

University of London

**GENDERING UNITED STATES DEMOCRATIC ASSISTANCE IN
KYRGYZSTAN: UNDERSTANDING THE IMPLICATIONS AND
IMPACT OF GENDERED ETHNICITY**

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Abstract

Democracy, anticipated by American and other Western powers to prevent economic chaos and political conflict within and among states, is not evolving as expected. Since 1991, Western governments have been providing large amounts of democratic assistance to the Former Soviet Union yet few, if any, of the recipient countries have developed into genuine democracies. This research argues that part of the failure resides in United States (US) democracy assistance's inadequate consideration of gender within democracy programming. The lack of effective gender analysis has not only been detrimental to women but has served to obscure comprehensive and vital components of democratic transitions. The field research conducted for this dissertation demonstrates: (1) that gender is more central to women's self-identification than ethnicity; (2) that the meaning, as well as significance, attached to ethnic identity vary between women and men; (3) that there is a greater male identification with ethnicity and with official identities such as citizenship; and (4) that women are more fully involved in the associations that make up civil society than men.

Feminist and socio-political science theories are utilised to examine the interrelations of ethnicity and gender within modern Kyrgyzstan—the laboratory of US democratic programming and a country self-promoted as the “island of democracy” within a region prone to ethnic conflict, divided by gender and of geo-political strategic importance. US development practice provides the contextual frame for exploring the relationship of gender and ethnicity. As civil society is a mainstay in US democracy assistance, this so-called independent variable in democratic consolidation is used as a micro framework in this analysis. Gender/feminist theory provides a crosscutting tool intended to expand the theories, data, and analysis of this research to include a gendered perspective. The case study and corresponding field research test the hypothesis that ethnicity is gendered and that it is relevant to democracy assistance. Finally, the conclusion considers the unexplored nexus surrounding these relationships relative to US democratic assistance programming.

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Chapter One

The Significance of Feminist Research

“Women are not in the wrong when they decline to accept the rules laid down for them, since the men make these rules without consulting them.”
(Montaigne in de Beauvoir 1989:xxviii)

“The women’s movement has experienced, and is still experiencing... being caught between the desire to alter the democratic system in its favour and the idea of radically transforming it.”
(Huguette Bouchardeau in Reynolds 1986:xi).

1.1 Research Rationale and Hypothesis

Democracy, the political system that America and other Western powers anticipated would prevent economic chaos and political conflict within and among states, is not evolving as expected (Diamond 1996). Since 1991, Western governments have been providing large amounts of democratic assistance to Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union (FSU) or newly independent states (NIS); so far, few, if any, of the countries in these regions have developed into what could be regarded as genuine democracies (Carothers 1999; USAID 1999). Foreign and national governments are “getting it wrong” with the process of democratisation. Indeed, it is often suggested that uninformed and incomplete efforts to consolidate democracy are having the opposite effect (Havel 1995; Moss 1975).

Though it is plausible to argue that democratic forms of government offer the best means to promote human rights, economic growth, and social progress, it is unlikely that these goals will be achieved without a more critical examination of the principles underpinning democratic assistance (Carothers 1996). Ensuring that women are fully integrated into the theory and practice of democracy is one crucial element in achieving sustainable consolidated democracies (Martin 1994:55; Carothers 1999). The related issue that is central to this thesis is that democracies must develop ways of addressing ethnic conflict, for of all the issues currently facing the global consolidation of democracy—including corruption, nationalism, poverty, financial

market collapse, environmental degradation, and overpopulation—ethnic conflict represents one of the most grave yet least considered threats. This research provides the critical examination of gender in relation to ethnicity that has been lacking in other evaluations.¹

It is widely remarked that the attachment to ethnicity is enhanced during transitional periods (Ra'anan 1980). Would-be democracies are often fraught with dangerous national and ethnic divides, and yet these looming conflicts are rarely addressed within the framework of democratic assistance (Grey 1997; McFaul 1999; Spencer 1994). There is, moreover, abundant evidence that nation-building and state creation remain male constructs with the patriarchal history of the nation-state apparent in the current development of democracy in transitional societies (Pitkin 1984).² As feminists from Cockburn (1998) to Goetz (1997) and others have argued, the role that gender plays in building civic society and framing ethnic relations has not been extensively considered in the programs for democracy assistance; and while international agencies are beginning to recognise the dangers to sustainable democratic development when gender is ignored, they have been less quick to recognise the significance of what this thesis terms “gendered ethnicity” (Martin 1994).³

This research focuses on the United States Agency for International Development’s (USAID) Democracy and Governance (D&G) sector of the Global Bureau’s democratic assistance to the Former Soviet Union’s (FSU)⁴ Kyrgyzstan. Democracy is promoted by Western governments⁵ because democracy is believed to be the best means of preventing conflict and promoting peace, global stability and economic development. All these are conceived as being in Western interests (Bova 1997; Ikenberry 1999; Held 1993; Ray 1997; Christiano 1997). The US is a significant Western/global leader in democratic assistance⁶ and the FSU is USAID’s highest profile and largest democracy project.⁷ Within the FSU, Central Asia is the region most pivotal for US foreign interests, due to the region’s proximity to China, the Middle East, oil,⁸ and geo-hydro political significance.⁹

Within Central Asia, USAID selected Kyrgyzstan as their “laboratory” to prove the success of democracy assistance. Correspondingly, only Kyrgyzstan claims to be an “island of democracy” in Central Asia, with Kyrgyzstan’s President, Askar Akaev, making the most serious verbal commitments to international human rights and law (Akaev 1995). Thus, despite Kyrgyzstan’s lack of economic importance, Kyrgyzstan receives the largest per capita US assistance in Central Asia because of its perceived potential as a democratic “Switzerland” of Central Asia (Anderson 1999; OECD 1999).¹⁰

In addition to being USAID’s laboratory for democracy assistance, Kyrgyzstan is a relevant case for this research because of its ethnic complexity and salient gender divisions. With over fifty-two various ethnic groups, and three significant cross-border ethnic communities - Uzbek, Tajik, and Uigher - the ethnic dimension is critical. Kyrgyzstan is highly prone to conflict. Discord cannot be easily contained within the confines of the region because of politically sensitive regional neighbours/intersections (Reuters 1999). Kyrgyzstan is plagued by: nuclear Kazakstan; civil-tribal war in Tajikistan—which has now crossed the border into Kyrgyzstan; the Uigher cross-border question; deep reaching environmental disasters, a fast-growing HIV/STD epidemic; a looming water conflict in the Fergana Valley; neighbouring Afghanistan; increasingly militant Uzbekistan; and a blossoming drug and arms trade. How Kyrgyzstan handles the ethnic question, how well Kyrgyzstan is governed, and how successfully it consolidates its democracy are therefore important considerations. Kyrgyzstan’s democratic reforms offer considerable promise for freedom in Central Asia. This could, at its best, mean space for human development, progress, and democracy; or it could, as other Central Asian states fear, end up with chaos, ethnic conflict, and even outright war.¹¹

While USAID reports success in its democracy programming, United States’ General Accounting Office (GAO) documents, supported by Congressional testimony, demonstrates serious and prolonged criticism and concern over USAID’s lack of success in democracy assistance, particularly within the NIS. The GAO has extensively documented the failure of USAID’s programs to incorporate gender adequately into their overall analysis, rationale, and programme design; and this thesis

provides further evidence of this failure. Much less, however, has been noted about the related failure to consider ethnicity; less still, the recognition that ethnicity itself is gendered.¹²

The gender factor is particularly relevant; first, because the ethnic question appears to have significant gender components which have been largely obscured due to the lack of gender mainstreaming both within the academy and the development sector. Secondly, because women play a leading role in the associations that constitute the infrastructure of civil society in Kyrgyzstan, development practitioners are provided with a programmatic means for implementing research results of a gendered analysis of ethnicity. In terms of USAID-speak, a female-dominated civil society may offer a hereto unrecognised “tool” in USAID’s “democratic toolbox” to implement programs that reduce ethnic conflict and thereby increase the stability of democratic consolidation.

This research employs a body of feminist and gender theory that has challenged the exclusion of women/gender from the understanding of democracy, as well as the emerging literature that contests the similar failure to recognise the gender dimensions of ethnicity. Gender is used to both deconstruct and reconstruct complex understandings of how comprehensive gender integration reveals more authentic and inclusive ways of thinking about socio-political process, in this case the relation of gendered ethnicity to democracy assistance.

The resulting field research conducted for this dissertation demonstrates: (1) that gender is more central to women’s self-identification than ethnicity; (2) that the meanings, as well as significance, attached to ethnic identity vary between women and men; (3) that there is a greater male identification with ethnicity and with official identities such as citizenship; and (4) that women are more fully involved in the associations that make up civil society than men.

1.2 The Significance of Gender

“ ‘Gender relations’ is a category meant to capture a complex set of social relations to refer to a changing set of historically variable social processes. Gender, both as an analytical category and a social process, is relational. That is gender relations are complex and unstable processes constituted by and through interrelated parts.”

(Flax 1997: 174-175)

Feminism is an umbrella term for a wide range of approaches to the analysis of gender relations—spanning liberal, radical, neo-realist, Marxist, post-modernist and even post-feminist—and has thrown up a complicated and often contradictory body of research (Johnson 1997:102).¹³ While there continue to be many internally contested issues, feminism has evolved a distinctive methodological approach to social science research. This includes two elements particularly relevant to this research: (a) the emphasis on the integration of qualitative research techniques into a quantitative research framework, and (b) the analysis of gender as relational, therefore as cutting across and reforming other categories of analysis.

While there may be an apparent discrepancy between a recognition that feminism changes the practice of the social sciences and the use of the more traditional social science methodology in this research, it is critical to understand that feminist/gender research does not necessarily require abandoning methodology associated with the practices of empirical social science research or normal standards of scientific rigour (Randall 1994). The crucial contribution of feminist research is the transformation that the gender variable offers in revealing data that would remain obscure without a gender/feminist analysis, and the corresponding implications of this data in social science analysis. There is a pressing need to advance empirical investigations that are able to confirm intuitions about the way gender transforms understandings of ethnicity, as conducted in this research. In this research, this is represented by not only implementing gender as a variable, but also statistically controlling for gender across all variables, and also by empirically testing and confirming the emerging theoretical body of literature that argues that ethnicity is gendered.

Feminist/gender theory as a research strategy within more traditional social science research is relevant and necessary on three levels, which are represented throughout

the structure of this research and detailed in Chapter Five. First, adding gender research as a strategy within the framework of traditional social science methods enables the researcher to overcome, to some degree, the flaws of modern social sciences. Gender strategy, thereby, renders methodology more solid and theory more adequate in analysing social issues and, therefore, aids in producing less flawed social science. Second, in providing a more authentic examination of the entire population in question, a gender strategy provides for a valid survey size. Therefore, gender research increases the validity and reliability of social science research. Third, gender as a research strategy allows for more accurate prescriptive outcomes by increasing the prescriptive value of social science research in dissolving stratification systems that *rank* men above women (Lorber 1994:32).

In recent decades, feminism has moved from an initial “add women and stir” approach to a more challenging deconstruction of existing categories of analysis: an argument that class, for example, is itself gendered; and in this thesis, that ethnicity cannot be understood except through an analysis of its gendered nature. Adding women, and even more importantly adding gender, is seen as fundamentally altering the nature of the research project; for as the theoretical and methodological rules that had previously ignored or excluded women are challenged, a paradigm shift occurs. Gender is not a unitary, parallel variable, to be grouped alongside the variables of religion, nationalism, ethnic identity, social-economic class, race, etc., as an extra element in research. It is, rather, a component variable that dissects apparently non-gendered subject matter. As argued in this thesis, the implications of this are far-reaching.

Feminist methods have been particularly important in expanding the conventional epistemology in socio-political science, focusing attention on how knowledge was produced, who is producing that knowledge, and whether the producer has an impact on the outcome (Duran 1991). In one of the best known versions of this feminist standpoint theory, it is argued that women have a radically different vantage point from men and that this difference in vantage point influences the status of “knowledge” (Hartsock 1983). Nancy Hartsock argues that the means of knowing is crucially related to the outcome, implying that knowledge is in an important sense

subjective, bound to who knows and how. This emphasis is not unique to feminism, but the “epistemic privilege” accorded to women in Hartsock’s theory represents a particularly radical version. In the political counterpart to this, feminists have sometimes argued that women exhibit different forms of moral reasoning from men (more grounded, for example, in an ethic of care than an ethic of rights), that they exhibit alternative qualities in governance (are more co-operative, for example, or more willing to listen to others), or that they are more closely attuned to pacifism and better equipped to defeat nuclear politics (Kiss 1997:8-11; Reardon 1996). In extreme versions, such arguments are very much open to debate, for if gender is regarded as a social construction, the notion that women are “natural” caregivers or “natural” peacemakers is inherently flawed. To the extent that women do exhibit an alternative ethic of care, this is more likely to be a result of learned behaviour than an inherent quality. This suggests that men too can learn the “ethic of care” (Robinson 1997). Gender differences should not be construed as natural, and yet they may still be significant enough to shape political and social practice. They may, as in the case study pursued in this thesis, shape the ways men and women relate to their ethnic identity; in doing so, they may significantly shape the prospects and possibilities for democratic progress.

Standpoint theory signified the beginning of an epistemological paradigm shift and was taken further in the contributions from Sandra Harding, who challenged the notion that there could be “one standpoint,” and in the process, refined Hartsock’s theory (Hekman 1997:342; Harding 1987). Harding argued that initial formulations of standpoint theory relied too heavily on Marxism (mirroring its notion of the elite class as having a privileged access to knowledge); that it wrongly presented women as having access to more accurate knowledge than men; and wrongly presumed a single female standpoint that effectively obscured difference of ethnicity, age, nationality and class (Harding 1991).¹⁴ When used in these ways, feminism standpoint theory can defeat itself, but the Hartsock-Harding debate provided for a reformulation of a feminist epistemology, not as the view that women know better, but that women know *differently*.¹⁵ The modified standpoint theory that emerges from this is part of the theoretical underpinning design for this research. This hypothesis is that gender relations generates significant differences of standpoint between women

and men and that these differences express (among other things) different ways of understanding one's ethnicity.

1.2.1 Integrating Gender

In pursuing these insights, this research operates with an understanding of the relationship between sex and gender that takes gender as a socially constructed means of assigning characteristics to given sex categories.¹⁶ The biologically grounded category of sex becomes gendered through the use of "gender markers." Lorber has identified eight social components of gender: gender status, the gendered division of labour, gendered kinship, gendered sexual scripts, gendered personalities, gendered social contract, gender ideology, and gender imagery; and eight individual components of gender: sex category, gender identity, gendered marital and procreative status, gendered sexual orientation, gendered personality, gendered processes, gender beliefs, and gender display (Lorber 1994:14,31). From this perspective, nearly all aspects of human interaction are gendered, but the gender "boundaries" are contextual and cultural and open to historical change.

Feminist theory seeks to integrate the study of gender relations into the research project and argues that the study of women should not be separated from other studies of humanity. Too narrow a focus on women, however, can disregard issues related to differences between men and women. It is with these variances that gender theory has been increasingly concerned. Feminism began with acknowledging and understanding the position of women. Gender theory, an outgrowth of this, examines how the inclusion of women in research projects illuminates both female and male roles. Importantly, it seeks to understand the implications and impact of male/female interaction.

As a result of the past three decades of feminist scholarship, social scientists now more typically consider gender as relevant to research projects, and more commonly include women in their studies, interviews, focus groups, quantitative analysis, etc.. However, the misuse and underuse of the gender variable still constitutes one of the main problems, with too little attention given to why women were (or were not)

considered relevant to the study, and exactly how their inclusion makes a difference to the research. As Gorelick has noted, “merely collecting descriptive statistics or experiential data about women does not constitute feminist research” (Gorelick 1991:462). In the current climate, there is more general acknowledgement that women represent a critical factor that was often absent in earlier research, but the commitment to gender and/or feminist theory is often ceremonial rather than rigorous and systematic (Code 1995). “Too few who have begun to use gender as a variable have played with the profound implications of the shift in thinking that accompanies a careful use of sex and gender” (Lahti and Kelly 1995:1).

Within development assistance agencies, the incorporation of gender has typically entailed a Women in Development (WID) unit: this is usually separate from the mainstream decision-making and power structures of the agency or government. Problems surrounding the so-called WID approach will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Two. However, it is important to note at this point that the creation of WID units has often encouraged a “checking of the gender box” mentality whereby a requirement to include women can be added on to any project via the WID unit, rather than by a fuller integration of gender concerns. The resulting “ceremonial” inclusion of gender is one of the problems frequently noted in the development field, and this observation is particularly pertinent to the case study of Kyrgyzstan.

1.2.2 Gender and Cultural Difference

Women’s lives and social roles clearly differ between societies. If there are differences in male and female standpoints, there will be equally compelling differences in the standpoints of women from the North and South, from Mexico and Canada, from the US and Kyrgyzstan. Failure to address these differences can lead to a dominant Western discourse that uncritically reproduces its own understanding of women’s identity and needs; but paralysis in the face of such difference risks total inaction. The solution that simply recognises a plethora of female standpoints does not represent a solution, for as Goetz argues, this leads to an “endless deferral of epistemic responsibility. A way of saying nothing while claiming to be everywhere equally” (Goetz 1991:144). As she describes the problem:

(There is) a dominant Western discourse about development that has reserved for itself the authority to define and name its epistemological categories: 'progress' 'modernisation' and its objects: 'third world' and 'third world women'. Western feminists have been guilty of extrapolating from and projecting a privileged identity as a referent for the rest of the world... (and yet) the urgent problems of survival faced by women in the third world have made a feminist involvement in the question of women in development imperative (Goetz 1991:133).

A more promising approach proposed in recent theory is Nira Yuval-Davis' transversalism. This involves maintaining a starting/standing point/perspective coupled with the flexibility to recognise, but not homogenise, other starting/standing point/perspectives. According to Yuval-Davis, the term "transversal politics," originates from Italian feminist work and is meant to connote "universality in diversity" (Yuval-Davis 1997:125). The Italian women use the words "rooting" and "shifting" in order to indicate that transversalism accounts for both one's own "roots," sense of identity and value set, while at the same time recognising the need to "shift" in order to empathise with other values, identity, and social constructions. Importantly, the "process of shifting should not homogenise" the "other" nor lose the "self" (Yuval-Davis 1997:130).

Thus, for example, a Western feminist examining practices of polygamy in a non-Western Islamic society could employ a transversal approach that begins with her own "roots" in Western values that regards polygamy as a violation of women's human rights, while at the same time "shifting" to consider the social constraints within which women of that society operate. Within a transversal understanding, the Western feminist might still conclude that polygamy presents inherent problems of human dignity and rights, but come to believe that calling for outright abolition might be harmful to women who must operate within social/cultural restrictions drastically different from those in the West. Yuval-Davis links transversalism explicitly with a thesis about the gendered nature of ethnicity, arguing that "women's ethnicity often is and should be different from that of men" and that feminist politics should incorporate female "ethnic" differences into its agenda via transversalism (Yuval-Davis 1998: 168). She illustrates with the example of Women Against Fundamentalism, a group of ethnically diverse women (including Christians, Jews, Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus)

working together as feminists to oppose all forms of fundamentalism (Yuval-Davis 1998:183).

As such arguments suggest, feminism is at its best when an understanding of different forms of patriarchal oppression can be deconstructed. Understanding the context in which each “woman” exists enables global feminism to retain its vigilance against all forms of patriarchy, without getting caught in either the paralysis of cultural relativism or the “cultural” smokescreen behind which male patriarchal societies often hide.¹⁷ Transversal politics provides a mechanism for feminist solidarity that can recognise women’s social and national divisions, and address the all too common expectation of Western feminists that non-Western women will define their problems and achievements in terms of an “imagined free white liberal democracy” (Yuval-Davis 1997:118). Transversalism also avoids the danger of multiculturalism which too often understands the “community” as internally homogenous and thereby reinforces the power of unelected traditional male community leaders (Yuval-Davis, Werbner 1999:1-38).

1.2.3 Feminism and Private/Public versus Western/Eastern

“Soviet women, more than Soviet men, were able to ‘remain human’ precisely on account of their domestic attachments” (Holmgren 1995:21).

In the context of this research, recognising that cultural norms of gender differ through time and across political-geographic space is particularly important, and will be considered in greater detail in Chapter Four. The general point addressed here relates to different conceptions of the relationship between public and private, and the implications of historical and geographical difference in making sense of this divide. Feminists have seen this divide as of central importance in sustaining gender inequality, but have recognised that it becomes more or less salient in different cultures or circumstances (Rosaldo 1974).

In the common Western understanding, the presumption is that the private sphere is a sphere of confinement, contributing significantly to women’s exclusion and oppression, and that access to the public sphere will play a major part in women’s

advancement. However, the understanding of the public/private divide in the former Soviet countries differs greatly from this. Many felt the experience of exclusion, of being outside and ignored by the state structure, worked to the advantage of women. The private/domestic world was felt to provide some privileged protection, and freedom to women in the FSU.¹⁸ In non-democratic systems of government, the public, political space is not necessarily so desirable to join and the home may provide greater openings for personal freedom than official public space. By extension, informal participation through civil society in the post-Soviet realm has been more attractive and open to women than formal systems of official/elected politics, which remain largely autocratic and corrupt.

Western feminism has tended to understand men's entitlement to public life as derived from public and private control over women. Family stability, ordered around female subordination, was said to be essential to public order and to depend on the husband's authority over his wife (Engel 1991:136; Kainz 1984; Narayan 1997). Soviet systems, by contrast, were based on different structures. Under Soviet rule, all was meant to be public. Officially, one had no private life, property, habits, or even thoughts. One lived for the state, for "the collective good." In reality, in spite of or because of, this public uni-system, tiny illegal private spaces were created. The home, the kitchen in particular, offered restricted, forbidden, fiercely protected, highly-prized private space. This small area of privileged privacy was the dominion of women. Perhaps because men feared the state enough to not want to be responsible for this valued individual space, women controlled home life. Because women were less publicly dominant, and therefore less threatening to state power, women were valued for their lack of worth. Women also valued their ability to hide, to some degree, from the oppressive state structure in the secret space of the home. This domestic space was so significant that "kitchen" became a symbol of freedom during Soviet rule (Temkina 1996:220-22; Molyneux 1991; Gray 1997; Buckley 1992).¹⁹

Officially women were also part of the proletariat and were "given the freedom" to work outside the home.²⁰ The State told women they were publicly valued, emancipated, and important in their public roles labouring for their country. This enforced "freedom" to participate in public life gave women what feminists later

theorised as the triple burden of home/family, work, and state duty. While professional working conditions were often more dangerous than in the West because of ineffective and out-of-date equipment, the work was rarely as intensive or demanding. The true labour of women in the Soviet Union occurred, and still occurs, in the home.²¹ To get bread, eggs, clothing, or other basic commodities involved a great deal of effort, *blat*²² or connections. Acquiring luxury items such as make-up, books, records, or a piece of meat were difficult tasks. Housework also required extreme physical effort and stamina. Because of a lack of modern conveniences, like washing machines, vacuums, and refrigerators that work, daily chores were time-consuming and difficult (Goldman 1996:37; Robinson 1995:216; Temkina 1996:227; Molyneux 1991).²³

Men, by and large, were not active in home life; however, the “double burden” defined by Western women is significantly different from the Soviet understanding (Temkina 1996). Western feminists often wrongly assumed that Soviet women suffered exclusion from the public realm in the same manner as was common in the West. But while Western feminists may have wanted men to assume more home responsibility, Soviet women were more reluctant to lose control of the hidden privileged space in the home. Holmgren explains the binary Stalinist State, which was state-versus-society, in the most precise description.

