmental health, environmental journalism, independent scientific research and environmental education. Particularly in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, environmental activists must carefully consider their actions in order not to attract the attention of their repressive governments. Each of the women and organizations have responded to a severe problem or serious need within their community by educating local citizens and taking direct action (Watters 2000).

In addition to print media, women are actively working in film and television to educate citizens about critical environmental issues. In Karaganda, Kazakhstan, Gulnar Buketova, a member of the 7-member independent filmmakers' group Shyrak, produced a series of programs for regional TV, entitled "Polygon: A Senseless Tragedy". The series aired in the fall of 1994 and described the impact of nuclear testing on the health of local population. An another example may be of the freedom of information, i.e. women activists in Kazakhstan is actively lobbied the government for greater access to information about the legacy of Nuclear testing in Kazakhstan, where 468 nuclear tests were carried out between the 1950s and 90s. In October 1994 a group of activists – many of them are women – from the Karaganda and Semipalatinsk regions travelled to Almaty to meet with representatives of the Kazakh Ministry of the Environment, effectively creating the first public forum around this politically charged topic. Women activists also play a critical role in environmental education programs across Central Asia. From the Fergana Valley to Tashkent, to cities throughout Kazakstan and Kyrgyzstan, many environmental education groups run by women are teaching children about the critical links between themselves and the environment (Watters 2000).

Women's participation in such movements is critical to the development of the NGO sector in Central Asia, and to the success of environmental activism. Women activists are now participating not only in "typically" women's spheres, but also in the public, male-dominated sectors of society. Especially in the area of the environment, women are identifying and

adressing the problems that have severely jeopardized the health and economic viability of their homelands. By educating, broadcasting, publishing - by speaking out - women activists are gradually improving the quality of life in their communities and forging a path of action for their next generations.

As in all societies, gender relations in private and public spheres are framed by many factors. Gender relations are concerned with how power is distributed between women and men. They define the way in which responsibilities, entitlements, and claims are allocated and the values attached to them. Gender relations are also influenced by other social relations such as class, disability, race, and ethnicity (March et all.1999). Barriers to equality in gender relations are in the most part socially constructed, but are maintained by a complex array of historical, ideological, cultural, economic, and religious influences. These influences seem constant, but are in fact changing along with other social relations. gender relations are simultaneously relations of cooperation, connection, and mutual support, and of conflict, separation and competition, of difference and inequality." (Country Gender Assesment 2006). For example, traditional nomadic Kazakh cultures recognized the important role that women played in ensuring the subsistence of the family, and women participated in many economic and social activities alongside men. Muslim women were not veiled and young men and women associated freely in many aspects of life, for example in horse racing or singing contests. Traditional songs and literature depicted women alongside men with similar qualities and as equal to their husbands. Women were responsible for household work, but were accorded decision making authority, especially concerning household responsibilities. Marriages were arranged between families; a bride price was paid by the groom's family and in some cases a reciprocal dowry of livestock from the bride's family was also paid, as a contribution to resources for her use.

Role of Government and Civil Society:

In May 2007, UNIFEM and the Government of Kazakhstan organized a high-level consultation in Almaty, Kazakhstan on Gender Equality and Development Planning and Budgeting in the Commonwealth of Independent States. Participants from 10 countries, including representatives from governments, aid donors, non-governmental organizations,

academia and the private sector, focused on the importance of national planning and its potential for advancing gender equality throughout the region. They welcomed the meeting as an opportunity to better understand the practicalities of fully integrating gender issues in national development strategies through the sharing of experiences, and as an opportunity for pursuing new partnerships. The discussions resulted in the issuance of the Almaty Declaration, a contribution to the 2008 Ghana High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, established to report on progress in implementing the five principles of the Paris Declaration.

This attention has resulted in important achievements with respect to mainstreaming gender into development planning. A survey of the priorities identified by gender equality advocates and accepted for inclusion in the countries with completed national development plans shows a concern to improve social welfare and access to economic resources, including employment and entrepreneurship. Stimulating private sector investment in utilities and social infrastructure was also seen as important. All of the national plans integrated gender-specific needs in health and education, for example, while three specifically targeted the elimination of domestic violence. Five paid attention to employment and labour markets. Plans in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan highlight women's economic rights and access to economic resources, including land and agro-extension services, as well as support for women's entrepreneurship. In Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, the focus is on self-employment, and in Moldova it is on employment and gender-based violence. Five of the seven countries also paid special attention to social policies and pension systems. These priorities reflect the current reality of poverty in the region, which is far greater in rural areas and particularly entrenched for women. The prioritization of industrial over agricultural development in the transition to market-based economies has had a differential impact on women and men. Female unemployment increased in rural areas with the declines in investment in social infrastructure. In addition, men have had greater opportunities to migrate for better-paying jobs to countries such as Russia and Kazakhstan. Women are increasingly obliged to take poorly paid jobs, including as farm labourers, and intensify their labour on small private plots. In Azerbaijan, for example, where there is strict division of labour in agriculture between women and men, women's lack of access to agricultural support services, credit and skills training limits their ability to benefit fully from private land ownership.

Since independence in 1991, the Government of Uzbekistan has been making significant efforts toward achieving gender equality and the empowerment of women according to the report of the government entitled *Review and appraisal of the implementation by the Republic of Uzbekistan of the Beijing Platform for Action adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995).* One of the most significant initiatives of the Government has been to establish the Women's Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan in 1991 and in 1992 to proclaim that the Women's Committee is responsible for helping the government to implement its commitment to protecting and improving the status of women. Since its establishment, the Women's Committee has become the official National Machinery for the advancement of women and gender equality in Uzbekistan (Capacity Building of Women's Committee, UNDP 1999). More recent activities include on-going gender sensitivity training for government counterparts, and capacity-building among government representatives to mainstream gender into their respective ministries and organizations. Similarly, support has been provided to civil society and to women's NGOs to assist in the development of discussion forums for diverse NGOs from all areas of the country, to promote effective planning and to advocate for women's empowerment and gender equality.

Within the above framework of activities, UNDP has been extensively working with and supporting the Women's Committee. UNDP supported the Women's Committee of Uzbekistan in 1997 to develop the *National Plan of Action for the Improvement of the Status of Women of Uzbekistan.* In 1999, UNDP financed a joint project between the Women's Committee and women's NGOs to publish a *Report on the Status of Women in Uzbekistan.* This publication was made possible through the collaborative efforts of specialists from various organizations, including the Women's Committee. More recent support to the Women's Committee has been made available through the placement of a gender advisor in the Women's Committee, as part of the Development Support Services Programme (DSSP) of UNDP. The DSSP gender adviser has been providing policy advice and trainings on gender equality to the Committee and to other governmental organizations since 2003 (Uzbekistan UNDP Proposal 2007).

Over 4,500 NGOs have been established in Kazakhstan since independence, including 150 NGOs that specifically address women's concerns (UNDP 2005a, 9). About 85% of the

NGOs are headed by women. The adoption of the Concept and Program of State Support to Non-Governmental Organizations of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2003–2005 sets out the legal framework and requirements for consultation between government and civil society. A new legislation has clarified the regulatory framework for the provision of credit and other financial services through NGOs to strengthen and ensure transparency in the emerging microfinance services sector. Many women's NGOs have been involved in key areas of promoting women's well-being, including directly supporting women victims of violence, promoting women's economic development, and helping to implement certain government poverty reduction programs (e.g., the microcredit facilities targeting rural women).

Empowerment of Central Asian Women (CAW) is higher than their counterparts in most middle eastern societies, and similar to western societies. It is unlikely that CAW will give up these privileges. The issue is will CAW be able to retain these privileges, much of which are the result of a now discredited regime? The answer will not lie in the building up the threat of Islam. If the status of CAW declines, it. will be due to a combination of structural adjustment policies, weak democracy, and populist ideologies. CAW are likely to be hemmed in between the issue of identity and changing status. The changing status will come from the ongoing reforms, whereas the issue of identity will be complicated by the interweaving of traditional roles and customs, the experience of the Soviet past, ethnically and geographically defined frameworks, and their own political movements.

