SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN UZBEKISTAN

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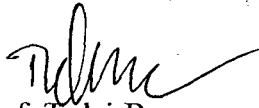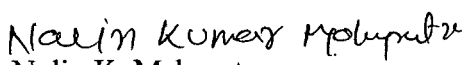New Delhi-110067

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled, "**Social Capital and Civil Society in Uzbekistan**" submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

Gayatri
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CERTIFICATE

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

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Preface

From time immemorial organised community life provided bedrock to the growth of human civilization. Its importance is felt even today. Communities play a crucial role in building social cohesion. Realising the importance of community cohesion, many scholars gave a new term to this concept, known as, social capital. An effective social capital provides the necessary strength to societal stability.

The present study focuses on some of these issues associated with Social Capital and Civil Society and its applicability to Uzbekistan. Uzbekistan was chosen for case study because it is the largest state in Central Asia, in terms of population, and significant sections of ethnic minorities are there in this country. Due to its mosaic ethno-cultural milieu, an established socio-cultural system is necessary for fostering political stability. Using historical, analytical and comparative tools the present work tried to corroborate following hypotheses:

1. Social capital and civil society play an important role in sustaining democratization process.

2. Trust, kinship network and mahalla community are some of the important ingredients which facilitate the development of social capital.

3. In the post-Soviet phase mahalla community is reinvigorating itself and playing a major role in ensuring social stability through harnessing indigenous culture.

These above theoretical and empirical postulates have to taken into account for looking the issues of Social Capital and Civil Society.

The first chapter examines correlation between social capital and civil society from a theoretical perspective. Attempts are being made to highlight how democratic transitions are the key element of political stability which ensures harmony in political system. Different models of democracy and its significance in sustaining the democratisation process has also been dealt with.

The second chapter analyses nature of societal development from a historical perspective. The basic objective of this chapter was to demonstrate that notion of social capital cannot be applicable to traditional society. Even oriental society can harness existing social values so that a stable socio-political system can emerge. This chapter also examines how the Tsarist and Soviet political authorities used traditional networks as a vehicle for maintaining their stronghold in this part of the world.

The third chapter discusses the emerging trends in Uzbekistan's civil society movements and nature of their functioning. The chapter highlights mechanism through which traditional socio-cultural milieu can provide a conducive environment for flourishing of stable social system.

Fourth chapter highlights the significance of kinship networks and mahalla community in building a stable social structure. Since the notion of social capital is in an abstract form it requires complete nurturing so that this can be reinvigorated. An important aspect of this chapter is that it looks at the issue of social capital from a gender perspective. This is necessary so because in oriental society women folk never consider as equal partner in society and number of stereotype images associated with it. So a pluralistic society requires a stable social system.

The fifth chapter summarises the findings.

Introduction

The five Central Asian states in the post-Soviet phase facing numerous problems ranging from authoritarian government to rise of ethno-national movement as well as civic strife. It may be noted that the problems varies from state to state. For instance states like Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are more liberalized than Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. The existing political uncertainty further accentuated by declining economic living standard of the population   as well as societal conflict.
(Banuazizi and Weiner, 1994)

Democratic Transition: A Theoretical Study

At a more theoretical level, many thought that the   collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the final victory of liberalism which marked the "end of history". Following the so-called " victory of liberalism" many states of the former Soviet Union   adopted a liberal democratic model, marking a radical U turn from   the existing Soviet model of governance. However, a closer scrutiny of the state of democracy in these states demonstrates that their performance is not up to the mark and they all failed to democratise their country in a true liberal spirit. (Fukuyama, Francis: 1992)

The notion of democracy has generated such curiosity that a closer look at Western political philosophy since Plato's time, every body gave their opinion on how a state can be governed. Though Western political philosophers agreed on the basic proposition that democracy is the best form of government they gave their own notion taking into account the existing socio-economic conditions. For instance, James Madison explained *in The Federalist* that "the danger of oppression" in a democracy came from "the majority of the community." (Zakaria: 1997)   J.S. Mill the utilitarian political philosopher argued that majoritarian democracy or what he called as representative form of government is not the best form of government. Tocquiville calls this as "tyranny of majority". (Zakaria, 1997)

Before going into details about democracy and how social capital can sustain the political system and applying the same to Uzbekistan one has to look at a theoretical level how democratic process can facilitate formation of an effective social capital in which all sections of the society can participate at an equal level necessary establishing a mature democracy in Central Asia in general and Uzbekistan in particular. Democracy is not simply an institutional arrangement to ensure representation. Going by the "consociational model" it also implies accommodating various interest groups as well as ethnic groups so as to give representation to various strata of the population in a social structure. However some scholars have put forward that the forces of democracy are the forces of ethnic harmony and of peace. . It has been argued that unless and until a democratic structure accommodate interest of various communities in a peaceful atmosphere sustaining a democratic structure is impossible. As Arend Lijphart is of the opinion that a form of "melting pot" democracy can be achieved only through:

a) "Building a grand coalition of significant segment of society. Grand coalition of cabinet in a parliamentary system a "grand council" or "committee with "advisory function.

b) " The second important mechanism through which "consociational democracy" can be developed is by "multiple veto system" or "concurrent majority" which serves as an important mechanism for protection of vital majority interests.

c) "Giving equal opportunity to various groups in the decision making process.

d) "A high degree of internal autonomy provided to each section within a society". (Lijphart, 1989:16-17)

Going by the logic of Arend Lijphart, scholars like Jack Snyder and Edward Mansfield argue that liberal democracy can accommodate interest of various communities on the other hand if it failed to do so than entire state structure will collapse and violent conflict will follow. Since capturing power is the sole objective of state structure ethnic communities will mobilize themselves on the basis of existing primordial identities which can sustain their cohesiveness to a greater extent. This sort mobilisation tends to be more durable and might leads to violent conflict if

one strata of the population denied the opportunity to have a say in the governmental structure (Zakaria, 1997).

Apart from a strong institutional structure, which provides the functional apparatus to operate the political system the nature of constitutional system is also necessary for giving endurances to democratisation process. Constitutional system as James Madison and Montesquieu observed, "Complicated system of checks and balances designed to prevent the accumulation of power and the abuse of office." Tocqueville warned of the "tyranny of the majority". He further stated, "The very essence of democratic government consists in the absolute sovereignty of the majority." According to Joseph Schumpeter democracy is defined as the ability of the general masses to elect political leader during election (Reeve, 1839:250). However in a non democratic country the political and civil liberties are denied to an individual. David Held attributes democracy of bringing in equal right so f individuals in the society. He writes:

"Individuals should be free and equal in the determination of the condition of their own lives; i.e., they should enjoy equal rights in the specification of framework which generates and limits the opportunities available to them, so long as they do not deploy this framework to negate the rights of others" (Held, 1987:1)

It may need to mention here the fact that simply democratic structure or the procedure of democratisations are not important, what is equally relevant is that how far the elected representatives are able to meet the societal needs as well as improving the quality of the people. (Diamond and Morlino, 2004). Since the time of Herodotus, democracy has meant, first and foremost, the rule of the people. In recent years this view has got enormous support from scholars like Alexis de Tocqueville, Joseph Schumpeter, and Robert Dahl. All these three scholars gave primacy to the institutional structure rather than to informal aspects as highlighted above. A new term is being gaining currency in the domain of democratic theory. This theory calls it self as some form of "third wave" chiefly propounded by Samuel Huntington. According to Huntington, democratisation process refers to a process in which "transition from a non democratic regime that occurs within a specific period and that significantly outnumbers transitions in the opposite direction in the same period." (Huntington, 1991:579)

Informal Actors and Political Process: Role of Civil Society

Since informal actors and societal values play crucial role in giving a momentum to democratisation process one has to look at the role of civil society and various informal networks like kinship and clan network in giving a stimulus to the existing values and correlate it to the political stability. The notion of civil society and social capital is not a new concept though they are being used increasingly in the academic discipline especially in political sociology and economics. Since the fall of the Soviet Union this concept gained worldwide attention as a form of actor in both national and international politics. Sometime it is being used a means to promote democracy and human rights in formerly authoritarian countries. Civil society may also be defined in a neo-liberal framework. Scholars generally associated it with the protection of values of justice and human rights, freedom and democracy. The neo liberal definition of civil society closely correlates to the 18th century Western Europe liberal democracy, which gives primacy to 'modernity' during the time of 'nation-states' creation. Neo-liberal civil society as Diamond and Marc Plattner define it as , "realm of autonomous voluntary organizations, acting in the public spheres as an intermediary between the state and private life." (Diamond and Plattner, 1996). Civil society is considered to be the cradle of democracy in respect to promoting more active participation by greater number of citizens. David Held says that "to ensure a highly democratic society both state and civil society should work in harmony." In a state of transformation it has a great significance because it helps motivate and mobilize citizens and other social actors to develop the various forms and contents of civic engagement. (Held, 1987)

Italian philosopher Machiavelli gave a cogent analysis about role of civil society in promoting stability on the basis of his study on cities of Italy. The criteria chosen by him are the citizen's right to peace and safety; the right to enjoy one's possessions and one's wealth; and one's right to have and defend one's conviction. The liberals like Adam Smith stresses on modernization and self regulation as necessary components of a civil society. To them free and independent individual is the central figure in civil society. Hegel attached liberalism as a new factor of preserving the independence of civil society for the purpose of its transformation. (Cox, 1999: 4-6)

According to the definition proposed by Global Civil Society yearbook series, civil society is the 'realm of non-coercive collective action around shared interests and values that operates beyond the boundaries of nation'. It includes social movements and citizen's networks that cross national boundaries and are concerned with global issues such as the Implementation of international treaties, the fights against HIV/AIDS, climate change, banning land mines etc. (Anheier et al, 2004: v).

Civil Society fosters democracy by "limiting the role of state, providing space for protest groups, generating demands, monitoring excess, confronting power-holders, and sustaining a balance of power between state and society." This concept is defined as a "network, the same as most modern association entities. It functions as a realm of free associations, guaranteed by the state through civil rights, but not directly controlled by the state." (Elliott, 2003:14). However civil society cannot be defined as a "simple space, as a struggling area, or indeed as anything material. Rather, civil society is far more valuable: it is a structure full of life, of the lives of many human beings, and of synergetic interactions among associations." It is a "spontaneous, dynamic, flexible, interactive associative structure of the social substratum which channels people's participation in economic, political cultural and social activities." This institution gave voice to voiceless people (Miguel Angel Itriago, 2004).

Studies show that an active civic life and a vibrant society provide the foundation for emergence of a stable social structure necessary for fostering civic life. The communitarian in turns leads to growth of a dynamic, stable and reliable civil society Robert Putnam is of the view that the mass-membership organizations are of great political importance. In the newly independent countries to foster democracy, more attention has been on the need "to foster a vibrant civic life in soils traditionally inhospitable to self-government" (Putnam, c.1996:13).

Contractualist like John Locke defined it as "condition where there exist known standing laws, judges and effective powers of enforcement." For him a "civil society was not an essential systemic entity, it was simply an aggregation of civilized human being who had succeeded in disciplining their conduct" (Khilani Sunil and Sudipta Kaviraj,2001 : 19).

It may be recalled here the fact that the notion of civil society has got a varied interpretations, at a broader societal level, political level and Individual level. For instance at the political level it implies separation of both civic and political institutions. If one look at the notion of social capital from a micro level it implies trust, interpersonal communication and value judgement, etc. (Gibson, 2002:52). One cannot ignore the role of Individual in the formation of social capital. As the trust, norms, values and associational quality play an important role in shaping and giving coherence to social capital. It has been argued that "Trust is – probably– the main component of Social Capital, and Social capital is necessary condition of social integration, economic efficiency and democratic stability" (Newton,2001:202).

Since civil society nurtures and harness the traditional norms and values it is essential that some form of stable social structure can be created to ensure stable societal norms. In this regard one may also consider the recent notion of "social capital" in strengthening democratisation process and strengthening stable social culture. In this regard it is worth to consider the view of Italian scholar Robert Putman who correlates social capital as an important ingredient of stable civil society. Putnam is of the view that "associations in civil society allow individuals to express their interests and amplify voices that might not be heard. They provide forums where citizens get information and engage in deliberation over public issues, making their representations more reasoned and useful to governments. They strengthen democratic institutions and government accountability by monitoring performances, insisting on proper procedures, and pursuing civil rights." He further argues that "associations create social capital." According to him "social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit."(Putnam 1993). On the basis of his studies in Italy and the United States he points out that social capital is a stock of resources upon which mutual aid, cooperation and collective action depends and can be crystallized by social organization. (Putnam 1993).