Contrary to Western expectation, this double burden and practical inequity did not ferment any sizeable feminist campaign for a domestic revolution. Instead, the eventual binary opposition of Stalinist state versus society--that determiner of all value--generated an almost inverse scenario. Due to the perils and political compromise of public life and a successful ‘career’ in the Stalinist system, the domestic sphere and family life came to be cherished, even by the women who laboured there, as a site of psychological and moral refuge (Holmgren 1995:21).

The public/private separation that is so central to the Western feminist struggle for freedom, justice, and recognition by the state is largely inexplicable to FSU women (Temkina 1996:217). In the West, women have been fighting to “get into” a state structure that they saw as flawed but still beneficial. The same could rarely be said for the Soviet Union, where inclusion as a Soviet citizen came with few, if any, positive advantages.

1.2.4 *Identity and the Significance of Gender*

“Identity constitutes the conscious ‘self’ – the answer, or rather answers, to the question, ‘Who am I’ (Yuval-Davis 1998:169)?

Understanding state definitions of public and private involves not only concepts of citizenship, but also the related conceptions of nationalism and ethnicity. While citizenship has been considerably examined by feminist research, and feminist and gender theorists are beginning to examine the gendered space in traditional male identity formations, particularly nationalism, the ethnic/nationalist experts are largely reluctant to consider the role of gender.

When asked to expand on the idea of gender as a component in ethnic creation, a panel of experts on ethnicity could provide no answer.²⁴ At this same panel, Michael Ignatieff claimed that humans are “thickly embodied” with ethnic identity. Humans are also embodied by gender. Gender is a significant social element that shapes daily lives and national projects. A complete understanding of ethnicity will remain illusive if the gender component in ethnic identity is ignored. Indeed, Barot, Bradley and Fenton (1999) advise that the significance of ethnicity and gender suggests an entirely new field of study.

While gender and ethnicity is starting to become a popular topic among younger researchers, gendered ethnicity has yet to reach the policy level (Barot 1999:1). This relatively unexamined aspect of ethnicity remains a vital academic project to be undertaken not only within feminist circles but also within wider academic circles of ethnic/nationalist studies and international relations. How ethnicity and gender intersect in particular situations is the crucial question. The intended contribution of this research to this emerging field is implementation and testing of the theories and ideas of gendered ethnic identity in relation to US democracy assistance.

Related to the cultural differences of definitions, it is important to note that concepts of citizenship, ethnicity, and nationality are not only gendered culturally but are also

politically relative. For example, while in the English language nationality is synonymous with citizenship, a legal relationship to the state, the Russian word *natsionalnost* refers to an individual's membership in a collective, inherited from one's parents (Anthias 1989:3). Details of the Soviet versus Western understandings of ethnicity and nationalism, relevant to this research, will be detailed in Chapter Three.

1.3 Gender Deconstruction and Reconstruction Outlined

This research argues that democracy, historically and currently, has failed to adequately account for gender. Western theoretical understanding of how ethnicity is defined, created, and operates has also failed to consider gender. Current US democracy assistance, as demonstrated by the case of Kyrgyzstan, has failed to include both gender and ethnicity within its understandings of how societies transit to democracy and, therefore, how the US may assist this process.

Gender is first used, in this research, to deconstruct accepted norms of democracy assistance, both in theory, practice, and institutional structural design, as well as the body of literature represented by Western ethnic theory. Then, the deconstructed understandings of both democracy assistance and ethnicity are examined within the context of the case of Kyrgyzstan. Finally, gender is used in a methodological framework that supports field research investigating how ethnicity and democracy assistance, inclusive of gender differences, is perceived by the population of Kyrgyzstan. This layered use of gender theory and the gender variable reveals new, and more complete, ways of thinking about the process of democratic assistance. This research is constructed in the following manner:

In Chapter Two, democracy theory and practice is explored and defined.²⁵ While Western/European academics and materials have been referenced when appropriate, this analysis primarily relates to the assumptions that underpin US democracy assistance thought and practice. A working definition of democracy, for the purposes of this research, is established. Additional external validity to the research results is provided in Chapter Two through a feminist analysis of US democracy assistance.

Chapter Two argues that US democracy assistance has continued to largely overlook gender, and this failure demands greater attention. The Women in Development (WID) aspect of US democracy assistance is also detailed, along with the gendered nature of civil society, the mainstay in US democracy assistance. While some programmatic aspects may alter from region to region, US democracy assistance is largely centralised by USAID's Democracy and Governance (D&G) unit and hence, what is true of US democracy policy, generally, is also largely true in Kyrgyzstan. The same holds for the Women in Development (WID) unit. Details of this lack of adequate gender analysis, within the specific context of US democracy assistance to Kyrgyzstan, are discussed. Following the main arguments of this dissertation, this second half of Chapter Two: (1) outlines the objective and rationale of US democracy policy and democracy assistance both generally and specifically to Kyrgyzstan; (2) discusses the lack of consideration for gender and ethnicity, which are highly significant in Kyrgyz society, as demonstrated in the first half of the chapter; (3) demonstrates the importance placed on civil society; and (4) reveals the reality of this emphasis in Kyrgyzstan. The Kyrgyz case is the best indicator of the effectiveness of US democracy policy because USAID has selected Kyrgyzstan as a USAID democracy "laboratory" for proving results. What is and is not effective in Kyrgyzstan has implications for US democracy policy as a whole.

Ethnicity theory is examined and defined in Chapter Three.²⁶ As ethnicity is a form of identity, the nature of selfhood is examined, the nation, the state, and the community. An initial working definition of ethnicity is also established. Issues of ethnicity are discussed in relation to the political/civil, hence democratic, process, of which civil society is a key mechanism. It is demonstrated that US democracy assistance theory and practice largely obscures and misunderstands the ethnic/conflict component. The second half of this chapter combines gender and ethnic theory in order to: (1) outline the five main themes of current gendered ethnic/nation research, (2) argue that female gender is central to, and therefore subject to, male ethnic violence, but that by rejecting male-made ethnic boundaries in favour of a gender (female) identity, women can also reject ethnic conflict.

Despite Central Asia's political significance, as described in Chapter Four, isolation and complexity best characterise the region. The relative lack of analysis completed of a country highlighted for its democratic potential provides a compelling justification for consideration of Kyrgyzstan as a case study of democratic assistance. The objectives of Chapter Four are to: (1) outline the case rationale and history; (2) demonstrate the importance of ethnicity in Kyrgyzstan and outline the ethnic history; (3) demonstrate the importance of gender in Kyrgyzstan and, in accordance with the transversal approach recommended by Yuval-Davis, outline the competing gender constructions; and (4) examine ethnic conflict and the relevance of gender in Kyrgyzstan's "democratic" transition.

Chapter Five includes discussion of: (1) the design and corresponding paradigms of this research; (2) the method, type, and quality of data collected in support of the research hypothesis; and (3) the method of analysis, as well as results, of the collected data. This research is structured on a feminist pragmatist paradigm of mixed model, dominate quantitative (QUAN+qual), of the relationship between gender and ethnicity in the transitional democratic case of Kyrgyzstan. The primarily deductive assumption is that ethnicity has a gendered component that has largely been ignored, in theory and development practice, and that this oversight is at the detriment of authentic participatory democratic assistance. The overall rationale of this research is praxis, conducted in an effort to inform and affect human practice.²⁷

The field research presented in Chapter Six complements and tests the theoretical arguments, outlined in the previous chapters, via a mixed-model approach. Field research was conducted in Kyrgyzstan during August-November 1999, funded by a US Department of State grant, and: (1) supports the prior hypothesis that gender is a salient variable in ethnic identity; (2) explores the results through the connections to democratisation and the influence of ethnicity and gender; and (3) supports the objective of comparing and contrasting involved "actors" in the democratisation process in Kyrgyzstan via the stated variables. The results constitute a pyramid cross-section of Kyrgyz society from *akims* (representing the pinnacle of local government), to average adults with NGO directors in the middle. The Kyrgyz survey (Survey Set One) was designed to be compared with the opinions and knowledge of those involved

with US democracy assistance to Kyrgyzstan (Survey Set Two). As noted earlier, this research incorporates gender as a dissecting variable against ethnicity within the framework of democracy. This research is concerned with: (a) the social institutions of gendered kinship and gendered imagery; and (b) individual aspects of gender processes, and gender beliefs of ethnicity in civil society/democracy assistance. The complementary survey set results provide a framework that assists the dissertation conclusion exploring how an expanded multi-disciplinary understanding of the relationships of gendered ethnicity can inform democratic theory and application in Kyrgyzstan's "democratic" transition. Finally, the field research results are analysed in the context of inherent connections, linkages, and problems of democratisation and the influence of ethnicity and gender.

Chapter Seven compares the analysed field research with Barot's categories and the typology developed by Yuval-Davis-Anthias. It concludes that the research has demonstrated a relationship between gender and ethnicity within a democratic transition framework that appears worthy of greater explanation. It further argues that there is a demonstrated need for increased donor and local government commitment to gendered ethnicity within the understanding of democratic assistance development.

1.4 Summary

Nearly ten years of democracy assistance has not brought democracy to Kyrgyzstan, the "star" of USAID's democracy assistance programme, or to any of the other FSU countries.²⁸ Neither has democracy assistance improved the speed, quality, or sustainability of the transitions. While there are many reasons why democracy assistance has not been effective, this research argues that one essential factor in this failure has been the marginalization of gender that has obscured the significance of ethnicity, and hence of gendered ethnicity.²⁹

The object of this chapter has been to explore existing feminist theories relevant to the concerns of this research and to introduce gender as a means of theoretical support and as an analytical and methodological mechanism embedded in the fundamental design of this research.³⁰ Additionally, the importance of considering gender as a

variable and a control which serves to reveal relationships vital to effective democracy assistance has been introduced. Established feminist/gender theory is used throughout this research to analyse democracy, in theory and practice, and to support the argument that a feminist analysis of democracy assistance reveals the relevance of ethnicity which is beneficial in enhancing social understandings of civil society and hence democracy assistance—confirming the significance of feminist research.

Chapter Two: Gendering Democracy

“The terrifying phenomenon of totalitarianism, which has been born into our world perhaps four times did not issue from authoritarian systems, but in each case from a weak democracy: the one created by the February Revolution in Russia, the Weimar and the Italian Republic, and Chiang Kai-shek’s China”
(Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in *Misconceptions about Russia in Kainz 1984:125*).

“Democracy without women is not democracy.”
Russian Women’s Campaign Slogan

2.1 Dilemmas with Western Democratic Theory and US Assistance Practice

The word democracy, derived from the Greek word for people (*demos*), generally implies rule by the people. Democracy is described in the famous funeral speech of Pericles. “Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people.³¹ ... Everyone is equal before the law. ... Our political life is free and open, so is our day-to-day life in our relations with each other. ... Here each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in the affairs of the state as well” (Pericles in Held, 1993:260).³² Though this provides a proficient summary of the goals and characteristics of democracy, it is notable that it describes only *male* citizens.

Contemporary democratic theory and practice leave much to be desired because both are riddled with conflation, misrepresentation, and misuse. The body of work on democracy is theoretically weak, in structure and agreement, and mired with internal conflict, making critical examination challenging (Karl 1991; Mansbridge 1991; Touraine 1997).³³ Zolo has written most critically of democracy theory arguing that: there are substantial incompatibilities between a reflexive epistemology and the theoretical paradigms of the most influential conceptions of democracy; that democratic theory meets none of the common scientific standards by which research is judged, and even that the best theories of democracy fail to offer conceptual instruments that are sufficiently complex to permit realistic interpretation of critical relationships (Zolo 1992:19, 25, 54).³⁴ Although scholars from Aristotle to Dahl have

produced volumes on what democracy is and what democracy means, today the concept remains indeterminate.

The development of an empirical theory of democracy has been the central aim of American and European political science for at least the last three decades. ... Today, at the beginning of the 1990s, not only has this ambitious program receded but it is now not even clear what meaning is actually conveyed (Zolo 1992:23).

There have been two general approaches to defining democracy, by substance or by procedure (Touraine 1997:115). Some scholars claim that there must be a broad commitment to the abstract ideal of democratic society while others contend that specific conditions should exist. Yet, there is no agreement on what these conditions are and how to determine when or if they exist.³⁵ While there may be universal recognition that democracy should, at minimum, include free and fair elections, rule of law, freedom of speech and media, equality and liberty for all citizens, and basic human rights, the understanding of how these democratic components are to be applied is more varied (Diamond 1995). The most compelling question, what is democracy or what makes a state democratic, does not have an obvious answer. Common definitions, theory, purpose, and languages are lacking among democracy theorists and practitioners (Schedler 1998:102).³⁶ Instead, various types of democracy are constructed. Collier and Levitsky have identified more than 550 “types” of democracy (Diamond 1996:21).

A high degree of conceptual clarity is essential to understanding and tracking democratic progress, yet what prevails is confusion and disarray; it is plausible to suggest that this is partly because maintaining the elasticity is beneficial for US practitioners. A developing concept of democracy allows more time to achieve results, further consolidation, and to develop different indicators of democratic success (Schedler 1998:105). In the context of US democracy programming, the lack of clarity provides justification for delaying a long overdue, serious, and comprehensive evaluation of US democracy practice by the practitioners themselves.³⁷ It also allows US democracy practitioners to remain resistant to external critique (Carothers 1999).³⁸ Frustration at the state of democracy theory and assistance is expressed most precisely by Vaclav Havel who argues that, “democracy

in its present Western form arouses scepticism and mistrust in many parts of the world” (Havel 1995). Havel claims this mistrust and failure of democracy assistance is because the democratic prescription for “saving the world” is a hopelessly “half-baked—half a formula” (Havel 1995:3-11). The over simplified and imprecise representation of democracy, all too frequent in the US democracy programming community, is illustrated by the following statement:

Whatever argument students of democracy may have about its definition, peoples and governments today assume that (1) ‘democracy’ means something universal and general, and (2) the best models of it are to be found in the West (Nodia 1996:15).

In addition to standard democracy theory, there exists a sub-body of research, albeit much smaller in scope, which focuses on democratic transitions and consolidations. The “transitological” theory of democracy is represented mainly by Philippe Schmitter, Guillermo O’Donnell, and Giuseppe Di Palma. Lincoln Allison describes transitologists as “theorists of democratisation” for whom the 1980s were a “triumph” due to the global spread of democratisation inspired by “the superiority of Western models (paradigm case, the USA)” (Allison 1994:8). Allison distinguishes “transitologists,” also called democratisation specialists, from those who write about “democracy” *per se*, for whom the 1980’s were “far from a triumphant... as social and economic inequalities increased and political participation decreased” illustrating the wide gap between the two groupings (Allison 1994:8). James Scott comprehensively details key members of the democratisation/transitology community, including Western NGOs, international foundations, think tanks and donor agencies (Scott 1999:146-170). Scott notes that these actors “tend to reinforce and encourage the Western-preferred image of ‘democracy’ and favour ‘active’ democracy building” (Scott 1999: 148, 159). The main actors include: the German Foundations/*Stiftungen*, the US National Endowment for Democracy, The Westminster Foundation for Democracy, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the relevant development agencies of Western countries, including USAID.

Transitology/democratisation literature is widely used among democracy practitioners, as it is perceived to be more “realistic” than democracy theory, however, the transitology body of thought has several major flaws. The first fatal

aspect of transitology is naiveté coupled with lack of rigorous research as demonstrated by the following quote, “The greatest victory of democracy in the modern world is that—for one reason or another—it has become fashionable” (Nodia 1996:20). The second flaw is a misconception that if enough money is provided to “transitional” countries, they will become and remain democratic. The West, USAID, IMF, etc. are in essence paying government leaders to assume the identification of “democrat” whether or not democratic reforms and practices actually take place (Lloyd 1999).³⁹ Modern democracy “transitology” has introduced the notion of “democracy without democrats” or “democracy without prerequisites.” It is enough to label a country democratic to claim development success (Nodia 1996:22).

In his article “The Perils of a Protracted Transition,” Michael McFaul, a transitologist and correspondingly a member of a prominent democratisation think tank, exemplifies how democracy assistance, using transitology, has created “democracy without democrats” (McFaul 1999). McFaul notes that while Russian leaders call themselves democrats, they act undemocratically. He continues, without irony, to explain how Russian democracy has progressed despite a lack of democratic leaders and values and has experienced “not one but three” democratic transitions (McFaul 1999:6). Indeed, McFaul’s title is significant to how transitologists view the “process of democratisation,” i.e. that a country never actually fails to become a democracy; rather a country, such as Russia, is simply in a “protracted transition.” Transition theory also allows the assistance community to avoid critical assessment of authentic democratic values, as the aforementioned democracy theorists would contend, by asserting that the “democratisation” process is not yet complete. The lack of definitive indicators makes transitology popular to those in the democracy assistance community because transitology allows for continual programmatic justification and avoids responsibility for meaningful evaluation.

In sum, Allison notes the “sloppiness” with which transitology considers the relationship between democracy and other political values, particularly rights and freedoms, and the assumption that America is the “best paradigm of democracy in the real and contemporary world” (Allison 1994:10-11). Transitology research is content with an apparent equality of rights, as evidenced by judicial/legal reform and electoral

processes. Democracy theorists, on the other hand, are concerned with actual balances of power within that political system and thus are more concerned with the democratic equality in all social relations, including gender. This emphasis by transitologists on merely institutional reform has enabled the phenomenon of "democracy without democrats," whereby institutional reform programs have been "successfully" accomplished, but the leaders and citizens of such a society continue to operate without democratic values, acting around or under the surface of "democratic" institutional reforms.

The transition to democracy is followed by the consolidation of democracy, or so is the hope. The main researchers here have been Schneider, O'Donnell, Plattner, Linz, Przeworski, and Schedler. While democratic consolidation is another ambiguous term,⁴⁰ Plattner provides a reasonably concise definition: "Consolidation is the process by which democracy becomes so broadly and profoundly legitimate among a country's population that it is highly unlikely to break down for any internal reasons" (Plattner 1995:3). Out of all the "transitional" democracies of the NIS, none qualify as consolidated by Plattner's definition. Indeed, there really is no deterministic conceptual basis for understanding consolidation. O'Donnell concedes, "It is impossible clearly to specify when a democracy has become 'consolidated' " (O'Donnell 1996:42). He blames this inability on "conceptual quandaries." Plattner claims that the principal structures⁴¹ of democracy must become institutionalised.⁴² Formal democracy must become "authentic, genuine, democratic." Political values and beliefs must reflect "greater tolerance, trust, and willingness to participate, bargain, and compromise" and these processes should be linked in a causal sequence (Plattner 1995:3).⁴³ Horizontal accountability, claims O'Donnell, is what defines consolidated democracy (O'Donnell 1996:44). When confronted with these requirements most scholars and practitioners recognise that the bulk of "incomplete" democracies are failing to become consolidated; however, why this is so is not being seriously investigated (O'Donnell 1996:34). This research contends that the failure rests, in part, with the incomplete nature of democratic assistance and the resulting inability to consider fundamental facets and dynamics of society, gender and ethnicity being two of the most primary.

The most serious flaw of the consolidation theory is the simple and unrealistic assessment, put forth by Juan J. Linz, Adam Przeworski and others, that consolidation occurs when democracy becomes “the only game in town” (O’Donnell 1996:41). As O’Donnell points out, “Przeworski argues that democratic consolidation occurs ‘when no one can imagine acting outside the democratic institutions.’ ” But this does not preclude the possibility that “the games played ‘inside’ the democratic institutions are different from the ones dictated by their formal rules” (O’Donnell 1996:41). O’Donnell could have gone further to question the legitimacy of an argument that claims success is based on no other political option existing. Democracy will never be “the only game in town.” There will always be other political options, among them fundamentalism and communism that are far more attractive to many than failed or false “democracy” (Moss 1975; Brauer 1999; Frank 1991; Fish 1995; Malia 1999). Indeed, as Paul Goble effectively argues, misguided US democracy assistance in Central Asia is breeding Islamic fundamentalism rather than democracy (Goble 2000).

Despite the disagreements within democratic theory, a legitimate starting point is represented by the decades of democracy research. Of all the definitions, Robert Dahl’s polyarchy provides the most comprehensive and meaningful definition of democracy relevant to US theory and practice. Dahl’s polyarchy requires extensive political competition and participation, substantial levels of freedom of speech, press, and expression, and meaningful pluralism (Diamond 1996:21). It is Dahl’s definition of democracy, a functional understanding of democracy as a governmental system where rulers are held publicly accountable by citizens who act indirectly and directly through, around, and with their elected representatives in the formation of an active civil society, that this research utilises in relation to US democracy practice (Karl 1991).⁴⁴ If US democratic practitioners were required to systematically survey (as an integral component of democratic assistance practice) the basic history of democratic thought and theory, some of the well-known democratic quandaries might have received greater and more comprehensive programmatic consideration. Instead, the main qualification of most US practitioners is that they grew up in a democratic country with few understanding the basic tenets and problems of democratic thought and theory (Carothers 1999; Bivens 1997).

Former USAID Administrator, Brady Anderson embodied the arrogance and oversight involved in US democracy assistance in his first USAID all-agency meeting, August 1999.

I want to ask you a question. What does it mean to be an American? What are the qualifications to be an American? If you were to ask that question, perhaps [of] a German friend of ours, I think you would get an ethnic response. That would be true for a lot of Europeans and people who live in other parts of the world. Quite obviously, we Americans don't give that sort of response when we're asked what is an American, what does it take to be an American. ... We believe in opportunity, personal freedom, and hope for the future. We believe in the dignity and worth of every person. ... We have a new challenge around the world... and that is an incredible opportunity to advance the cause around the world of democracy (USAID 1999).

Anderson's remarks are significant because they set the tone for his tenure as director of USAID. By these words, he implies that only Americans believe in freedom, dignity, democracy, and hope for the future. All "others" believe in ethnicity. Ethnicity is set up as a negative, a non-American value. Democracy and freedom are assumed to be positive, American values that Americans should "advance... around the world." The failure of US democracy assistance to relate to "others" has not gone unnoticed. The eminent Soviet scholar and former State Department official, George Kennan, chastised and startled the US democratic assistance community in an August 1999 interview when he said, "This whole tendency to see ourselves as the centre of political enlightenment and as teachers to a great part of the rest of the world strikes me as unthought through, vainglorious, and undesirable" (Ullman 1999:6).

While understanding Western democratic theory and history is a necessary, and often lacking, component of effective US democracy assistance, it is also essential to realise that concepts of liberty, equality, and human dignity are not only Western constructs (Eberhard 1982; Kainz 1984). These are universal aspirations with a global history (Karatnycky 1999:199). Nor, necessarily, are the "best models... to be found in the West" (Nodia 1996:15). Contrary to a popular opinion, expressed by Di Palma and others, that "modern representative democracy was born in a small, maritime, insular corner of Western Europe," democracy has existed in many other parts of the world (DiPalma 1997:16).⁴⁵ As Frankel notes, "One of the debilitating illusions of many Western liberals is that the values of liberal culture are only our own values, that they

have little point for those who look at the world differently and no point at all for those whose lives are poor, mean, brutish, and short” (Frankel 1962:175). US democracy practitioners, in general, fail to enter transitional countries with an understanding of the indigenous history and local aspects of democracy.

Russia, Central Asia, and Mongolia provide powerful examples of the failure of US assistance to consider anything other than US understandings of democracy (Kainz 1984; Kaiser 1999).⁴⁶ Lukin (1999) argues that the disastrous results of Russian democracy were caused by democratic practitioners who were not knowledgeable about local conditions and rather attempted to impose their own “abstract ideal.” “This ideal was not achieved, and the country’s population has been the real loser” (Lukin 1999:37). Neither Russia nor Central Asia have become Western-style democracies with effective market economies. Instead, the FSU has turned into a collection of disintegrating states where property and power has been seized by various clans and organised criminal groups. “Although ‘democratic’ doctrinaires and fanatics must bear the blame, this does not mean that they wanted or foresaw the result” (Lukin 1999:37).⁴⁷ Kennan also agrees that US democracy assistance policy holds some blame for the failure. “I think we were mistaken in believing that a certain amount of money placed in the hands of the present Russian government would improve things significantly. A large portion of it has, after all, ended up in the pockets of various individuals. We should not have put money into that country unless and until there were real institutional guarantees against its misuse for purposes we never intended” (Kennan in Ullman 1999:4).