The World Bank is also doing its bit for women development. During the past few decades, women's and girls' education and health levels have improved in most poor countries. To help increase women's economic opportunities, and to speed implementation of its 2001 Gender Mainstreaming Strategy, the World Bank Group in 2007 launched Gender Equality as Smart Economics, (GAP), a four-year action plan. With resources from the Bank's own funds, coupled with donor contributions, the GAP's budget now totals US$63 million. Key donor include the governments of Australia, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Iceland, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Italy, and the United Kingdom. Through competitive calls for proposals, the GAP is

now funding 195 World Bank projects, and analytical work focusing on the GAP's target sectors in more than 73 countries.

In April 2008, Bank President Robert B. Zoellick committed the Bank to new measures to boost women's economic empowerment (The World Bank, News and Broadcast, 2010):

- By 2010, at least half of the Bank's rural and agricultural projects, expected to total US$800 million, will address a gender concern;
- The World Bank Group will channel at least US$100 million through the IFC towards women entrepreneurs by 2012;
- The International Development Association (IDA) will increase investments for gender equality and,
- Innovative engagements with foundations and the private sector will help boost women's economic empowerment.

The Bank's June 2009 gender monitoring report shows that overall, of all the Bank's loans during FY08, 45 percent included gender issues in design, compared with 35 percent two years earlier. Gender coverage in loans in the economic sectors—agriculture and rural development, economic policy, private sector development, and infrastructure—increased most, indicating that the volume of investments in gender in the economic sectors is starting to catch up with the social sectors. In addition, progress is being made on several fronts:

- The percentage of rural projects designed to be responsive to gender issues increased from 43 percent in 2005, to 59 percent in 2008,
- Rural projects including gender-informed monitoring and evaluation rose from 17 percent to 31 percent between 2005 and 2008.

IFC increased its credit lines for women entrepreneurs through five commercial banks in 12 countries by US$48 million. The Adolescent Girls Initiative, which as part of the GAP, supports the transition from schooling to paid employment of young women through skills training in partnership with governments and the Nike Foundation. Activities are underway in Liberia, Afghanistan, Nepal, Rwanda, and (South) Sudan (The World Bank, FAQs, Sept 2009). In

January 2009, as part of the objective to foster public-private partnerships for women's empowerment, the World Bank Group also launched a Private Sector Leaders Forum at the World Economic Forum in Davos.

From the above discussion we can say that, the post-independence period faced a significant change in gender relations in social, economic and political sphere. Women faced discrimination in every sphere. But apart from all, women's participation in labour market and in decision making bodies shows that there is a considerable increase in empowerment of women. More women have started working in the spheres traditionally monopolized by men. The main factor behind the growth of women employment is the economic reason where most women work in order to maintain themselves and their families. At the same time some women, especially well qualified women, are not satisfied working just for money, but are interested in developing in building a professional carrier. Government and other non-governmental organizations are trying to make women socially and politically active and pursuing them to take part in various economic activities, so that they can contribute something in the development of their respective countries.

CHAPTER IV

Impact Analysis

Human development is a process of enlarging people's choices and enhancing their capabilities. The process concerns the creation of an enabling environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord within their needs and interests. It is a broad concept with as many dimensions as there are ways of enlarging people's choices. Among the most basic and critical dimensions are: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge, and a decent standard of living. Without these basic dimensions, other dimensions such as political freedom, the ability to participate in one's community, self respect and so on will often remain inaccessible.

Table No.5 Human development Report 2009 – HDI Ranking

Country	**HDI Ranking**
Kazakhstan	82
Turkmenistan	109
Uzbekistan	119
Kyrgyzstan	120
Tajikistan	127

(Source: Human Development Report 2009)

The above table shows the HDI rankings of the five countries. Kazakhstan comes under High Human Development countries, and all four other than Kazakhstan come under Medium Human Development Countries. Kazakhstan has come to the 82nd position leaving behind many European countries.

Table No. 6 Gender Related Development Index (1995-2005)

Country Ranking	HDI Rank	GDI		Estimated Earned Income		HDI Rank – GDI Rank
		Rank	Value	Female	Male	
73	Kazakhstan	65	0.792	6.141	9.723	1
109	Turkmenistan	-	-	6.108	9.596	-
113	Uzbekistan	98	0.6999	1.547	2.585	1
116	Kyrgyzstan	102	0.692	1.414	2.455	0
122	Tajikistan	106	0.669	1.992	1.725	1

(Source: UNDP 2006)

Central Asian societies have undergone substantial changes in all aspects of gender and family life since 1991. However, different republics in the Central Asian region have been moving in different directions. For example, according to the United Nations Development Program's Gender Related Development Index (1995-2005), industrialized and rapidly growing Kazakhstan was in 65th place, behind Thailand, Venezuela and Ukraine but ahead of the Philippines and China. Similarly in the year 2005, rapidly growing Kazakhstan was in 61st place jumping four places ahead. In the meantime largely agricultural Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan were listed in 85th and 86th place respectively (2005), behind such countries as Iran, Algeria, Vietnam and Syria but ahead of Indonesia and Nicaragua. In 1995, these two countries Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan were in 102nd and 98th position respectfully. (UNDP, Human Development Report 2005). Yet it is very difficult to obtain a grasp of the depth and direction of the changes.

It is true that the process of Globalization has an impact on gender order. In public discourse the assessment of the changes is ambiguous and inconsistent. For example in Tajikistan there is the deterioration of the economic and social situation for the majority of the

Tajik women during the post-Soviet period. The argument may be the increase in discrimination against women; encroachment on their rights to work, property and other rights; restraint on a personal liberty and the right of choice. The causes are: the consequences of disintegration of the Soviet economic and social structure, unstable transition to the market economic relationship, patrimonial policy of the state and intensification of traditional patriarchal norms and practices (Report on Human Development 1999, Tajikistan). On the other hand, there are also positive changes like new forms of women's social and labour activity, such as women NGOs. There are more opportunities, widening limits of social and special mobility of women, such as domestic and foreign labour migration.

Table No. 7 HDI Index 1990 – 2007

Rank	Country	1990	1995	2000	2005	2006	2007
73	Kazakhstan	0.771	0.724	0.738	0.794	0.800	0.804
109	Turkmenistan	-	-	-	0.713	0.739	0.739
113	Uzbekistan	0.704	0.683	0.691	0.702	0.706	0.710
116	Kyrgyzstan	-	-	-	0.696	0.705	0.710
122	Tajikistan	0.703	0.638	0.640	0.673	0.683	0.688

(Source: UNDP official website. This table was developed by the UNDP, and published in 2008)

The above table shows the HDI value from 1990 to 2007. It is clearly visible that after 2000 the value is increasing unlike 1990-1995. Between 1990 to 1995, the time of disintegration of the Soviet Union, there was a decrease in the HDI value. This is because of the fact that after independence it was quite difficult to restructure the economy. There were significant changes such as the elimination of Soviet network services. Women were forced to abandon jobs so that men can work. The number of women found dropping from workforce as well as from education

was increasing. Women forced challenges of integrating to 'new' Central Asian values while their preference was for state-provided protective measures in the period of ongoing economic, political and social change. In course of time in the state sponsored programmes, women were influencing policies, media, civil society and most importantly the Non-governmental organizations, which brought about significant changes in all spheres. Presently, however, women are also struggling to maintain subsistence level. Everywhere, the early euphoria over independent feminist movements has dissipated, fewer women are involved in government today than under socialism and social welfare guarantees. So there is a considerable increase in the HDI values after 2000.

The arrival of international corporations and the establishment of homegrown private enterprises have led to the creation of small numbers of highly paid jobs for young men and women. In addition, small groups of highly successful business people and children of the local political elite have (by local standards) an enormous amount of money in their hands. Their high profile celebrity-like lifestyles and entertainment and spending habits have created a model that many young urban girls and boys would like to follow or at least to copy at any cost. In fact, this has led to the emergence of the small group of the so-called New Generation (so-called New Kazakhs, New Kyrgyzs, and so on) who have very liberal attitudes and who spend time in expensive restaurants, casinos and resorts, spending their parents' or their own money and are focus of scandals and rumors that have filled the Internet and local tabloids. The Central Asian society reacts to such a show of wealth and inequality with special disdain because of the nearly century old egalitarian and modest spending traditions ingrained during the Soviet era.