Treading the path of Robert Putman, James Coleman views social capital as 'inheres in the structure of relations between persons and among persons.' He also says that it facilitates actions of the persons who are connected by 'the structure of relations.' Bourdieu also stresses on the connections which plays a part in the reproduction of

classes. He believes that investing membership of a club builds social capital which might be converted into economic capital (Coleman, 1988).

As Alejandro Portes (1998) observes, "Whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships." The uniqueness of social capital is that it is relational. It exists only when it is shared. The World Bank states: "social capital encompasses the formal and informal rules that enable coordinated action and goal achievement" (World Bank 2000). Deepa Narayan, who has attempted to apply the term to field situations, refers to it as "the glue that holds groups and societies together – bonds of shared values, norms and institutions" (Narayan,2003:3)

Social capital is generally understood to mean the social structures and networks necessary for sustaining collective action. As defined by Francis Fukuyama, it means an "instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals." Explaining further he points out that "the norms that constitute social capital can range from a norm of reciprocity between two friends, all the way up to complex and elaborately articulated doctrines like Christianity or Confucianism" (Francis Fukuyama, 1999).

Though this concept is being increasingly used in the academic domain the origin of the term can be traced back to the writings of L.J. Hanifan way back 1916. Hanifan applied this concept in school programmes and community involvement in fostering communitarian spirit. For Hanifan, social capital referred to "those tangible substances [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit....The individual is helpless socially, if left to himself....If he comes into contact with his neighbor, and they with other neighbors, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community." The community as a whole will benefit by the "cooperation of all its parts, while the individual will find in his associations the

advantages of the help, the sympathy, and the fellowship of his neighbors" (Putnam 2001)

With the advent of Industrial Revolution social structure underwent a massive change in Western countries. The traditional norms that used to bind communitarian norms and networks gradually weakened, it is in this context the importance of traditional norms and values got wider attention from scholars in social science. In this regard one may consider the writings of James Madison as a primary example. Madison in his classic work *The Federalist Paper and Alexis de Tocqueville* classic work *Democracy in America* gave primacy to social cohesion as primary prerequisites for societal integration. While various aspects of the concept have been approached by all social science fields, some trace the modern usage of the term to Jane Jacobs in the 1960s. However, she did not explicitly define a term social capital but used it in an article with a reference to the value of networks Similarly Robert Putnam categorises the constituent units of social capital as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. (Black and Hughes, 2001:35)

Though the term social capital is gaining wider appeal in social sciences in recent years the origin of the term can be traced back to the writings of Pierre Bourdieu who first time used this concept. In the 70s and 80s of the last century this term got added attention. American scholars like James Coleman, Robert Putman and in more recent years World Bank Economist like Joseph Stiglitz popularised the term. (John Field: 2003,2-3)

James Coleman and Robert Putnam believe that social capital arises from interactions achieved through membership in social networks and voluntary associations. According to Coleman it is a 'multiplex' relations and the closure of social networks that provide the conditions necessary for developing trustworthiness(Coleman 1988:105-9). Putnam argues that the experience of extended face to face interaction, between citizens in associations leads to the development of generalized trust and civil society, phenomena that operate over appreciably larger scales (Prakash and Selle, 2004:21)

Joseph Stiglitz says that "social capital includes the organizational capital that managers have developed through their styles of administration, incentives and command, their labour practices, hiring decisions, systems of dispute resolution, style of marketing, and so on." He defines "social capital as a collection of networks into which one is socialized or aspires to be socialized. For economic development of any society its social capital should be developed which allow the interpersonal networks to be partially replaced with the formal institutions of a market-based economy." (Joseph Stiglitz, in Partha Dasgupta et al (ed.): 61-62).

Going by the available scholarstic definitions on Social capital one may derive number of inferences. Some scholars consider it as "norms, values, trusts" that can be related to society. These social components are to be strengthened for building a better civil society. The concept of social capital has been under discussion in the world of developmental policy debates (Francis Fukuyama, 1999).

Social Capital, Communication Network and Democratic Process

In recent years the growth of communication networks facilitated development of communication networks as well as the development of social capital. This in turn facilitates closer cooperation among people and thus brings people together. Apart from development of modern means of communication this also facilitates development of new culture. The role of communication technologies in facilitating socio-political change has been recognized since the 18th century. Nonetheless the Internet has become more important for the non-governmental sector because it enables those in that sector to work as a team to solve problem in such areas as social status, ecology, and mass media. Finding information and distributing it among non-profit organizations helps NGOs develop contacts and funds their projects. The importance of internet has been recognised by many scholars. Apart from being a platform of knowledge exchange the Internet also joins communities and facilitates integration. It plays an important role as a key infrastructure element for building information society. (Wellman & Wortley, 1990; Wellman & Tindall, 1993).

If civil society is the basis of social capital than one should applying this concept to many transitional countries where societal relations are in a flux. If one look at Post-Soviet states they are in a dilemma as how to create a new value system out of the rouble of the Soviet Union. Uzbekistan being a traditional society and part of the then Soviet Union is also facing this dilemma. The existing societal values are to be nurtured by both civil society and state institutions so that a strong and viable democratic culture can emerge. For this one has to trace back the existing indigenous institutions.

Associations in Soviet Uzbekistan

"Only through association of many people assisting each other, where each provides another with some share of that which is necessary for survival may a person attain that perfection to which is destined by his nature"- Al farabi.[1]

As highlighted in the first chapter, if communitarian organisations play a vital role in shaping and sustaining the democratisation process one has to think its application to the Oriental societies of Asia and Africa. This is one of the most important tasks of researchers to find out how the existing communitarian structures are to be modified to suit new circumstances as well as to reorient these elements in the process of modernization. If, "norms, values and attitudes" constitute the essential ingredients of social capital these values are to be re-cultivated to suit new circumstances.

Uzbekistan, being a traditional society is also currently facing this dichotomy of reorienting these value systems to suit new socio-political environment. A strong authoritarian state, lack of institutional mechanisms to check the preponderance power of President and his coterie, rising traditionalism as well as absence of a strong and vibrant civil society in a liberal framework are some of the important ingredient of Central Asian political culture. Rising ethno-nationalistic tendencies and growing clout of Pan-Uzbek Chauvinism as well as radical fundamentalism are some of the important features of Uzbek socio-political system.

There is a saying that history determines the future of a country. Despite the fact that historical forces sometime play a negative role, (Thelen, Longstreth and Steinmo

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[1] Al Farabi, a Central Asian born philosopher and scientist during the 9th and 10th century, as quoted in Eric W. Sievers, (2002), "Uzbekistan's Mahalla: From Soviet to Absolutist Residential Community Associations", _The Journal of International and Comparative.,_ vol. 2., 91.

1992) the same logic can also be applicable to Uzbekistan. Frequent regime changes, both nomadic and sedentary character of Uzbek society are some of the main determinants of Uzbek society. The societal features of Uzbek society are also partly reflected in the present set-up as society coalesces with political structure. The present chapter will offer critical analyses of Uzbek Civil society based on historical narratives, and Soviet experience which might provide a base for development of a sustainable social culture.

Before embarking upon any discussion on social capital in Uzbekistan and its role on fostering stable social and political system it is necessary to have a look at from a historical perspective regarding formation of Uzbek state and development of societal values in this type of state.

Social History of Uzbek State

The history of Uzbekistan can be traced back to the eastern satrapies, around 5th century. Sogdiana, Bactria, and Khorezm and was part of the Persian Empire under Cyrus the Great were once part of the great Uzbek empire. Being one of the oldest civilization it has seen rise and fall of many empires in and around the vicinity of present day Uzbekistan. The Sogdians, the Macedonians, the Huns, the Mongolians, the Seljuks, the Timurids and the Khanates of Samarkand, Bukhara Khiva and Khorezm all were part of this region. . In the 1st century BC, part of present-day Uzbekistan was included in the vast empire of the Kushānas, descendants of a tribe from western China, subsequently, the Famous Greek conqueror Alexander the Great annexed this region in 3rd century B.C. The nomadic tribes were converted to Islam during the 8th century by the Arabs who invaded the area during this period. Later in the 13th century Genghis khan invaded the region took over form the Seljuk Turk. (Infoplease.com-uzbekistan: history,geography....). In 16th century it was invaded by the Uzbeks and it later broke into three separate Uzbek principalities, the khanates namely *the khanates of Khiva, Bukhara, and Kokand.* In 1740 Nadir Shah invaded Bukhara and then Khiva, and conquered both the territories. However, Nadir Shah's control over this region ended with subsequent death of Nadir Shah. The Kokand

khanate was formed in the Fergana Valley in the early 1700s. In the early and mid-19th century, it expanded towards the Tien Shan Mountains in the east and the Syr Darya basin in the north. Meanwhile during this expansion the Russian forces conquered the Kazakh territory north of the Syr Darya. The Uzbek khanates waged an armed resistance against the Russian forces but were finally taken over in the latter half of the 19th century capturing Tashkent in 1865, Bukhara in 1866, Khiva in 1873 and Kokand in 1876. Khiva and Bukhara remained under their native rulers as vassal states of Russia. (Encyclopaedia-Uzbekistan)

If one look at the hindsight regarding nature of administrative structure that developed over the years one may find that a strong and authoritarian structure of administration was there in this part of Central Asia. The political authority during this period of time also co-opted some spiritual authorities in the administrative structure. For instance the *Shaikhulisom* used to be the highest spiritual authority of Bukhara. Though political power was highly centralised there were number of mechanisms through which the Amir used to devolve such power. Another important trend in the administrative structure was that administration was reflective of existing social structure. The local leaders were sensitive to local customs and traditions. For instance in the region of Hissar and Kuliab, the Central Administration always appointed local religious and political elite in the decision making process and the local elite should sensitive to needs and customs of the people. However occasional rifts also took place between the local authority and centralised administrative structure. (Geiss, 2003:130-31)

Like the Bukharan administration in Khiva also the political authority showed sensitivity to local culture and values. Like Bukhara, local authority used to be the centre of administration and the Khivan kings used to keep them in good humour. Another important feature of Khivan administrative structure was that due to importance given to local administrative structure, which was largely informal, authoritarian tendencies of the Khivan ruler was curbed to a great extent. (ibid, 140-41)

The annexation of this region by Tsarist political authority brought about a fundamental transformation in the nature of administration. Realising local sensitivity the Russian administration undertook a fundamental transformation in the

administrative structure administrative structure. To meet local needs some form of decentralised administrative system came up. Some form of local self government came up in which posts like Aksaqal, Mashrabs and Kaziis and biis were made powerful. (Abdurrakhimov, 2002:244)

The exploitative colonial system, rising class consciousness as well as ripping socio-economic environment provided an ideal atmosphere for growth of Jadidism, a socio-religious movement basically a product of intellectuals. Though it was originated as a socio-religious movement this movement played a prominent role in raising the awareness of masses. To ensure faster social modernisation both at socio-political and economic front number of socio-religious organisation came up in this region. They also established new theatre groups and educational system.(Adeeb Khalid: 1997,93-130) The above analysis reflects that though no such concept as civil society was existed during that period of time , communal −political organisations were played an important role in providing the necessary socio-political stability .