Conversely, US practitioners remain surprised that democracy has flourished in Mongolia, which “in light of most social-science theories and common sense expectations, should have never been: (Fish 1998:127).⁴⁸ A cursory reading of Buddhist concepts (Mongolia, formerly a Buddhist state, has supported a wide-scale revival of Buddhism since 1990) reveals that Eastern history and theory also incorporates strong democratic principles.⁴⁹ As noted by the current Dalai Lama,

While democratic aspirations may be manifested in different ways, some universal principles lie at the heart of any democratic society—representative government (established through free and fair elections), the rule of law and

accountability (as enforced by an independent judiciary) and freedom of speech (as exemplified by an uncensored press). Democracy, however, is about much more than these formal institutions; it is about genuine freedom and empowerment of the individual (Dalai Lama 1999:2).

That democratic principles are not alien to Buddhists or to Mongolians explains Fish's "puzzle."⁵⁰ US practitioners too often perceive Americans as the only people by whom democratic principles are valued. That there should even be a "puzzle" about the success of Mongolian democracy is a result of a distinct Eurocentric bias and a crucial lack of background reading prior to engaging in democratic assistance. Bova concisely expresses the view pervasive among US democracy practitioners that has caused so much failed policy: "The question, therefore, is what happens when democracy is transplanted to cultural settings where the Enlightenment emphasis on natural rights, the individual, and liberty is less deeply rooted," as if countries with an Enlightenment background have hosted unproblematic democracies and constitute the natural environment for democracy (Bova 1997:116).

2.2 US Foreign Policy: "The Sport of Democracy"

"The most dramatic burst of democratisation has come in the former Soviet Union. There, too, Orwell had it wrong" –Former US Deputy Secretary of State, Strobe Talbott (Talbott 1996:54).

During the 1990s, democracy became the buzzword for solving predicaments of the developing world (Frank 1991:1). Indeed, there is a "minor growth industry" surrounding democracy assistance (Carothers 1996:35). Yet this assistance has most often produced "paper" democracy, with actual democratic reform rare.⁵¹ Transitional democracies are not consolidating, not only because democracy assistance programs lack fundamental comprehension (including cognisance of gender and ethnicity), but also because US democracy assistance programs place far less premium on the best interests of the population in question and far more emphasis on promoting US interests abroad. Nearly 98% of funds used for USAID managed programs are spent on US goods and services (Tarnoff 1999:4). More than anything else, the promotion of democracy has been about enhancing the national myth of America, the American dream, the freedom that is America (Campbell 1992, 1993).⁵²

Former US Deputy Secretary of State Talbott admits that former President Bill Clinton made the “sport of democracy” a priority in the Clinton administration’s foreign affairs. “When America promotes democracy, values and interests reinforce each other” (Talbott 1996:47,53). If America’s main foreign policy objective in promoting democracy abroad is for domestic political demand, and the simple act of promoting American democracy is enough to satisfy the domestic appetite, then promoting democracy is an end in itself. There is no compulsion to achieve successful promotion. Herein lies the main reason for the unwillingness of the US democracy assistance community to be self-critical, attempt effective assistance, or create an environment that supports a learning curve that would enhance assistance (Carothers 1999). Delivering the aid meets the US foreign policy requirements and hence money, or aid, becomes the objective rather than social promotion and progress.

Foreign aid is an instrument of US foreign policy, and US relations and interests in the former Soviet Union determine levels, direction, and types of aid funding... The Central Asian states... are of increasing interest to the United States for their oil production and strategic location... The increase in funding for the NIS under the FY [fiscal year] 1999 appropriations, however, has permitted a 26% increase for Central Asia to \$136.9 million. The Administration had requested an 18% increase for FY 2000 (Tarnoff 1999: 8, 11).

While democracy assistance may satisfy and reinforce the American national myth, there are also several official rationales, all of which are problematic, that render democracy an essential constituent of American foreign policy. The first reason the US supports democratic assistance is trade. Countries that are democratic are thought to be better trade and diplomatic partners (Talbott 1996:47). Seymour Martin Lipset linked free trade and democracy in the 1950s.⁵³ While democracy and economic development have a strong correlation, this correlation does not prove causation.

The second rationale for promoting democracy relates to human rights. The forgotten authority of democracy derives from human rights theory, but democracy assistance today has been divorced from its origin with the rhetoric of a moral and ethical responsibility masking both the degeneration of the democratic idea and the lack of

substance in assistance programs (Christiano 1997; Grey 1997:250; Touraine 1997:108). While human rights abuses do occur within democracies and democratisation alone cannot guarantee full respect for human rights, authentic democracies do have more robust institutions in place for checking power and preventing abuse; however, the proposition has been reversed. Democracy does not necessarily bring about greater human rights; however, greater protection and attention of human rights necessarily promotes more democratic environments (Bova 1997: 124, 125; Christiano 1997:21-22). Moreover, although most American foreign policy analysts strongly believe in the rights rhetoric the reality is that democracy assistance today is not being promoted for the sake of human rights advancement (Muravchik 1991, Diamond 1992, Allison and Beschel 1992, Mroz 1992/93, Lowenthal 1991, Grey 1997). Instead, assistance is more often a flag (or fig leaf) allowing exploitation and/or the oppression of the South by the North, and in the South by Southern leaders (Frank 1991:1). Distinct evidence of the lack of consideration for human rights at any level beyond rhetorical, to say nothing of women's human rights, within US democracy assistance is demonstrated by the recent exchange between former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Rights, and Labour (DRL), Harold Koh at the Carnegie Endowment's symposium "Advancing Democracy: The Clinton Legacy," where Secretary Koh provided no evidence that human rights were part of democracy programming. When asked directly about this lack, Koh justified US policy of promoting democracy without promoting human rights by claiming "you do one if you do the other" (CIEP, January 12, 2001).

The third rationale for democracy assistance is global stability and the so-called democratic peace idea that greatly influences American democratic policy. The democratic peace proposition has been "the essence of the national security rationale for vigorously supporting, promoting, and when necessary, defending democracy in other countries" (Talbot 1996:49). As former US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence Joseph Kruzal said,

The notion that democracies do not go to war with each other... has had a substantial impact on public policy. There are very few propositions in international relations that can be articulated this clearly and simply, but when you have one, you can really cut through the clutter of the bureaucratic process and make an impact (Kruzal in Ray 1997:49).

Unfortunately, the democratic peace theory is highly dubious. R. J. Rummel's five volume series first outlined the modern democratic peace idea stating, "Violence does not occur between free societies" (Ray 1997:49). Michael Doyle then developed in detail the Kantian origins of this idea that democratic states deal peacefully with each other. It is Doyle who is most often given credit for the theory.⁵⁴ The problem with the theory is that its validity depends heavily on the definition of war and democracy. The latter term is well known for its ambiguous and contentious nature. In addition, there have been a number of wars between democratic states that render the democratic peace proposition "rather less glamorous, dramatic, and attention getting" (Ray 1997:54). The 1812 American and United Kingdom war, the Spanish-American war, the American Civil War, the Boer war, and the First World War are all notable exceptions to invalidate the theory.

Moreover, the correlation between democracies and peace might be coincidental or spurious. For instance, a Cold War preoccupation with communism may have encouraged democracies not to fight one another. Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder provide one of the more prominent critiques of the democratic peace proposition, noting that while stable democratic states may be less likely to war against one another, states in the process of democratic transition are actually quite war prone. This has been largely ignored by practitioners, allowing the myths of democratic peace to continue to be cultivated in Washington, D.C. because it is politically expedient to do so.⁵⁵ Sustaining a false democratic peace theory has prevented the US democratic assistance community from seriously examining conflict (including ethnic) within democratic transitions (Ray 1997:55, 59).

Justification for USAID programming directly and unquestionably reflects US foreign policy objectives and logic. According to USAID, "The purpose of the diplomacy of the US is to a create more secure, prosperous and democratic world for the benefit of the American people and those whom they choose to assist" and "democratic countries are less likely to engage in war, generate large refugee flows, or disintegrate into crisis" (USAID 2000b; USAID 1995b). Indeed USAID claims it has "a record of accomplishment" in democracy promotion that is evidenced by the fact that there

were 58 democratic nations in 1980. By 1995, this number had jumped to 115 nations. USAID provided democracy and governance assistance to 36 of the 57 nations that successfully made the transition to democratic government during this period (USAID 2000b). USAID policy documents claim that the:

Growing popular demand for democracy is evidenced by a decade of dramatic transitions from dictatorship to democracy. We [USAID] have provided timely and constructive support during these transitions... by promoting democracy, the United States supports governments capable of maintaining peace and averting crises. This benefits US economic interests as well. Democracies governed by the rule of law are more reliable trade partners. We believe promotion of democracy is essential for sustainable development.... we help build democracies in four ways: 1) strengthening rule of law and respect for human rights, 2) developing more genuine and competitive political processes, 3) increasing development of a politically active civil society, and 4) promoting more transparent and accountable government institutions (USAID 1998c).

Yet, while USAID might claim success, US democracy programs have come under serious criticism by the US Congress, mainly via US General Accounting Office (GAO) evaluations and reports commissioned by the US Congress. A review of GAO documents and Congressional testimony demonstrates that there has been serious and prolonged criticism and concern over USAID's lack of success in democracy assistance, particularly within the NIS.⁵⁶

As the GAO has access to internal documents and notoriously provides rigorously researched reports, many of the GAO reports provide the most serious evidence of US democracy assistance mistakes. GAO reports from 1992-1999 were reviewed for this research with 19 reports relevant to USAID's democracy programs, Women in Development (WID), and/or FSU programs. GAO criticism of USAID has been grave and continuous. Problems noted by GAO include: performance benchmark poorly defined, weak performance indicators, inadequate progress, key financial controls not consistently implemented, internal controls not assuring financial accountability, and limited monitoring of grant progress (Suda 1993). The reliability of USAID's programme and financial data is uncertain; programme performance data were also determined to be unreliable; USAID's impact on overall development is still unclear; USAID is unable to demonstrate the impact of its projects on objectives; programme evaluations are not routinely run; the new management system is not

working and has created a serious morale problem; and lack of effective coordination for US bilateral programs in the NIS has been a problem (Ford 1997; Zanardi 1995). In sum, there continues to be an overall perception that USAID is a “closed shop” (Ford 1996).

Many of the above weaknesses characterise the US program in Kyrgyzstan, but this research focuses on the further weakness—also signalled in the GAO reviews—that relates to the treatment of gender. As many have noted, the “engendering” of democracy has been a slow and painful process, with the formal inclusion of women often coinciding with a continued practical exclusion (Phillips, 1991). The “engendering” of USAID programmes has barely proceeded at all.

2.3 Gendering Democracy Theory and Practice

“Broad agreement that democracies have failed to ensure political equality for women does not translate into any substantial consensus on why this should be so” (Anne Phillips in Companion to Feminist Philosophy, Young and Jaggard, Ed. 1999).

Of all the disappointments of democratic thought and practice, the failure to consider women has been, and continues to be, one of the most serious oversights both in countries that boast an Enlightenment background and in those that do not. Democracy is often defined as government of the people, by the people and for the people. Yet, slightly over half of the “people” around the globe have not been systematically represented. By failing to consider adequately women, democracy then seems to default on its own definitional test. “What is it about democracy,” feminists ask, “a tradition apparently defined by principles of equality and opposed to tyrannical rule - that kept it so long impervious to the claims of sexual equality?” (Phillips 1999b).

Historically, it is in the gendered definition of “people” that democracy has been able to justify female exclusion because women were not included in what men, from Augustine to Rousseau from Spinoza to Ken Waltz, considered “people” for the affairs of the state (Lloyd 1996). “Democracies were slow to acknowledge women as equal citizens; and even after their belated enfranchisement, women have continued to

feel themselves second-class citizens” (Phillips 1999b). The definition and concept of citizen, the public person, has been, and continues to be, a primary justification through which women’s marginalization from democracy is sanctified (Faure 1991).

As Anne Phillips argues:

All democracies now present themselves as indifferent to sexual difference, and they proclaim their citizenship as equally available to both women and men. This very indifference, however, is part of what feminists have criticised. In detaching itself from what is particular, concrete, or bodily, democratic theory is said to write in one sex alone as its norm (Phillips 1999b).

Any argument that current US democracy assistance is sensitive to the special needs and positions of women, as evidenced by the WID unit, and at the same time, indifferent to sexual differences, i.e. there is no gender-based discrimination inherent in US democracy programming, would be wrong on both counts. The distinct failure of USAID’s democracy programs to comprehensibly consider gender, results from complex and layered denials of the value of women as democratic participants and gender as a relational concept and, thus, a necessary component of the structural design of US democracy programs. The marginalization of women and gender is, first, supported by the gender-discriminate history of Western democracy theory and reflected in current democracy practice. Second, contrary to the rhetoric of USAID policy documents, the researcher’s own review of USAID’s programs and programming documents demonstrate the exclusion of women/gender. This exclusion also has been noticed and documented by prominent critics. Gender problems within institutional programmatic design and processes specific to USAID programs will be detailed, as related to Kyrgyzstan, later in this chapter. Third, the existence of a WID unit does not correct, and sometimes compounds, the marginalization of women/gender within assistance programs.

2.3.1 Philosophical Assumptions and Current Practice

The infamous public/private divide of men as public decision-makers and citizens, and women as private property inside the home, has been part of the Western concept of citizenship since Socrates sent his wife, Xanthippe, home before his death so he might be alone with men to discuss matters of consequence (Grant 1991:12). This

rigid divide, which feminist theory has been breaking down, was based on the construct of “rationality” (Narayan 1997: xiv; Elshtain 1997). Men were perceived to be created in the image and likeness of the Divine, or God, which has been understood to be male. Men, in the image of the Divine, are, therefore, also rational and powerful, like God. Women are not rational because they are not formed in the image and likeness of God. Hence, women have no “divine authority,” but are instead subject to the sub-divine authority of men. This is outlined in Augustine’s “The Confessions,” based on Genesis theory from the Bible that God made Man in His image and likeness and woman was made from man, a sub-man, subject to man. Similar to concepts of sovereignty, the philosophical underpinnings of the Enlightenment rest on “Divine authorisation” in that God, the Divine, is a man. This has been determined by men, and with no factual, or scientific proof, other than men say God is a man. Because God is man, God made men in His image and likeness. Therefore, men are rulers. As the notion of sovereignty has been questioned and discovered to be fundamentally flawed, so is the base of philosophical epistemology in modern understanding. Thus, men advantageously claimed their identity to be the image of the Divine with women perceived to be given by God to men as attendants and companions (Lloyd 1996).

Rousseau, upon which Western socio-political construct is based, best explains the “sexual contract” implicit in his *Social Contract*. Women, as male companions, are to “be pleasing in his sight, to win his respect and love, to train him in childhood, to tend him in manhood, to counsel and console, to make his life pleasant and happy, these are the duties of woman for all time, and this is what she should be taught when she is young” (Rousseau 1974:328). Not enjoying Divine authority, women inherently lacked qualities necessary for participation in public decision-making. Domination of women was hermetically created and recreated, using biological differences to justify social restriction.

Vandana Shiva in “Science, Nature, and Gender,” points out that the Enlightenment and the corresponding theory of progress have been centred upon male created modern scientific knowledge and economic development. Pursuit of progress, at any cost, guided and justified by theories of science and development have been the male

social, political, economic, and scientific project of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. This has been based on “male characteristics” of domination, aggression, violence, and exploitation. Just as the scientific revolution in Europe turned concepts of terra mater into a natural element to be dominated and striped of its raw materials male war also turned woman into a “natural” element upon which to signify victory, by domination, aggression, violence, and exploitation. The characteristics that men saw as undesirable and attributed to women, emotion, intuitive reasoning, co-operation, and empathy are, arguably, the personality traits that are most needed in the 21st century (Shiva 1996:266).

Feminists, such as Mendus (1992), argue that the sidelining of women in democracy has not been an “unfortunate fact,” but is a direct result of embodied ideals which will continue to omit women’s inclusion unless “an extensive critical examination of its [democracy] own philosophical assumptions” occurs (Mendus 1992:208 in Phillips 1999b). The philosophical founders of modern European social thought and theory, Aristotle and Plato to Machiavelli, Rousseau, Comte, and Nietzsche created theory fundamentally flawed in its gender perspective (Makus 1996; Whitford 1998).⁵⁷ When female identity was mentioned, it was often as a negative quality/manifestation for men to “overcome,” “to beat down,” or “win.”⁵⁸ The concept of male citizenship, and the understanding of the private/public divide, provided the rationalisation for female exclusion and theoretical soundness. “The relegation of women to the private sphere elevated men to the position of solely responsible moral agents in political society” (Windsor in Grant 1991:12). Who has been defined as a citizen, a voter, a candidate, and a soldier have all been highly gendered decisions. Political and community activity, the identity of the state, and structures of the international system have then been constructed on exclusive and artificial gender lines where one’s gender has profound implications for who enjoys privileges, undertakes duties, and receives the protection of the state. Women, historically, have been excluded from creating the state and immune to the privileges and duties of citizenship.⁵⁹ Democratic and ethnic/nationalist theories have been able to ignore the role of women because women have not been actors in public or state decision-making arenas, and have thus been external to the research project (Newland 1991:2; Yuval-Davis 1997:68-92; Zerilli 1994).⁶⁰

During the 1980s and 1990s, as it became increasingly difficult to ignore the inadequacies of state structures in addressing minority rights, concepts of citizenship were problematised (Gurr 1993). Gender also surfaced in the academic space opened by those who argued that the Western European foundation of the Enlightenment, the state system as the prime political outcome, was not meeting many human needs. Feminist theories have since made the point that the relegation of women to the private sphere was not natural but a gendered social construction; and that women's absence from the public political sphere was not based on physical qualities but on assigned meanings for female physicalities, which served as justification for their social/political exclusion (Newland 1991:2). During this time, voluminous testimony also emerged, primarily by Phillips (1991, 1993, 1995) and Pateman (1988, 1989, 1992), effectively documenting why and how women have not been systematically included in the theory and practice of democracy. Yet this research, and women themselves, still remain largely ignored by US democracy practitioners.

Although USAID's own D&G policy documents may claim gender sensitivity and consideration, USAID programming documents distinctly lack gender consideration. A comparison of programming documents to policy documents provides evidence that USAID's claim to gender inclusion is more rhetorical than substantive. For example, USAID policy documents claim that:

the most important is the attention USAID pays to women. We work to ensure that women have full access to social benefits, such as health care, education, and financial markets; that their voice is heard in politics and governance; and that they and their children are protected in times of crisis (USAID 1998c).

USAID policy reports also assert that USAID D&G programs focus on "disenfranchisement of women, indigenous peoples, and minorities; ethnic divisions; and the re-emergence of politics based on ethnic, national, and religious chauvinism" (USAID 2000b). However, a complete review of USAID's D&G programmatic documents relative to the FSU and Kyrgyzstan reveals that neither gender nor ethnicity are considered in the activities of USAID democracy programming for the FSU, detailed in section 2.4 of this chapter.

USAID's D&G policy programming unit did fund the Global Women in Politics Programme (GWIP) as part of the US commitment to the UN Fourth World Conference on Women. This funding, however, amounted to only \$1 million US dollars globally over three years and did not include the FSU, USAID's largest and most visible target for democracy programming. The GWIP program was managed by The Asia Foundation, which clearly states that "women's full participation as informed voters, activists, advocates, and elected and appointed leaders is fundamental to consolidating the world trend toward democracy and ultimately to achieving sustainable development" (GWIP Brochure, Carol Yost, Director of GWIP, 1999). Despite the success of the GWIP program, USAID chose not to renew the funding or extend the program beyond Asia.

The limited funding for global gender initiatives is only a small part of the problem, but it is relevant as confirming the tendency to produce "alibis" that present USAID as firmly dedicated to addressing gender concerns. The over-reporting of achievements seems to be a systematic part of democracy programs, and is illustrated by the reports from the Women in Development (WID) unit that were also considered, in addition to USAID's D&G policy documents, for this research. WID/USAID reports that all R4 (Results Indicators/Results, Review and Resource Request) for all WID SO (strategic objectives) throughout the agency were met or "exceeded expectations." Indeed, a review of all of USAID's policy documents relating to democracy (D&G), WID, USAID management, and R4s reveals that USAID claims to "exceed" programmatic objectives in the areas of democracy and WID sectors relative to the FSU (USAID/CAR 1999a).

While USAID policy documents may claim programmatic success related to democracy and WID issues in the FSU, in addition to this researcher's review, again there is no evidence by others who have also reviewed USAID programming documents to support USAID's policy claims. Notably, the lack of gender inclusion with USAID programs has been extensively documented by the GAO. A comprehensive GAO review of all USAID's democracy programming activities in the FSU requested by National Security Council, *Promoting Democracy, Foreign Affairs*

and Defense Agencies Funds and Activities-1991 to 1993 GAO/NSAID-94-83-Promoting Democracy (GAO January 1994: 10-11) demonstrates the distinct failure of USAID's democracy programming to include gender/women in any programs.

So negligent has USAID been on gender inclusion, the GAO also issued a separate report, *US Has Made Slow Progress in Involving Women in Development* (Martin 1994). This GAO report reviewed all of the USAID programs, including, but not limited to, the FSU and democracy. It argued that while a gender analysis is essential for sustainable development, women in the FSU assistance countries have not received assistance from USAID commensurate with their percentage of the population. It noted that while there is an evolving rationale for WID due to the severe crisis situation of women in transition countries, host countries often resist incorporating gender in their development focus; it further noted that USAID has not actively challenged this mind set. The review expressed concern that the problems of the most vulnerable women, refugee women, have not been adequately addressed by USAID programs, and argues that there is limited leadership for a WID agenda from the US State Department, the policy-setting arm of USAID. According to the review, and contrary to USAID's own claims, USAID's progress on gender inclusion within democracy programming is said to be marginal. The review also stressed that women are disproportionately hurt by structural adjustment programs, and that attention to gender is therefore crucial in economic restructuring, but that USAID has failed to consider gender within its economic restructuring programs as well as within its democracy programs (Martin 1994). The review notes that USAID's FSU bureau neglected to consider gender in any programs until after the GAO's gender investigation was public.

The Bureau of Europe and the New Independent States had not implemented the women-in-development directives at the time we completed our evaluation (Martin 1994:26).

Although women are disproportionately hurt by the post-Soviet transition, USAID has not focused on women or their increased vulnerability under the "democratic transition" in any USAID democracy programming. Finally, the GAO concludes the review asserting "understanding the dynamics of gender is essential for sustainable

development” programs (Martin 1994:55,62). Since gender consideration is not part of USAID’s democracy programming to the NIS, this GAO statement provides evidence that the lack of gender consideration with USAID’s actual democracy programming has, in part, been responsible for the overall failure of these programs to be sustainable.