At the same time, the middle class, especially the middle class women, struggles to maintain decent living standards. Paradoxically, the market pressure has energized many women, as many of their men could not adapt to the transition or were consumed by alcoholism or depression or the stress of the new ways of life (K. Anderson and R. Pomfrer, 2003:128). For instance, in 2003, there were more self-employed women (42 percent) than men (36.8 percent) in Kazakhstan (UNDP 2005:07). Many female professionals try to stay close to one another and share similar values and face similar difficulties with the transition. They still remain largely products of the Soviet system: well educated, accustomed to the opportunities and social

guarantees of the Soviet-era welfare system and opposed to both the most conservative post-modern traditions of their ancestors and the excesses of the so-called New Generation. They still speak Russian well and manage to master one or two foreign languages. Many of these women have been very active in the NGOs sector, but not because of their radical feminist inclinations. The picture is much more complex than that and includes factors such as the "gendered division of political participation", where women dominate the NGO sphere but are significantly underrepresented in formal politics (Andrea Berg 2004:195-214). A significant injection of aid money and international advocacy helped women to assert their place in the non-governmental sector. Though throughout the 1990s they lost their representation in government institutions, they still keep trying to maintain their public space. For example in 2004, women occupied 10.4, 16, 16.4 percent of the seats in the national parliaments in Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan respectively, on par with their representation in France (13.9) and Greece (14.0) but far ahead of Turkey (4.4), Egypt (4.3) and Japan (9.3) (UNDP 2005:303-305).

Table No. 8 Building the capabilities of women

Country	GDI as % of HDI	Life Expectancy at birth (years) Female as % of male	Adult Literacy rate (% ages 15 and older 2004) Female as % male	Combined Primary, Secondary, Tertiary Gross Enrolment Ratio 2004 Females as % of male
Kazakhstan	99.8	120.5	99.7	108.4
Uzbekistan	99.7	109.8	97.8	96.5
Kyrgyzstan	99.4	111.8	99.6	106.4
Tajikistan	99.6	108.9	99.7	83.7

(Source: UNDP 2002)

This shows how the ratio is of GDI to HDI compares to other countries, and also shows its values for selected underlying indicators in the calculations of the GDI. The HDI measures average achievements in a country, but it does not incorporate the degree of gender imbalance in these achievements. The gender-related development index (GDI), introduced in Human Development Report 1995, measures achievements in the same dimensions using the same indicators as the HDI but captures inequalities in achievement between women and men. It is simply the HDI adjusted downward for gender inequality. The greater the gender disparity in basic human development, the lower is a country's GDI relative to its HDI. Discrepancies in benefits from economic growth and poverty reduction programming can be tracked by comparing the UN Gender Development Index (GDI) with the HDI. The GDI measures inequalities between men and women in the three HDI component indexes: (i) life expectancy, (ii) educational attainment, and (iii) income measure of average gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. If the GDI is lower than the HDI, inequalities between men and women exist in benefits from development (UNDP 2002:23).

In Kazakhstan the GDI has been persistently lower than the HDI. Kazakhstan's GDI value, 0.803 should be compared to its HDI value of 0.804. Its GDI value is 99.9% of its HDI value. Out of the 155 countries with both HDI and GDI values, 11 countries have a better ratio than Kazakhstan's (Country Gender Assessment 2005).

Qualified women is the smallest but the most active and productive group among other social and professional groups of Central Asian Women. These women live in cities. They are the product of the Soviet gender policy of emancipation of Muslim women, who were a part of social and political elite of the Soviet state. At the post-Soviet time, they along with workers and farmers suffered because of the difficulties of the transitional period. Data of official statistics of Tajikistan from 1995 to 2003 show that the number of women working in the industrial fields and in the sphere of health service decreased. This is because of the cut in budgetary expenditure in the sphere of health services, education, culture, science etc. All these circumstances make women adapt to the changed situation and train for a new profession. Today among the

representatives of the business, there are many women who are qualified economists, accountants, teachers, doctors, lawyers and so on.

Some qualified women are retrained for the work of house-maids, employees of commercial farms, agencies, international organizations, where they make some special work and get handsome salary for that. Today qualified women workers have also started working in the public sector. Appearance of women NGOs is a new phenomenon in the public sector of the economy. Their initiators are Western international humanitarian organizations. They help to organize such NGOs and finance them. The majority of the leaders and workers of both national and international NGOs are teachers of schools and universities, scientists, doctors and economists. (Kasymova 2010:216).

Government also plays a very important role. For example, in Uzbekistan the government had to contend with contradictory policies of continuing the Soviet legacy of promoting women's equality on the one hand and promoting national culture, which, on the other hand , accorded woman the status of a home maker and mother. The Uzbek government made an effort to protect women's rights. A 1995 Presidential decree aimed at increasing the number of women in executive positions. The decree appointed the Chairperson of the National Women's Committee of Uzbekistan to the post of Deputy Prime Minister and the regional representatives of the Committee at the provincial, district, and municipal level functioned as Deputies of Governors of these territories. As a result, they were now responsible for administering social welfare payments to women and families and for other policies directly related to women. But, the conversion of the women's committees into quasi-governmental organizations meant that the women were now required to balance their quasi-governmental role with their desire to work for finding solutions to women's problems.

Without doubt, in the post-Soviet era women had suffered most from the change in socio-economic conditions affecting the majority of population, as well as a loss of social support from the state. Moreover, the alienation of women from politics, decision making and participation in institutional politics led to the predominance of women in non-institutional political spheres in

an effort to gain a place and a voice in a changing civil society. In the post Soviet period there has been a vociferous critique both in academic writing and from Russian and Central Asian women themselves of the nature and legitimacy of female representation in the Soviet period. Women who participated in and were appointed to positions in the institutional political structure were invariably described as impotent 'yes' women who failed to challenge the status quo either collectively or individually (Buckley 1997). Surprisingly such critics offer no substantive qualitative evidence of their claims other than 'outsiders' impressions of the system and its 'failures'. Moreover, it was common practice in the early years of the transition period for women who were politically active to emphatically divorce themselves from those who were part of the previous system. Those who were part of the previous system and who speak out usually offer a critical revisionist version of their support and participation. Some are now leading members of NGOs and research centers in Russia and Central Asia which offer an important critique of women's loss of status in the post-Soviet era and have contributed to the development of a political agenda to disclose and challenge the disempowerment of women. Nevertheless there are others who, after independence, have chosen to remain outside both institutional and non-institutional politics, either unable or unwilling to embrace the new socio-political milieu in which they live.

Thus, with far fewer female representatives at national level, it was indirect rather than direct influence which underlined the nature of women's participation in the decision making process. In all these republics women have formed a women's political caucus in the parliament in order to scrutinize new legislations introduced in the transition period. The role of these caucuses was probably most important in the early years of independence when the volume of such legislation and the pressure for immediate change were greater. Whatever the extent of women's influence is in the process of transition, or was under the previous system, it has been imperceptible to the overwhelming majority of women in the Central Asian republics. This has been most apparent in the post Soviet period, when the status of women in the Central Asian republics entered into rapid decline (Nantes 2005:172).

Central Asian governments have consistently expressed concern with respect to the situation of women in the process of economic and political transition. After the Beijing Conference of 1995, three republics (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan) introduced National Action Plans to improve the status of women, but this has not resulted in any substantive change. A strong traditional patriarchal system has exerted considerable pressure on women to prioritize their role in the family, the socialization of children and the strengthening of cultural values. This has had considerable impact on attitudes to women's political participation, and especially on support for their political and social advancement. While governments may pay lip service to the need for increased female representation in the political sphere, political parties, in spite of, in some cases, the large proportion of women who make up their membership, have failed to place women's issues on their political agenda or offer even tacit support for increasing the number of female candidates.