The formation of Soviet Union and subsequent creation of nation-states on the basis of ethnic identity completely changed the existing state system in this region. In 1918 the Bolsheviks formed the Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was formed within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). This included the present day Uzbekistan. Other areas of present-day Uzbekistan were still under the administration of Khiva and Bukhara, whose traditional leaders were overthrown in 1920. These latter territories became the Khorezmian People's Soviet Republic and the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic, which still maintained nominal independence. In 1924 the borders of political units in Central Asia were changed, and the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) was formed from territories of the Turkistan ASSR, the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic, and the Khorezmian People's Soviet Republic. The same year the Uzbek SSR became one of the republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), which had been created in 1922. (Uzbekistan Encyclopaedia)

Social Formation and Civil Society in Uzbekistan

The history of Central Asia shows a number of traditional associations which were based on common needs. The civilizations have flourished near the sources of water. The scholars attribute water as "allaying the thirst of fertile field, masters, slaves and livestock feeding from it", but at the same time threatening them with uncountable troubles and bloody civil discord. (Valentini K.L., Orolbaev E.E, Abylgazieva A.K.: 2004. in Water Problems of Central Asia). For Central Asia, where since time immemorial a significant share of the water withdrawn from nature has been sent to the fields, the history of water relations is mostly represented by irrigation. The improper distribution has led to many tensions among the settlers. (Valentini K.L., Orolbaev E.E, Abylgazieva A.K.: 2004. in Water Problems of Central Asia))

As mentioned above nomadic character of Uzbek society is one of the essential features of Uzbek society. The same has influenced the socio-political system also. Apart from nomadic character of Uzbek society, the presence of large part of arid regions in this part of the world had an impact on political structure. The political structure of Central Asia was organised efficiently in order to carry out the distribution of water resources. Intertribal disputes used to be a prominent feature of Uzbekistan. Most of the conflicts took place due to distribution of water resources. As a result of which a new administrator came up to resolve these disputes. He used to be known as Mirab or Water master. (Muller and Zavgodonyaya:2)

Apart from Mirab,the rulers used to govern with the help of some local officials who had good managerial quality. The community help in the form of hasher or ashar (mutual help) were well known which helped in solving common problems during hardships. Central Asia also being abundant in natural resources was vulnerable to external aggression. So the natural resources were owned by the society rather than by individual. Even during the 13th century, before the invasion of Chingis Khan the existence of mahalla has been noticed. The largest city of the period Samarkand had an elaborate system of irrigation. It had system of dual gates and gates around the city. (Sievers, (b)2002:104)

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An important feature of medieval Central Asia was the Hanafi School of Law. During the period it had an organized state structure which included courts. The transaction of land was done by a judge (qazi). There was a sense of neighbourhood property. Historians have described several such neighbouring communities which were called mahalla. In the 16th century, subsequent to driving the Timurids from power in Central Asia, the Uzbeks instituted a property audit over their new territories and faced the dilemma of how to assign property rights to abandoned lands so as to maximize their economic utilization. Besides the audit the Central Asia also devised a system of waqf which were Islamic equivalent of trust. The earliest waqf appeared in the seventh century, and waqf have historically provided for the operation of "innumerable schools, libraries, mosques, charitable institutions, hospitals, facilities for travellers, fountains, bridges, roads, and commercial buildings". Many of the important institutional buildings were under waqf management especially the service providing buildings.(Sievers b,2002:107)

Under the above- mentioned socio-economic conditions one has to examine how these informal organisations used to play an important role in guiding the administrative structure. From a theoretical perspective many scholars think that there are liberal and communitarian approaches to study civil society.

One has to examine whether there are any forms civil society organizations in order to assist the proper functioning of the government. The development of civil society in different countries has been under different circumstances. The liberal view posits civil society in the economy, in property rights and markets where such rights may be freely exchanged. The radical approach towards the concept of civil society looks for it in a society independent of the economic domain and the state, where ideas are publicly exchanged, associations freely formed, and interests discovered. Another view of the conservationist locates civil society "in a set of cultural acquisitions, in historically inherited manners of civility which moderate relations between groups and individuals." The Lockean concept of civil society described the minimal condition for civil society in the form of "a representative political order, a system of private property rights, and toleration of freedom." The commercial society theorists argue that "human association was actually enriched by the introduction of voluntariness and choice, which enable d persons to come together in an arena freed

from the grip of dependencies of need." According to Adam Smith, "in pre commercial societies all human social relations were pervaded by exchange relationships." (Kaviraj and Khilnani, 2001:20)

Going by the above theoretical posits one can say that the social and political organizations during the Soviet period were not given much freedom. Although number of civil society groups came up they used to function with the purview of Communist Party. Hence some form of closed society emerged. Despite the restrictions the communal form of civil society continued to flourish within the closed walls of a particular community. These organizations based on community values were quite active in various social activities and provided a space for debate and discussions. Such organizations were non-political in nature and had no role to play in the political structure or in the decision-making processes.(Scanlan: 1988:41-46)

After the formation of Soviet Union the socio-economic conditions of the people underwent a profound change. This resulted in radical change in political spheres also. Large-scale collectivaztion of agriculture and growing cotton mono-culture had a devastating impact on political system also. Not only collectivisation of agricultural took place but also some form of authoritarian administrative structure developed. For instance in November 1927 Joseph Stalin introduced his policy of collectivization of farmland under his first five year plan. By the end of 1932, 77.5 per cent of all rural households had been incorporated into 9,734 kolkhozy (collective farms) and 94 sovkhozy (state farms). Collectivization of agriculture has also has also encouraged communitarian social structure. Based on the interest of occupational groups the workers were organized into trade unions. These unions looked after the needs of its members. They played a major role in meeting the basic needs of the population. (Kandiyoti, 2004:4; Scanlan: 1988:41-46)

Apart from the collective farms and the trade unions there existed some social organizations in Uzbekistan. One type of social organisation that was distinctive of Soviet Uzbekistan was the *mahalla* committee because the *mahalla* in itself was an indigenous, neo-traditional type of community, and participation through it was inclusive. The mahalla traces its root from the medieval period that is even before the invasion of Genghis khan. The term mahalla has been used to refer to the residential

quarters. In recent years these mahalla communities played a major role in meeting the needs and aspirations of the population. Mahalla is the place where socio-religious life of the population revolves. This is a place where ideas and values within a community are exchanged. (Sievers, 2002b:104).

Mahalla is generally headed by an aqsakal. The aqsakal performs most of the functions of with the help of his coterie. He along with his coterie organise various communal activities such as circumcision, wedding, funerals, national holiday celebration. They were also responsible for looking after the orphans and the widows. An aqsakal was the representative of the community who defended the interests of mahalla residents by forestalling state interference. The mahallas has certain degree of autonomy. They solved the internal disputes among themselves with the mediation of the aqsakal. It can also act as a connecting point for entire community. It performs diverse roles. Some of these instances are where a stream or canal did not run through a neighbourhood; many mahalla contained a *khauz*, an open pool of water, the operation of which was usually effectuated by a waqf endowment. Mahallla also provides security to ones own community. . They also perform their role in trade and business. (Kandiyoti, 2004:5).

One important ingredient of mahalla community is that it performs the role of trust regenerating. The mahalla in some cases organized a regular army and had their own administrative techniques which in turn limited the control of state. The mahalla life generated associational life thus leading to the formation of social capital. (Kandiyoti, 2004:5)

Mahalla got the official status in July 1922, a circular ordering the establishment of *mahalla* commissions (to enhance tax collection) was issued by the People's Commissariat of the Interior of the Autonomous Republic of Turkestan. Similar commissions were organised elsewhere. In May 1926, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan recognised the importance of *mahalla* committees in attracting the residents of the old cities to the activities of Party and Soviet organs, while pointing out that instruction, supervision and records of activity were utterly lacking. In 1932 mahallas were given a formal-official status and were defined as 'supplementary social organizations under the district or city soviets'. The Chairman,Vice-chairman, and Secretary (3–5 persons) of the *mahalla* committee were

to be elected from a general assembly of citizens under the guidance of the local Soviet. Now the functions of the mahalla were enhanced. They were made responsible for various political and social activities. Mahallas were established in cities as well as the rural areas too. (Masaru, 2006:349)

It may be noted that even during the Soviet period many mahalla communes were came up in this region. For instance 1941 a regulation came forward which established mahalla committees in the cities of Tashkent, Andijan, Namagaman, Ferghana, Margilan, Kokand, Samarkand and Khiva. These city mahallas were to be under the soviet executive committees. Their main responsibilities were to prepare the lists for conscription, provide labour force to the factories and the kolkhozes, allocate dwellings to the evacuees and make solicitations to the Fund for the Homeland in the Great Patriotic war. Subsequently the Uzbek republican head through a order in 1961 regulation declared the establishment of the mahalla committees in the rthe hinterland also. 1 The number of members to the committees was increased. Earlier it consisted of 3-5 members which were now made to 9-21. (Masaru, 2006:349)

Suda Masaru calls mahalla as a perfect and sufficient instrumental body in the formation of the modern citizen-subject in Uzbekistan. The mahalla can be considered as an effective instrument for a community organization which have often been regarded as an important entity of effective and sustainable local governance for it ensures public participation. In order to achieve sustainable social and economic development the establishment of local self governing institutions at the grassroots level is essential in order to harness the potential of the state and its citizens. And the self governing grassroots institutions are possible only if rural people are organized into self-governing, community based organizations that enhance the role of the community in taking initiatives that concern their livelihoods (Pandey and Miniskov, 2001:226; Masaru, 2006:349).

Realising the importance of mahalla commune for sustaining civil society network and facilitating democratisation process Uzbek President Islam Karimov stated:

"Our society to be developed and to be raised to a higher stage,the state's varieties of duties, particularly its role and importance in the control duty, shall be reduced, and social and non-governmental organisations, citizens' groups and offices should take

its place.... We have such a rare, inimitable social office of administration that we can never compare it with anything else. It is the mahalla system, developed over hundreds of years' time and made wholly anew in the period of independence, perfected for present requirements" (Masaru, 2006:344).

The Uzbek state which is in incipient form is making efforts to gradually improve their health and well being of common people. Since democracy is not merely institutional structure only, it also implies a way of governance and improving quality of the people as well as act as a forum to evolve local-self government.

Civil Society and Socio-Political System in post-Soviet Uzbekistan

As discussed in the previous chapters, if, civil society provides the bedrock for democratic stability, than, one has to think in terms of how Uzbekistan, due to transitional character of its economy, society and polity will adapt itself to the new circumstances and a vibrant civil society can emerge in this part of the world. It is also necessary that a mature social capital is one of the essential ingredients of a vibrant democratic society. Like other post-Communist society Uzbekistan is also treading the same path.

Civil society is not born overnight. It is a gradual process and it takes time. NGOs play an important role in promoting the civil society in Central Asia. NGOs help to build participation and give the voice to people in how resources are to be managed and allocated. They also help in building transparency and public accountability of governments for decisions. It gives masses an instrument to put their grievances before the government and also national and international matters affecting their livelihood. . Sometime these Civil Society groups can provide policy inputs to the government that can really beneficial also. (Blua, 2004).

Civil society and democracy can be said complimentary to each other in the sense that civil society fosters the growth of democracy and civil society develops efficiently only in a democracy with political pluralism, guarantee of basic human rights, equality before law. For that purpose special resources and efforts of the government, business structures, sector of social services and like minded people are required. As Larry Diamond thinks it is wrong to think that Civil Society only restrict the power of the state but sometime it also give legitimacy to the power of state. Here in this chapter we analyse the path of growth of civil society in Uzbekistan. For this purpose first we need to examine the conditions favourable and unfavourable in the evolution of a successful democracy. (Diamond, 1994:4-5) TH-15775

Civil Society: The Soviet Experience

The nature of economic structure also plays an equal important role in shaping civil society. For instance in the Soviet period Tashkent used to be the hub of cotton production and distribution. Due to monoculture nature of cotton, this sector provided employment to large sections of the society. Though Uzbekistan used to produce a significant amount of Soviet cotton, these raw materials were used to process other parts of the Soviet Union. As a result of which many considered Uzbekistan as supplier of raw materials. This tendency has had a strong impact on structural character of post-Soviet economy. As a result of which this country faced severe economic crisis in the post-Soviet phase. The cotton monoculture provided strong impetus to the growth of civil society groups in Soviet Uzbekistan. The policy of Glasnost and Perestroika provided an opportunity to express the resentment of the masses against the Soviet government. It is in this context one civil society group came up known as Birlik. This movement originated as an informal organisation aimed at protecting and promoting rich historical, cultural, spiritual and ecological heritage of Uzbekistan. It came up in November 1988. The aims and objectives of this organisation gradually attracted masses. The Draft charter of the programme called to end cotton monoculture in Soviet Uzbekistan and to establish industries to process raw materials. (Fierman, 1991: 58).

The cotton monoculture as well as growth of civil society in Uzbekistan thus facilitated the articulation of grievances of the local population towards the Soviet authority. The impact of Soviet monoculture is still there and Tashkent is still importing vast amount of food resources. Realising the gravity of the situation the present regime of Uzbekistan is undertaking number of reform measures. These are aiming at faster socio-economic change. This they think will facilitate faster democratisation programme. (Kulebi, 2007)

According to W. W. Rostow advanced countries have all passed through a series of stages. He designated the stages as follows: (1) the traditional society, (2) societies at the very beginning of take-off phase, (3) societies at the take-off phase, (4) societies with the drive to maturity, and (5) societies at the age of high mass-consumption.