Martin’s report was published seven years ago, and is the latest GAO report on USAID and WID issues; however, Thomas Carothers’ more recent, and groundbreaking critique of US democracy assistance, provides evidence that US democracy assistance still fails to address gender issues. In his research, Carothers expands on the failure of US democracy assistance to consider the role of women in democratisation, and recommends this as an area that demands greater explanation and attention (Carothers 1999:345). Under “Areas for Extra Attention,” Carothers calls for future research into the role of women in democratisation, arguing that gender has yet to be seriously considered and that it offers a “potentially powerful approach that can usefully synthesise many aspects of the democracy agenda” (Carothers 1999:345). Carothers is the most recognised critic of US democracy assistance, but not himself a gender specialist, and the fact that he would include the failure of WID within USAID’s democracy assistance as one of three areas for serious reform provides substantial evidence of USAID’s failure. It is notable that, the core of the Washington democracy community, present at the launching of Carothers’ book, failed to ask about Carothers’ substantive recommendations on the need to include women.⁶¹

Moreover, feminists have argued that there is a persistent political marginalization of women’s views within the development process, “especially at the level of development planning in institutions such as state bureaucracies and development organisations” (Goetz 1997:2), and this certainly holds true for the USAID/Kyrgyzstan context. This marginalization of women is reproduced on both the individual levels, through USAID and partner organisation’s interaction with society during implementation of the democracy program and through the less overt but equally pervasive exclusion of women from democratic theory. By replicating Western gender discrimination and reinforcing the patriarchal systems of the host

country, democracy assistance programs consciously and unconsciously reproduce and strengthen gender biases inherent in the history of Western democracy.

USAID democracy assistance compounds the inherent gender problems of the Western model by a planning and design process that is heavily biased towards men. Original democratisation project plans are created in Washington, D.C. by elite members of America's democracy ("democratic experts" as they are known), who have been schooled in Western theory of democracy and citizenship. These "democracy experts," themselves members of a "virtually all male white priesthood," are steeped in Western democratic history (Monica Harrington in True 1993:81). In the case of assistance to Kyrgyzstan, for example, at the time of this research, the USAID/ Kyrgyzstan staff members is currently all male. Of the possible ten USAID representatives in Washington and the regional USAID office in Almaty, Kazakstan, there is only one USAID female staff member in Almaty. Of the possible 60 directors of US private voluntary organisations (PVO), both in Washington and Kyrgyzstan, only three are women; a PVO office in Kyrgyzstan and two PVO offices in Washington. Therefore, 93% of US democracy assistance USAID staff members and partner organisations, both in Washington and in Kyrgyzstan, are male.

Gender discrimination is further reinforced and compounded by a tendency to adhere to local gender codes in the countries where USAID operates. Western donors are concerned with creating good relations with the power elite of the country in question. Because of this donors often mirror, reinforce, and/or reward their male national counterparts. A desire to establish good relations produces a desire to please that promotes Western adherence to local gender codes, restrictions, and structures. This behaviour is exacerbated in post-Soviet societies where the political is personal and male (Temkina 1996:213). In the case of Kyrgyzstan, not atypical of the FSU, the local government leaders, *oblast akims*, are 100% male. The heads of regional administrations, sub-*oblast* level government, are 99% men. Leadership positions within The White House of Kyrgyzstan are staffed by 62% men. Men constitute 98% of all department heads. The *Jogorku Kenesh*, the Parliament of Kyrgyzstan, is represented by 96% men, increased from 70% during the USSR. The political "opposition" leaders supported by USAID funds are 100% men (Zairash 1998).

2.3.2 *Checking the WID Box*

The common argument used to demonstrate that US democracy assistance is gender sensitive is the existence of a WID unit. WID units are charged with responsibility for ensuring that gender concerns are incorporated into development planning; thus, on the face of it, the existence of a WID unit is clear evidence that gender issues are being addressed; however, the notion that a WID unit sufficiently ensures that women will be included in democracy programming is fundamentally flawed for the WID unit is weak, sidelined, and not part of the Washington power structure that creates democracy programming. Anne Marie Goetz (1991, 1995, 1997a, 1997b) has extensively documented the marginalization of women and gender issues with WID units and institution designs in developmental practices. One point she stresses is that women are not included at the level at which they key decisions are made.

Projects designed to strengthen the capacities of a country to determine the overall direction of its development. Women were completely absent from the process of setting national development priorities in national and sectional development plans. This is the level at which crucial decisions about resource allocations are made (Goetz 1991:140).

Goetz's revelations about how WID units are typically structured within overall developmental designs holds true for USAID as well. One example of WID's exclusion from U.S. democracy policy programming is represented by the Kennan Institute/Woodrow Wilson sponsored USAID Strategic Democracy Planning Session of November 30, 1999. At this critical policy planning session there was no one from the WID office.

The second problem is that the WID unit may find themselves restricted to the "add women and stir" approach that is now considered inadequate among contemporary gender theorists. When women's issues are treated as separable from mainstream development concerns, this can encourage a "checking of the WID box," whereby aid projects can simply add a gender requirement rather than fully integrating gender concerns. For example, at the aforementioned USAID Democracy Planning Session, one former US official claimed the way to help "these countries" is to set up a system of "small business men and soccer moms, like we have here." When this remark provoked concern, another man commented, "Gender is nice, but it is something we

can do later. First we need to feed and educate the people and support democracy” (Author’s Meeting Notes 1999).

As such examples illustrate, it is all too easy for gender to be viewed as a secondary, separate program that can be performed after feeding, educating, and supporting democracy. “As a result integration came to mean small and separate projects for women... providing planners with alibis to prove their commitment to basic needs without having to deal with the implications of treating women as equal agents in development” (Goetz 1991:139). As Goetz demonstrates, WID units (not only in the US) too often content themselves with the allocation of resources to women’s projects, micro-credit, poverty alleviation, and handicrafts.

WID issues are far removed from the substantial affairs of government and development. Instead of promoting authentic gender integration, WID typically serves as the flagship gender/women’s project that both the government and donor can use to postpone more systematic inclusion of women’s needs and issues. Gender then becomes the object of disjointed policy interventions that stem from two inter-related processes, “one relating to assumptions about gender and the locus of subordination, the other regarding the limiting frameworks of technical development agencies” (Goetz 1991:136). WID shares the liberal feminist reluctance to understand gender problems within the context of social relations and systematic change.⁶² In much practice, this results in development practices that treat the category of “woman” as a self-contained identity. “Women are then labelled ‘special’ and are isolated from mainstream development activities and decisions” (Goetz 1991:140).

Due to the failure of WID, Gender and Development (GAD) has become increasingly popular within development agencies. GAD advocates redistributing power within and throughout socio-political relations. While the WID focus was more of an affirmative action approach—getting more women in development agencies, getting more aid to more female recipients, etc.—GAD involves a more direct challenge to male privileges and prejudices inherent within the patriarchal structures of socio-political institutions. GAD is fundamentally about incorporating the relational value of gender analysis/variables within both donor and assistance institutions, and thereby

uncovering the gender discrimination and imbalances of power that WID could not adequately challenge. Not surprisingly, “deep-seated resistance has hampered” the efforts to “mainstream” GAD across all aspects of the development process (Goetz 1997b:1-4).

While the work that has been done to challenge the institutional gender discrimination of development agencies is beyond the scope of this research, it is important to note that “the persistence of gendered outcomes of everyday decision-making in both state and non-governmental organisations, often in spite of policy rhetoric promoting gender-sensitive changes, has led to the conclusion that institutions themselves are gendered” (Goetz 1997b:10). Gender discrimination, in this analysis, is built into the very structure of democracy assistance programs, from the institutional down to the on-the-ground programming. The implications of this will be examined as related to the case of Kyrgyzstan in section 2.4.

One final area, however, that demands attention at this point is the role attached to civil society within US democracy assistance, because this sector, at least in Kyrgyzstan, demonstrates clearly how the “identifiable patriarchal bargain” operates (Kandiyoti 1988) and is supported by institutional gender marginalization. As already noted, Kyrgyzstan’s civil society has a strong constituency base of women’s organisations and women dominated NGOs; which might, logically, be expected to “strengthen the position of the WID/GAD agenda in government, while at the same time sensitising it to the needs of the national female citizenship it has proven difficult to build up or to exploit this iterative relationship” (Goetz 1995:6). Yet, despite repeated gestures to the importance of civil society in the democratisation process, this has not been the case. The difficulty comes from institutional discrimination and a resulting patriarchal bargain, both of which operate, to confound and restrict the process of gender integration.

2.3.3 *Civil Society-NGOs and GONGOs*

Civil society is as difficult to define as democracy. Says Fish, “There exist nearly as many conceptions of it as theorists who have examined it” (Fish 1995:55). For the

purposes of this research, civil society is understood as a collection of institutions (primarily, but not exclusively, NGOs) whose members are engaged in non-state activities, usually revolving around the social service sector, including economic, cultural, family, voluntary associations, education, and media. Actors in civil society may have the opportunity to transform and/or preserve their own identity through non-formal pressures on state systems and community leaders (Fish 1995:55; Keane 1988).⁶³ However, for US democracy practitioners, civil society has become entirely synonymous with non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Although Western donors now rely heavily on the concept of NGOs, community action, and public society to support a democratic state system, NGOs remain a new concept that is understood in very different terms by FSU citizens.⁶⁴

A closer examination of civil society and gender is relevant for several reasons. First, US democracy promoters have heightened the importance of civil society arguing that an active civil society—understood in USAID terms as a flourishing sector of NGOs—necessarily promotes democracy. Second, within US democracy assistance, nowhere is the lack of comprehensive gender integration more clear than in the realm of understanding civil society, and no where is it more apparent how complex gender issues and analysis can be. Where women are key actors in civil society—as they are in Kyrgyzstan—the importance attached to civil society should counteract the indifference to gender issues. And yet, the understanding of civil society, combined with the tendency to emphasis procedure over substance, means that women remain marginalized even when one of their main spheres of activity becomes central to the understanding of democracy.

While it is usually agreed that democracy does require a commitment to civic virtue—a significant citizen component—civil society has become a “magic bullet,” a primary “tool” in US democracy assistance (Held 1993:261). “One of the most widely shared understandings of what must be done to ensure the survival of democracy has been that civil society must be further developed and strengthened” (Reisner 1997:66; Lipshutz 1992; Held 1991; Keane 1988; Kangas 1995; Bateson 1990; Tismaneanu 1995). Citizens, acting in civil society, are now perceived to be a critical ingredient of democratic society, central to the processes of transitions and consolidation. So

important is civil society that it has been named the “dependent variable” of democracy (Fish 1995:54).

US democracy assistance has consistently emphasised procedure over substance. In relation to civil society, this is evidenced by the attention given to the quantity of NGOs present. USAID’s Assistant Administrator—Bureau for Europe and Eurasia—Donald Pressley, claimed, in a Congressional Testimony on April 12, 2000: “We are proud of what USAID programs have been able to accomplish. Civil society is growing in magnitude and sophistication in all five countries. Citizens’ organisations, non-existent in 1991, now number over 3,000” (Pressley 2000). In his eight-page testimony, Pressley references NGOs forty-four times, an average of five per page. Civic/civil/citizen appear 42 times and democracy, by comparison, is referenced 25 times. Further, in an April 2000 joint press release, US Department of State and the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, former US Secretary of State Madeline Albright, “praised the role of NGOs and civic groups... [and] stated that the United States will continue to provide support for grassroots organisations in their efforts to develop a robust civil society” (Rubin 2000). This increased responsibility on NGOs to reverse USAID’s probable failure in Kyrgyzstan provides evidence of USAID’s envisioned role of local NGOs as the saviour of US policy on democracy.

While a pro-active citizenry does indeed create a powerful check against autocratic rule, sheer numbers of NGOs, understood by Washington to equal active civil society, do not necessarily indicate or ensure a vibrant civic society. Indeed, in Kyrgyzstan, USAID emphasis on the quantity of NGOs has created an awkward dynamic where groups form to meet Western expectations and/or to take advantage of Western funds rather than meet local needs. This has hindered the development of authentic civil society and resulted in a community weakened by the large presence of government-operated NGOs, now widely known as GONGOs. As Radio Free Europe’s Paul Goble states in his April 12, 2000 Congressional Testimony on US democracy assistance to Central Asia:

Genuine NGOs are severely restricted in their activities or even banned altogether, with the authorities recreating a phenomenon pioneered by the Soviet regime: government-organised non-governmental organisations or GONGOs. Such groups are trotted out by the authorities to demonstrate that these regimes are moving in a democratic direction, a tactic that works all too often not only in Central Asia but elsewhere as well because many Western governments and scholars now equate NGO development with democratic change (Goble 2000).

GONGOs, NGOs in name only, are consciously created, often by relatives of government officials, to act as a “legitimate” collection mechanism of foreign donor hard currency. According to one prominent USAID PVO partner, Counterpart Consortium, an American NGO with headquarters in Washington and an office in Kyrgyzstan, 961 NGOs were legally registered in Kyrgyzstan as of September 1999. Of these, 132 focus on women/women’s issues. Of those not dealing with women’s issues, 53 include women in their mission statement. One hundred and ninety-four NGOs have no director listed but of those that do list a director—767 in all—365 list women as their director. Although Counterpart is the PVO that administers the majority of USAID funds for NGOs in Kyrgyzstan and provides USAID with information about how many NGOs exist, the 1999 USAID report on Kyrgyzstan, under the section, “USAID Role and Achievements to Date,” states that “over 450 NGOs have been established” (USAID 1999).

As this indicates there are no consistent accounts of the number of NGOs in existence, but it is an “open secret” is that the majority of organisations are GONGOs masquerading as NGOs. Common estimates, from both nationals and internationals who work in the NGO community of Kyrgyzstan, are that only 50 to 100, at most, of the registered NGOs are authentic. Authentic here means simply that there is an operating office, staff, and mission statement. The inflation of numbers means that the NGO community in Kyrgyzstan is largely passive due to nepotic conflicts of interest, and the population is justifiably cynical of both foreign assistance and NGOs.

Despite the known occurrence of GONGOs, it remains difficult to gather evidence because their proliferation is a direct result of donor demand and supply. Donors need to demonstrate “civil society” results, and large numbers of NGOs provide an impressive and easy accomplishment. Money is the major donor “deliverable.” GONGOs make a convenient outlet for excess funds that must be spent in-country. Additionally, while internationals and nationals are willing to discuss their concerns about the authenticity of NGOs and proliferation of GONGO, few are willing to go on record. This reluctance results from: (1) fear that criticism could jeopardise the funding of civil society and thus (2) threaten international jobs/careers, and (3) endanger the promotion of civil society; a mechanism that many professionals, rightly and genuinely, believe offers the best means for promoting human rights and social protection and, thus, authentic democracy. Yet, the silence surrounding the GONGO

phenomenon threatens the very civic values that donors and NGOs are dedicated to promoting.

Although it is difficult to find people who have worked with or within GONGOs and are willing to speak out against their practices, two people were willing to talk about first-hand experiences they had with The Women's Congress of the Kyrgyz Republic and another "NGO" called Ai-Danek. Natalia Ablova, Director of the well-known Bishkek based Bureau of Human Rights and Rule of Law, described two GONGO scenarios.

The much criticised parliamentary elections [February 2000] have become a sort of a test for NGOs' commitment, professionalism and reliability because the elections made a clear division between genuine grassroots civil society groups and lots of 'NGO-like institutions.' The commonly shared concerns of our society over these 'dirty elections' were voiced mainly by human rights advocacy groups, a couple of energetic youth and women NGOs, and the NGO Coalition for Democracy. Where, I wonder, are all those numerous 'NGOs' that wrote solemnly in their charters 'we intend to build a democracy in Kyrgyzstan?' Were they going to practice 'democracy building,' on the moon? The elections were the chance to prove their missions because the election results are crucial not only for 'democracy building' but for the very existence of the so called 'third sector.' But instead, stubborn and demonstrative non-participation was self-imposed by most 'NGOs.'

- Natalia Ablova 2000 (Personal Correspondence to the Researcher
5/8/00)

Ablova illustrated what she meant by self-imposed NGO censorship or "demonstrative non-participation" in another personal correspondence sent to the researcher with the subject heading "GONGO Horror Story" about the "NGO" Ai-Danek.

During the discussions in front of President Akaev today, the floor was given 7 times to a Ms Umetalieva from an obscure NGO, 'Ai-Danek', who gave her credentials as a speaker not only on behalf of her organisation but on behalf of ALL NGOs and even, in a way, on behalf of the Soros Foundation of Kyrgyzstan. She called to what even the most reactionary officials here would not dream of doing: to put all NGOs under a government control, to prohibit any external funding for all 'political NGOs.' Then the list was announced: NGO Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society (the main elections monitor in February-March 2000), Committee for Human Rights (Dyryldaev) and my Bureau. Then it was mentioned by Ms. Umetalieva that we are paid by foreign, mostly American, money to 'damage the image of the fatherland'

while the country is practising a 'democracy without limits' and so on. Byelorussia revisited!

I did not seriously believe, you know, that all these quasi-NGOs can be dangerous but in such witch-hunting campaigns, they can be easily set against real grassroots. So far this weapon was not used by the authorities. Now they gained the momentum for it. And a person appeared who is ready to undertake this dirty job - on American money! Yes, this is the mockery of the situation! ... But today all disguises were waved away: Umetalieva publicly promised to President Akaev that from now on 'her fund' will be at the disposal of the authorities, and that journalists training sessions will be held in the spirit of the loyalty to the state.

- Natalia Ablova 2000 (Personal Correspondence to the Researcher 6/8/00)

This type of behaviour is not atypical for the GONGO community. Aisuluu Bedelbaeva, a former USAID funded Muskie Fellow, was willing to "go on record" about her first-hand experience with a suspected GONGO. The summer of 1996 Bedelbaeva was recruited by Zamira Akbagysheva, President of Woman's Congress of the Kyrgyz Republic, to volunteer as "project director" of a week-long delegation, arranged by the Pakistan Embassy to Kyrgyzstan and the Women's Congress, of a small group of Pakistani Girl Scouts visiting Kyrgyzstan. Of this experience Bedelbaeva says,

Although Zamira insisted that the entire week be a no-expense budget, as the Women's Congress was an NGO, I suspect that funding may have been provided by international donors but this is difficult to prove as the Women's Congress' financial records were secret. So, free accommodation, for example, was found at Kyrgyz Technical University's dormitories, which were really inadequate accommodations. Zamira provided a list of mandatory meetings, which included factory and hospital directors and Zamira, herself, invited the media to the arranged meetings.

I suspect that money may have been made by the media presence because later, when I worked for the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR) the exchange program that sends students from the former Soviet Union to American high schools and universities, Zamira invited ACTR to appear on her television show, 'Call Us on Thursday,' for the price of \$500 per show paid to the Women's Congress. The offer was, of course, declined. Of all the meetings only the orphanage on Belorusskaya Street in Bishkek provided me with evidence of financial gain by Zamira.

At the delegation's final dinner, hosted by the Pakistani Embassy at the exclusive Ak-Keme hotel, the Girl Scout leader announced she regretted that

the Belorusskaya orphanage director was not there because she wanted to donate one hundred U.S. dollars. Although the Embassy had requested those who had assisted with the trip be invited, Zamira, unbeknownst to the Embassy, invited those whom she needs to 'repay' or request favours from in the future. Zamira took the money and promised to give the orphanage's director the funds; however, because my aunt worked at the orphanage I was able to investigate and learn that this money was never transferred.

—Aisuluu Bedelbaeva 1999 (Researcher's Notes, Kyrgyzstan 1999).

In order to avoid interviewing GONGOs when conducting research for this thesis, the researcher relied on two years of knowledge from working with the NGO community in Kyrgyzstan and thereby knowing which NGOs had an office, a project, and were active participants in civil society. The researcher was also guided by the credible and active NGO Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society (known as the NGO Coalition) which Ablova mentions in her first e-mail. Therefore, only 50 NGOs, that in the researcher's opinion are authentic working NGOs independent from government control, were asked to complete the NGO surveys that inform this research. Of these NGOs 28 did so.

Of these 28, NGOs, 76% were directed by women. 96% of these NGOs surveyed thought that women were leading NGOs nationwide. Local Kyrgyz government officials and USAID PVO partners also thought that the majority of NGOs in Kyrgyzstan were directed by women. As part of this research, described in greater detail in Chapter Five and Six, the author asked local NGOs, "Are there many women leading NGOs? Why or why not?" 96% responded, "Yes, most NGOs are led by women." Women not only dominate NGOs in Kyrgyzstan but in other FSU countries as well, such as Mongolia. Of Mongolia's democratic success, Fish notes "The case under examination evinces the independent power of a strong civil society. Two crucial NGO sectors, women's groups and journalists' associations, were instrumental in pushing democratisation forward" (Fish 1998:139-140).

2.3.4 Patriarchal Bargain Producing Paradoxical Results

Despite USAID's assertion that civil society promotion is essential to achieving democratic success, there appears to be an overall lack within USAID of any

meaningful attention to who is participating in civil society development and why. The correlation between gender and civil society is noted for the first time in USAID documents in 1997; however, USAID simply determines that this means “promoting even greater participation [of women in civil society] will further accelerate reform” (USAID 1997,32). This statement evidences that the “checking of the WID box” mentality is still very much a part of the structure and process of how US democracy assistance perceives women and gender issues. Additionally, USAID’s general assertions of success and claims to gender parity are rarely evident in USAID reports requesting funding from Congress or in USAID’s final programmatic and country reports themselves, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Four.

Although gender considerations have been largely ignored, USAID/Central Asian Republics (CAR) did commission a special report on gender-related activities in Central Asia during the summer of 1999. This task of surveying, analysing, and suggesting programmatic design on gender issues for all of Central Asia, however, was given to a summer intern, indicating something about the priority level that USAID places on including gender in any serious manner (Arnold 1999).⁶⁵ Research for this report occurred in Kazakstan with a one-week trip to Uzbekistan. The results the intern recommended, despite her lack of adequate knowledge of the region and of any stated specific gender expertise, were meant to inform gender programming for the entire region. Yet, “USAID/CAR recognise that gender issues are gaining prominence and distinction in our portfolio” claims the report (Arnold 1999:4). The report notes “the Mission currently facilitates many gender-related activities that span all SOs. These activities may not necessarily be the result of a conscious effort to target women...” (Arnold 1999; USAID 1999d).⁶⁶ Finally, the report concludes:

A majority of the Democracy and Governance activities have focused around the strengthening of the developing civil society, primarily through support for NGOs/PVOs and independent media. Mission efforts to empower women and ensure their participation in political and economic decision-making at the national and sub-nation level have focused largely on support for women’s NGOs..... the number of NGOs ...including those run by and involved with issues of particular concern to women, has been steadily increasing... more than 100 in Kyrgyzstan... support of women’s NGOs has been very strong and the outcomes successful (Arnold 1999).

Interestingly, it is assumed that the high involvement of women in NGOs reflects an increase in what can be termed “women’s NGOs” and it is still not recognised that women might be playing a major and active role throughout the NGO sector. Thus, even in recognising the observable fact that women are leading civil society, USAID

has failed to understand the implications of a female-driven civil society. Moreover, the happy assumption that a proliferation of women active in NGOs adds up to an equality in political decision-making is both erroneous and detrimental to authentic political participation for both women and civil society as a whole.

Enter the “identifiable patriarchal bargain” (Kandiyoti 1988). If, as Touraine asserts, “We cannot divorce democratic culture from political consciousness, which is not simply a sense of citizenship but a demand for responsibility,” (Touraine 1997:150) then it is the women of Kyrgyzstan who are taking on the burden of both creating and assuming public responsibility for the democratic transition while the “new (male) democrats” are busy “sipping beer and dancing the night away” (Bransten 1997). As this thesis explores, it is through the building of the informal sector of a democratic society that women may come to recognise a more peaceful ethnic identity. Women are certainly realising greater force and effectiveness as active citizens in the third sector, the civil society of Kyrgyzstan, by contributing to the overall improvement of life for all citizens. The strongest, most successful civil sector organisations (these include Interbilim, Institute for Regional Studies, Kyrgyz-American Human Rights Bureau, The Talent Support Fund, and Ukuk, among others described in greater detail in Chapter Four) have been created and are being directed by women; some but not all of these are NGOs. The only independent newspaper, *Res Public*,⁶⁷ and university, The American University, are also being directed by women. As Djanaeva Nurgul, Director of the Forum of Women’s NGOs in Kyrgyzstan claims, among the NGOs a “practical realisation of the social responsibility is taking place” (Moldogazieva 1996). It is concern for their children, families, and country that has catalysed women to lead the nascent, yet rapidly expanding, NGO/civil society movement in Kyrgyzstan (Kuehnast 1997:76-77).