The failure of the Central Asian governments to resolve the severe economic problems confronting the republics in the transition period has led to a particularly hostile attitude towards governments and politicians. Democracy is equated with corruption, and politicians are believed to be far more interested in improving their own lives than those of the population they are supposed to serve (Rifkatovna 2001). Politics remains a 'dirty business', and women who wish to engage in it are considered to be aberrant. This is not much different from the situation under the Soviet system, whereby women would often become estranged from their family and communities to pursue a political career. Thus, few women are willing to pursue a career in politics without family support, and in rural areas especially, where more traditional lifestyles and attitudes prevail, this is much less likely. Moreover, with the removal of quotas women are less likely to receive political support from political parties in their registration as candidates or in political campaigns. Now women are faced with an often obstructive bureaucracy unwilling to assist in the administrative procedures that pre-empt the acceptance of candidature. Furthermore, as a result of economic reforms women have tended to suffer most with respect to employment and access to the necessary financial backing to stand for election. It is women who have been most disadvantaged economically within the process of economic restructuring, under such

circumstances it has been difficult for a critical mass of women to emerge as candidates with in the present electoral system.

For the most part, Central Asian women are disillusioned with institutional politics and a process of democratization that has clearly excluded them either implicitly or explicitly. It is significant in the 2000 elections for the national parliament in Kazakhstan 30 % of female voters did not turn out to vote. This was a direct result of women's disaffection with politics (Khassanova 2001:15). A similar situation emerged in the elections of the same year in Kyrgyzstan – far fewer women are willing to be nominated as candidates than in the previous elections owing to their negative experience of standing and campaigning with in a less than democratic environment hostile to women (Chytyrbaeva 2000).

Table No. 9 Number of Employed and percentage of Women

	2002		2003	
Status	Thousands	%	Thousands	%
Economically active population	9,367.8	-	9,621.2	-
Women	4,123.8	-	4,233.1	-
Employed	9,333.0	99.6%	9,589.0	99.7%
Women	4,102.4	99.5%	4,214.9	99.6%

(Source: UNDP official website)

Women, after independence are not only increasingly provided unpaid services as the state cuts back, they also filled the majority of state-financed jobs in health, social services, and education. For example, in Tajikistan there is increase in women employment from 40% in 1991 to 46.1 % in 2006, accordingly labour activity among men dropped from 60 % to 54 % (Tajikistan Statistical Collection, 2006:103). So state jobs provide women with wages and employment conditions better on average than those in the private sector; however, with state restructuring, wages are frozen and jobs disappear. Women and men are becoming unemployed or forced into lower paying jobs in the private sector or the fast-growing informal economy.

Both quantitative and qualitative characteristics have changed at labour market. The main factor behind the growth of women employment is due to the economic reason. Most women work in order to maintain themselves and their families. So initially women started working in order to maintain their families with men being unable to earn enough money. Thus, men could do nothing but to accept it; later in many families because of their long absence (labour migration, penitentiary imprisonment), men could not control their women and women had an opportunity to decide independently whether they wanted to work or not.

By the early 2000s, in Tajikistan, the state guarantees of lifelong employment, social and health care benefits, and pensions, enjoyed by the previous generation, was no more, and young people had to adopt to new realities. As a result there was a significant drop in the fertility rate (United Nations, World Population Prospectus, 2004 revision). Although between 40 to 60 percent of the population still lives in rural areas, the crisis in traditionally labour-intensive agriculture and the attractions of the urban lifestyle lured increasingly large numbers of people to the major metropolitan centers, which nearly doubled in size between 1991 and 2006. There have emerged huge differences between urban and rural communities, between republics and between generations. As a result, the Central Asian societies have become fragmented as never before (Rafis Abazov, 2007:228).

Social needs must be met. With the increase in women's participation in the labour force, the need for child care is enormous. As the population ages, care is also increasingly needed for the elderly. Female-headed single-parent families are on the increase, and so are their needs, as their real incomes are decreasing. If people cannot afford to meet their needs through the market and if the state or employer does not meet them either, then the household (and that usually means women) must meet them. As the state cuts back social services it implicitly assumes a gender division of labour in which women in the household or in the community are expected to carry out these activities and meet these needs without pay. The government's divesting itself of many of the welfare state's responsibilities implicitly assumes the availability of women in the home to provide these services. Restructuring and adjustment increase women's workload, perpetuate the traditional gender division of labour, reinforce gender relations, and maintain the notion that women are naturally suited for caring work.

One of the indicators of the weakening role of women in public life can be seen in the labour market, though there are winners and losers. There is a very small group of highly successful business women, who run very successful business and maintains high public profiles. Some women have managed to quickly adapt to the new realities of the market-oriented economy by undergoing training or retraining programs and finding new opportunities in a quickly changing environment.

Mass involvement of women in paid work revealed the gender discrimination existing in the public sphere. Under the new conditions, women basically engage in those spheres of employment in which there is little or no competition with men – public sector, agricultural sector, small business, non-manufacturing spheres such as health services, education, culture and social security system. The structure of labour force demand in modern economy is unfavorable for women, both on the official level and in shadow economy. In the private sector new employment as a rule is strictly structured by gender. On the other hand if formerly the women's right to work was defended by labour law, today the same law has no mechanism of realization under conditions of transition to the market economy. The evidence to it can be the fact of active supplanting of women experts from banking system, insurance, tax and customs organizations, since these spheres under the conditions of market economy have become more prestigious. The number of women in those sectors of the economy which have become most profitable, as a result of the new market conditions, have steadily declined (Country Gender Assessment 2005).

Talking about social and development issues, Central Asian Republics have the evidence that women's deteriorating capabilities are increasing their vulnerability to poverty faster than is the case for men. The key assertions are:- social development indicators remain persistently low in all Central Asian Republics despite improved economic indicators, with striking differences between men and women in terms of capability poverty. Economic insecurities that result from capability poverty are exacerbated by deterioration in social protection programs. Social security and welfare benefits reduce vulnerabilities to economic insecurity. But despite extensive reforms, the distribution of benefits remains uneven and little consideration is given to different needs of target groups.

Even as GDP and incomes grow in the region, social development indicators remain persistently low in all Republics, with striking differences between men and women. The capability approach to assessing poverty looks beyond income to include health, education, political participation, security, and access to social capital as measures of well-being. Health indicators such as MMRs and closely related infant mortality rates are strongly influenced by women's overall status. Risks from HIV/AIDS and increasing drug abuse, among other preventable diseases, have significantly different impacts on men and women. In several countries, gender gaps in education are growing wider for secondary level and higher education. Even in countries where so-called "reverse gender gaps" (with higher participation rates among girls than boys) are emerging, women are unable to convert higher educational attainment into jobs as they are not skilled for employment in growth sectors or face discrimination in the job market. In all Central Asian Countries, unemployment rates are higher for women, and significant and increasing income gaps demonstrate that women are becoming increasingly marginalized into low wage employment (Asian Development Bank 2006: 17).

Violence against women in the region is still broadly understood as a private rather than public issue despite the clear evidence that it has significant implications for women's health, wellbeing, and economic productivity. Gender-based violence is a cross-cutting issue since it impacts every dimension of women's lives and limits their capabilities. Gender-based violence takes different forms including battery (physical abuse); economic abuse (control of money and resources so that a woman may have no control over spending even when she is a breadwinner); psychological and verbal abuse; sexual abuse; rape and sexual assault (including within marriage); bride abduction; sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions, and elsewhere; and trafficking in women and forced prostitution (Asian Development Bank 2006: 21). Gender-based violence takes place in the home, the community, and the workplace. Women who expose sexual violence at home are likely to be rejected by the family or community, and have no outside protection.

Human trafficking is a gross violation of human rights and adversely impacts economic efficiency and growth and the regulation of labor markets. It deprives countries of origin of their

precious human capital, and is an important element in economically and socially corrosive systems of corruption and illegal activities. The issue of human trafficking is primarily based upon exploitation of women and is thus a facet of gender-based violence. The Central Asian Republics are source countries for trafficked girls and women as well as origin, transit, and destination countries. Girls and women are primarily trafficked for sexual exploitation, but may also be coerced into work in factories, in agriculture, or as domestic workers. Obtaining data is extremely difficult since girls and women are trafficked through sophisticated and well organized crime networks. So there is hardly any data available on this.