Following the Rostow's model many scholars of the view that Uzbekistan has reached the take-off stage. This they think due to development of social, economic and political institutes which can sustain the democratisation process. Development of NGOS can be considered as another instrument through which one can consider democracy is taking-off in this region. (Kulebi, 2007)

Traditional Societal Framework and Civil Society

Despite some positive developments in the institutional spheres of the polity some of the stated objectives have not been translated into reality. Some of the major socio-political hindrances are corruption, Islamic fundamentalism, ethnic identity, authoritarianism etc. Informal networks and patron-client relationship are also posing a strong obstacles for the growth of sustainable democracy in this part of the world. Abuse of power is quite rampant in Uzbekistan. (Alimov: 23)

Another important aspect that needs to be highlighted is to what extent Islam can be compatible with larger socio-political identity of Uzbekistan. Many Central Asian scholars think that Islam is totally ingrained in Central Asian socio-political system. Acknowledging the importance of Islam Tsarist political authority adopted a pacifist policy towards Central Asia. However, one important thing that needs to be mentioned here that they opposed a progressive jadidist movement partly under the influence of moderate Islam. (Roy Oliver, New Central Asia)

During the soviet era efforts were made to control the rise of Islam. However Islam survived in the region often forming secretive observance, including underground circles, illegal religious literature, and in the form of family discussions. Mikhail Gorbachev however used Islam as a positive mechanism for ensuring stability in Central Asia. (Broxup, 1987)

In the post-Independence phase, the president of Uzbekistan too made attempts for the revival of Islam to boost his legitimacy, however, the relation between the state and the Islamic groups are not very cordial. The opposition Islamists consider the act of Karimov as highly oppressive. 'Every wave of repression has further radicalized the Islamic movements and creates a more receptive atmosphere for radical ideas, but so far there has been no sign that the government will relent' (Hunter, 2001). Many

analysts think President Karimov responsible for this tension as he is believed to make Uzbekistan a regional power. The Uzbek government accuses the Islamic Renaissance Party of helping the IMU even though the latter is closely linked with the Taliban, whom the Tajik opposition bitterly oppose. Not only in the inter state relation anti Tajik feeling has affected the tensions in the other neighbouring countries Uzbekistan backed the ethnic Uzbek Afghan general, Abdul Rashid Dostum, in his fight against the Tajik Masoud (Hunter, 2001).

Besides Islamic extremism the country faces the problem of ethnic divisions which too poses a great challenge to the internal security. Ethnic division in Central Asia is proving to be a very grave situation. People are divided along their ethnic group and clashes among various groups are common. There are cases that point to strong internal divisions within the titular nationality that threaten to destroy national solidarity The discord within the society has been further accentuated due to presence of large number of ethnic minorities like Uzbek, Kazakh, Tajiks as well as Turkmens and Russians. Ethnic separatism in combination with religious extremism impinging the growth of sustainable civil society in this region. (Patnaik, 2003).

Post-Soviet Uzbekistan Context

In the post-Soviet space attempts are going on to create neo-liberal model of civil society. However, in the Uzbek context, one has to look at civil society from clan and mahalla connection keeping the traditional culture and need of the society. Olivier Roy thinks that the Soviet project of destroying traditional society via social engineering translated into composition of solidarity groups within the framework imposed by this system".. He is of the belief that Central Asian society restructured itself around the very elements that had been conceived to destroy it, namely the kolkhozian, or communitarian, system. Thus, paradoxically, it is within these very structures that the elements of a local civil society may be found. (Kandiyoti, 2004:2)

Similarly there are other Central Asian scholars, such as Koroteyeva and Makarova who put forward the theory of "domestication of the state by local communities during the Soviet period. Soviet institutions allowed for forms of participation that

actually gave these same institutions everyday forms of utility." The collective farming community was responsible for many activities. It was mainly involved in the production, distribution, vocational training. It also provided housing, a household plot, pensions, maternity benefits, disability benefits and free access to kindergartens. (Kandiyoti, 2004:3)

The communitarian form of civil society is gaining wider acceptance in recent years. Islam Karimov government realising the importance of mahalla community giving strong impetus to revitalise traditional institutions. The mahalla constitutes the basic ingredient of local self government. The main functions with which the mahalls are entrusted are the promotion of a community life. The Law on Citizen's Self Management passed in April 1999 vests mahallas with the task of promoting citizen's right to manage state and public affairs, involving citizens in finding a solution to local social and economic problems, holding public events and assisting authorities in law enforcement and promoting ethnic cohesion in a multiethnic society (Kandiyoti, 2004:16).

In 1994 mahalla committees were entrusted with the distribution of welfare. In 1995 article 105 of the Constitution recognized them as governing bodies with an elected committee chair chosen from a slate of candidates approved by the hokimiyat. The chair and secretary fill paid positions, the rest being men of good reputation in the community with one seat as vice-chair reserved for a women's representative. (Kandiyoti, 2004:16)

This informal structure plays an important role in solving the problems about region's development and assistance to the people. The Mahalla represents the idea, "A district is a family". This system has been built on the culture and the traditions after 1990. It should also be followed by Westerners concerning participatory democracy and the operation of NGOs in the country (Kulebi, 2007).

Apart from capacity building this informal structure play an important role in imparting education to the masses. Since Tashkent is striving to establish a civilised civil society the local NGOS can act as incubator to these efforts. The external civil society groups are also striving to use these indigenous institutions for development of

civil societ networks in Uzbekistan\. The Islamic world on the othe other hand see mahalla as an instrument for building the Islamic ethos. The U.N Commission on Human rights on the other hand in recent years are planning to establish number of such mahalla organisations across the country. In recent years four basic types of mahalla exist in post soviet Uzbekistan. In rural areas, former state and collective farms constitute mahalla (rural mahalla). In the cities mahalla encompasses the modern apartment complexes (apartment mahalla), blocks of relatively spread out single-family dwellings (new mahalla), and blocks of densely organised pre-Soviet single-family dwellings (traditional mahalla). (Sievers , 2003:110)

These mahallas being based on the community feeling foster the building of social capital. The fundamental mahalla divisions include family, sex and status. While each of these divisions holds significance, family possesses te most significance for the organization of space in a mahalla. In new and old mahalla, teahouses, markets, mosques, and stores are public and quasi-public places this institution serves as a primary source of social services for residents in the form of good neighbourliness activities. They also have a well developed practice of mutual assistance called hashsar that transcends bilateral relations. (Sievers, 2002:103)

The new Uzbek Constitution which was adopted in December 1992 made certain provisions for Mohalla. This was aimed at promoting local-self government in Uzbekistan. Under Article 103 of the Constitution "The khokims of regions, districts, cities and towns shall exercise their powers in accordance with the principle of one-man management, and shall bear personal responsibility for the decisions and the work of the bodies they lead;

"Organization of the work and the powers of khokims and local Soviets of People's Deputies, as well as the procedure for elections to the local Soviets of People's Deputies shall be specified by law"

Similarly the local Hokim will also have number of powers. They "shall make decisions within his vested powers which are binding on all enterprises, institutions, organizations, associations, officials, and citizens on the relevant territory."

Similarly under article 105 of the Uzbek constitution, "Residents of settlements, kishlaks and auls (villages), as well as of residential neighborhoods (mahallas) in cities, towns, settlements and villages shall decide all local matters at general meetings. These local self-governing bodies shall elect Chairman (aksakal) and his advisers for a term of 2.5 years."(Constitution of Uzbekistan, www.umid.uz/Main/Uzbekistan/Constitution/constitution.html - 74k)

Realising the importance of Mahalla and local self government in ensuring genuine democratisation of the country, President Karimov in his book *Uzbekistan: National Independence, Economy, Politics, and Ideology*", stated that :

"An important feature of our society is that it is based on the idea of collectivism, the unity of communal interests and the priority of public opinion. Therefore, mahallas play a major part in democratizing society and realizing its main principles, foremost that of social justice. Today, there is no other entity more knowledgeable about the real financial situation of local families and their spiritual and cultural interests. Mahallas are the fairest and most credible mechanisms for social support of the population and should become a reliable support and an effective instrument of reform in our society." (Bektemorov and Rahimov, 2001)

Apart from these indigenous communities which got some sort of legal sanctions, in recent years, Western types of NGOS are playing a crucial role in shaping the socio-cultural aspects of the society and building a cohesive community identity. Though the western NGOS have significant presence in Uzbekistan in recent years they have made limited inroads in the domain of public affairs. The government has also brought out number of rules and regulations concerning the NGOS and civil society groups. The provision of the formation of civic organisation can be found in the 1991 Law on Public Associations and the 1999 Law on NGOs which also protects the rights of citizens to organize freely. At the same time this law protects the state from irresponsible use of public resources for private gain. However these laws have not been implemented fully. (Freedom House report 2003)

There are certain drawbacks concerning NGOS both in terms of their operation as well as their functions, for instance NGOs operating at the local, regional and

international levels. Most of the NGOs are dependent on the international donor. Due to transitional character of the society and polity, Central Asian citizens are requesting Donor agencies, government bodies, GNGOs and independent NGOs for collaboration. . After the September 11 incident the US found an ally in Uzbekistan for her military operations in Afghanistan. This paved the way for many US sponsored NGOs. The foreign development organizations provided for the assistance in the reformation of the indigenous and the local grassroots NGOs. (Masaru, 2006:353).

Today, according to a sub-director of the Uzbekistani Institute for the Studies of Civil Society (a GONGO with its headquarters in the same building as the Strategic Institute under the President of Uzbekistan), around 2,500–4,000 NGOs exist in the country. But only few are active. There are many reasons for the underdevelopment of the NGOs according to Suda Masaru the first reason being the lack of accountability and they never disclose this to any authority. Second, they lack representation of the population that they are engaged with through their activity. The local people seem to assume that NGO workers are well-paid white collar employees who work in well-equipped offices, take business trips to foreign countries, and help family members and friends in finding work. Third, much dependence on international and foreign organisations exists because most national NGOs have no independent operational budget or stable funding. (Masaru, 2006:355)

The Oliy Majlis (Parliament) of Uzbekistan on 3 July 2008 passed a resolution for enhancing the effectiveness of the local level NGOs. It decided to set-up a special fund to finance the activities of NGOs. This body will act as a nodal agency to finance and monitor the activities of NGOS. A specially created public commission consisting of members of Oliy Majlis will jointly evaluate and monitor the activities of NGOS. (Press Service of the President of Uzbekistan, www.press-service.uz/en/)

Print and Electronic Media and its Role in Growth of Civil Society
Authoritarian character of the state is also preventing many to operate NGOs and civil society organisations. Karimov government thinks that 'they may later turn up

against the government itself. In fact the Human Rights Organisation and some other NGOs were denied registration in the past (Gleason, 2003:638).

Another trend that is gaining wider support in International NGO sphere is that the Karimov government is also supporting creation of many NGOs to mollify international public opinion. These include Mahalla Foundation, the Association of the Disabled, and the Veteran's Fund "Nuroniy". The international donors provide financial and technical support to indigenous citizen initiative. The existing NGOs in recent years performing diverse functions ranging from child assistance organizations, women's rights groups, advocacy groups for the rights of under-represented portions of the population, and environmental activists. (Karanycky, Motyl and Schnetzer, 2001:410)

Media generally considered as fourth estate of democracy can play a major role in shaping and sustaining civil society as well as giving impetus to social capital. In Uzbekistan independent media had not developed. . There are number of strict state control rules and regulation which hinders the growth of operation free media. Many radio and T.V channels are facing the burnt. The Government controls all of their activities. (Gleason, 2003:642)

The print media is also facing a lot of hardship. Government is allowing only pro-government media leaving large privately media at lurch. Government has also banned many newspapers published by known Uzbek dissident. (Gleason, 2003:642)

As per the report of New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists "local journalists rarely cover official corruption, human rights abuses, or the activities of opposition political parties and Islamic organizations" (Gleason, 2003:643).