On the other hand, however, if women are leading NGOs and a majority of NGOs are GONGOs then women and women’s issues are increasingly being linked to non-authentic civil society/GONGOs. Moreover, while the growth of women’s NGOs may be directly related to increased international recognition of women as a vital and neglected component of development, the predominance of unconditional and uncritical donor support for women directed and women’s issue NGOs places the fragile emergence of gender inclusive development assistance in jeopardy. Finally, while the female domination of civil society may be perceived as a positive factor, the gendered nature of civil society also represents a negative trend because it reflects women’s limited access to higher levels of decision-making. Thus, women are

increasingly finding themselves marginalized in a large, but potentially meaningless, civil society.

While democracy promoters place a great deal of hope in the “blooming” civil society of the FSU, meaningful citizen activity is still limited (Tismaneanue 1995). As the state continues to restrict citizen activity and prevent meaningful participation in Kyrgyzstan, “policies will continue to be directed by inclusive leaderships that seek to justify their own authority and in the process, consolidate power” (Kangas 1995:271). It is important to understand that citizenship is a highly-confusing and unresolved political issue because the population belonged to a now non-existent superpower that was an authoritarian, police state (Kangas 1995:281). Moreover, the FSU was a superpower that the citizens of Kyrgyzstan did not want to leave.⁶⁸ There was no democracy movement. Hence civil society is not starting from the same Western democratic base from which USAID understands civil society to be beneficial to the promotion and consolidation of democracy.

A gender in development (GAD) approach would understand that the non-formal, civic, public space that developed with the assistance of Western money and support was open for women to join because men did not view NGOs to be part of the power and/or decision making structures. For the majority of society, particularly male society, the state system, whether is it called communist or democratic, remains the locus of power. A Marxist analysis would understand NGOs to have been placed outside the political power structure precisely because they represent the equivalent of a “cheap and exploitable reserve army of labour” (Lorber 1994:33). NGOs have little, if any, influence on government. The ladder for political and financial ambitions still is the state structure. It is government officials, a majority of whom are male, who are recognised and rewarded for “creating” a democracy, largely by their position in the state political structure and hence their ability to receive the largest amounts of funds from Western aid. These rewards are given in many ways, mainly trips abroad or large chunks of “consultancy fees” given to government officials where there is no consultancy requirement or duties for the “consultant” who happens to be, not a consultant, but a member of the government or a member of the political power elite. Matt Bivens provided one of the only exposes of these “rewards” in a 1997 article

where he discusses the “rewards” provided to favourite government officials by the USAID implementing partner (Bivens 1997:68-76).⁶⁹ Therefore, because: (a) NGOs are not seen as important by local political leaders, and (b) NGO work is difficult, and brings fewer financial rewards, women have been allowed to dominate the non-formal-civic public space. By Soviet standards of power structures and elites, not much has changed (Pakulski 1996).

Women’s advancement and recognition then still remains within the framework of gender stratified societies, so that what men do is valued more than what women do (Lorber 1994:33). It can be argued that the political leaders of FSU and the Western democracy donors are “allowing” the women to do the “dirty” work of transforming society and at the same time devaluing that work. Male work is more highly valued simply because men do it (Lorber 1994:32). Civil society is where the labour necessary for democratic consolidation occurs. Building a civil society involves a great deal of exertion and involvement in the delivery of social services. In the FSU, it is women, rather than officially-elected male politicians, who are building civil society, largely through Western-funded NGOs (Fisher 1996).⁷⁰

Although civil society appears to be a less restricted public space, in which women can become socially active, revolutions and/or transitions typically do not deliver equal political power and status for women once a consolidation of power occurs (Lorber 1994:254). In this incipient realm of relative “freedom,” women’s strategies remain within the context of “identifiable patriarchal bargains” (Kandiyoti 1988) that define, limit, and inflect their public and private options and actions. As Kandiyoti notes, “Patriarchal bargains do not merely inform women’s rational choices but also shape the more unconscious aspects of their gendered subjectivity” (Kandiyoti 1988:285). On closer inspection, then, female domination of civil society does not necessarily translate into long-term gains for women as official and equal political decision-makers. Nor, given the abundant evidence of the harsh impact FSU’s transitional democracies have had on women’s quality of life, does a female dominated NGO community appear to provide even short-term gains to women.

US democratic assistance, male and patriarchal, is also contributing to the subjectivity of female-led civil society. Donors insist that civil society is critical for democratic consolidation, yet the actors in civil society are not being groomed for local or national political office, nor are they engaged by the donors as serious democratic actors.⁷¹ By a positive coalescence of dominant male gender-stratified societies, in the US and the FSU, the benefits of civil society are cancelled, primarily because neither society values work with which women are predominately engaged. Paradoxically, the work that is devalued is often the most important and most difficult work in society.⁷² The activities in civil society that are allowed by more repressive governments are largely those of women's NGOs or NGOs directed by women. As women are perceived to be outside the official political process, women's NGOs are not perceived to be a threat to that political process. However, precisely because women are less publicly powerful and perceived to be less threatening to the state, women's NGOs represent a democratic and opposition value that has largely been unrecognised by the US democratic assistance community. Hence, despite an entire body of research that has successfully gendered democracy theory, US democracy assistance practice continues to be designed by men for the benefit of other men.

For example, the GONGO problem is especially acute for women's NGOs given that western donors need to show that their assistance helps women. Since women are leading NGOs and many NGOs appear to be government organised with the goal of draining donor coffers, authentic women's NGOs and women's issues in general are increasingly being linked to non-authentic and often corrupt organisations. Thus, the patriarchal bargain can be clearly seen within the female dominated NGO community in Kyrgyzstan that, paradoxically, is not yielding gender-sensitive results or necessarily creating gender solidarity as women choose to operate within the confines of a male state and donor directives.

Authentic civil society promotion has been hindered by the lack of a GAD approach and instead resulted in a community weakened by the large presence of GONGOs. Moreover, while the growth market of women's NGOs is directly related to an increased international recognition that women are a vital and neglected component of development, the predominance of unconditional and uncritical donor support for

women directed and women's issue NGOs places the fragile emergence of gender inclusive development assistance in jeopardy. While the female domination of civil society is often perceived by donors as a positive, the gendered nature of civil society also represents a negative trend in blocking female access to authentic decision-making positions.

Due to the donor community's reluctance to apply a GAD analysis to the NGO profile in Kyrgyzstan, the nascent reputation of women as serious players in democratic development risks being ruined in the drive for quantitative over qualitative developmental indicators. A paradoxical situation is created where a female dominated NGO community does not necessarily yield gender sensitive policies and advancement of women's rights due to the double patriarchal bargain that women involved in the NGO sector face. First, the female led NGO sector must operate within the male dominated political space of the country in question. Second, the female NGO sector must respond to the male dominated US democracy assistance donors that fund their programs. Thus, women in civil society find themselves located in a position that severely limits the extent that they can support gender sensitive policies and advance political leadership and human rights for women.

2.4 USAID's Democracy Assistance in Kyrgyzstan

"Because Western countries have invested tremendous political capital in Kyrgyzstan's image as the 'island of democracy' in Central Asia, it is likely that donors will continue to support Kyrgyzstan no matter what" (Raballand 2000)

"Democracy on paper. The texts of the Central Asian constitutions—each has one—were tailored to look attractive to the United Nations but have little application in the countries' political lives. Each proclaims freedom of the press and freedom of speech, but as in Soviet times, those freedoms are limited to the presidents and their supporters" (Panfilov 1997:58)

Kyrgyzstan's President Askar Akaev, perhaps because he was a protégé of Andrei Sakharov, is said to understand democratic principles. He can quote, as he often does, Lincoln, Adams, and Jefferson (Akaev 1995). However, while Akaev has excelled at "paper democracy," the reality in Kyrgyzstan is quite different. The difficulty the people of Kyrgyzstan are having is not learning how to live with freedom, as Akaev claims, but learning how to exist with civil/political restriction and social anarchy.⁷³

Since USAID officials have stated that Kyrgyzstan is “a ‘laboratory’ for demonstrating that democracy can work in Central Asia” (Raballand 2000), delivering the intended outcome is vital to proof of the success or failure for US democratic assistance. As USAID Deputy Administrator George Ingram commented in a Congressional testimony, “I am pleased to report that our assistance in Central Asia continues to achieve notable success—particularly in Kazakstan and Kyrgyzstan” (USAID 2000e).

Unfortunately, there is little evidence of “success” for US democracy assistance in Kyrgyzstan thus far. Even the critical assumptions of USAID are daily being proven wrong. For example, the 1997 USAID Strategic Plan for Kyrgyzstan, which outlines objectives up to the year 2002, noted, “The Kyrgyz [sic] Republic will not interfere significantly with the development of citizen participation in political and economic decision-making” (USAID 1997a). USAID’s objectives involve close work with the Kyrgyz Central Election Commission (CEC). Although USAID claimed that, “If at any time it appears that elections won’t be free and fair, USAID will immediately terminate assistance to the CEC,” (USAID 1997a) it was only as of April 12, 2000, that USAID publicly committed itself to ending this assistance. In this same report, USAID confirms that democratic development requires “both commitment at the upper levels of government and dedication on the part of individuals” (USAID 1997a). In every case, the Kyrgyz government’s manipulation of the February elections, described in Chapter Four, only prove USAID’s assumptions to be critically defective and not even close to political reality in Kyrgyzstan (Handrahan 2000e).

The earliest USAID reports for Kyrgyzstan include optimistic prospects for a quick transition to democracy. These are countered, not only by the current situation in Kyrgyzstan but also by US Congressional Testimony on USAID’s Democracy programming in Central Asia, which references US policy 20 years ago in Iran (Goble 2000). Democracy spending increased steadily to a \$6 million peak in 1998, only to decrease thereafter. Although aid has been given to Kyrgyzstan since 1991, separate USAID reports only exist from 1995. Prior to this, funds and reports for Kyrgyzstan were mixed with NIS funds/reports, with no delineation according to country. Additionally, USAID only provides approximate figures. While USAID’s Fiscal Year (FY) Congressional Presentations (CP) are the most reliable source of information for tracking progress, even these reports are not standardised, with a mix of estimated amounts and requested figures. USAID’s regional Central Asian office (CAR) reports that “1991-1996 funding totals \$460 million” for Central Asia as a

region. According to annual FY CP reports, USAID has given the following amounts of aid to Kyrgyzstan (USAID 1996a).⁷⁴

Year Amount Status of Amount Amount for Democracy

1993	\$14,859,000	N/A	N/A
1994	\$53,495,000	Estimated	N/A
1995	\$19,000,000	Requested	\$1.5 million
1996	\$17,000,000	Requested	\$2 million
1997	\$20,000,000	Requested	\$3 million
1998	\$24,518,000	Actual	\$6 million
1999	\$28,520,000	Estimated	\$4 million, fifty thousand
2000	\$34,500,000	Requested	\$ 4 million

USAID's failure is due in part to the fact that democracy assistance is not engaging with the variables that affect the growth or decline of democracy within the political process of institution building—ethnicity and gender. In a review of general USAID policy documents, ethnicity was only mentioned in passing in one document “Strategic Directions for 2000 and Beyond” under Conflict Prevention subheading (USAID 1997:32) and in an off-the-record internal strategy session (USAID E&E Strategy Session November 4: 1999). In a recent USAID five-year strategy plan, there is no consideration given to why ethnic conflict begins and how ethnic violence may be prevented (USAID 1999g). A review of USAID's Kyrgyzstan programming, for democracy strategic objectives (SO) overall USAID spending, and USAID's political assessment, reveals that ethnicity is only mentioned once, in a passing reference in a description of demography. The general failure of USAID to account for gender has been highlighted. In Kyrgyz specific USAID documentation, women are mentioned twice, once in relation to healthcare in 1997 and once in 2000 in relation to a new USAID commitment to “increased attention paid to improving women's legal rights and their participation in the political process” (USAID 2000a). NGOs, in contrast, are mentioned as the most important aspect of USAID's programming in every report.

Specific democracy programs in Kyrgyzstan demonstrate that in addition to the gender discrimination inherent institutionally within USAID, Western democratic theory, and the receiving country's political leadership, USAID also fails to account for gender discrimination within specific assistance programs even when severe discrimination against women constitutes a larger concern with the process. One notable example is the case of family voting where, even when a large percentage of the population is actively discouraged from voting, i.e. women, this did not ever render, in the opinion of US donors, any election results in Kyrgyzstan invalid. Moreover, the disproportional crisis conditions facing women in the "transitional democracies," additional emphasis, beyond structural considerations of gender, is also justified.

In 1995, it was estimated that some 70-80% of rural women in Kyrgyzstan lived below the poverty line, with the Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR), in 1994, estimated at 72.4 per 100,000 (European average 10.5). This is the second highest in the region after Tajikistan (Kuehnast 1997:48-49, 31-32). However, despite authentic cause for alarm, the dramatic back-sliding of economic, security, health, education, and other personal impacts resulting from sectoral collapse across all aspects of society has had, disproportional, on the lives of just over half the population, women, none of these concerns are reflected in U.S. democracy programming. Even when the U.S. State Department notes, "Violence against women is a problem which the authorities often ignore," there is no mention that the USAID has also, largely, ignored this problem in its democratic assistance programming (US State Department Country Reports 1996).

The following summary, arranged by fiscal year (FY) has been extracted from USAID's records, reports, and Data Activity Sheets (located in the appendix). The actual USAID Data Activity Sheets, charts, tables, following this summary, are taken directly from USAID's web pages. It is not possible to provide precise budgetary details of how much money was given to each USAID partner PVO and how much USAID partner PVO's distributed to national government and NGOs partners. USAID does not make these micro details public.

- **FY 1995**

The FY 1995 program highlighted “support for rule of law and democratic process programs will be featured.” A “Democratisation Pluralism Initiative” was also included “to support the Kyrgyz Republic’s democratic transition through development of the rule of law, electoral and political process, civil society, and enhanced public administration, particularly at the local level.... grants to NGOs that support rule of law objectives and the growth of civil society are also envisaged.... support for Kyrgyz’s [sic] Republic’s democratisation is one of the U.S. Government’s highest priorities.” USAID intended the “Major Outputs” (later called SO) to be “more efficient and informed legislative and legal processes; strengthen legal and judicial infrastructure; improved management of financial practices of city governments; improved services to city residents; NGO operations expanded and strengthened; and strengthen political parties.” Politically, USAID’s 1995 report said, “The Republic’s early leadership in reform merited, and received, a significant response from the United States... as of September 1994, however, there were mixed signals from the Kyrgyz Republics” leadership on continued commitment to reform and maintaining an open political system. These developments must be carefully monitored and factored into U.S. assistance activities.” This early note of caution and warning indicates that USAID was well aware of the potential lack of legitimacy of “democracy” in Kyrgyzstan.

- **FY 1996**

The 1996 USAID report affirms that, “United States interests are served by supporting the reform process in a country with such promising prospects for a successful transition.” The report also states, “The President was an outsider and not part of the previous power structure. A relatively free press and opposition parties began to grow shortly after independence.” This tone and text is very different from the 1995 report warning of mixed signals from the Kyrgyz government vis-à-vis democratic commitment. The 1995 Democratisation Pluralism Initiative changed to “Building Democracy” and SO 2. “Support the transition to transparent and accountable governance and the empowerment of citizens through democratic

political processes.” Building Democracy for USAID in 1996 means “civic group activities related to free and fair elections” with indicators of USAID’s future success evident by: “(1) the election authority is operating independent of political interference, (2) free and fair elections are held at all levels of government, (3) legislation or other measures that facilitate independent political parties to function and operate without pressure are adopted, (4) legislation providing for an independent judiciary is developed and adopted, and (5) the percentage of surveyed citizens who believe that the courts are free of political control and influence increases.”

- **FY 1997**

USAID’s 1997 report contains the first and only reference to ethnicity and this is only in passing reference as a descriptive and not a programmatic response. “Despite considerable out-migration over the past several years, the country remains ethnically diverse. Ethnic Kyrgyz represent the majority population, but there are sizeable communities of Russians, Uzbeks, Germans, Tatars, Uigers, and others” (USAID 1997). The 1997 report continues, “there is strong desire to work with Kyrgyzstan reformers to build and sustain a democratic and market-oriented country that could serve as an example to neighbouring countries... a vibrant, independent Kyrgyzstan... is important to maintaining stability in an area of the world where a number of international players, including Russia, China, Iran, the Middle East, and the Indian Subcontinent, have displayed strategic interests” (USAID 1997). The 1997 report labels democracy programming, “Democratic Transitions” with “SO 2.1 Citizens’ Participation.” The 1997 report begins to demonstrate an over emphasis on NGOs/civil society.

Democratisation programs will increasingly focus on developing the basic foundations for a civil society, in large part through promoting a variety of independent means of communication and in building an indigenous non-government organisations (NGO) sector... efforts to enhance the flow of information and help develop the basic features of a civil society in Kyrgyzstan take place on a number of levels. First, USAID would like to help nurture and develop the non-governmental organisation (NGO) sector as a way to enhance citizen participation and involvement. ... virtually, no NGOs existed before the break-up of the Soviet Union. Since then, several hundred NGOs have emerged, but are poorly funded and make a

limited contribution to the political, economic and social life of Kyrgyzstan. However, the generally open environment for NGOs provides opportunities that are being increasingly realised. USAID-funded groups work directly with such groups, providing both training and small grants to assist in program development ... the importance of an active non-governmental sector...are all prominent features of this effort (USAID 1997).

Of the political situation USAID notes, "Kyrgyzstan remains the most open Central Asian country, but there have been a number of recent setbacks on the road to democracy. Examples include the muzzling of some newspapers, constitutional changes that limit the power of the legislature, and the disqualification of several candidates in recent presidential elections. In this environment, the importance of building and sustaining a vibrant non-government sectoral with active citizen participation and a free media becomes even more important" (USAID 1997).

▪ **FY 1998**

The 1998 FY USAID reports stays with Democratic Transition and separates this objective into two SO's Citizen Participation (at \$4 million) and Local Government (at \$2 million). The emphasis is still very much on NGOs and the wording is a near repeat of 1997.

Democratisation programs will increasingly focus on developing the basic foundations for a civil society, strengthening parliament, promoting independent means of communication, and building indigenous non-government organisations (NGOs). Work in the area of effective, responsible and accountable local government is also envisaged. ...efforts to enhance access to information and help develop the basic features of a civil society in Kyrgyzstan take place on a number of levels. First, USAID is helping to nurture the non-governmental organisation (NGO) sector to enhance citizen participation. ... viable democracies depend on the participation of all citizens, as individuals or as members of interest groups. Virtually no NGOs existed before the break-up of the Soviet Union. Since then, several hundred NGOs have emerged. Many tend to be poorly funded and make a limited contribution to the political, economic and social life of Kyrgyzstan. However, the generally open environment for NGOs provides opportunities that are increasingly being realised. USAID-funded groups work directly with such NGOs, providing both training and small grants to assist in program development (USAID, 1998).

Of the political situation, USAID reports, “Kyrgyzstan was one of the earliest and most active reformers among the former Soviet Union. United States strategic interests in Kyrgyzstan are twofold. First, there is an interest to work with reformers in Kyrgyzstan to build and sustain a democratic and market-oriented country that could serve as an example to neighbouring countries which seem less committed to these values. Second, a stable, independent Kyrgyzstan interacting positively on a wider international stage is important to maintaining stability in an area of the world where a number of international players, including Russia, China, Iran, the Middle East, and the Indian Subcontinent, have displayed strategic interests of their own” (USAID 1998).

▪ **FY 1999**

The FY 1999 USAID report is the first to mention women, albeit once, and only in relation to health care. NGOs remain the centrepiece of the democracy programming. “Program focus will continue on strengthening civil society... increasing the capabilities of the parliament and the community of NGOs will lead to a more participatory political process” (USAID 1999). Democratic Transition has the same SOs of 1998, Citizen’s Participation (\$2,050,000.00) and 2.3 Local Government (\$2,000,000.00) down \$2 million from 1998. In the 1999 report USAID has a new section, “USAID Role and Achievements to Date: Over 450 NGOs have been established” (USAID 1999). USAID also claims success via “democratic reform and respect for the rule of law, though still fragile, took an important step forward, for example, with a successful USAID-assisted housing program” (USAID 1999). Regarding the political situation, USAID reports, “The national interests of the United States in Kyrgyzstan are economic prosperity and democracy.... The U.S. has a stake in encouraging Kyrgyzstan to proceed with democratic reform, including respect for the rule of law, separation of powers, and individual rights. From a regional security viewpoint, Kyrgyzstan's location at the headwaters of major river systems in Central Asia means that it can dramatically affect critical and sensitive sectors such as agriculture and electricity generation in the downriver countries (e.g., Kazakstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. Any negative action on the part of Kyrgyzstan

regarding this power source would impact its neighbours and disrupt regional stability, thereby hindering regional co-operation and posing a threat to American economic and political interests” (USAID 1999).

- **FY 2000**

USAID FY 2000 report notes, for the first time, the importance of including women in the political process and protecting women’s rights, “Programs will continue to strengthen civil society, promote independent media, solidify the rule of law, furnish election assistance, and deepen respect for human rights... there will be increased attention paid to improving women's legal rights and their participation in the political process” (USAID 2000). Democracy programming maintained the SO 2.1 Citizen’s Participation (\$2,750,000.00) and SO 2.3 Local Government (\$1,250,000.00). “Democratic reform and respect for the rule of law, though still fragile, took a number of important steps forward in 1998. ... The nascent civil society is being strengthened through human capacity development programs benefiting the community of NGOs and the legal and media professions” (USAID 2000). Regarding the political situation, “The U.S. has a stake in encouraging Kyrgyzstan to proceed with democratic reform, including respect for the rule of law, separation of powers, and individual rights. From a regional security viewpoint, Kyrgyzstan's location at the headwaters of major river systems in Central Asia means... any negative action on the part of Kyrgyzstan with this power source would seriously affect its neighbours and regional stability, and pose a threat to American economic and political interests” (USAID 2000).

2.4.1 Programmatic Design and PVO Profile

In Kyrgyzstan, US democracy assistance has primarily focused on the following “tools” in USAID’s “toolbox” of democracy promotion. Since USAID democracy programs are structurally similar and are centrally planned in Washington by the D&G policy department, even if the in-country situation is dramatically different, i.e., Poland to Uzbekistan, the structure of democracy programming remains the same. Thus, the democracy programs designed for Kyrgyzstan are not exclusive to Kyrgyzstan but reflect a model of all US democracy assistance. As noted in Chapter

Two, these programs are designed with the objective to influence procedural theories of democracy promotion rather than substantive influencing of behaviour, norms, and attitudes.