Table No. 10 Gender Empowerment Measure(GEM) Rank 2005

Country	Gender Empowerment measure Rank (GEM)	HDI Rank
Kazakhstan	74	73
Turkmenistan	**	109
Uzbekistan	**	113
Kyrgyzstan	89	116
Tajikistan	**	122

(**): *Data not available*

(Source: UNDP 2005)

The gender empowerment measure (GEM) reveals whether women take an active part in economic and political life. It tracks the share of seats in parliament held by women; of female legislators, senior officials and managers; and of female professional and technical workers- and

the gender disparity in earned income, reflecting economic independence. Differing from the GDI, the GEM exposes inequality in opportunities in selected areas. While GDI focuses on expansion of capabilities, the GEM is concerned with their use. It captures gender inequality in three key areas:- (1) political participation, as measured by the percentage of seats held by women in national parliaments, (2) Economic participation and decision making power, as measured by the percentage shares of women and men among legislators, senior officials and managers as well as professional and technical fields, (3) Power over economic resources as measured by the estimated earned income of females and males. So GEM is very much important for the present analysis. Kazakhstan ranks 73rd out of 109 countries in the GEM, with a value of 0.532.3.

Another most visible transformation can be observed in the major metropolitan centers and can be compared to the social and sexual revolution in the Unites States and Europe in the 1950s and 60s. A flood of advertising began bombarding the young generation, promoting the consumer culture, consumer-driven behavior and very liberal sexual attitudes. For the first time colourful and erotic contests like "Miss Kazakhstan" and "Miss Kyrgyzstan" were held and were widely televised throughout the republics. The young contestants were encouraged by the most conservative and religious groups in the society. Young urbanites are less bound in their personal relations and receive much better sex education than their parents. With a contraceptive use rate between 62 and 66 percent, Central Asia is on par with Italy, Mexico and Portugal, though far behind the United States and United Kingdom (UNDP, Human Development Report 2005, 236-238).

In response to these changes, there have emerged extremely conservative groups, especially in the most remote cities and towns and on the outskirts of major urban centers. These groups strongly advocate a return to the traditional way of life, including strict and very conservative interpretations of Islamic traditions, polygamy and seclusion of women. This has created a deep divide and mistrust between conservative and liberal groups in society. A large chunk of the rural population perceives the large cities as corrupt bastions of decadent Western culture and Western lifestyles. Many people in rural Central Asia see life in major urban centers as too liberal groups in society, too alien and in conflict with the genuine national cultures. They

express disgust at the lifestyles of the new generation, and they try to isolate their children from the negative elements of the West and urban culture. In this environment, women are often required to return to the traditional roles – to get into early and forced marriages, to stay at home, to be obedient wives, and to behave and dress strictly according to conservative rules. By and large, in these areas, the male-dominated culture, with its traditional roles, values and behavior patterns is returning. This culture yet again reinforces the concept of women as housewives, with a limited role in public life, and the absolute domination of family values (Rafiz Abazov, 2007:230).

The women question in five Central Asian republics is indeed significantly dual role of women as mother and workers in central Asia is inextricably linked broader political questions not only concerning demographic change and economic development but religion and nationalism. The women still remains the most conservative, religious and tradition bound component of those societies. Even though women achieved equal rights with men, education and generous maternity benefits during Soviet era, still there was tension of inequality, which continues to operate till today. The traditional society continues to hamper their progress. Women are also affected more disproportionally than men by the negative aspects of the ongoing socio economic transformation of central Asian states. There are several organizations working to educate Central Asian women but such an effort can only touch a small portion of the society. In a male dominated and tradition bound society, how long it will take for the women to be really emancipated is anybody's guess.

CHAPTER V

Summary and Conclusion

Gender inequalities operate simultaneously, but not identically, as systems of dominant meanings and symbolism; as structured social relations, roles, and practices; and as lived experiences of personal identity. The literature discussed in the last chapters is notable for engaging all of these divergent dimensions of gender. Of particular interest are the findings of many scholars, which state that gender meanings, relations, and identities do more than merely sustain existing structures of power in global labor relations. These complex dimensions of gender also constitute a dynamic cultural terrain wherein forms of domination may be contested, reworked, and even potentially transformed. Of course, in any given place or time, gender is only one of "multiple, interlocking systems of domination". Many ethnographers of globalization explore the ways that gender intersects with other sources of discrimination and exploitation in the lives of working men and women.

Gender inequalities represent one dynamic within a global labor force that is also segmented by class, ethnicity and race, nationality and region, among other factors. By tracing these varied systems of domination as they combine in different settings, scholars have begun to illuminate the diverse processes through which gender and labor inequalities shape the global economy. Around the globe, gender hierarchies are produced and maintained in relation to transnational circuits of labor mobilization and capital accumulation. In varied and often locally specific ways international capital relies on gendered ideologies and social relations to recruit and discipline workers, to reproduce and cheapen segmented labor forces within and across national borders. These are not new phenomena. Historians of the industrial revolution document the early recruitment of women (particularly young unmarried women) as a highly flexible, inexpensive, and easily disciplined source of labor. Similarly, European colonial regimes relied in part upon the mobilization of colonized women (as well as men) to work, for example, as domestic servants and concubines to colonial officials or as family workers on plantation estates.

Yet today, more than in any previous era, the gendered and ethnically segmented labor pool upon which capitalist accumulation depends encompasses every corner of the globe.

The legacy of decades of Soviet rule still affects the development of the five countries that comprise the Central Asian Republics (CAR) – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Unlike some other countries of the Former Soviet Union (FSU), the Central Asian countries did not achieve independence through a broad-based movement with democratic leaders. The transition period since independence in 1991 has been marked by social and economic difficulties as well as political stagnation with dynastic leadership structures in most countries, where the former Communist leader of each former Republic became its first president.

After independence, women and men have faced some different pressures with the economic collapse and restructuring of the economic, political, and social sectors. Initial research throughout the whole former Soviet Union indicated that women suffered additional challenges as the social safety net was rapidly crumbling or being actively dismantled in many countries. Without childcare support and protections for working mothers, some women returned home and others stopped having children (resulting in negative population growth). The downsizing of the public sector and the preference for hiring men (who did not have childcare or other time-consuming family responsibilities) in the newly developing private sector led to greater unemployment among previously working women. Women seeking alternative livelihoods struggled to finance entrepreneurship activities due to a lack of ownership in land, the family car, or other assets suitable as collateral for loans. Instead, women became the majority of shuttle traders, a business that required only small amounts of startup capital.

Men struggled when many factories closed, while women were more willing to take the newer lower-paying service sector jobs. The loss of status caused by unemployment and sinking earning potential drove some men into depression and into increasing unhealthy lifestyle activities, such as drinking, drug use, and risky and violent behavior. Many men across the region have sought employment outside their home countries and that process of outmigration has its own risks and difficulties.

Moreover, there are competing socio-political models of "womanhood" – the Soviet past, the new influence of Islam, the redefining of a historically-based national identity – all of which contain patriarchal elements. Thus, many Central Asian women have expressed the concern that they are struggling to reclaim what progress they previously achieved against a tide of new challenges to gender equality. It should be noted that gender concepts are perceived differently in Central Asia than in the West, based on different historical perspectives. Thus, it is critical to approach gender issues within the local context, considering background references as well as current trends.

The Soviet system ensured quotas for women's participation in political decision-making and representative bodies. Democratization has not resulted in equality of political representation or responsiveness of government programming to the different needs and interests of men and women. Legal and policy reforms have been relatively effective in addressing some aspects of poverty reduction, but in many areas women's political participation has dropped dramatically since independence. But there have been some successes, especially in improving the capability of elected women to influence the policy process, following targeted capacity building on a regional basis. UNDP and UNIFEM have carried out several small but successful initiatives. Such programs need to be expanded to facilitate the exchange of good practices and to build solidarity among elected women across the region, as they face many similar challenges.