Apart from monitoring print and T.V., the government is also monitoring internet also. A government rule came out in 1999, under which a decree was issued which required all Internet service providers to route connections through a government However the state monopoly was abolished in 2002 and the private Internet providers increased in number and have taken advantage of the technological lease with which

they can circumvent the law. The new law no longer requires users to access the Internet through the centralized state provider. (Country report on Human Rights Practices, 2001)

After the Andijan incident of 2005 the Karimov government is using forced method to curb and censor proliferation of internet. Prior to this incident he thought that these communication networks will give advantage position to Uzbekistan. However after the incident his perception has changed quite drastically. Now government is putting too much pressure on free flow of information. Government is spending too much of energy in suppressing free flow of information and targeting websites like Ferghana.Ru And Websites Of Open Society. According to Galima Bukharbaeva, the editor of UZnews and currently residing in Germany stated, " In Uzbekistan it's all about fighting against interior or domestic threats – journalists, human rights activists, anyone who can expose the government is a target." (Tynan,www.eurasianet.org)

After the Andijan incident NGOs are also dwindling to a great extent. The Civil Society of Uzbekistan in its new bulletin in the Month of June 2008 stated that organisations such as Association of Psychiatrists and Narcologists, the Fencing Federation, the Semurg International Charitable Foundation, the Aikibudo Federation, the Child Vision centre for vulnerable children, the International Creative Organisation are some of the NGOs closed down in recent years. Government is closing down arbitrarily NGOs invoking the law which states that they are danger to public safety and moral of the country. ("NGO Numbers Wane in Uzbekistan", www.iwpr.net)

In April 1999 the Uzbek government brought out a new law to regulate the affairs of the civil society organizations. It was named as "Law on Non-Governmental, Non-Commercial Organisation". In August 2003 the "Law on Public Funds" was adopted to regulate and monitor financial activities of NGOs. Similarly, after 1999, there was a marked increase in the proliferation of NGO activities. Many scholars attribute this to the growing partnership of Tashkent with Washington. The signing of strategic partnership agreement with USA has also propelled many NGOS to operate in Uzbekistan in different spheres. As per the data of Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the

end of 2003 around 90 international NGOs got registration in Uzbekistan. They also got number of number of immunities from the government. (Ilkhamov, 2005:297-298)

It may be mentioned that government took stern measures against the NGOS not after the Andijan it can be traced back to 2004. For instance on 11 June 2004, the Karimov government through a decree regulated the publication of various journals. To regulate publication industry a new commission was created whose power extended to monitor all publications. And to withhold them if it affects the moral and spiritual values of the country. (ibid.301)

A study was conducted by Social Research Agency (ITA FACT) on the topic of "Prospects of Developing Civil Society in Central Asia". The study found that more than 50 per cent of respondents maintained that civil society exist in a rudimentary form in the country. 8.6 per cent admitted that in the country there existed a "matured civil society" and 28.6 pr cent gave a negative reply to the question whether or not civil society exist or not in Uzbekistan. (Atadjanov, 2003)

Based on the above conditions the scholars are divided in their opinion over civil society in Uzbekistan. Few understand that Uzbekistan has not yet developed the basic conditions required for the formation of civil society. One such scholar is an Uzbek dissident Abdumannob Polat who has written that "the basis for creating civil society does not yet exist in Uzbekistan" (Polat, 1999). Yet another scholar Roger Kangas is of the view that "a framework conducive to establishing a civil society remains largely nonexistent" (Roger D. Kangas, 1995). Marianne Kamp, is of the opinion that "rather than adopting the model used by much of the developed world for the implementation of welfare through professional social workers, Uzbekistan has chosen a community-based system that depends on character, knowledge and inherent fairness of elders in the community" (Sieple, 2005:256).

Gregory Gleason is of the view that civil society in Uzbekistan lags far behind the standards for countries in similar stages of economic development. He further says, "a "citizen-subject" orientation rather than a citizen-participant" orientation combines with Soviet-era traditions of a single hierarchical social structure to produce effects that stifle independent citizen initiative' (Gleason, 2003:638).

From the above discussion it can be noted that civil society plays a vital role in capacity building and also give impetus to formation of social capital. Given the present socio-economic conditions it is too early to predict the development of a mature civil society in Uzbekistan. However, slowly and steadily this notion is gaining wider currency in this part of the world.

Social Capital, Kinship Networks and Role of Gender in Uzbek Society

Uzbekistan, after attaining independence, tried to, harness its traditional norms and values and reviving its informal social organisations and institutions to strengthen social stability and giving impetus to democratic culture. These institutions have to a certain extent helped in building social capital. While talking about the development strategy one cannot deny the role of women in the society. It is well said that if the women of the country is developed and has the rights she is entitled to, that country is developed. For this purpose education plays an important role.

The sociologists argue that social capital is a legacy of long periods of historical development. Societies are condemned to live with the fruits of inheritance (Dasgupta and Serageldin, 2000:72). A society with a rich social capital tends to develop faster than the one with a depleted stock. "Through seeking to understand the values, culture, history, and informal rules of the poor, social development acknowledge the need to build on this local context, and on the role that local capacity plays in facilitating relationships of accountability". (McNeil and Woolcock, 2004:6)

A major research study in the USA showed that quality of life and happiness was highest in socially connected communities. Studies show that level of civic engagement will ensure societal stability. Trust can play an important role in giving leverage to the existing values of the society (Colin Wiles).

Social capital requires a dense network of social interaction and these social networks should "reduce information transaction costs and provide signals about propensities to cooperate or defect where market failures preclude inclusion of such information in implicit pricing system." Social capital of an individual is "the sum of his involvement in the iterated games that we alternately call social networks." (Eric W. Sievers, 2003:91-92). Robert Putnam argues that " 'civic republicanism' arising from a 'dense network of secondary associations' generates social capital in the form of

trust, norms and networks...that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinated actions." (Bhattacharya et al, 2004:232)

Kinship Network and Social Process

The networking and norms are necessary for evolving certain social norms necessary to put social capital at a higher level. In Uzbekistan's connection one may underline the fact that there are many forms of informal actors like mahalla and clan networks. The same can be applicable to other Central Asian states also. In Turkmenistan the clan and tribal networks are influential; in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan they are based on regional solidarity. Uzbekistan too has regional solidarity group however this solidarity based on close friendship and marriage alliances (The major determinants of Uzbek identity are ethnic, religious, clan and tribal, regional and kinship. Other ties that are quite influential in Uzbekistan are the mahallas and the extended families (Vitaly Naumkin, Washington Quarterly, 2006).

Apart from these two above mentioned sub-regional identities one has to mention the fact that the sub-regional identities within the state system also to a great extent are shaping the identity of Uzbekistan. The dominant ethnic group, within a region, also influences the formation of value system. These sub-regional ethnic identities coalesce with each other and producing a new type of values in the Uzbek society. Apart from ethnic identities like Russian, Kazakh as well as Uzbeks, in more recent years, clannish character of Uzbek society is also acting as a form of sub-ethnic identity.

In the former Soviet region ethnicity and nations were created and defined by the state. Hence, clans are socially generated groups, whereas ethnicity and nationality are usually constructed by the state. Kathleen Collins argues that ethnic groups often become politicised and they demand an independent nation-state on the basis of their imagined nation. She further differentiates a clan form ethnic group on the basis of particularistic ties and relationship which is absent in ethnic group and forms the basis for organization of a clan. Clans are sub-ethnic groups. Some scholars view clan and tribe closely related. Tribes are conglomeration of interrelated clans claiming to be of same patrilineal descent.

This belief in common descent, mythical or actual, was the source of norms, values, and symbols of kinship and tribal loyalty. Conglomerations of clans compose a tribe. Tribal groupings form confederations and in some cases ethnic groups. (Collins, 2004:234)

Clan as a sub-ethnic identity play an important role in defining the nature of political identity in all the Central Asian states. . The size, importance and the origin of these groups vary from state to state.. Sometime it may be defined in terms of ethnic lineage and in some other cases they may be categorised in terms of geographic location. (Matveeva, 1994;32)

During the Soviet period family and clan networks acted as a buffer between the individual and the state, and also served as 'social support system'. Anna Matveeva is of the view that in the post soviet days these internal fragmentations can present a genuine threat to the viability of the community as a whole and reinforce barriers between people. However Olivier Roy is of the view that traditional society based on kinship and patronage allow the population to resist encroachments from a strong authoritarian state. He further says that such society does not necessarily predate the state: in fact there has been dialectical relationship between states and tribes. (Roy,2005:1006)

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and subsequent emergence of independent states provided fertile soil to the emergence of clan as a factor in national politics of respective states. The nomadic character of Central Asian society has also largely responsible for the growth of clannish factor. However there are scholars who have considered the clan networks as key political and economic variables. (Douglas North,1998). According to Douglas North these informal institutions and organizations play central roles in both the economic and the political spheres. Yet another scholar Guillermo O'Donell argues that scholars of transition and democratization neglect the informal realm, where the most interesting and critical elements of politics in the developing world take place (Collins, 2004:226)

Kathleen Collins defines clan as 'an informal organization comprising a network of individuals linked by kin-based bonds. Affective ties of kinship are its essence, constituting the identity and bonds of its organization". She further says that the bonds reflect both actual blood ties and fictive kinship, that is, constructed or

metaphorical kinship based on close friendships or marriage bonds that redefine the boundaries of the genealogical unit. According to her the most important element that constitutes clan identity is kinship. The kinship bond differs from any formal organization as kin bond forms strong ties based on tight, largely ascriptive relationships and norms. And moreover entry or exit to a clan is not easy as it is in a voluntary association or interest groups. (Collins, 2004:232)

The existing clan/regional identity in the domain of politics becomes the basis for elite for inter and intra elite bargaining. The bargaining within and among different groups culminated in the emergence of new value system in a system framework. To achieve preponderance over other group sometime elite within a group get the assistance from other groups or else some form of inter-group bargaining took place (Collins, 2004:231).

Regionalism also plays an important role in the formation of clan identity as it is common in Uzbekistan. Pauline Jones Luong pointed out that the integration of traditional networks with the soviet apparatus functioned in a manner that it benefited both the federal and republican leadership. The author advocates regionalism in the Central Asian countries on the pretext of inheritance of a system of administration and governance in which regional administrative heads, 'in exchange for privileged access to political and economic resources, for most part accepted and implemented central directives as their own.' She further argues that regional loyalties have helped in maintaining a patronage network and further leads to favouritism. The most influential regions in Uzbekistan are Ferghana, Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara. The prominent clans of Rashidov, Komilov and Jurabekov came from the Samarkad region. In this regard she mentions the example of President Islam Karimov who in 1992 appointed his most trusted allies in the Ferghana districts and in Bukhara and Samarkand. Thus the clan relation and personal connections has been used by the president to forge and maintain his power. (Patnaik, 2003:73-75).

Martha Brill Olcott also argues that regionalism is a key factor in bridging solidarity. According to her the regional division of Uzbekistan is based primarily on the kinship bonding. The soviet system also provided for the basis of the regional politics. The administrative division and the cadre recruitment institutionalized and politicized the

regional cleavages by fostering political and economic competition between the oblasts. (Olcott, 1993).

Clan politics can be traced back to Soviet era. The CPSU power elite to strengthen their influence in the region tried to put their favourite man . For instance they supported Rashidov in Uzbekistan, Usubbaliev in Kyrgyzstan, Kuanev in Kazakhstan, alive in Azerbaijan, Gapurov in Turkmenistan, and Rasulov in Tajikistan. The local clan and regional networks also supported them. The existing republican elite also followed the same practise of appointing their kith and kin groups in body politics (Patnaik, 1993:72).