Election Assistance: primarily administered by The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES). The director of IFES in Washington, D.C., the regional director and the Kyrgyz director are all men. These funds are primarily administered to the Central Election Commissions (CEC), directed and staffed by men, of the assistance country and consist of technical training on how to conduct an election. The fact, for instance, that family voting, when the male head of the household votes for the women of his family, is a serious problem in Central Asia, is not considered part of “election assistance” therefore IFES does no training related to family voting issues. Hence, the fact that women are actively disenfranchised is not considered a serious flaw in the election process.⁷⁵

Rule of Law: primarily administered by The American Bar Association Central and Eastern Europe Law Initiative (ABA-CEELI). The director of CEELI in Washington, D.C., the regional director, and the local Kyrgyz director are all men. ABA-CEELI provides legal assistance to the lawyers and legal associations of the FSU. Although the majority of lawyers in the FSU are women, CEELI did not, until very recently, have gender specific programming. The rule of law programs have primarily focused on legal training to judges and areas of constitutional and criminal law, predominately male-dominated areas of legal assistance. CEELI also created legal libraries, which in Kyrgyzstan is managed by a woman. In the year 2000, CEELI did start a very limited domestic violence legal assistance program, available only in some countries, of which Kyrgyzstan was not one. Serious and widespread programs that thwart rule of law, both domestic and international, such as bride kidnapping, trafficking in women, female slavery, and polygamy have been ignored.⁷⁶

Local Government: primarily administered, first by the International and City/County Management Association (ICMA) and then by The Urban Institute. The director of both organisations in Washington, as well as their local directors in Kyrgyzstan, were and are, men. Local government reform focuses on administrative structuring and

processing of local service needs such as condominiums, water, heat, tax, and accounting systems. Local government, like national government, is dominated by male leaders. No attempt has been made to encourage women to engage in local government or to create programs that would address the special gender needs of women in urban environments, such as the lack of electricity and light bulbs in the post-USSR environment which has made streets and apartment building entrances dangerous for women to navigate at night, the increase in domestic violence and the lack of local authorities willing to protect women who are victims of domestic violence, etc. Resurgence of *aksakal* courts, village level courts of male elders, unelected leaders handing down judgements on village disputes, although undemocratic and of serious concern for women's rights, has not been considered part of the local government programming.⁷⁷

Parliamentary Assistance/Reform: primarily administered by the National Democratic Institute (NDI). The director of NDI in Washington, D.C., is a man, as well as the director in Kyrgyzstan. Political reform is largely meant to encourage and development more accountable, transparent political systems. The program holds workshops on these issues for members of parliament, overwhelmingly male, and also helps to cultivate a political opposition, again predominately male, by offering training in campaign techniques and other political party development tools. In 1999, NDI began its first program directed at the lack of women holding elected office by offering a series of training seminars for women in leadership; however, this was only after a decade of programming, and primarily available for urban women, and did not target the most prominent female civil society leaders. The fact that NDI, although supporting a small women in politics program, still does not view women as political leaders became evident in discussions with NDI's Amb. Ledsky, regional director for Central Asia. The researcher was asked to recommend new leaders in Kyrgyzstan that could be cultivated as authentic democratic opposition. The researcher mentioned several prominent female NGO leaders, listed below, and asked why none of these civil society leaders, now with a decade of democracy promotion experience, had been cultivated by USAID or USAID PVO partners. These names and questions were ignored by Amb. Ledsky and his staff. Instead Amb. Ledsky returned to discussion of the few "opposition leaders" naming the male opposition leaders and

what the researcher thought of these individuals. The researcher said, “They are all just like Akaev and will do just what he has done if they get in power.” The response from Amb. Ledsky was, “what other options do we have?” NDI’s small women in politics program, appears to remain secondary to what Washington democracy promoters consider “real opposition leaders,” i.e., men.⁷⁸

Media: primarily administered by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), whose director is a man. RFE/RL is one of the better USAID funded programs as it provides the population with their only source of independent news. Moreover since this radio news is broadcast from Prague in Russian, as well as all of the local languages, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Tajik, etc., it is a USAID funded activity that nearly everyone can benefit from as even the poorest shepherd has, or shares, a radio. RFE/RL has as many female stringers as male and makes an active effort to consistently report on issues facing women, such as bride kidnapping and trafficking in women (Handrahan 2000).⁷⁹

Civil Society: This assistance is primarily delivered by Counterpart Consortium, whose director in Washington, D.C., and Kyrgyzstan are both men. USAID civil society assistance primarily supports non-political NGOs, dealing with issues such as environment, disabled children, street children, handicraft products, education, youth, associations, and other “soft” or “safe” NGO subjects. Within civil society assistance the gender issues become more complex and paradoxical. Perhaps because PVOs in Washington are primarily directed by men, USAID and the partner PVOs did not anticipate the female domination of the newly created NGO community. As noted earlier in this chapter, although USAID admits this happened by default and through no plan of USAID to support women’s leadership in NGOs, USAID still takes credit for this unplanned result as an indication of their gender sensitivity along with other aspects of this issue.⁸⁰

2.4.2 NGO Community Profile

Although it is beyond the immediate scope of this research to profile the NGO community in detail, a thumbnail sketch is necessary to inform the grounded reality of

the NGO community in Kyrgyzstan. Although some researchers might list in an NGO profile: The Women's Congress of the Kyrgyz Republic, Central Asian Women's International Congress, The Women's League For the Preservation and Development of Peoples' Traditions and Customs, Women in Development, Women's Art Union Kanykey, Women's Association, The Jer-Ene Kyrgyzstan Moslem Movement, The Shoola (Spark) Karakol City Women's Counsel, the Women's Association of Artists and Art Critics, Diamond Association, the Gender Analytical Center, and Ai-Danek, in the author's experience most, possibly all, of these NGOs are less than active, independent NGOs. If donor support were to cease, it is the author's opinion that many of these NGOs would also cease. Details of Ai-Danek and The Women's Congress was profiled earlier in this chapter in the discussion of GONGOs versus NGOs.

The most active and authentic leaders of civil society in Kyrgyzstan are located in Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan, with some of these NGOs supporting regional offices. Not all of the strongest civil society leaders direct NGOs, despite USAID's perception of NGOs as the be all and end all of civil society. All of these initiatives are directed and founded by women who are not working on women's issues *per se* but rather general promotion of democratic attitudes, behaviour, advocacy, education, and research. All of these organisations have, at some point, received small grants from USAID, either directly or through USAID partner PVOs. Although it is not possible to gain access to these figures, grants to NGOs come under USAID's small grants programs and would thus constitute less than \$25,000. Moreover, although some of these organisations had US support, when they became more politically active, they lost some or all of this support. For example, Tolerance International, once funded by Counterpart Consortium when it focused on primary and secondary education, is now funded by the Swiss government to perform conflict resolution and political negotiations in Southern Kyrgyzstan.

Interbilim: Interbilim is a NGO information clearinghouse and training/resource centre. It has been extremely successful in co-ordinating the frantic pace at which NGOs are sprouting and has provided depth and effectiveness to the activities of new NGOs. Asiya Sasykbaeva is the director of Interbilim. With Interbilim, she has

created a pulse and nerve centre for the NGO movement in Kyrgyzstan. Without Interbilim the civil society movement would be substantially less co-ordinated and mature.

Institute for Regional Studies, (IRS) formerly The Kyrgyz Peace Research Center): Anara Tabyshalieva, director of IRS, was recently a fellow at The U.S. Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C., The organisation that Tabyshalieva created is the main, if not only, effort to provide the entire population with civic and human rights education. IRS leads a successful teacher-training program, helping to educate secondary and post-secondary schools in human rights, democracy, and civil society. Additionally, IRS conducts professional and substantial research related to peace, reducing and avoiding ethnic conflict, human rights, civil society, and gender issues.

Kyrgyz-American Human Rights Bureau: Natalia Ablova created and directs the Bureau. As a former journalist, Ablova focuses many of the Bureau's activities on freedom of speech and press. The Bureau is a key source of information for leading international human rights organisations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. Additionally, the Bureau runs a secondary school human rights education project, staffed by university students, that actively involves secondary school children in human rights and civic community projects. Finally, the Bureau is the leading human rights activist organisation, often organising and participating in protests around such diverse issues as children's rights and nuclear testing at Lob Nor.

The American University of Kyrgyzstan (AUK): inaugurated by former U.S. First Lady Hillary Clinton and sponsored by The Soros Foundation to become a regional Central Asian university, is the brain-child of Camilla Sharshekeeva, formerly an English teacher at Kyrgyz State National University (KSNU). Despite pressure and lack of support from KSNU and the White House of Kyrgyzstan, AUK has developed as the institute to undertake and accomplish educational reform. With an objective to provide "democratic life skills," AUK embarked on numerous activities outside the classroom including; sex education, democracy round-tables, student government, debate clubs, student newspapers, and leadership training. In addition, the curriculum offered at AUK is the first to support updated material, anything after the 1970s, and

teach in a “Western” style, i.e., seminars, small group discussions, and critical analysis.

The Talent Support Fund: The Support Fund, directed by Dinara Chochunbayeva, is one of two leading organisations to undertake support, both material and otherwise, of the most vulnerable section of the Kyrgyz population—children and women. The Support Fund has been extremely successful in fund-raising, immunisation, advocacy, etc., stepping in where the government has been unable, or unwilling, to allocate vital social service sector funds for the needs of children and their mothers.

Ukuk: Ukuk is the leading NGO promoting rule of law and legal reform. Founded and directed by Mirgul Smanalieva, Ukuk has been able to contribute significantly to public advocacy, advancement of a legal society, and NGO development. Ukuk organised, and maintained leadership of, an on-going effort to push the parliament to adopt NGO legislation, that would officially recognise NGOs in Kyrgyzstan, provide regulations, and stipulate examinations, i.e., tax codes.

Res Publica: *Res Publica* is the only opposition newspaper to continue to test President Akaev’s commitment to free speech and media. Despite a demonstrated lack of understanding and/or commitment to journalistic ethics, *Res Publica* is filling a vital role in freedom of the press, as notably the only media to openly question and criticise President Akaev and his government. Two, now famous editors, Zamira Sydykova and Tamara Slashcheva, were given suspended prison sentences of 18 months and one year, respectively, and were banned from publishing until January 11, 1997, for presidential libel after publishing an article critical of the president’s luxurious lifestyle. Without Sydykova and Slascheva, it is fair to say that the open space of media freedom would be significantly less, and violations of media freedom would not have come, so frequently, to the fore.⁸¹

NGO Coalition: The mission of the Coalition is to develop a democratic, independent and transparent electoral system in Kyrgyzstan through means of civic education, protection of rights and interests of citizens, and regional and national level watchdog type activity. Ismailova Tolekan Asanaliyevna is the president of the Coalition

founded in December 1998. The Coalition facilitates coalition-building among NGOs and works on a variety of activities, including taking a lead in the development of Kyrgyzstan's first NGO law and lobbying on several bills, training on civic lobbying, and training monitors to participate in the October 1998 referendum on land property issues. In February 1999, the Coalition achieved a co-operative agreement with the National Democratic Institute (No. 99-1907-KYR.0-262) and received its first six-month sub-grant of \$29,910 USD. In August 1999, the Coalition received its second sub-grant from NDI, a one-year award of \$60,000 USD. Coalition staff and activists, with NDI's assistance, trained more than 2,300 monitors, 1,900 of whom actually observed the October 17, 1999, local elections.

Tolerance International (TI): Raya Kadyrova is Executive Director of Tolerance International. Initially, the project strategy was to supply schools with teaching materials, primarily books, which would enable teachers to have lessons where issues of interpersonal conflict resolution, racism, and stereotyping could be discussed. It was felt that in this controlled and supportive environment, the attitudes of youth could be examined and challenged. Hopefully, sufficient numbers of youth would question those who would encourage them to attack or take violent retribution in the name of nationalism. Perhaps then the spread of violence in one community, on a small scale, to others on a larger scale, could be halted. However, since 1998, the focus of the project has switched from material production to teacher training and the support of teacher training centres and more conflict resolution type work in "hot spots" of Kyrgyzstan. TI was the only active NGO involved in Batken and Southern Kyrgyzstan. TI has established a resource centre in Batken and is working on issues related to the potential for water conflict in the remote Southern Kyrgyzstan.

2.5 Summary

In *The Republic*, Plato criticised democracy and cautioned that democracy marginalizes the wise and provides a selfish lust for power (Held 1993:261). Plato's description, illustrated by the famous sea captain metaphor, adequately describes both the "democratic transitions" and US democracy assistance in the FSU and Kyrgyzstan today.⁸² Too much of US democracy practice has been based on flawed theory, ill-

conceived practice, and simplistic Eurocentric notions of democracy. As Montesquieu once warned, "The two dangers of democracy are extreme inequality and extreme equality" (Hill 1945). Transitional democracies of the FSU are producing extreme inequality that US democracy assistance has failed to correct.⁸³ Of the many problems with democracy theory and assistance, the foundations of Western democracy have been demonstrated to be seriously gender-blind, reluctant to include women in the concept of citizenship, and even overtly misogynous at times (Narayan 1997:48-67).

US democratic assistance has a very limited understanding of the process of democratic transformation. Indeed, US democracy policy has been built on misguided and wrong assumptions of how societies change and has obscured actual issues of political transitions, such as ethnic identity and gender relations. Moreover, the implications of a patriarchal Western democracy "teaching" about concepts of citizenship, democracy, and pluralism have led to programs for democratic assistance that are fraught with serious problems of inclusion. The hierarchical authority of men within the nation-state necessarily corrupts the authentic meanings of democracy and inevitably produces ineffective, gendered democracy (True 1993:81).

Women all over the FSU, and elsewhere, have been "slapped by democracy" (Goldman 1996:40). First, by their male society and again by the Western male import. Despite the overwhelming involvement of women in the organisation of civil society, the self-reported mainstay of US democratic assistance, US assistance still embodies "democratisation with a male face" (Moghadam{1990}in Lorber 1994:280). The reality of "democracy" for women has meant increases of: female poverty, prostitution, AIDS and other sexual transmitted diseases, higher rates of maternal and child morbidity, Islamic fundamentalism, nomadic traditions recreated in particularly misogynous ways-particularly bridekidnapping, domestic violence, sexual crimes, and girl-child prostitution (Handrahan 2000).⁸⁴ The lack of gender inclusiveness in US assistance has not only been damaging for women in transitional democracies, but has also obscured fundamental aspects of democracy transitions such as the importance of gender and ethnicity, which could help to promote more successful democratic assistance programming.

Chapter Three

Gendering Ethnicity

“... who I am is answered both for me and for others by the history I inherit, the social position I occupy, and the ‘moral career’ on which I am embarked”
(Steven Lukes 1987)

“Scarcely a human being in the course of history has fallen to a woman’s rifle”
Virginia Woolf (Morokvasic 1998:65)

3.1 Ethnic Identity: Definitions, Debates, and Theoretical Development

Identity is an inescapable dimension of human life. No one can exist outside of an identity. Yet, defining human identity is a complex and controversial task. From social science to medical science,⁸⁵ disagreements abound as to how humans identify themselves. The field of ethnic relations is no exception. Inescapable as identity is, whether personal or collective, identity is not fixed by nature, God, or human behaviour (Campbell 1992:8). Human identity can be fluid but it can also be intractable. One of the more terrifying events for humans is the loss of identity (Volkan 1994).⁸⁶ This explains the resistance to and violent reaction against a threatened or perceived loss of ethnicity. An identity vacuum, according to Volkan’s theory, creates human fear, confusion, and violence because identity is the fundamental process through which understanding of the human world is created (Mach 1993:5).

Identity, as Campbell (1992) defines it, is “more than something which derives its meaning solely from being positioned in contradiction to difference; identity is a condition that has depth, is multi-layered, possesses texture, and comprises many dimensions. As such, identity is a condition for which there can be catalogued no single point of origin or myth of genesis; the manifold, diverse, and eclectic ingredients that comprise settled identity cannot be reduced to any single spatial or temporal source” (Campbell 1992:86). Erik Erikson explains that identity “includes a subjective sense of continuous existence and a coherent memory” (Erikson 1968:61).

Identity is not a static quality; it is formed by action and interaction. Identity is a dynamic, procedural, and contextual phenomenon, resulting in localised classification of the human world (Mach 1993:5).

Campbell (1992) believes that identity is constituted in relation to difference with difference created in relation to identity. The problematic of identity/difference contains no foundations that are prior to, or outside of, its operation. Moreover, the creation of identity is achieved through the inscription of boundaries which function to demarcate an “inside” from an “outside,” a “self” from an “other” (Campbell 1992:8). Humans are born into an identity that has been created by their ancestors who have delineated fundamental items that summarise what is essential for their community. This group identity of a “people” becomes the basis for the legitimacy of the state and its subsequent practices. Benedict Anderson describes group identity, or national identity, as an imagined community (Anderson 1991:6). The community is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. The nation is imagined, says Anderson, because even the members of the smallest nations will never know, meet, or hear most of their other members, yet in the minds of each community member is the image of mutual communion (Anderson 1991:6).

How ethnicity is defined, produced, and reproduced is subject to confusion and disagreement within and between communities, as well as within the academy. As in the case of democracy, there is no single agreed definition of ethnicity. This ambiguity of definitions has created a serious problem in theory building (Kellas 1991:2). In reality, ethnic identity embraces multiple levels and is heavily contextual with ethnic categories overlapping each other (Karlins 1986:42). Mach offers one of the most concise definitions of ethnic identity. “Ethnic identity is essentially subjective, a sense of belonging, a definition of self and one's own group in relation with others. It consists of two mental processes: the search for the self and the constriction of boundaries between one's own group and that of the others... [and] is based on self-definition” (Mach 1993:12). Anthony Smith outlines ethnicity as “a named human group claiming a homeland and sharing myths of common ancestry, historical memories and a distinct culture” (Smith 1992:438). Paul Brass characterises ethnicity as an identity source that is subjective, symbolic, and

emblematic. He claims that ethnicity is used by one group to differentiate itself from others and to create an internal cohesion that is an alternative form of social organisation (Brass 1991:19). Barth notes two considerable, but not surprising, discoveries. The first is that ethnic boundaries persist despite a flow of people across them. The second is that ethnic boundaries may be maintained or reinforced because of the trans-boundary flow that accents the dichotomised ethnic groups. In other words, interaction does not lead to ethnic liquidation. Cultural differences can persist despite and perhaps because of inter-ethnic contact and interdependence (Barth 1969:9-10). Despite faults in Van den Berghe's work, he did expand on Barth's idea with the realisation that ethnicity is not an all-or-nothing concept. Ethnic boundaries, unlike state borders, are not systematically sharply drawn; although they can be, particularly if they correspond to phenotypic differences or exist in times of conflict (Van den Berghe 1981: 56).

Ethnicity, in this research, is recognised as a means by which the leaders of human communities base ascriptive and exclusive, yet fluid, maintenance of human/social "boundaries," or markers of ethnic/group identity. These markers do not have a permanent order of priority, nor must an ethnic group necessarily assume all boundary markers. Rather, ethnic boundaries allow a human community, largely regulated by male leaders of that community, to establish, understand, and define their internal and external identity. Features chosen during the process of identity marking are not necessarily objective elements of reality but may represent meaning to that community. Ethnic identity is a result of a conceptual classification of the world; it is a symbolical expression. Culture and identity are symbolic constructions which often feature emotions and arbitrariness. These combined symbols, or boundary markers, represent expressions of group ideas, values, and history (Mach 1993:20, 22-24, 55).⁸⁷

3.1.1 The Soviet Experiment: Nationalism and Ethnicity

Both the purpose and the process of Soviet research conducted on ethnicity and nationalism, as with all socio-political sciences within the Soviet academic system, differs dramatically from Western understandings of accepted academic practice. Academic research was viewed, like all work in the Soviet Union, as property of the

State. Results, therefore, were only tolerated when they supported Soviet policy. As has been made clear since the collapse of the USSR, there was no academic freedom, no freedom of thought or expression, and limited room to produce critical and independent research within the authoritarian Soviet system.⁸⁸ This extreme control was true of every aspect of Soviet life; the research that was produced relating to ethnicity/nationalism was no exception.

Therefore, the vast body of Soviet research on ethnicity is not used in this dissertation because it was not produced freely or objectively but was rather part of the planned Soviet system and was constructed to justify political ends. Moreover, the research of this dissertation focuses only on a post-Soviet context that revolves around current US and Kyrgyz perceptions rather than historical or Russian understandings, which would justify delving into the Soviet research. It is, however, important to analyse the understanding of ethnicity/nationalism that predominated through the USSR and continues to shape Kyrgyz perceptions. Details of Soviet ethnic policy as these relate to the historical context for the study of modern Kyrgyzstan are provided in Chapter Four. Chapter Five, Section 5.4.1, details the necessary precaution taken in the research design phase when addressing the terms of ethnicity and nationalism.

As outlined in Chapter One, the Russian equivalent of the English word nationality is *natsionalnost*. While nationality in a Western context often refers to citizenship, the Russian *natsionalnost* referred to an individual's membership in a "national" collective within Soviet citizenship. *Natsionalnost* is inherited from one's parents and *grazhdanstvo*, or citizenship, from the State. Ethnicity in Russian is *ethnos*. Soviet research largely understood *ethnos* to be "self-reproducing collectives based on self-identification and a distinct culture as well as... a major determinant of social action" (Shanin 1989:414).

The Soviet experiment with Marxist-Leninist ideology was to provide a solution to the nationalist question. It was thought that "the Communist system had a strong capacity to destroy national barriers and eliminate ethnic differences. Communism created a new, bland, homogenised community of people who...were 'beyond nationalism' "(Diuk 1990:16-17). The most important and lasting Soviet contribution

to the socialist order was to be an evolution beyond nationalism. Simplified, Marxists believed that nationalism was a passing phenomenon tied to capitalism. Ethnic identity itself would be transcended and disappear into what Marxists called the waste heap of history when capitalism was replaced with socialism. The nation-state would wither away because the nation was only a product of economic relations (Motyl 1987:2-3). Ironically, the Leninist compromise was to give, albeit limited, a national-statehood in exchange for political support to Communism.

Details of Soviet ethnic politics differed across the Soviet Empire but the research, and corresponding policy, that supported the system always rested on Lenin's, and then Stalin's, definitions. These can be summarised as Soviet centralised treatment of ethnicity and nationalism evoking a sense of duty on behalf of ethnic Russians to assist their ethnically backward comrades and partake in advancing the "oppressed" or "backward" *natsionalnost* of the Soviet Union (Diuk 1990:31). This policy fostered self-determination and ethnic/national "self" or "autonomous" rule. However, paradoxical to Western understandings, this project was always under the supreme Soviet umbrella of spreading the socialist revolution. The slogan was "ethnic in form, socialist in content" (Shanin 1989:417-418) or the Leninist principle of unity through diversity (Slezkine 1996:222). *Raznoobrazie*, national diversity, and *svoeobrazie*, national uniqueness, were promoted by the Soviet state but only within the strict Soviet context of "internationalism," *internatsionalnost*, and "friendship of the peoples" or *druzhba narodov*.

Great successes of the working people of Kirghizia have become possible owing to the triumph of Lenin's national policy, owing to the tireless activity and paternal care of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, constant help of all fraternal peoples of our country and first of all to the Russian people, its working class. ...The prosperity of the Kirghiz nation as any other socialist nation was impossible without the help of the Russian people, without the firm relationships between all the Soviet nations, without their mutual material and spiritual intercourses, without their great fraternal friendship. This Lenin's friendship of peoples is one of the greatest victories of socialism has uncovered the creative activities of the Kirghiz people...in Soviet Kirghizstan the representatives of 80 nationalities live and work for the welfare of the socialist fatherland... and confidently go to the new victories in communist construction (Ostashev 1983:12).

These official slogans were designed to engender close ties among all Soviet *natsionalnost*, and, thereby, discourage nationalist sentiment that might foster authentic independence from the USSR while simultaneously they promoted the attitude that the national minorities, i.e. all non-Russians, should feel grateful to the Soviet state for assistance in developing their minority or ethnic identities—self-identity, but only within a Soviet context.

“Lenin’s ideas about free-will union of free nations, Lenin’s principle of national unity... cleared the way to happy life for Kirghiz people as well as for the other nations of our country” (Ostashev 1983:12). The Soviet definition of “free” and “autonomous” are not the Western sense of freedom or autonomy to choose, lifestyle, government, elected officials, etc. So-called “autonomous regions/republics” were under the rigorous control of the Soviet central government in Moscow and were rewarded as republics for cultivating national uniqueness within “the mode of life is [sic] a Soviet one,” (Ostashev 1983:12). Kyrgyzstan, for example, as the Kirghiz Autonomous Region of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, received “decoration” from Moscow as a region for its “mighty flight in economics, political, and cultural life in the united family of Soviet nations” (Ostashev 1983:12).