Labour market globalization is a phenomenon that has a dual character. Undoubtedly its influence is enormous, but the results depend on many factors such as: availability or lack of material, financial, professional, educational, informational resources of certain demographic groups of people. Thus, in post-Soviet era, emancipated women, who had working experience, were well educated and lived in cities found themselves in the most favorable situation, managed to react immediately to the changed situation and planned their successful strategies. Country women who were poorly educated and not qualified had to suffer in the bad living conditions. Labour market globalization has its influence on traditional institutes of marriage and family, on personal interrelations between man and woman. Thus, the growing labour activity of women has made them economically independent, these women can fully and partially maintain their

families. As a result, in such families, traditional gender roles of the husband – breadwinner and the wife – housewife – have changed, resulting in gender conflicts. Social mobility of Central Asian women has really increased and so has its positive and negative aspects.

Even though women achieved equal rights with men, education and generous maternity benefits during soviet era, still there was a tension of inequality, which continues to operate till today. This is indicated by male domination of upper echelons of management and occupational segregation. Women are channeled in to the textile industry, health, communications, education and the services sector of the economy which are the most poorly paid fields. With employment in the organized sector becoming more and more difficult, education by itself has become useless for women.

Women might have own formal rights statutorily but in practice, the traditional society continues to hamper their progress. Women are also affected more disproportionately than men by the negative aspects of the ongoing socio-economic transformation. Factors like increasing poverty, rising unemployment, lack of resources in many families to educate boys and girls, political marginalization, domestic violence etc., are compounded by the fact that women are not aware of the laws promulgated by the government to protect women. There are several organizations, governmental and non-governmental who are working to educate women in these matters. But, such efforts can only touch a small portion of the society.

An enormous disparity exists between women's formal political equality and their meaningful exercise of political power. Gross inequality in the representation of women in politics is symptomatic not only of gender inequality but also of gross inequality in the other criteria upon which the society or nation is organized. Equality is a unified whole. It cannot be conveniently divided into segments related exclusively to gender, or class, or religion, or generation, or race, or tribe or clan. In assaulting gender inequality we cannot avoid confronting the other inequalities as well.

Global norms and institutions make a difference for the quality of life and status of women. When domestic cultures are more open to international influences, outcomes for women improve, as measured by health, literacy and participation in the economy and government.

Membership in the United Nations and World Bank along with international trade and investment activity, are frequently associated with improved outcomes for women. Cultural change is necessary for institutional change, which ultimately brings improvements in women's lives. Moreover, changes in attitudes and values are key to women achieving greater equality. Participation in international organizations and treaties designed to promote women's equality can shape national attitudes. Increasing international exchange and communication create new opportunities for income generating work and expose countries to norms that, in recent decades, have promoted equality for women. Advocates for equality for women at the national level can insist that their governments measure up to international standards and commitments.

The economic, social, and political developments in the five Central Asian Republics vary considerably based on localized conditions, making generalizations misleading. But all Country Gender Assessments placed the gender dimensions of poverty within an analytical framework that examines gaps in major development indicators between men and women. This provides insights to development programmers on how to ensure that women benefit more equitably from economic and social development. Four areas are emerging as priority concerns for women in all Central Asian Republics: (i) diminishing opportunities, (ii) deteriorating capabilities, (iii) disempowerment, and (iv) reduced security.

Women's opportunities are declining because of trends of higher unemployment among women; increasing numbers of women withdrawing from the formal labor market because of pressures on their time, or being forced to shift into the informal sector; growing distortions in the labor market limiting women's opportunity to apply their education or skills to full potential; and limited access to economic resources and time constraints from having to absorb cuts in social services (e.g., for child care and housework) through unpaid labor, while also doing paid work in the informal sector; these burdens limit their capacity to take up alternative or more productive economic opportunities emerging in the new market economy. Women are being deskilled, because of growing gender gaps in educational achievements in most countries or their having inappropriate skills for the emerging labor market; and the slow recovery of women's health status as opportunity costs to access even improved health services are not being addressed—in some regions. Similarly attitudes regarding women's role in family and

community decision making are leading to sharp declines in their participation in political processes. In nationally elected parliaments, women's representation is low: only 13.0% in Tajikistan, 9.5% in Kazakhstan, and 1.3% in the Kyrgyz Republic. In the post-Soviet period across the region, women's participation in prominent and/or decision-making roles has declined very dramatically, and not just in political life. Women are subject to increasing security issues, particularly personal security (during and since civil strife) in public and private places and from pervasive gender-based violence including sexual harassment at the workplace; and the growing risk of trafficking for women, as some poor women are forced into decisions they would not otherwise take because of economic and social insecurities (e.g., considering jobs offered by a stranger, or migrating alone). Women's economic security is significantly undermined as they are less able to manage associated risks (e.g., unemployment and long-term disability) as social protection and safety nets deteriorate and access to alternative economic opportunities dwindles.

Women are sparsely represented in the governments of all the five countries, a situation that must be changed if the slide in women's status is going to be turned around. Government should ensure effective implementation of directives regarding increasing the numbers and proportion of women in decision-making positions in government. It should establish a coordination center and monitoring body to track and report on numbers and proportions of women in decision-making positions. The NGOs and local government can provide leadership training to women to encourage more women to move into senior decision-making positions. Implementation of programs to raise gender awareness could be effective. Most percentage of population are not aware of the laws that are prevailed, so increase public awareness of gender related laws (to support advocacy efforts) should work out.

The following recommendations pertain to increasing women's political participation:- (1) Increase public awareness of the importance of women's political participation. (2) Civil society in particular has an important role to play in increasing awareness within political parties and among voters. (3) Increase women's awareness, as voters, of their role in making elected officials accountable to them for gender equality and women's empowerment, and for ensuring that their specific needs are addressed in policies and programming. (4) Increase the capacity of

elected officials, particularly women, to address gender equality and women's empowerment issues. (5) Strengthen the capacity of local government officials to consult with women and incorporate a gender perspective into the budgeting and planning process at all levels of government (e.g., gender analysis, gender budgeting, and gender-sensitive indicators for program monitoring). The aim is to ensure that the needs of women as well as men are addressed.

Recommendations for the promotion of gender equality through civil society and NGOs are as follows:- (1) Promote gender-sensitive approaches to poverty reduction among all civil society organizations. Disseminate experiences of effective collaboration with government in gender-sensitive planning and implementation of programming that effectively target the needs and priorities of women. (2) Continue to advocate and support a rights-based approach to poverty reduction work. Pressure the government to follow through on its commitment to protect women's rights. Provide gender sensitivity and gender analysis training for other civil society organizations and government staff at all levels, based on the experience of NGOs led by and focused on women, and civil-society organizations. The aim is to increase understanding of the ways in which gender mainstreaming and rectification of gender gaps can maximize poverty reduction efforts.

Independence of Central Asian republics in 1991 opened a new chapter in the evolution of women's position in the society. Their influence in the government declined precipitously at first. The near universal recognition of women's political rights and the strength of their voting numbers in many countries are nowhere reflected in their direct role in government. The above study shows that we witness a decline in the status of women in the region in a less than seamless transition to a market economy and the implementation of political reform. The government along with various non-governmental organizations and also civil society are working for the empowerment of women so that they can contribute their best to the development of these countries. So here we can conclude that the post-soviet transition had negative consequences particularly for women as women are very vulnerable to all kinds of disorganizations. Of course, they have lost the impact they used to have on development in the Soviet period due to their disempowerment to a certain extent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

*(The * mark show the primary sources)*

BOOKS

Aminova, R.K.H (1977), "*The October Revolution and Women's liberation In Uzbekistan*", Nauka Publishing House, Moscow, Central Department of Oriental Literature.

Allen, George (1971), "*Women In Top Jobs: Four Studies in Achievement*", London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Afshar, Haleh & Stephanie Barrientos (1999), "*Women, Globalization and Fragmentation in The Developing World*", New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

Bhavnani, Kum-Kum, John Foran and Priya A. Kurian(ed) (2003), "*Feminist Futures: Re-imagining Women, Culture and Development*", London, Zed Books.

Bilshai, Vera (1957), "*The Status of Women in Soviet Union*", Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House.