The above-mentioned practise was more entrenched in Soviet Uzbekistan's politics. For instance, Saraf Rashidov, the party boss in Uzbekistan, used marriage alliance with various clan regional networks in order to strengthen his power. He married his son to the daughter of an influential member of Karakalpakstan, Kalibek Kamalov who was the First Secretary of Karakalpak oblast. In order to gain power in Bukhara one of Rashidov's daughters was married to the son of Ibrahim Muminov who belonged to Bukhara and another daughter was married to Muminov's nephew. Muminov was a senior member of the central committee as well as deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet. He helped Rashidov in warding off the challenges from the Bukharan clan. Rashidov put his close relatives in some of the prestigious position of the Uzbek power status. During Rashidov's time officials were allowed to continue for a longer time. Under such circumstances there was an increase in corruption and favouritism. (Carlisle, 1986:93-94)

The present regime of President Karimov is also following the same policy and using clan and regional identity as a mechanism for strengthening his own regime in Uzbekistan. It may be noted that community oriented value system is increasingly used as stepping stone for ensuring social stability. (Collins, 2003)

Though the Uzbek government is supporting all forms of clannism and regionalism in Uzbekistan at the official level he gave a different version. For instance in his book *Uzbekistan: on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century,* he writes:

"When groups based on regional and clan relations (mostly informal) in government and other structures, promoted by their narrower self interests over the other interests of state to the determinant of the common cause and nation wide interests [and] to achieve their goals such groups intend to move up their members into the existing state power or other sort of hierarchy, than it becomes dangerous. In this case we have to speak against regionalism and clan that cause a threat to the stability and security of the society". (Karimov, 1997:84)*

The communitarian character of Uzbek society can be evident from the fact that most of them still receive political satisfaction through their association with family and their kith and kin relations. People generally receive "economic and psychological security through closer family and relative ties and neighbourhood relation". For instance the Asian Barometer Survey conducted in Uzbekistan found that marriage is highest form of satisfaction with 44 per cent of the respondents agreed while, followed by friendship 34 per cent and neighbourhood community. The study found that masses are generally highly dissatisfied with the material side of their life. (Dadabaev, 2006:23)

Giving a communitarian character of Uzbek society, Uzbek scholar, Timur Dadabaev writes,

"While the perception that the government is the institution which is to provide for the well-being of the population has not conceptually changed, public confidence with various public institutions is weak and decreasing in light of increasing socio-economic pressure. This makes people reconsider ways to safeguard their well-being by turning to traditional institutions, social circles and methods exemplified by local communities, social circles and neighbourhood communities, immediate families and wider kinship ties." (ibid. 33)

Table: 1
How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following aspects of your life?

Satisfaction about. ..	Very Satisfied		Somewhat Satisfied		Very Dissatisfied		Somewhat Dissatisfie.	
	2003	2005	2003	2005	2003	2005	2003	2005
Marriage	51.7	44.8	34.9	38.7	3.1	3.2	3.1	3
Friendship	32.4	34	46.1	46	2.9	12.6	6.9	5.5
Family life	34	28.9	44.7	46.1	4.1	6.3	7.9	3.3
Neighbors	25.4	19.8	47	46.8	4.6	7.8	5.8	4.6
Health	17.4	14.8	41.4	43.1	6.5	18.1	19.7	6.3
Education	18.8	16.4 ....•	40.2	43.9	7.3	14.9	14.6	4.3
Job	17.7	16.8	34.5	37.3	14.7	11.3	15.4	5.9
Public safety	11	6.1	31.3	32.1	13.1	20.6	22	8
Standard off living	9.8	8.4	29.7	39.4	15.2	17.3	23.1	7.3

Household income	7	6.4	26.5	32.3	19	25.3	28.2	11.9
Democratic system	4.5	2.4	16.6	14.8	32	22.4	25.5	19.8
Social welfare	3.1	4.5	13.5	13.4	32.8	30.6	34.1	23
Condition of environment	4.8	2.1	20	17.3	19.6	34.9	32	17.4
Leisure	16.5	11.9	32.9	40	16.5	17.1	18.6	10.5

Source: Timur Daabaev, "Political Participation and Public Choices in Uzbekistan", *Contemporary Central Asia*, Vol.X, NO.11, 2006, p.24.

Here lies the importance of Social capital. Politics has to pass through social relations to maintain social stability and ensuring coherence in decision making process.

Gender and Re-Orienting Social Capital in Uzbekistan

Apart from community based organisations like clan and regional grouping one has to mention here the fact that nature of gender relations within a society has also influence the formation of value system in a society. This is more so in a traditional society where gender used to be primary means of discrimination. The essence of democratic polity is that it should provide equal opportunity to each sections of the society. However no body is giving priority to this part of the society. In this regard scholars are of the opinion that providing equal opportunity women should participate actively in the democratic consolidation. (Jaquette, 2000)

Uzbekistan is not an exception in this regard. Their plight is no different from others. Both traditional structures of society, as well as the transitional character are some of the factors having an impact on social structure of the society. Though Soviet pursued the policy of modernisation, they achieved very little. Large sections of the rural population are still following the traditional way of lifestyle. (Tokhtakhodjaeva, 1999:34)

Women constitute a significant proportion of Uzbek population. Their role in the economic and social life of society is directly influenced by the demands of family and community and their heavy domestic responsibilities are the main causes behind their low economic and political status. Most of the women are facing the problem of double burden. Traditional society as well as perception of community towards further worsening their image (Tokhtakhodajaeva, 1999:34-35).

Patriarchical character of society is the dominant feature of Uzbek society. Girls are required to obey elders and males, and to submit to the authority of older family members. In strongly conservative families, young women are expected to live within the confines of the household or *ichkari* when not at school or in some activity that legitimately takes them outside the household (Mee, 2001:21).

Just after independence many non-governmental organisation came up focussing on improving the working and living conditions of the women. In a communitarian framework it is well-known that *Mahalla* residents, particularly the elders, monitor the behaviour of younger people. These elders also formulate opinion on the honour of families and thus make rule for the residents of the mahalla particularly women. The women in the mahalla provide helping hand to other families during the marriages or the child birth. The growing Islamic revivalism is also impeding the larger participation of women in socio-political life. (Mee, 2001:21-22)

Empowerment of women is closely associated with education. . The educational system is in a completely disarray. As a result of which women are not getting adequate opportunity for education. They also cannot afford higher education as the cost of such education is highly exorbitant. Though at the governmental programme efforts are going on to improve the conditions of women, like, there has been gender awareness programs being carried out in the region at the rural and the urban levels, sensitizing them are limited in their approach due to ignorance and sometimes the hostility of the government. Apart from traditional structure of the society, paucity of finance is also hindering empowerment of women. (Mee, 2001:44)

During the Soviet period Women's Division of the Communist Party (Zhensoyuzy) served as a mechanism for the party's increasing involvement in social welfare, despite its primary role of mobilization and propaganda (Kandiyoti, 2004:5). This committee was responsible for listening to the complains of the women of society-complains both concerning personal/familial issues (such as drunkenness or abuse) and unfair treatment at work. It also advocated the collective interests of women by calling for better working conditions and by giving assistance to individuals, especially single mothers. This has also engaged in advocacy for the provision of facilities such as village bakeries, communal baths and laundries, which lightened

rural women's burden of labour. Trade unions all had a Zhensoyuz representative to protect the rights of women workers. (Kandiyoti, 2004:5)

The Women's Committee of Uzbekistan was another such organisation got NGO status in February 1991. The Women's Committee and Kamalot (the successor organization to the Komsomol) benefited from a well-established infrastructure with representation at enterprise, village, district and provincial levels. On 2 March 1995 a decree was passed which made the appointment of a woman vice chairperson compulsory. It also integrated women from all levels of governance from provinces to villages. And at the district levels there are workers at voluntary basis in enterprises, schools and mahallas. And Since then there has been focus on the representations of women. (Kandiyoti, 2004:17)

Apart from indigenous non-governmental organisations many international organisations also play an important role in empowering women. The UNDP collaborated with the Women's Committee in preparing the National Action Plan for the 1995 UN Conference on Women in Beijing. The same sets an agenda that seeks to ensure equal access to government positions at all levels in accordance with international standards. The National Action Plan carries out number of functions relating to creation of opportunities for women in higher decision making levels, promoting female candidates for election by cooperating with political parties, organization of seminars, training and conferences. The Plan of Action also makes provision for amendments in the Law on State Service and internal regulations of ministries stipulating procedures for the promotion of women in accordance with the criteria set by international standards. (Mee, 2001:43)

One of the major problem these NGOs are facing is paucity of fund. Their penetration has been stifled due to the fact that they do not have operational budget and it mainly relies on grant money in executing any project. It has to collaborate with the independent NGOs for the purpose. Despite these shortcomings with limited financial assistance they are playing a major role in resolving domestic violence in Uzbekistan. They are also involved in Life Free of Violence with United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). (Kandiyoti, 2004:17)

To promote gender equity and ensure equal participation of women Uzbek government initiated number of programmes. The most important initiative in this regard is introduction of a quota system under which 30 per cent of the seats in parliament and local councils are reserved for women candidate. The National Platform of Action enunciated a number of programmes and proposals aimed at ensuring representation to different sections of the society. The representation of women in parliament has also increased to a substantial level. For instance in 1995, there were 6 per cent of women parliament and it increased to 15 per cent. The same report has also highlights increased enrolment of women in higher education as well as elementary and secondary education. (www.undp.uz/en/mdgs/?goal=3)

Improvement in the status of women can be evident from the fact that there are certain women related NGOs operating inn Uzbekistan. 22 per cent of total NGOs are dealing specifically women related issues. Out of this Samarkand hosts about 14. 5 NGOS followed by Samarkand and Tashkent. Out of Seven NGOs seven were established with the support of the Women's Committee and presently functioning under the Women's Committee of Karakalpakstan. These women related NGOS are playing a crucial role in raising women's related issues. Their primary objective is to give a dignified place to women in Uzbek society and ensure all round development. They are also focusing on capacity building issues and empowering them to participate in the mainstream of the country. Providing vocabulary training, legal assistance in case of destitute and providing financial assistance in case of unemployed are some of the major objectives of these NGOs. (ADB,2005;77-78)

To ensure proper co-ordination among them Association of Women NGO's in Uzbekistan was created in August 2003. It was a conglomeration of 58 NGOs. The basic objectives of this nodal body are:

A) "Consolidating and coordinating the activities of women's organizations and NGOs dealing with women's issues; representing and protecting the interests of women's NGOs; strengthening the role of women's NGOs in the social, political, and public life of the Republic of Uzbekistan".

B) "Strengthening the potential of the women's movement in the country, taking measures to achieve gender equality at the decision-making level."

C) "Monitoring implementation of the United Nations CEDAW; preparing, together with other women's NGOs, the Alternative Report (unofficial report) on the Convention's implementation."

D) "Implementing the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, as well as other similar international and national documents aimed at protection of women's Interests."

E) "Cooperating with and assisting national nongovernment and state organizations concerned with protecting the interests and rights of women, exchanging information, and creating shared information networks." (ADB, 2005:78)

Apart from fund crunch another problem which these women's NGO are facing is the lack of support by present Uzbek government in their endeavour. The patriarchal character of the society as discussed above is also obstructing the growth a vibrant civil society. If Social capital, going by the available definitions means "norms, values, and cultural communication" gender cannot be ignored. Success of stable socio-political system depends largely on an effective civil society.

Conclusion

Social capital is a "contested concept" as many think. Despite this, this concept is gaining wider acceptance among policy makers and academics. Originated in a small way, this notion is becoming the basis of good governance. Democracy is not simply means institutional structure only; it has to be rooted in society. As a result of which societal aspects are to be strengthened and nurtured. In this regard civil society can play an important role. They can harness the existing societal values and translate them into social action. The post-Soviet state of Uzbekistan is also facing this dilemma of how to reconcile existing societal values with the institutional structures for ensuring a stable social system.

If one evaluate the existing political system it can be noticed that it is largely "personalised orient authoritarian system" in which power is concentrated in the hands of President. Though President Karimov at the theoretical level promotes institutional structures necessary for democracy, at a practical level, nothing has been carried out. No genuine democratization has taken place. Political parties are there and participate in election process but they are not genuine. Governance has not reached to the masses.

Civil society groups are there but most of them are patronized by the government. Genuine civil society groups face many difficulties in Uzbekistan in carrying out their tasks. Registration process is very tardy. These groups are not functioning properly. Numbers of factors responsible for this, the chief among them are paucity of fund; excessive monitoring by government; lack of qualified and competent skilled persons who can carryout the works associated with civil society and a closed political system.

It is in this context the traditional mahalla community is gaining wider acceptance. As has been pointed out in previous chapters this type of institution will provide necessary stability to the society as they understand the needs of society better. Even many, international donor organizations are also trying to implement their

programmes and policies through mahalla community. Despite the criticism that except organizing feasts they are doing nothing, this community structure is playing a crucial role in harnessing the community resources necessary for nation building process.