Yet, the reality of Soviet rule meant a constant, wide-ranging attack on the integrity of national cultures, which did not lead to a homogenised community (Diuk 1990: 29). The ethnic resentment of the Russians against all other non-Russians was quite evident and often reflected in a broad lexicon of ethnic slurs that echoed underlying attitudes. Central Asians and the darker-skinned Caucasian people were called *chernozhopye* or black asses (Diuk 1990: 32).

Ethnicity and nationalism were used by the Russian dominated Soviet state as carrots and sticks to fulfil socialist and authoritarian goals of Soviet-style colonisation. Merits and demerits were handed out by the Soviet state as needed to ensure that self-determination outside of the Soviet model was impossible. For instance, although many *ethnos/natsionalnost* groups were given “their own political territories,” they were provided only token power to rule these regions. “Nations were to be seen but not heard” (Brubaker 1994:46, 36).

This policy worked for 70 years, due to the massive security apparatus of the USSR. The history of the brutal state security apparatus, beginning with the *Cheka* in 1917 and ending with the Soviet KGB, that wrought near absolute control over every aspect of the domestic population of the USSR—and killed, by conservative estimates, some 20 million Soviet citizens (Conquest 1970:533)—is well documented by Christopher Andrew (1990, 1991, 1999) and Hingley (1970), Gorbатов (1964), Conquest (1968, 1970), and Barron (1974). Therefore, there is no need to review this material here. However, it is paramount to emphasise that the Soviet policy toward ethnicity and nationalities cannot be understood without reference to the system of control that existed to enforce these policies. In addition, to the internal secret police, the NKVD (The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs), the *Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti* (the Committee for State Security—commonly known as the KGB), the Main Administration of Corrective Labour Camps (GULAGS), purges, no independent media or judiciary, and a myriad of other authoritarian mechanisms existed to enforce effective control of Soviet policy on the people of its “nations” to ensure that they heard and spoke only what Moscow deemed appropriate.

Accompanying Lenin's policy on the national question was his “scientific concept of dictatorship [which] means neither more nor less than unlimited power resting directly on force, not limited by anything, nor restrained by any laws” (Lenin in Barron 1974:2). This absolute force was embodied in the KGB. The KGB was the “most effective means of suppressing ethnic minorities” (Barron 1974:1). Internal control of the *ethnos/natsionalnost* groups by the KGB was particularly assisted by mandatory internal passports, which one had to carry at all times, created in the 1930s. These identity cards listed, among other pieces of information, one's *natsionalnost* or *ethnos*.

In sum, ethnicity and nationalism were not seen in the Soviet context as phenomena to be explored, examined, or understood, but as tools to be used and manipulated in order to advance the goals of the Soviet state. The residue of Soviet ethnic/national policy of control and manipulation has fostered different consequences and modern day problems in the resulting newly independent states (NIS) of the FSU. Details

relevant to present day Kyrgyzstan will be discussed in Chapter Four. This dissertation, however, for reasons outlined above, rests on Western theories of ethnicity rather than Soviet.

3.1.2 *Western Theory*

The history of ethnicity as a Western academic subject is brief. During the 1950s anthropologists began to refer to tribes as ethnic groupings, particularly in Africa, when the term “tribes” took on politically incorrect connotations during the decline of colonialism. The advance of the study was marked by Fredrick Barth’s 1969 study, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Cultural Differences* and Glazer and Moynihan’s *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (1975). These studies began to understand ethnicity not simply as a substitute for racial concepts but as a theory about fundamental stratifications between societies. The academy began to dissect concepts of race and ethnicity, understanding race as a component of ethnicity. Michael Lyons (1973) argued that race creates a boundary of exclusion, while ethnicity creates a boundary of inclusion for a particular social group.

In 1982, Robert Miles developed an influential analysis of the “race relations problematic,” stating that race was not a scientific concept and therefore it was a methodological error to treat it as a sociological reality, in the same way that class, for example, was understood. Racism was the salient idea in problematizing concepts of race. Racism is the theory of innate inferiority or superiority that justifies social, civic, political, and economic discrimination, exclusion, and marginality of a particularly social group based on phenotypic characteristics. Fenton spoke of sociology undergoing an “emancipation from the concept of race,” as “race” was placed into brackets to signify that it was no longer an acceptable sociological term (Fenton 1996:141). To date, consistent use and agreement of the terms race, racism, and ethnicity remain lacking. After Lyons’ work, race as related to biology, gave way to ethnicity as related to culture. The yet unresolved debate between primordialism and constructionalism then emerged. Primordialists stress the “given nature” of social ties, while constructionists (sometimes called situational or instrumental) stress the shifting relevance of ethnicity according to social need, context, and political purpose

(Geertz 1993). The primordial-constructionalist debate creates an academic preoccupation with defining “attributes” of ethnicity and ethnic communities rather than exploring and understanding relations.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Barth (1969) changed ethnic studies from “empiricist butterfly collecting” to an understanding that ethnicity is a dynamic process (Eriksen 1992:28). This incorporated an essential understanding that ethnicity cannot be adequately described, understood, or explained, unless human behaviour is included. Eriksen (1992) followed Barth and warned against treating the ethnic group with too rigid an analytical method in order to account for production and reproduction of ethnicity and concrete manifestations of ethnicity (Eriksen 1992: 31). Ethnicity is a source of cultural meaning and social differentiation; therefore, ethnicity is highly distributive within all societies (Eriksen 1992:31). Furthermore, there is a concept of ethnic density, the cultural context of ethnic differences, which should be included in description and analysis (Eriksen 1992: 32).

In the 1990s, modernity brought about a global contradiction between ethnicity and the process of universal “modernisation.” *Jus soli*, where one lives, or *jus sanguine*, who one is, have traditionally been the dividers of human communities (Ra'anan 1980:12-13). Modern elites often scorn the idea that people would rather align themselves by *jus sanguine*, blood-ties, than *jus soli*. This is especially true in self-described modern, multi-ethnic countries like the United States (US), Canada, or the former Soviet Union (FSU) where what matters most is birth on, or above, certain soil. Place of birth bestows the adjective American, or Canadian, or formerly Soviet, along with automatic citizenship, which is supposed to be the over-riding identity commitment for the new-born citizen. This new privileged community is based not on race, religion, or blood, but on territory and the opportunities this “land” represents. This notion of *jus soli* has been viewed by elites as the modern, politically correct, non-racist way of ordering the world. Yet becoming American, or Canadian or former Soviet, more often than not means giving up an ethnic identity and conforming. The melting pot too often has meant conformity to white-anglo-saxon or white-communist-Russian, and always male, values (Williams 1989:8).

In reaction, the frequently unfulfilled promise of the state-created community which respects and encompasses all other identities, is being rejected world-wide as ethnic communities everywhere opted for identities based on ethnic origins while modern political science, policy makers, and academics attempted to break down these identities and/or render them, if not useless, secondary to a modern post-ethnic/nationalist cosmopolitan identity. Yet, contrary to predictions by many liberals, the process or threat of modernity has compelled people to cling more tightly to ethnic identity, often causing “ethnic conflict.” Ethnic conflict can be related to the modernisation process in three different ways. In the first, ethnic conflict is viewed as a mere relic of an outmoded traditionalism by “modernity.” In the second, ethnicity is regarded as an unusually stubborn impediment to modernisation. In the third, ethnic conflict is interpreted as an integral part—even a product—of the process of modernisation (Horowitz 1985:96-97). Not all academics blame modernity for conflict. Some researchers believe it is human occupation of territory that creates the ethnic conflict. People come together in space to facilitate survival and are obliged to exclude others in order to survive.⁸⁹ Conflict is seen as an inevitable outcome of this process (Chisholm 1990:1).

Ethnicity is often the scapegoat for discord because it is easier to condemn a minority than to articulate abuse of power, collapsing ideologies, global economic discrimination, and environmental destruction. Rather than acknowledge the world's disasters and complications, many governments and community leaders seek means of inventing culpability. All too often, this is accomplished by denouncing minority-ethnic groups. At its best, ethnicity contributes to a sense of security, self-worth, and human value—the idea that one is not alone in the world. Ethnicity can provide the answer to the question asked by many humans, “who am I?” Yet the “they” of ethnicity is responsible for its worst moments; justification for discrimination, genocide, assimilation, and annihilation. Ethnicity is volatile. It “may contribute to the enhancement of the group, or it may just as easily result in the further brutalization of humanity” (Stack 1986:3).

Current debates in the field are concerned with whether ethnic identity represents a rational choice that individuals can elect to transcend or if it has an inherent quality

that drives or determines human behaviour. For the purposes of this research, it is sufficient to state that humans are born into pre-existing communal identities where ethnicity can be fluid, malleable, and constructed. Humans will make “rational” choices about their ethnic identity when they need or are forced to do so. However, transcendence of ethnicity as a political question does not cancel out the obvious existence of an intrinsic nature of ethnicity; the passion, love, and kinship for common myths, languages, history, folk-heroes, etc. Like all aspects of human existence, there are few absolutes.⁹⁰

In all of this research, definitions and understandings of ethnicity, the ideas, values, symbols, and history, in sum, identities, have been assumed by researchers to be gender neutral, when, in fact, they are usually highly gendered. Discussions of gender have been absent from Brass to Mach, from Anderson’s imagined community to Campbell’s inside/outside. Anderson does note that there is a “fraternal” aspect to ethnicity, responsible for violence, but fails to take this analysis further. Anderson’s ethnic fraternity represents the under researched gender division of nationalism/ethnicity that has been, until very recently,⁹¹ largely ignored by theorists and practitioners. The community may be imagined, as Anderson argued, but it is so largely by men. Women occupy a very different place “inside” and “outside” Campbell’s understanding of community, as women have not been decision-makers or public leaders in the imagining process of either the state, nation, or ethnic group.

Ethnic identity, as understood in this research, is multi-level, heavily contextual, overlapping, and in constant motion (Karlins 1986). Ethnicity is imagined, created and sustained through the efforts of political leaders, both national and local, who have been and remain disproportionately male. Therefore, the process of creating and sustaining ethnic identities has not been, and is not, gender neutral. Ethnicity is understood to be “marked,” like gender, by the following social “boundaries,”⁹² which are not ordered in priority: (1) religion as social order surrounding deity belief, (2) language as a mode of communication and symbol of culture, (3) life style, demonstrated by traditions, cultures, arts, foods, human-made markings, i.e., tattoos, piercing, etc., (4) kinship that is assumed, real, or imagined signified by family relationships usually linked by male blood connections,⁹³ ancestry, myths⁹⁴ and folk

heroes, (5) a homeland or concept of a homeland understood by geographical links to specific land, (6) phenotypic characteristics, such real or perceived distinct⁹⁵ facial, skin, hair, and body structures, and (7) definitions and roles of gender relations within and without the group which represent a “sacred spot” in defining and “contaminating” ethnic identity,⁹⁶ most often relating to behaviour and appearance of the female within a group as a marker of that group.

In addition to the exclusion of gender, the history of ethnicity in the academy includes several disparities. First, the primordialist versus constructionalist debate⁹⁷ has obscured research into other essential understandings of ethnicity. The relationships, justifications, the how and why and when of ethnic identity demands far greater academic understanding. Second, “race” has been excluded as a sociologically acceptable condition and term. The use of racial differences is one boundary marker in ethnic identity formation (Wallman 1986:229).⁹⁸ The attempt to “ignore” race, to marginalize race, can be interpreted as racism. Race may not be relevant for white elites, just as gender may not be relevant to elite males, but race is certainly vital if one is a black minority living in a white majority (Morrison 1997). As Barot suggests, “The sharpness and force with which racism persists is the principal reason why we cannot simply substitute for a discourse of race and racism a discourse of ethnicity” (Barot 1999:7). Race does not cause racism. Human social behaviour justifies racism by race. Therefore, it is not “race” that needs to be put into brackets but “racism” (Morrison 1997). Third, the notion of “transcending ethnicity,” like other aspects of modernity, may create new identity problems that cause humans to yearn for ethnicity.⁹⁹ The main methodological defect in the “transcending” argument returns to the fundamental confusion surrounding race, gender and ethnicity. Academics assert that “it is possible to envision an ethnicity-free social order” on the presumption that ethnic identity is something that humans can progress beyond, and, moreover, that it is desirable to progress beyond (Barot 1999:10).¹⁰⁰ Yet it is not through “transcending” but protecting ethnic differences that conflict may be mitigated. One aspect vital to promoting the emphatic “peaceful” component of ethnic identity is an analysis of gender relations and the components of ethnic communities (Reardon 1996).

In sum, although the nature of the ethnic bond and its “wellspring remain shadowy and elusive,” academics and practitioners must strive to understand the nature of what Volkan labels the “emotional glue” that bonds human communities, if social science and policy makers are to prevent future conflict (Connor 1978:379). Whatever else ethnicity may or may not be, it is clear that modernity has not reduced ethnic identity but in fact has increased the importance of local/ethnic identity.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, it is evident that the pursuit of understanding ethnic identity has been largely undertaken by male academics who have failed to recognise the gendered nature of ethnicity. The field research of this exploration demonstrates that ethnicity is more essential to male identity than to female identity. This discovery has serious implications in how ethnicity is understood and mobilised in political processes.

3.2 Ethnicity and The Political Process

“Ethnicity is no more a merely ‘neighbourhood’ phenomenon than off-shore oil is simply a matter of particular resort beaches” (Enloe 1986:25)

Modern states are founded upon the belief that the state is the political entity that represents and protects a nation, a group of people self-identifying as ethnic kin. However, the nation-state is effectively a global fiction. Very few modern states were founded by a nation or encompass only one, or even two, nations. Many modern states were created first with the nation devised as an afterthought to justify the state. “Genuine ‘nation-states’ have remained exceptional factors on the political landscape” (Ra'anan 1980:5). The state as an erroneously created identity does not necessarily imply that the nation/ethnic is an authentic identity. Ethnicity is often thought to be mobilised by the community and nationalism by the state. In reality, however, both the state and local leaders shape and mobilise ethnic identities for various rationales at different junctures in political processes.¹⁰² The confusion between ethnicity and nationalism, and the concepts and the nexus between them, remain vivid. Ethnicity can generally be understood as originating from the local/community upward to the state. Nationalism can be understood as originating at the state-government level and moving down toward the local community. Nationalism cannot exist without a national structure, and ethnicity cannot exist

without a community/local origin. The point where ethnicity and nationalism meet is a fertile area for future research.

Nationalism, or loyalty to the nation, has acquired negative connotations in *international*-relations, as an “ism” which promotes and fosters ethnic violence.¹⁰³ The main difficulty with nationalism is that “no nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind” (Anderson 1991:7). Anderson believes that the nation is conceived of as a deep, horizontal comradeship. “It is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings” (Anderson 1991:7). There should be little surprise at the widespread resurgence in the assertion of ethnicity since the modern state, by and large, is failing to meet human needs. Human communities are increasingly negotiating for new spaces for their identities and for more meaningful ways of expressing their identities (Eriksen 1992:190). More often than not this leads groups away from the state, particularly when the state is restrictive of minority rights, and toward ethnic identity. In this age of modernity, the state identity, including democracy as a political state form, is increasingly unattractive and void of meaning for many groups of people.¹⁰⁴

Yet there is astonishment that the state, and particularly the newly emerging democratic state, is not universally attractive and has not mitigated the power of ethnicity. This shock at the failure of the democratic state is largely due to the liberal idea that has misunderstood the human need for ethnicity (Stack 1986). “Liberalism discounted the political significance of ethnicity. This is one of the reasons why Western scholarship has been shocked and dismayed with the apparent increase of utterly intransigent ethnic conflicts since World War II” (Stack 1986:6). Liberalism assumed that with modernity, ethnicity would become obsolete. Liberalism contended that rational and universal values of democratic development and capitalist political economy were antithetical to the “premodern” nature of ethnicity. Liberals confidently predicted that global communications, trade, culture, politics, etc., would result in irreversible trends of assimilation extinguishing ethnic differences, and hence ethnic conflict. Liberalism failed due, in part, to a belief in the transitory nature of

states and in a very limited power of nationalism (Stack 1986:6). On all these counts, liberalism has been wrong.

Instead of solving ethnic conflict by doing away with the ethnic, the emergence of the modern nation-state has resulted in minority problems that have, in part, kindled the past two World Wars (Francis 1976:xi). The nation-state appears to be less and less an effective political framework. Says Francis of the nation-state, "I have little hope that, within its own framework, more promising methods of solving its innate conflicts will be discovered" (Francis 1976:xvi). The modern nation-state, created to subvert the Hobbesian version of original sin—that human's natural condition is war—has, in fact, created serious conflict. The sovereign nation-state has resulted in "boundaries (that) are constructed, spaces demarcated, standards of legitimacy incorporated, interpretations of history privileged, and alternatives marginalized" (Campbell 1992:75). Control of territory combined with the liberal ideal of assimilation has meant that the dominant culture enjoys state-sponsored privileges while minority cultures within those same state boundaries are marginalized (Williams 1989:5). Constant tensions are created which are not solved by "transcending the ethnic" but instead result in the minority groups in question fighting for some degree of control and/or autonomy within the state and, failing that, launching a secession movement, i.e. transcending the state.

"Ethnicity is mobilised to generate nationalism" when conflicts over material goods or political resources exist (Frederiksen 1985). Shielded by the popular idea that democracies are necessarily peaceful—discussed in Chapter Two—US democracy practitioners have believed that nationalism/ethnic conflict is improbable. Yet, democracy implies the right to self-determination and self-government. Nationalism also relies on the principle of self-determination. The two concepts are both theoretically and practically linked (Helsi 1997:190). Nationalism, therefore, has two sides. First, nationalism has been a positive historical force that has provided the political base for democratic governments. Second, nationalism has also promoted serious aggressive and hostile political elements, including ethnic conflict, ethnic cleansing, forced assimilation, and at the extreme genocide (Helsi 1997:191). Therefore, nationalism has serious potential either to promote or constrain democracy;

however, this vital link is rarely made or understood in the democracy assistance community (Karatnycky 1999:118). Instead, nationalism/ethnic conflict prevention is practised by a political and academic endeavour separate from democracy. Karatnycky is one of the few US democracy analysts to understand the destructive power that nationalism can wield on a political system and a population. Since the end of the Cold War, nationalism has occurred alongside violence and intolerance. There is also a strong correlation between violent national conflict and irredentism (Karatnycky 1999:119). Nearly every FSU state has one or more irredentist claim due to the drawing and re-drawing of maps and forced population movement that occurred under Stalin.¹⁰⁵

The persistence of tribalism, as represented in either clan ties or regional loyalties, is a significant factor in political life throughout the FSU. Ethnicity, particularly in the FSU where it has historically been the basis for oppression, labour allocations, housing and land allotment, and government perks or abuse, is a highly salient factor to political systems in transition.¹⁰⁶ This nationalism/tribalism is difficult for outsiders to comprehend and thus is often dismissed as being an insignificant element in the building of democracy (Carley 1995:304). The World Bank provides the only exception, with a recent report recognising the salience of ethnicity and the urgent need to understand ethnicity as it relates to assistance and current domestic political process and foreign assistance (Youssef 1995).

In addition to practitioners, scholars have also neglected to incorporate ethnicity into theories of political change. There are several reasons for this oversight. First, Western scholars tend to exaggerate the importance of materialism in human affairs. Second, there is the misunderstanding that greater contact between ethnic groups necessarily leads to greater tolerance. Third, political scientists, by and large, examine the political unit of the state rather than regions within states and cross-border minority groups (Helsi 1997:202). Helsi argues that an understanding of ethnically based political participation should be incorporated into the general study of regime transformation and/or democratisation and provide a nearly comprehensive structure for this critical merger (Helsi 1997:198). Here too, however, gender is absent.¹⁰⁷

Ignoring the potential for conflict represents a fatal flaw of US democracy assistance programming because a major deterrent to the promotion of democracy is violent conflict. Of all the types of potential conflict, the FSU has been, and is, embroiled in ethnic conflicts. Given the history of the FSU,¹⁰⁸ coupled with the knowledge that turmoil accompanies transition, there should have been far greater attention directed toward preventing ethnic conflict as a component within democracy assistance. Yet ethnic conflict programs represent the smallest percentage of democratic assistance packages when they are even included. While authentic democracy may prevent ethnic conflict, democracy also creates a powerful incentive for minorities to demand their own sovereign states, which often leads to conflict (Spencer 1994:1-2). Moreover, preservation of new “democracies” depends critically on governmental ability to manage existing ethnic tensions within and along their borders. Ethnic enclaves will continue to demand collective rights, particularly in increasingly desperate economic times. “New states may be replaced by ever more new states based on finer divisions of national identity—unless democracy itself and the democratic procedures that are adopted can provide a way to resolve ethnic conflict within the existing states” (Helsi 1997:191). The evident failure of key transitional democracies, such as Kyrgyzstan, forces US democracy assistance to reconsider essential assumptions that have been held about the procedures by which countries “transition” to democracy. Reich believes that an “us” versus “them” conception, supported in violent ethnic/national conflict, has eroded public values to the point where “citizens support policies that marginally improve their own welfare while harming everyone else” (Reich 1991:306). Alternative modes of citizenship, Reich asserts, can and must be created (Reich 1991:311).

Since “the politics of citizenship are inextricably intertwined with those of cultural nationalism,” discussion of citizenship leads to linkages between civil society and ethnicity and the gendered nature of these dynamics (Yuval-Davis 1999:15).¹⁰⁹ First, in many communities around the world, the FSU being no exception, there is a so-called crisis of masculinity resulting from poverty and the gendered behaviours allowed for male youth versus female youth (Waetjen 1999:663). In the developing world, inner cities, or poor rural regions, young unemployed women are often

required by their families to remain at or near the home to manage family responsibilities. Unemployed young males from the same families are not expected to manage such responsibilities. A high proportion of these young men are spending their “free” time on the streets (Reid 1998:275). Free time on the street is inevitably combined with drugs and male ego issues. Unable to fulfil the male role of family provider through employment, the male youth looks elsewhere for confirmation and demonstration of his masculinity. Young men have left the rural regions and migrated to the capital city in Kyrgyzstan, as world wide, in search of work. Finding no employment many young men are to be found on the street, drinking and playing games. These men are a prime target for movements that provide a strong positive “manly” identity to a group desperately in need of guidance. In Kyrgyzstan, Islam is filling this vacuum with mosques opening at the rate of ten per day throughout Central Asia (Youssef 1995:61). This “crisis of masculinity” is linked directly to inter and intra ethnic violence because these frustrated males are susceptible to violent displays of “masculinity” fuelled by drugs, alcohol, and a lack of positive self-identity. A breeding ground for violent nationalism/ethnic conflict is thus formed, and it is largely male.

Second, as previously outlined, the female population of the family, in addition to managing the home, is also engaging in and indeed, taking over civil societies globally (Yuval-Davis and Werbner 1999). Women are often too busy holding the community together to be interested in ethnicity, nationalism, or fascism or any other “isms.” As one survey respondent in the field research of this dissertation said in response to a question about his mother’s ethnicity, “You know my mother doesn’t have time to think about this ethnicity. She is too busy trying to earn money to feed our family,” (Author’s Field Research Notes September 26, 1999, Bishkek Internet Café). By and large, women around the globe are the “work horses” of their communities, leading the NGOs, the schools, and other community activities. Women have been largely left outside the structures of local and national politics as well as the structures of ethnic conflict and violent nationalism. However, governments and community populations look toward women to fill the social gaps and be the community caregivers. The role of women as leaders of civil/community society is accepted when it applies to social service deliveries, within the home and

the community, but not in respect to women's involvement with local political decision making, local government, and/or relating to ethnic identity.

Therefore, any attempts to respond to Reich's call for new citizenship models would be greatly aided by a recognition that traditional citizenship models have been male, as Chapter Two argued, and have mobilised around concepts of "fraternity" and ethnic brotherhood necessarily including violence, as Anderson has argued. Furthermore, recognition of the gendered nature of civil societies and the linkages this dynamic shares with ethnic identity may aid democracy assistance programming in creating democratic procedures that provide means to relieve ethnic tensions. Starting from these premises, a feminist analysis of ethnicity potentially offers a great deal to those engaged in preventing ethnic conflict and promoting democracy.