Boserup, Ester (1970), "*Woman's Role In Economic Development*", London, George Allen & Unwin.

Bouta, Tsjeard (2005), "*Gender, Conflict and Development*", Washington DC, The World Bank.

Bray, Francesca (1997), "*Technology and Gender*", London, University of California Press.

Brodersen, Arvid (1966), "*The Soviet Worker: Labour and Government in Soviet Society*", New York, Random publishers.

Buckley, Mary (1997), "*Post-Soviet Women: from the Baltic to Central Asia*", Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Coates K., W.P. and Zelda (1951), "*Soviets in Central Asia*", London, Lawrence & Wishart ltd.

Danilova Y.Z. et al. (1975), "*Soviet Women: Some Aspects of the Status of Women in the USSR*", Moscow, Progress Publishers.

Erturk, Kokut, (ed) (1999), "*Rethinking Central Asia: Non Eurocentric Studies In History, Social Structure and Identity*", Cornell, Ithaca Press.

Filtzer, Donald A. (1986), "*Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialisation: The Formation of Modern Soviet Production Relations*", London, Pluto Press.

Futehally, Laeeq (eds), (1980), "*Women in the Third World*", Bombay, Jaico Publishing House.

Ghosh, S.K. (1984), "*Women in a Changing Society*", New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House.

Halle, Fanina W (1938), "*Women in the Soviet East*", London, Martin Seker and Warburg.

Hambly, Gavin R.G. (1998), "*Women in The Medieval Islamic World: The New Middle Ages*", New York, Saint Martin's Press.

Kanesalingam, V.(1989), "*Women in Development in South Asia*", New Delhi, Macmillan India.

Kevane, Michael (2004), "*Women and Development in Africa: How Gender Works*", London, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Krishnaraj, M. et al. (1999), "*Gender, Population and Development*", New York, Oxford University Press.

Momsen, Janet Henshall (1991), "*Women and Development in The Third World*", London, Routledge Publications.

Nermin, Abadan-Unat (1986), "*Women in The Developing world*", Denver, University of Denver.

Patnaik, Ajay(ed) (1995), "*Commonwealth of Independent States: Problems and Prospects*", Delhi, Konark Publishers Pvt Ltd.

-------, (1996), "*Central Asia: Between Modernity and Tradition*", New Delhi, Konark Publishers Pvt Ltd.

-------, (1989), "*Perestroika and Women Labour Force in Soviet Central Asia*", New Delhi, New Literature.

Patnaik, Ajay et al. (2010), "Globalisation and Eurasia", New Delhi, K.W. Publishers Pvt Ltd.

Parpart, Jane L. et al. (2000), "*Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development*", Canada, International Development Research Centre.

Petrograd. Kaser, Michael and Santosh Mehrotra (1992), "*The Central Asian Economies After Independence*", Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

Rafis, Abazov (2007), "*Culture and Customs of the Central Asian Republics*", Culture and Customs of Asia, Hanchao Lu, Series Editor, London, Greenwood Press.

Ramani V V, Ratnaja Gogula (ed), (2006), "*Women in Workforce: triumphs and tribulations*", India, The ICFAI university Press.

Sahadeo, Jeff, Russell Zanca (2007), "*Everyday life in Central Asia: Past and Present*", Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis.

Schapiro, Leonard & Joseph Godson (1982), "*The Soviet Worker: Illusions and Realities*", London, Macmillan.

Scott, Catherine v. (1995), "*Gender and Development: rethinking modernization and dependency theory*", Boulder: L.Rienner Publishers.

Sharma, Kumud; Sahba Hussain & Archana Saharya (1984), "*Women in Focus: a community in search of equal roles*", Hyderabad, India, Sangam Books.

Sharma R R and Shashikant Jha (ed) (1999), "*Reform, Conflict and Change in the CIS and Eastern Europe*", Delhi, Radiant Publishers.

Sidorova, T N (1975), "*Soviet Women: Some Aspects of the Status of Women in the USSR*", Moscow. United Nations,

Skjelsbaek, Inger et al., (2001), "*Gender, Peace and Conflict*", New Delhi, Sage Publications.

Strathern, Marilyn (1972), "*Women in Between; female roles in a male world*", London, New York , Seminar Press.

Warikoo K, mahavir Singh(ed) (2004), "*Central Asia Since Independence*", Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata, Shipra Publishers.

Yvonne, Corcoran-Nantes (2005), "*Lost Voices: Central Asian women confronting transition*", London, New York, Zed Books.

ARTICLES

Abalova, Nazgul (2006), "Gender and Emerging Social Structure in Kyrgyzstan", *Contemporary Central Asia*, 10 (2):43-51.

Alimukhamedov, B. (1999), "The Role of Women in the Economy", in D. Gulyamova et al.(eds), *Report on the Status of Women in Uzbekistan*, Tashkent: RBEC/UNDP, page 41-48.

Armine, Ishkanian (2003), "Gendered Transitions: The impact of the post-soviet transitions on women in Central Asia and the Caucasus", *Perspectives on Global Development & Technology*, 2 (¾): 475-496.

Banerjee, Nirmala (1999), "Household Dynamics and Women in a Changing Economy" in M. Krishnaraj's (eds), "*Gender, Population and Development*", New York, Oxford University Press.

Bardhan Kalpana (1998), "Women in Emerging Asia: Welfare, employment and Human Development", *Asian Development Review*, 16(1): 72-125.

Babbaeva, lilliia V. (1997), "Women in Business", *Russian Social Science Review*, 38(3): 81-91.

Brainerd, Elizabeth (2000), "Women in Transition: Changes in Gender Wage Differentials in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union", *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, 54(1): 138-162.

Buckley, Mary (2001), "Soviet 'wife-activist' down on the farm", *Social History*, 26(3): 282-98.

---------- (1981), "Women in the Soviet Union", *Feminist Review*, 2(8): 79-106.

Byrnes, Robert F. (1984), "Change in the Soviet Political System: Limits and Likelihoods", *The Review of Politics*, 46(4): 502-515.

Caprioli, Mary; Mark A. Boyer (2001), "Gender Violence and International Crisis", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(4): 503-518.

Caroe, Olaf (1953), "Soviet Colonialism in Central Asia", *Foreign Affairs*, 32(1): 135-144.

Chenoy, A.M. (1997), "Soviet and Post-Soviet Perception of Central Asian Women" in R. Samadda (eds), "*Women in Asia: Work, Culture and Politics in South and Central Asia*", Vikas Publishing, New Delhi.

Cooper, Belinda & Isabel Traugott (2003), "Women's Rights and Security in Central Asia", *World Policy Journal*, 20(1): 59-67.

Darsky, Leonid & Sergei Scherbov (1995), "Marital Status Behaviour Of Women in the Former Soviet Republics", *European Journal of Population*, 11(1): 31-62.

Desai, Manisha (2007), "The Messy Relationship Between Feminisms and Globalisations", *Gender and Society*, p. 797-803.

Eisenstein, Zillah (1997), "Women Publics and the Search for New Democracies", *Feminist Review*, 57: 140-167.

Elia Juanita (2007), "Women workers and Labour Standards", *Review of International Studies*, 33(1): 45-57.

Fathi, Habiba (20060, "Gender, Islam and Social Change in Uzbekistan", *Central Asian Survey*, 25(3): 303-317.

Frank, Andre Gunder (1992), "On Gender Relations and History", Excerpt from: *The Centrality Of Central Asia*, Amsterdam: Free University press.

Gammer, Moshe (2000), "Post Soviet Central Asia and Post Soviet Francophone Africa: Some Associations", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 36(2): 124-149.

Gary Mark M., Miki Caul Kittilson, Wayne Sandholtz (2006), "Women and Globalisation", *International Organisation*, 60(2): 293-333.

Gorsuch Anne E., Fall (1996), "Woman is not a man: the culture of gender and generation in Soviet Russia(1921-1928), *Slavic Review*, 55(3): 636-660.

Gray, Mark M.et al. (2006), "Women and Globalisation: a study of 180 countries (1975-2000), *International Organisation*, 60(2): 293-334.