The incumbent President of Uzbekistan Karimov is also giving importance to this type of NGOs. He realized that community programmes and policies can be implemented through active use of this type of communitarian organizations. Since developmental programmes and policies are community driven it is necessary that programmes and policies are to be formulated and implemented keeping the interest of community.

Another area in which the existing mahalla based community can play an important role is empowering women and creating self-help group particularly in rural areas. This type of community driven programmes and policies helps to a great extent in mitigating societal conflict and will ensure sustainable stability to the society.

The authoritarian nature of government in Uzbekistan is facing diverse challenges ranging from radical Islamist forces to ultra Uzbek nationalism. It is in this context one has to think of the role of civil society in mitigating these evils. Modern neo-libertarians civil society can also play a crucial role in disseminating information and promoting free press. In fact free press can play a crucial role in raising community awareness about various ill effects affecting society and mitigating those at society level itself. It is wrong to give emphasis on traditional communitarian organization like mahalla community as a form of civil society in Uzbekistan, side by side the new libertarian model of civil society should be given priority by government. This is due to the fact that they have technical manpower necessary for performing diverse functions.

Both civil society and social can play an important role in stabilising the political system of an oriental country like Uzbekistan. This is due to the fact this state is in transition and societal values can act as an incubator for providing political stability.

Appendices

Uzbekistan: Human Rights Concerns for the 61st Session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights

Objective

The Commission on Human Rights should adopt a resolution condemning the Uzbek government's appalling human rights record. The resolution should call on the Uzbek leadership to undertake a number of urgent steps including: expediting the implementation of the recommendations of the Special Rapporteur on torture; ceasing any further arrest and harassment of human rights defenders; registering independent human rights non-governmental organizations and opposition political parties; and ceasing informal censorship of the media.

Background

In the past few years, the Uzbek government has come under increased pressure from the international community to improve its human rights record. The government has made some reforms in legislation, but these have not been implemented in practice. It has also increased its engagement with select local and international actors on specific human rights issues, but these gestures have not translated into more systemic change and have been undermined by other setbacks to human rights, particularly the deepening of restrictions on civil society.

Persecution of Human Rights Defenders: Authorities steadfastly refuse to allow independent domestic human rights groups to register, restricting their operation and rendering them vulnerable to harassment and abuse. Since May 2004, at least four human rights defenders have been beaten by unknown assailants and numerous others have been subject to arbitrary detention or house arrest.

Uzbek authorities have harassed, detained or held under effective house arrest activists who tried to stage demonstrations. In a vivid example of this, in June 2004 police prevented Bahodir Choriev from protesting the government's confiscation of his farm by confining him and his relatives in their apartment. Police then forced them onto a bus and drove them outside Tashkent, interrogated them and confiscated their passports.

In some cases, the government uses the law on psychiatry to silence and persecute human rights defenders and activists. For example, in August, a court in Tashkent in absentia ordered that Larissa Konakova, who provides assistance to victims of government abuse of power, be forcibly committed to a psychiatric institution for observation, and instituted competency proceedings against her to strip her of her legal rights. After the hospital gave testimony in Konakova's favor, a judge dismissed the case, but did not preclude her from being subjected to such proceedings in the future. In November a Tashkent court ordered the commital of activist Lydia Volkobraun, also for observation as a prelude to a competency determination. Without informing Volkobraun or her attorney of the court's decision, police forcibly committed her to a psychiatric hospital. Competency and guardianship proceedings are ongoing.

Torture. The government has made no visible progress on ending the use of torture in practice and only minimal progress on implementing the recommendations made by the U.N. Special Rapporteur on torture after his visit to Uzbekistan in 2002. Torture and ill-treatment remain pervasive throughout the Uzbek criminal justice system, and occur with near-total impunity.

The government has to date failed to come up with a plan to implement the specific and clear recommendations of the U.N. Special Rapporteur on torture, despite its promise to do so. In March 2004, it published a National Action Plan to implement the Convention against Torture. That plan, however outlines actions that are vague and linked to unnecessarily attenuated timelines. The Plan focuses on roundtables and conferences rather than on implementation of concrete reforms.

Although the government claims to have increased prosecutions of law enforcement officials for using torture and other illegal methods, no information about these convictions has been made available, despite requests, rendering them impossible to verify. Countless reports of torture remain without remedy; legal safeguards against torture that have been introduced are rarely implemented in practice, despite persistent recommendations to that effect by international monitoring bodies.

The Supreme Court issued an instruction to judges to exclude defendants' testimony and confessions extracted under torture. In reality, however, judges do not implement this instruction. Judges routinely accept as evidence testimony and confessions in cases where torture is alleged as well as base convictions solely on confessions made by defendants during the investigation. Human Rights Watch continued to receive credible allegations of torture in investigative and pre-trial custody as well as in prisons.

Repressive Campaign against Independent Muslims: The government's violent crackdown against independent Muslims, whom the government claims are "religious extremists," continues unabated, with no progress on the sorely-needed legal reforms that would improve the climate for religious freedom. The government justifies this campaign by referring to the "war on terror," failing to distinguish between those who advocate violence and those who peacefully express their religious beliefs. In the past year alone, Human Rights Watch gathered materials on the trials of hundreds of individuals on charges based on their religious practices and affiliations.
Thousands of people remain imprisoned for their peaceful religious activities.

Crackdown on Political Opposition and Media Freedom: The government denied registration to independent political parties last year, depriving them of the opportunity to participate in the December 26 parliamentary elections.

Although the law allows unaffiliated candidates to run through initiative groups, in practice, independent candidates faced intimidation, harassment, and other serious obstacles obtaining registration, and few ultimately ran.

Violations of press freedom, including arbitrary and abusive lawsuits and harassment against independent journalists continue despite the lifting of formal censorship in May 2002.

Recommendations

The Commission on Human Rights should adopt a resolution calling for the Uzbek government to:

Implement the recommendations of the Special Rapporteur on torture. The Commission should call on the Uzbek government to expedite the process of implementing the recommendations issued by the Special Rapporteur on torture following his 2002 visit to Uzbekistan. Further, among the most urgent reforms required in this regard is introduction of habeas corpus (judicial review of detention). The authorities should be called on to ensure thorough and impartial investigations of claims of torture or ill-treatment, and hold accountable those found responsible for abuse. The government should also be called on to make a declaration under Article 22 of the Convention against Torture recognizing the competence of the Committee against Torture to consider complaints filed by individuals alleging violations of the Convention. In addition, the government should be encouraged to provide detailed description and statistics on all cases of investigations and prosecutions of law enforcement officials for torture or other illegal methods.

Stop harassment and persecution of human rights defenders. The Commission should call on the Uzbek government to end such persecution immediately.

Register civil society groups. The Commission should call on the government to lift unjustified restrictions on the operation of civil society groups and to cease using the law punitively to harass them and restrict their activities. The government should register independent human rights groups, including the Human Rights Society of Uzbekistan, Mazlum, the Committee of Legal Assistance to Prisoners, Mothers against the Death Penalty and Torture, and the Initiative Group of Independent

Human Rights Defenders. The Commission should call for the lifting of obstacles to the registration, accreditation and operation of international groups.

Register political opposition parties, such as Erk, Birlik and Ozod Dekhonlar, and cease any harassment against opposition political activists. The Commission should call on the government to cease harassment that interferes with the operation of parties and movements.

Ensure genuine media freedom, including by allowing newspapers closed since early 2002, when censorship was officially lifted, to reopen. The government should be called on to end the use of registration, tax, and defamation laws to unreasonably impede the operation of the media.

Reform the 1998 Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations to bring it into conformity with international law, as per the recommendations of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, issued in June 2003. In particular, the Commission should call on the government to decriminalize proselytism, private religious instruction, and unregistered religious association.

Release from custody those convicted solely on the basis of religion-related charges (criminal code articles 216, 216-1, 216-2, 244-1 and 244-2), and cease the arrest of independent Muslims for their religious beliefs and practices.

Source: http.www.hrw.org/English/docs/2005/03/10/uzbeki10304.htm.

On protection of human rights in Uzbekistan

19 March, 2008

2008 is a year of 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has paved the way for a modern era in the development of protection of human rights and freedoms and the international cooperation in this field.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights - the first international document, which Uzbekistan has joined after declaration of the state independence. Thus Uzbekistan has demonstrated its adherence to ideals and values of human rights in the state policy.

The celebration of 60th Anniversary of the Declaration has already started in Uzbekistan, which will continue throughout the year with wide participation of state bodies, educational establishments, mass media and civil society institutions.

Following significant steps in the field of human rights mark the year 2008 for Uzbekistan:

Firstly, since 1 January the death penalty was completely abolished;

Secondly, the democratic institute of justice known as habeas corpus was introduced;

Thirdly, the constitutional law about increase of a role of political parties in democratization of society and the law on guarantees of the rights of child came into force;

Fourthly, the current year in Uzbekistan is declared as the Year of Youth and the relevant State Programme has been adopted.

The state policy of Uzbekistan in the field of human rights is being carried out in the following directions consistently and systemic:

First direction: the system of legislation on human rights has been established. Parliament has passed over 300 laws regulating fundamental rights and freedoms. All provisions of the UDHR have been implemented in the Constitution and the national legislation of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Second direction: the institutional system of protection of human rights, freedoms and legitimate interests has been created. While implementing the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action, the following national human rights institutions have been founded and function: Authorized Person of Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan for Human Rights (Ombudsman), National Centre for Human Rights, Institute of Monitoring of Current Legislation, and also special structures on protection of human rights at the Ministry of Justice, Prosecutor General's Office and Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Third direction: national monitoring of observance and protection of human rights and freedoms is being carried out. It includes the procedures of parliamentary control over implementation of the laws passed by Oliy Majlis (Parliament), monitoring of the current legislation which is accomplished by special structure at the Ministry of Justice, preparation of national reports on implementation of international treaties on human rights to the UN Treaty Bodies. The institute of monitoring is becoming an effective tool for state bodies which as a result of this activity take decisions on various issues of protection of human rights and freedoms.

Fourth direction: a continuous system of education in the field of human rights is functioning. The system of education in the field of human rights has been created in Uzbekistan. A training course entitled "Human Rights" has been introduced at all schools and universities. Textbooks and manuals on human rights for schools and higher educational institutions have been published.
Advanced training program for officials of law enforcement bodies (judges, lawyers, policemen, prosecutors) includes topics on human rights. National Program for

Raising the Legal Culture of the Society, adopted by the Parliament, is being successfully implemented.

Fifth direction: the information and education system in the field of observance of human rights, freedoms and legitimate interests has been created. In the framework of the UN worldwide campaign on public information in the sphere of human rights, wide information and education activities in sphere of human rights are being carried out. Thus, more than 100 basic international legal documents on human rights have been translated into state language and published in close cooperation with such international partners, as UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, OSCE and ICRC. More than 30 newspapers and magazines on human rights are published.

National Database of current legislation of Uzbekistan has been created and made available on the Internet.

Sixth direction: judicial and legal reform aimed at protection of human rights, freedoms and legitimate interests is gradually accomplished. Independent judiciary is the major factor of guaranteeing human rights.

The following measures aimed at guaranteeing the true independence of judiciary have been taken in the sphere of criminal proceedings:

–specialization of courts on criminal, civil and economic cases has been made;

–institutes of consideration of cases in the appellate and cassation court have been introduced;

–terms for investigation and custody has been reduced by Law, rigid terms for consideration of cases in courts have been established;

–the democratic legal mechanism of selection and appointment of the judicial staff has been created;

–the Department on execution of judgments operates, and courts are exempt from functions unusual for them;

–the principle of competitiveness of litigation, equality of the rights of public prosecutor and lawyer are observed;

–habeas corpus democratic institute is introduced, i.e. sanction on arrest is issued by courts.

In the sphere of criminal and criminal executive legislation:
–classification of crimes is completely changed, the scope of criminal acts falling under the category of less serious and not bearing social danger is essentially expanded. As a result of such approach the percentage of persons who are subjected to imprisonment was essentially reduced. There was an essential liberalization of criminal punishment;

–conditions in penitentiary establishments are improved: regime and rules in colonies are softened;

–number of articles which allow the application of parole is increased. Currently Uzbekistan has one of the best records among CIS countries on number of prisoners per capita (about 37 thousand persons). In other words there are 142 prisoners per 100 thousand people in Uzbekistan;

–institute of reconciliation as a form of execution of justice has been implanted into the legislation. The application of this institute has enabled the release from criminal liability of more that 67 thousand persons.

Civil society institutions constituting the nongovernmental system of protection of human rights are actively developing in Uzbekistan. The principle of transition «from a strong state to a strong civil society» is gradually implemented. The state, while implementing the policy of social partnership, encourages the development of nongovernmental organizations among which the certain part carries out human rights activity. Nongovernmental organizations provide a strong support to the development of civil society and lawful state by accomplishing important socially significant functions, working in such spheres as education, care for child and women, people with disabilities and suffering from illnesses, people requiring social help. National Association of Nongovernmental Organizations and NGO Support Fund are established and successfully function.

The role of civil society, self-governance institutions of citizens, including mahalla, which should render the most direct and daily influence on formation of human rights culture and increase of legal awareness of the population, are indispensable in implementation of the principle of universality of human rights. NGOs devote special attention on rendering true and targeted legal aid to various social groups of the population.

Mass media devote special attention to issues of protection of human rights, freedoms and legitimate interests. Mass-media carry out activities aimed at formation of democratic and legal values in people's conscious, active social – legal position of citizens. There are variety of non-state newspapers, magazines (about 1000) and TV and radio companies (44), news agencies (3) and websites in Uzbekistan.
Mass-media are a consecutive conductors of knowledge on human rights. A necessity of activization of mass-media is becoming more and more obvious because they are those democratic institutes which formulate the public opinion and human rights culture. The significant attention is devoted by mass-media to human rights issues, explanation in periodicals, on TV and radio of those legal issues which arise.

The international cooperation is actively carried out in the field of human rights. Uzbekistan pays great attention to the implementation of its international obligations in the sphere of human rights. The state policy in the field of human rights is accomplished in a vein of basic principles and measures developed by the United Nations. Based on that, Uzbekistan has established close relations with Charter and treaty bodies, and as well as with special mechanisms and procedures of the United Nations.

Being the State party to more than 60 international documents on human rights, including six basic treaties of the United Nations, Uzbekistan consistently implements its international obligations and takes concrete measures on protection and promotion of human rights, freedoms and legitimate interests.

During the years of its independence the Republic of Uzbekistan has submitted 18 national reports on implementation of international treaties to the treaty bodies of the

United Nations. National Plans of Action have been developed to implement recommendations of treaty bodies and they are under implementation.

Source: http:// www.uzembassy-afghan.mtoc.uz/publish/expo.gf.

Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On the Action Program dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of Adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights"

In 2008 the international community will celebrate the 60th anniversary of adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which has secured the main democratic principles and requirements in the sphere of observing the human rights and freedoms and has become a political and legal framework for establishment of an entire system of international law in this area.

The Declaration has become the first international legal document the Republic of Uzbekistan has joined after gaining independence. Uzbekistan has chosen a path of building democratic and legal state, powerful civil society and identified the human rights and interests as the most important priority of social development and state building, as well as its whole domestic and foreign policy.

For over the years of independence our country has joined 60 main documents on human rights and has become a participant of six main international treaties adopted by the UN in this sphere.

Provisions of the Declaration have been reflected in the articles of Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, national legislation which provides for reliable protection of political, economic, social and cultural rights and interests of human.

Thanks to consistent ongoing market reforms and implementation of wide-scale state social programs such as "Healthy generation", "Mother and child", "Year of Health" "Year of Family", "Year of Social Protection", "Year of Youth" and others, the

country has created all the necessary conditions for universal protection of social and economic rights of human, and, above all, of the children, women, youth and their comprehensive and harmonic development.

The mechanisms of protection of citizens' political rights and freedoms have been created and are effectively operating. There are more than 5,000 non-government non-profit organizations in the country. The role of political parties in social and state building has significantly enhanced. Independent mass media and other institutions of civil society, which have become a strong factor in enhancing political and social activeness of population, democratic renewal and modernization of the country, are developing in Uzbekistan.

The gradual ongoing process of liberalization of legal system has become an important guarantee of observing human rights. The classification of crimes has been totally changed in Uzbekistan. And the list of serious crimes has been significantly reduced.

As a result, the number of imprisoned in 2007 was more than two-times less compared to the year 2000. There are 138 imprisoned for 100,000 people in Uzbekistan and this number is significantly lower than in the most developed countries of the world.

The measures directed to ensure independence of judicial authority and improve efficiency of judicial protection of citizens\' rights are being implemented step by step. Specialization of courts into criminal, civil and economic ones was realized, as well as the institutions of appeal and cassation of cases and institute of reconciliation were established. Measures to ensure equality of prosecutor and defense lawyer's rights are also being realized.

An important step to ensure the protection of human rights was the abolition of death penalty from January 2008 in Uzbekistan as well as transfer to courts of the right to issue the arrest warrants.

The system of national human rights institutions were established and are actively operating in the country, such as the Authorized of Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Human Rights (Ombudsman), the National Human Rights Center, the Institute for Monitoring the Current Legislation, as well as Divisions on Human Rights Protection, particularly established at the Ministry of Justice, the Office of Prosecutor General, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

The system of continuous education and awareness in the field of human rights has been established. More than twenty specialized magazines and newspapers on human rights protection are being published in Uzbekistan in the circulation of thousands of copies. The legislative basis of human rights protection is being studied at all schools, colleges and lyceums as well as higher education institutions.

Uzbekistan gradually and firmly fulfills its international obligations in the sphere of human rights, regularly provides its periodic national reports on these issues to relevant conventional UN bodies. The government bodies, civil society institutions, self-government bodies, media and directly the citizens are involved in implementation of recommendations.

Supporting the Message of the UN Secretary-General on the occasion of Human Rights Day and with a goal to further improve the system of organizational, legal and legislative measures aimed at ensuring the reliable protection of human rights and freedoms:

1. The Action Program on the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in line with Annex №1, shall be approved.

It shall be considered as the most important task of government organizations and agencies, public associations and media to actively participate at the events dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is the most important international legal instrument that embodies democratic values and ideals of human development.

2. The staff of Special Commission on implementation of the Action Program on the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in line with Annex №2, shall be approved.

The main tasks of Special Commission shall be defined as follows:

- coordination of work of state bodies and institutions, self-government bodies of citizens, civil society institutions and media on implementation of activities outlined in the Action Program dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

- organization of intensive media coverage of events dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, considerable work being accomplished in Uzbekistan to deepen democratic, social, economic and political reforms, the end goal and condition of realization of which is human as well as his rights and freedoms;

- providing for the close interaction with international organizations, firstly, with the United Nations institutions on active participation of representatives of Uzbekistan at international events dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

3. Legislative Chamber and Senate of Oliy Majlis of Republic Uzbekistan and Cabinet of Ministers shall realize in 2008-2009 measures on preparation and consideration of drafts of legislative acts directed to further bettering the legal base of protection of political; social and economic rights as well as freedoms of citizens along with securing unconditional implementation of legislative acts adopted in this sphere.

4. Ministry of Justice in conjunction with the Office of Prosecutor General, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, Center for

Spiritual Propaganda at the Republican "Ma'naviyat va Ma'rifat" (Spirituality and Enlightenment) Kengash (Council) throughout 2008 shall provide for publication and broad circulation among population of series of brochures, textbooks, public and political print materials on explaining the main provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, foundations of national legislation in the sphere of protection of political, social, economic and cultural rights as well as interests of citizens.

5. Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, Ministry for Public Education along with the Youth Public Movement "Kamolot" shall: - organize on systematic basis with involving the leading experts and scientists the roundtables, seminars, lectures on in-depth study at educational institutions and among the youth of Uzbekistan the state policy on providing for protection of human rights and interests, creation of social, economic and political conditions needed for comprehensive human development, active participation of youth in building the new society, ensuring security and prosperity of Homeland;

- on December 10, 2008 hold the nationwide class at all schools, lyceums, colleges and higher educational institutions of Uzbekistan dedicated to the 60th anniversary of adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

6. The Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education shall provide for introduction the special training programs into curricula of higher educational institutions on training and retraining journalists that would envisage the study of domestic and international experience on media involvement in the protection of human rights given the requirements of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

7. The Civil Society Studies Institute in conjunction with Institute of Monitoring Current Legislation of the President of Republic Uzbekistan, Authorized of Oliy Majlis of Uzbekistan on Human Rights (Ombudsman), National Human Rights Center in three-month's time shall critically analyze the work of Human Rights Protection Divisions established at the Ministry of Justice, Office of Prosecutor General, Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and make proposals on measures directed to further increase efficiency of such work.

8. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan in one month's time shall elaborate and in 2008 implement the package of measures on state support of the activity of national institutions on human rights, strengthening the material and technical basis, creation of relevant conditions required for effective activity of the branches of the Authorized of Oliy Majlis of Uzbekistan on Human Rights (Ombudsman), National Human Rights Center, and other institutions.

9. Taking into account the communication of the UN Office of High Commissioner on Human Rights, Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Uzbekistan shall allocate 100 thousand USD as a voluntarily contribution of Uzbekistan to the UNHCHR Special Fund in order to support the UN efforts in practical implementation of main goals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

10. The Uzbek Agency for Press and Information, National Television and Radio Company, Uzbekistan National News Agency, mass media shall prepare thematic programs and publications on comprehensive coverage of the course of implementation of the Action Program dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

11. The Prime Minister of the Republic of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoev shall be entrusted with responsibility to control over execution of this Decree.

President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov
City of Tashkent May 1, 2008
Source: Embassy of Uzbekistan in United States, <u>www.uzbekistan.org</u>

Tables

Table1. Numbers and share of men and women in higher education

	2002		2003	
			Women	Men
Numbers studying in higher education (Thousands)	90.4	141.9	98.8	155.6
As a share of population in the 19-22 years age group (%)	9.0	113.9	9.4	14.6
Distribution by sex (%)	38.9	61.1	38.8	61.2

Source: Country Gender Assessment – Uzbekistan.

Asian Development Bank, 2005, Manila, p.60.

Table 2. Distribution of students in higher education by branch specialization 2003(at the beginning of the academic year)

	Women		Men		Distribution by sex	
	Thousands	%	Thousands	%	Women	Men
All higher educational institutions	98.8	100.0	155.6	100.0	38.87	61.2
Industry and Construction	7.1	7.2	31.4	20.2	18.4	81.6
Agriculture	2.5	2.6	14.4	9.2	14.9	85.1
Transport and Communication	1.9	1.9	9.9	6.4	16.1	83.9
Economy and Law	3.4	3.5	11.6	7.5	22.9	77.1
Health,PE, and Sports	10.8	10.9	11.4	7.3	48.7	51.3
Education	72.0	72.8	70.3	48.4	48.8	51.2
Art and Cinematography	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.0	41.0	59.0

PE- Physical Education

Source: Country Gender Assessment – Uzbekistan.

Asian Development Bank, 2005, Manila, p.60

Table 3.Share of men and women in managerial positions by branches of the economy (1 January 2002)

	Women	Men
Industry	21.9	78.1
Agriculture and Forestry	6.8	93.2
Transportation	13.7	86.3
Communication	27.1	72.9
Construction	18.3	81.7
Sales, Public Catering, Logistics and Procurement	21.4	78.6
Public Utilities and Communal Services, Municipal Consumer Services	18.8	81.2
Health, Protection, Physical culture, Sport, Social Welfare	30.0	70.0
Education	38.7	61.3
Culture and Art	39.3	60.7
Science and Scientific services	29.0	71.0
Finance, Credit and Insurance	27.6	72.4
Administrative Apparatus	14.2	85.8
Other Industries	19.3	80.7
Total	24.4	75.6

Source: Country Gender Assessment – Uzbekistan.

Asian Development Bank, 2005, Manila, p.77.

Table 4.Territorial distribution of NGOs

Administrative Unit	%
Andijan region	4.4
Bukhara Region	5.5
Djizak Region	4.4
Ferghana Region	6.6
Karakalpakstan Region	13.2
Kashkadarya Region	5.5
Khorezn Region	5.5
Namamgan Region	3.3
Navoi Region	3.3
Samarkand Region	15.4
Sukhandarya Region	3.3
Syrdarya Region	3.3
Tashkent City	16.5
Tashkent Region	4.4
Nationally registered NGOs	5.5

Source: Country Gender Assessment – Uzbekistan.

Asian Development Bank, 2005, Manila, p.77.

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