Gruberg, Martin (2002), "Participation by Women in the 2002 APSA Meeting", *Political Science and Politics,* 35(4): 757.

Haghayeghi, Meherdad (1994), 'Islamic Revival in Central Asian Republics', *Central Asian Survey,*13(2).

Hahn, Jeffrey W. (1978), "Stability and Change in the Soviet Union: A Developmental Perspective", *Polity*, 10(4): 542-567.

Handrahan, Lori M. (2001), "Gender and Ethnicity in the Transitional Democracy in Kyrgystan", *Central Asian Survey*, 20(4): 467-496.

Heer, D.M. and Nadia Youssef (1977), "Female Status among Soviet Central Asian Nationalities: the Melding of Islam and Marxism and Its Implications For Population Increase", *Population Studies*, 31(1): 155-173.

Holdsworth, M. (1952), "Soviet Central Asia: 1917-1940", *Soviet Studies,* 3(3): 258-277.

Ishkanian, Armine (2003), "Gendered Transitions: The Impact of the Post-Soviet Transition on Women in Central Asia and the Caucasus", *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology,* 2(3-4), Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden.

Jackson, Cecile (1998), "Women and Poverty or Gender and Well-being?," *Journal of International Affairs,* 52(1): 67-84.

Kamp, Marriane (2002), "Pilgrimage and Performance: Uzbek women and the Imagining of Uzbekistan in 1920s", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 34(2): 263-278.

Kasymova, Sofia R. (2010), "Labour Market Globalisation and Status of Women in Post-Soviet Tajikistan", in A. Patnaik and Tulsi Ram (eds.) *Globalisation and Eurasia*, K.W. Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi.

Keller, Suzanne (1973), "The Future Role of Women", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 408(1-12).

Kelly, Patricia M. Fernandez (1989), "Broadening the Scope: Gender and international Economic Development", *Sociological Forum*, 4(4): 611-635.

Khalid, Adeeb (2006), "Backwardness and the Quest for Civilization: Early Soviet Central Asia in Comparative Perspective", *Slavic Review*, 65(2): 231-251.

Koczberski Gina (1998), "Women in Development: A critical analysis", *Third World Quarterly*, 19(3): 395-409.

Lavopa Anthony J. (2008), "Women, Gender and the Enlightenment: a historical turn", *Journal of Modern History,* 80(2): 332-357.

Lubin, Nancy (1981), "Women in Soviet Central Asia: Progress and Contradictions", *Soviet Studies,* 33(2): 182-203.

Madison, Bernice (1976), "Soviet Women: The 'Problemy' that Won't Go Away", *The Wilson Quarterly*, 2(4): 96-103.

Mandel, William M. (1942), "Soviet Central Asia", *Pacific Affairs*, 15(4): 389-409.

Mazur, D. Peter (1973), "Fertility and Economic Dependency of Soviet Women", *Demography,* 10(1): 37-51.

Mills, Mary Beth, (2003), 'Gender and Inequality in the Global Labour Force", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 32: 41-62.

Mohan, R. Vasundhara (2002), "Status of Women in Central Asia: A Study of Uzbekistan", *Contemporary Central Asia*,VI(1-2).

Nazafizadeh, Mehrangiz (2003), "Women's Empowering Carework in Post-Soviet Ajerbaijan", *Gender and Society*, 17(2): 293-304.

Newton, Francis (1976), "Soviet Central Asia: Economic Progress and Problems", *Middle Eastern Studies,* 12(3): 87-104.

Patnaik, Ajay (2002), "Central Asia and CIS Disintegration", *Contemporary Central Asia*, VI(3).

-------- (2000), "Central Asia Since Soviet Disintegration", *World Focus*, 21(8): 3-6.

--------- (1999), "Challenges to State Building in Tajikistan", *Contemporary Central Asia*, 3(2): 33-39.

--------- (2007), "Civil Society in Central Asia", *Contemporary Central Asia*, 11(1-3): 1-13.

Pipes, Richard (1995), "Muslims in Soviet Central Asia: Trends and Prospects" Part I & II, *Middle East Journal,* 9(2): 147-162.

Racioppi, Linda and Katherine O'Sullivan See (1995), "Organizing Women Before and After the Fall: Women's Politics in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Russia", *Signs*, 20(4): 818-850.

Randall, Amy E. (2004), "Legitimizing Soviet Trade: Gender and the Feminization of the Retail Workforce in the Soviet 1930s", *Journal of Social History*, 37(4): 965-990.

Reid, Susan E. (2002), "Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev", *Slavic Review*, 61(2): 211-252.

Richards, David L., Ronald Gelleny (2007), "Women's Status and Economic Globalisation", *International Studies Quarterly*, 51(4): 855-876.

Rodgers Janine (2001), "Women and service sector employment: the global context, *Indian Journal of Labour economics*, 44(2): 171-182.

Salys, Rimgaila (2001), "Three-Rib Circus: Women and Historical Discourse in Rebro Adama", *Russian Review*, 60(4): 614-630.

Shah, Syed Muhammad Ali (2007), "Women and Globalisation", *Pakistan Horizon*, 60(4): 47-68.

Shalin, Dmitri N. (1990), "Sociology for the Glasnost Era: Institutional and Substantive Changes in Recent Soviet Sociology", *Social Forces*, 68(4): 1019-1039.

Skjonsberg Else (1989), "Women in Development aid: another confidence mechanism" *Marga*, 10(2): 24-30.

Stuart, Robert C. (1979), "Women in Soviet Rural Management", *Slavic Review*, 38(4): 603-613.

Swiderski, Edward M., (1998), "Culture, Contexts and Directions in Russian Post-Soviet Philosophy", *Studies in East European Thought*, 50(4): 283-328.

Trapido, Denis (2007), "Gendered Transition: Post-Soviet trends in Gender Wage Inequality among young full-time workers", *European Sociological Review*, 23(2): 223-237.

Werner Cynthia Arn, (1997), "Women and the Art of Household Networking in Rural Kazakhstan", *Islamic Quarterly*, 41(1): 52-68.

Wheeler, Geoffrey (1957), "Recent Developments in Soviet Central Asia: Dickson Asia Lecture", *The Geographical Journal*, 123(2): 137-146.

---------- (1976), "The Study of Soviet Central Asia Today", *Middle Eastern Studies,* 12(2): 169-176.

Wheeler, G.E. (1955), "Soviet Policy in Central Asia", *International Affairs*, 31(3): 317-326.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

*Asahi International Symposium, 1985, "Women in a Changing World", Symposium Secretariat: Tokyo.

Economic Commission for Europe (1957), "Regional Economic Policy in the Soviet Union: The Case of Central Asia", *Economic Bulletin for Europe*, IX(3).

Falkingham, Jane (2000), "Women and Gender Relations in Tajikistan", Manila: Asian Development Bank.

*Fajih,G. & J.E. Foy (1999), "Women in Transition: a summary", The Monee Project, regional Monitoring Report no.6, Florence: UNICEF.

*Gender Assessment Synthesis Report, (2006), "Mainstreaming Gender in Poverty Reduction Strategies in Four Central Asian Republics", Asian Development Bank.

*Gender Assessment, (2010), "USAID/Central Asian Republics", United States Agency for International Development.

**Human Development Indices*, (2008), A statistical Update, UNDP, HDR website: http://hdr.undp.org.

**Human Development Report, 2007/2008*, The Human Development Index, UNDP Home.

**The UN Millennium Development Goals in Kazakhstan*, Taimas Print House, 2002.

*UNDP (2001), *The National Report on Human Development in Kazakhstan* 2000, Almaty.

*UNICEF-WHO (1992), "The Looming Crisis and Fresh Opportunity: Health in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan", *Report of the UNICEF/WHO mission*, New York. 518

*USAID, *Gender Assessment USAID/Central Asian Republic*, March 2010.

*Uzbekistan, (1994-1995), *Parliamentary Chamber*: Oily Majlis.

Watters, Kate (1994), "Women Lead the Way: Environmental Activism in Central Asia", *Resources for Environmental Activists*, **www.isar.org/isar/Kate.html**