3.3 Gendering Ethnicity

"Even as they perpetuate it, women have always transformed tradition"
(Engel 1991:135)

To a larger degree than ethnicity, the state, nation, and nationalism have been deconstructed by feminist analysis. The late 1980s and 1990s have seen several groundbreaking studies that intersect the identity and gender fields: gender and nationalism (Yuval-Davis 1997); gender and citizenship (Voet 1998); gender and democracy (Pateman 1985, 1989 and Phillips 1991, 1993); and gender and the state (McKinnon 1989). Feminist perspectives on ethnicity, however, have been largely absent from the academy because there has been a reluctance to view ethnicity as anything other than a relic of "traditional" societies (Allen 1998).

There is relatively little literature available on gendered ethnicity. An important example of the analysis deficiency is indicated by *The Oxford Reader on Ethnicity* which consists of 422 pages of which only six are devoted to gender. The few sources that do exist deal more with nationalism and nation rather than internal and external ethnicity and ethnic versus gender self-identification. Gender and identity consideration has also been absent from most research on race, ethnic, and gender relations as these concepts relate to development, democracy, and international relations; both gender and ethnicity have been marginalized from core socio-political

science theory. Therefore, vital understanding of the interrelations between gender and ethnicity and socio-political science are still lacking (Allen 1998:49). Only in the late 1990s did gendered understandings of ethnicity begin to emerge in the academy, largely in relation to marriage and labour markets (Barot, Bradley and Fenton 1999), issues of gendered citizenship and identity (Yuval-Davis and Werbner 1999, Charles and Hintjens, 1998), and gender and nation/nationalism (Yuval-Davis 1997).

The importance of private and public in relation to feminism and women's exclusion from the formal political process of the state and, hence citizenship, has been outlined. Ethnic identity also embodies a gendered public/private divide that similarly serves to restrict and control the female gender. As citizenship implies representative belonging, so does ethnic identity. Ethnicity, like citizenship, has origins in the brotherhood of male conflict. And ethnic identity, like citizenship, has been assumed to be a gender-neutral identity, when in fact, like citizenship, it has been very male. In ethnicity research, as in the rest of the academy, "the perception has been so taken for granted that women are defined in relation to men, particularly as mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, while men are taken to be representative of a non-gendered subjectivity, of non-gendered human beings" (Allen 1998:55).

The gendered constructs of identity are consequential because this knowledge assists in explaining the "fraternal" and violent aspect of ethnicity and may relieve/prevent ethnic conflict (Allen 1998:59).¹¹⁰ "What is strikingly constant is the fact of a link between citizenship and the division between women and men that war, and the preparations for war, enforce" (Benton 1998:27). It is only the separation from the household, therefore separation from women and the creation of a male community, that allows men to become a fraternity (Charles 1998:17). There is an inherent paradox at work. Fraternity can *only* be maintained outside the home. The "selfless, communal experience of brotherhood, which is the model of civic virtue, is unsustainable" without war (Benton 1998:43). Without conflict men have no excuse to leave the home and fight the "other" male. Therefore, male conflict becomes a necessary component of citizenship and civil virtue, as well as of ethnic identity and value to one's ethnic community.

Ethnic identity, dissected by gender, demands a “reading of the silences” (Allen 1998). While understanding the unspoken is a crucial aspect of any investigation, capturing the silences is particularly important to feminist research, as it is women’s voices that have been most often dormant. The positive potential role that women may contribute to breaking the fraternity of violence has been ignored. On the one hand, women are allowed, even encouraged, to manage NGOs, when this means taking care of the elderly, young, and disadvantaged within the community. On the other hand, women are not allowed to partake in ethnic-political decisions, or to represent, or to protect the ethnic community. The paradox of female activity in civil society simultaneous to their obvious absence in consideration of preventing and arresting ethnic conflict is maintained from the community level all the way up to the international donor level (Reid 1998). This paradox has been labelled by Yuval-Davis as, the problem of the “ideology of ‘the community;’ an international donor idea that assumes ‘the people’ and ‘the grassroots’ are the origin of all that is good and ‘authentic’ in society” (Yuval-Davis 1998:172). “Community” connotes, in international development language, an organic wholeness—a perception by Western donors that “community” represents a “natural,” and therefore good, social unit. “It is somehow ‘out there’ and one either belongs to it or not” (Yuval-Davis 1998:174). This imagined naturalness of the “community” assumes a given collective with given boundaries discounting the voices that are silenced in the community and assuming that those, generally men, who claim to represent the community may not have the legitimate representational power nor may be in place as a community voice as a result of the will of the entire community (Yuval-Davis 1998:174).

The assumption that ethnic identity is gender neutral, when in fact it is highly male, obscures the possibility that women may understand ethnicity differently from the standard, male conception. Indeed, it may be that women removed from decision-making activities of ethnic belonging may reject an ethnic identity in favour of a gender identity altogether. The failure to explore female capacity to co-operate across ethnic lines within their universal role as caretakers and leaders of civil society means that a powerful tool for the prevention of ethnic violence, and thus consolidation of democracy, is being overlooked. Instead, donor promotion of male leaders has largely reasserted the public-private dichotomy and helped to foster the establishment

of dominant male ideologies within “transitional” democracies. This results in little commitment to gender equality in the home, community, or state, and allows, even fosters, gendered definitions of “male” citizenship and ethnic identity based on male involvement in the public political domain which, as demonstrated above, necessarily involves violence (Charles 1998:19).

Feminists have effectively argued that women know differently from men, it is likely that ethnic “knowledge” will also demonstrate a gendered divide (Stacey 1996). Although this area is under-researched, Yuval-Davis (1983, 1997, 1998), Yuval-Davis and Stasiulus (1995), Kandiyoti (1984, 1985, 1987, 1988), have been leading the field, followed by Cockburn (1998), Charles and Hintjens, et al (1998), Barot, Bradley and Fenton, et al (1999), Frederiksen and Wilson, et al, (1995), Kaplan, Alarcon, and Moallem, et al (1999), Wilford and Miller, et al (1998), Moghadam (1994), Wyche and Crosby, et al (1996), Elshtain, (1992), Peterson (1995), Hasan, (1994), and Maynard (1994). These researchers have begun to build a feminist/gendered theory of ethnicity through various constructs of human sexual, social, and political identity.

From France to Nicaragua, revolutions have been symbolised by images of women with child and gun, or the female body at risk, or an unusual woman emerging to lead the masses in battle (Brown 1986:18; Williams 1986; Reynolds 1986; West 1997; Pointon 1986). From Mother Russia to the mothers of the African National Congress (ANC), from Chinese Socialist motherland to Betsy Ross, creator of the US flag, motherhood has been used in political/national campaigns (Charles 1998:3-5; Benton 1998). The symbolic location of woman as the holder, bearer, and origin of national identity is well established (Charles 1998; West 1997:xiii). Emerging feminist research has recently been occupied with locating gender differences within ethnic and/or national identity. The majority of this research probing gender and ethnicity falls into five main categories, listed below (Barot 1999:6).

- First, theorists have located the place of national identity and nationalism in the female. This takes the form of analysis of female roles/bodies within the male national and state project (Kandiyoti 1989; Elshtain 1992; Pavlychko 1992;

Moghadam 1994; Peterson 1995; Moghadam 1997; Cockburn 1998). In this research, it is widely argued that women's bodies are used as "vehicles" for the symbolic depiction of political purpose (Kandiyoti 1988, 1989:132). Nira Yuval-Davis' *Gender and Nation* (1997) represents the most comprehensive study to date.

- Secondly, there has been a smaller amount of research focused on the "special" role of women, especially in the role of mother, in transferring and teaching ethnic identity (Engel 1991:135; Coomaraswamy 1999:8).¹¹¹ This includes a controversial body of peace research literature that presents women as inherently more peaceful than men (Reardon 1996.)
- Third, there has been a rethinking of sexual relations and the racial component of ethnicity (Cornell 1990). Racism has been analysed as a highly sexed and misogynist doctrine, in which the subversion of the "other" race is often primarily related to violent sexual abuse of the "other" female. From black and white relations in America to Korean comfort women and recent war-torn Yugoslavia, there is extensive evidence and analysis of how sexual violence is perpetrated against the "other's" woman as a means to destroy the "other's" male and his ethnic identity (Morrison 1997; Mexnaric 1994; Benderly 1997; Coomaraswamy 1999).
- Fourth, an emerging body of research has examined ethnic or racial differences within or across the female gender, relating primarily to the deconstruction of white, Western, and middle class feminism, which has been perceived to be the norm in much feminist research. Black feminist deconstruction has provided the most vivid research (Edwards 1990; Allen 1998; Maynard 1994; Anderson 1988; hooks 1981).
- Fifth, feminist research has been occupied with examining ethnicity as operating in a specific context, largely minority ethnic communities in Great Britain or former British colonies (Barot, 1999:6; Reid 1998). These understandings and analyses place gender and ethnicity within the framework of British and more

specifically English understandings. The paradigm is a dominant nation and a dominant ethnic group with an imperialistic and racist history (Afshar 1998). The very framework problematizes ethnicity and gender and adds yet another layer of post-colonial research to the relationship (Chaterjee 1993).

Nira Yuval-Davis and Flora Anthias have also outlined ways in which women themselves participate in the ethnic group process. Yuval-Davis and Anthias created a typology of five ethnic/national/state processes in which women take part as gendered beings. These are: (1) as biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectives, (2) as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups, (3) as central participants in the ideological reproduction of the collective and transmitters of its culture, (4) as signifiers of ethnic/national differences—as a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction, and transformation of ethnic/national categories, and (5) as participants in ethnic national, economic, political, and military struggles. The research in this dissertation recognises ethnicity, nationalism, and the state (the body politic) as three separate, but overlapping, societal constructs. The Yuval-Davis/Anthias typology forms the base for the field survey research in Kyrgyzstan. Categories one through four are particularly relevant and are examined in greater detail below.

3.3.1 Male Honour and the Female as Ethnic Boundary Marker: Point One

There is overwhelming evidence that ethnicity and violence has a distinctly male gender component, with violence often directed at the “other’s” women. In October 1997, for the first time in history, a woman testified before an international criminal tribunal as a victim of sexual violence during wartime. Ms. Coomaraswamy, the UN Special Representative on Violence Against Women, cites excerpts from this woman’s testimony. “The rapes were public—they raped us in front of our children. The rapists were young rascals. Try to imagine a mother raped by young boys” (Coomaraswamy 1999:2). Rape, particularly public rape, and sexual torture of the enemy female asserts dominance over the enemy male because women’s sexuality is perceived to be under the protection/control of men. Rapes are used by men during conflicts to: (a) erase the enemy woman’s ethnic identity, (b) “pollute” and “defile”

the enemy male “other,” and (c) signify conquest and perpetuate the ethnicity of the dominant community (Coomaraswamy 1999:1-5).

Once a woman has “allowed” penetration by the enemy “other,” her own community may reject her because she is believed to be ethnically contaminated and hence no longer of value to the community. Since female honour and sexual control are regulated by the male community leaders, female members of the ethnic are thus reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups (Yuval-Davis 1997). Female defilement signifies ethnic contamination of the male “other.” “If women are strictly controlled and only permitted to express sexuality with men of their own community then it is apparent that the community lays great emphasis on ethnic purity. During war that purity is deliberately assaulted precisely because it strikes at the core of ethnic identity” (Coomaraswamy 1999:18). Male community honour and identity is “located” in the body and behaviour of women and can be preserved or lost through the female.

The female of the ethnic group not only represents the place of male honour but also personifies the weak link in ethnic boundary markers. If the woman is violated, the entire ethnic group is threatened. As such, sexual violence is seen as a crime of honour and a means to perpetuate ethnicity of the male conqueror. Female ethnic identity is directly linked to male ethnic identity and the female’s ability and/or choice to remain monogamous to her ethnic community. Wartime rape is, thus, an act against the ethnic group in question and not the physical integrity of the individual female victim (Coomaraswamy 1999:6). Serbian rape camps in Bosnia (1993-94) brought attention to the historical practice of rape as a tool of war, illustrating the vulnerable female location of ethnicity (Mexnaric 1994; Cockburn 1989).

During ethnic conflict, rape and sexual violence are well known strategies for destroying ethnic reproductive capacities as well as the ethnic boundaries of the enemy male. It is not unusual for male soldiers/rebels to tattoo the breasts or genitalia of their rape victim with insignia of their ethnic group signifying reproductive/sexual dominance by physical claim of the enemy female’s reproductive/sexual organs and marking the female with a new ethnicity (Coomaraswamy 1999:7-10). As ethnicity is

most often perceived to be transferred from father to child, there is also forced reproductive captivity, as in the case of Bosnia, where the enemy female is raped and forced to give birth to a child of the “other's” ethnicity. Therefore: (a) the female body, (b) female reproductive capacity, and (c) female sexual capacity are significant markers of ethnic identity.

Coomaraswamy created a typology of violence against women during armed conflict which included, women forced to parade naked in front of family members, women raped in front of family members, or women raped by intimate family members. She found that public sexual shame and humiliation in front of the community was key to all activities (Coomaraswamy 1999:11). Suicide by the women to save their community honour is not uncommon. “Those who did not commit suicide feel that the community has concluded that they gave into sexual violence to save their lives, that they did not have a sense of honour to take their own lives” (Coomaraswamy 1999:12). Women suffer as widows and as victims but also as perpetrators. “The complicity of women with regard to the violence of their men... is [a] very distributing phenomenon” but not surprising considering that women assist and enforce the rituals—from female genital mutilation to bride burning and kidnapping—that often hurt them the most (Coomaraswamy 1999:16). Women are at the receiving end of patriarchal societies where male identity appears to be linked to violence and, thus, women learn to solve their own problems through violence—too often against self or other women. Women, as a weak ethnic link, provide both vulnerability and a target during ethnic conflict, and place female identity at the nexus of ethnic contamination and creation.¹¹²

3.3.2 Gender as Central to Ethnic Violence and Peace: Point Two

Male control of women's sexuality and reproductive capacity is an integral component of nationalism and ethnicity not only during conflict by enemy “others” but also internally to the ethnic group in times of ethnic building/recreation (Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989). Ethnic violence, usually sexual, is directed inward and committed against the female “self” when male community leaders “mark” and/or “protect” their boundary markers, the women being a prominent ethnic marker. As

Cockburn notes, Bosnian women know “how extreme national movements transfix women as living boundary-markers” (Cockburn 1998:43). If nationalism is ethnically derived and is defined “as something that runs in the blood, then it necessarily involves a tight control of women’s sexuality in order to define and maintain the boundaries of the ethnic community” (Charles 1998:6). Therefore, female difference from men is essential and provides a distinct location within the ethnic collective. Female inclusion in the group is, however, dependent on how the male leaders decide to symbolise the ethnic (Charles 1998:6).

The female is subject to male violence by both “other” male and “self” male in relation to concepts of ethnicity. It has been argued that women are also violent in defence of their “ethnic” or national boundary. There have indeed been cases of women engaged in ethnic violence from Rwanda to South Africa from Latin America to the French Revolution. However, these instances are limited and exceptional when compared to the scope of male ethnic violence (Coomaraswamy 1999). As Yuval-Davis points out, “Identities available to women are constructed within specific power relations which provide the framework of choice” (Yuval-Davis in Charles 1998:21). The dominant political and community frameworks are defined by male leaders. Women can be mobilised to violence, but female ethnic violence, when it happens, occurs within and because of dominant power relations and decisions that are male. When women are allowed to, or encouraged to, participate, it is male leaders who are controlling and creating the violence within which women are given a “temporary” place. This “temporary” place is usually manifested in the form of revolutionary action rather than ethnic conflict.

While ethnic violence focuses on the female, alternatively female gender alliances can reject ethnic conflict. The shared experiences women have as women, mothers, and wives may reduce the significance of ethnic or national identities. Cynthia Cockburn (1998) has produced a ground-breaking qualitative study of three cases—Northern Ireland, Israel/Palestine, and Bosnia—where women have worked together across violent ethnic conflicts, rejecting male defined ethnic identities linked violence and favouring a predominant female gender identity linked to peace-building activities (Cockburn 1998). The rationale for women coming together across ethnic lines was

that, “If a militarised society was a disaster both to the women of the oppressing community as well as the community of the oppressed, an alliance between women would help both groups” (Cockburn 1998:128). In all three cases Cockburn documents how the women were “the backbone of their community” (Cockburn 1998:60). This female dominated controlling position at the community (civil society) level allowed for a position of some political leverage when the emergence of cross-ethnic community based women’s groups and activities began to emerge. One of Cockburn’s study participants says of this power-shift, the “emergence of the community-based women’s centres really challenges that [male-political] leadership; it challenged that [patriarchy, ethnicity and violence] mode of thinking” (Cockburn 1998:61).

In all three of Cockburn’s case histories the catalyst for rejecting ethnic identity in favour of gender occurred when women defined themselves as reproducers of their collectivity. At this point, the women have the opportunity to gain (or regain) control of their reproductive potential and their own sexuality (Moghadam 1994; Papanek 1994; Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989; Charles 1998:8). By doing so, women reject the intra-ethnic violence directed against them as “ethnic boundary markers,” and also reject the inter-ethnic violence between ethnic groups (Reid 1998). Women are more vulnerable to possession by “the other” (who is male) when women inherently lack self-possession of their own (Benton 1998:35). It thus follows that women’s rights and empowerment may be a vital ingredient in preventing ethnic conflict. The main argument is that ethnicity cannot be collapsed into identity and/or culture and therefore women’s ethnicity often is different from that of men. Feminist politics should incorporate the notion of women’s positioning and ethnic differences into its agenda, rendering all feminist politics coalition politics (Yuval-Davis 1998:168). That said, overwhelming global evidence that men perpetrate violence—often manifested around issues of ethnicity and sexuality—more than women, does not necessarily indicate that women are inherently less violent or more peaceful. It simply indicates that patriarchal social constructions have allowed women only limited positions of power and exhibitions of violence.

3.3.3 Ethnic Myth of Creation and the Female: Points Three and Four

Women are said to be the cultural symbols of ethnic worlds and representations of the spiritual private domain of ethnicity. Women in the home have been perceived to be caretakers of nationalist and ethnic practices and rituals “that keep the identity alive in a visual, coherent sense” (Coomaraswamy 1999:9). In addition to rituals, such as weddings, holidays, cultural/ethnicity is also represented on the female body by the jewellery a woman wears, the type of clothes, the manner of clothes she wears, her make-up/body painting or lack of make-up, length and style of hair, etc. While the ethnicity field of ethnic studies is rich with examination of so-called “external” community markers by which an ethnic group defines itself to the outside world, concept, understandings, and implications of the internal markers of ethnicity have been largely left unexplored. In order to maintain external unity, in this case ethnic boundary markers, and all human communities must have internal structure and divisions of labour. Because ethnic studies has largely ignored the “private” domain of ethnic identity, the role of gender within the creation, recreation, and maintenance of ethnic external boundary markers has also been unexamined. Moreover, use of women as an external boundary marker has been largely ignored as well. This research is not concerned with how the female body is used by ethnic groups as salient boundary markers, i.e., rape, sex, reproduction, customs, jewellery, for there are increasingly studies that examine this aspect. In light of these studies of the female role in ethnicity, it is clear that in addition to race, language, religion, myth, etc., female gender must also be added as a boundary marker of ethnic groups. Moreover, the female gender is a marker that dissects the five other pre-established markers. Women represent the blank space where men can project and transfer an ethnic identity. Women are thus ethnic boundary markers, physically, socially, culturally, and sexually.¹¹³

Gendered aspects of ethnicity are also evident in the role women play in the creation of ethnic and nationalist identity, as ideological reproducers of the myths and legends (Benton 1998). There are well-documented and rich images of the female at the origins of ethnic identity. Many cultures’ ethnic myths of creation symbolise woman giving birth or a woman hero embodying and protecting the ethnic man. From the

Japanese Sun Goddess to Chinggis Khan's wife, mother of the Mongol nation, from Eve in the Garden of Eden to Armenian goddess Anahit, origin is frequently defined by the female (Benton 1998). Concepts of sex, sexual power and fear are also involved with notions of creation. The female role in ethnic myth and legend is heavily set in a male dominant sexual context. Women's role in the formation of ethnic identity is typically procreation, sacrifice, and birth. It is through blood, milk, and sperm that myths of ethnic reproduction are created (Charles 1998). This is due to the heavy emphasis on biological or racial contours of ethnic identity. If biology/race was not a powerful factor in the ethnic, the female as biological ethnic producer (carrier) would not be so vital.¹¹⁴

Nationalist ideology and myths of origin/nation are predicated on a sexual order. This sexual order excludes women from the community, the creation, and the polity. The myth of origin relies on "essential identities" to define belonging. This results in exclusionary ideologies (Charles 1998:7). Movements toward sexual equality are often rejected because that would undermine sexual difference and require the male to carry more of the ethnic weight of representation (Charles 1998:12). Currently, the burden of ethnic creation and recreation is firmly placed on the female who carries most of the ethnic responsibility with few of the privileges or decision-making power. This uneven distribution is not only a disadvantage for women, it is also a leading rationale for male violence.

3.4 Summary

To achieve stable democratic regimes, strategies for managing and resolving ethnic conflict are essential (Helsi 1997:201). "How can ethnic competition best be managed (resolved) within the structures of a democratic state?" is the question the democracy assistance community must ask of itself (Helsi 1997:201). The argument developed throughout this thesis is that a feminist understanding of ethnicity provides one significant strategy. Although the feminist research project has made great strides since the beginning of the twentieth century, ethnicity is one area of social science that can benefit from increased gender consideration, particularly in the context of democracy assistance. As Abner Cohen (1974) asserts, "Ethnicity may best be used

as a signal of the relationship between the symbolism of identity and its development in political mobilisation and the political process” (Barot 1999:5). The relationships are significant. As Eriksen affirmed, “Ethnicity is not an attribute of groups; it is a dimension of relationships” (Eriksen 1992:12). For too long the debate has focused on the attributes rather than the relationships. This chapter argues that the relationship of ethnicity to democracy and gender are worth examination. Socio-geo-political differences must be “grasped in all their complex intersections” (Yuval-Davis and Werbner 1999:10).

It is through a recognition of the gendered nature of civil society that ethnicity becomes salient for democracy assistance. Although traditionally unmentioned and/or unrecognised, gender is also a significant element in the formation of ethnicity. Female gender serves the ethnic identity process in three ways. First, the female is a boundary marker herself (Mexnaric 1994). Second, the female is a location upon which to mark, place, or otherwise display boundary markers. Third, the female is a sacred, protected, location or vessel for the “virtue,” the integrity of the ethnic identity. A gender analysis of ethnicity problematizes complexities of social realities, concepts of community, and understandings of ethnic conflict and solution (Yuval-Davis 1998:179). As Stuart Hall notes, “All identity is constructed across difference” (Hall, 1987:44 as quoted in Yuval-Davis 1998:180). It is evident that one of the main differences across which ethnic identity is constructed, created, and recreated (internal to the group and external) is gender. The implications of this for understanding political conflict and processes of democratisation constitutes an urgent research agenda to which feminist analysis has much to offer. The field research of this dissertation investigates the assumptions and theories in this emerging field.

Chapter Four

Gender and Ethnicity in the “Democratic” Transition of Kyrgyzstan

“I dare say that in Kyrgyzstan the seeds of democracy are sown in fertile soil..... however, there is nothing more difficult than learning to live free” (Akaev1995:14)

“Based on its historical legacy alone, few successor states of the USSR would appear as ill-prepared for a democratic transition as Kyrgyzstan” (Huskey 1999:243)

4.1 Kyrgyzstan Case Rationale

The Former Soviet Union, (FSU), provides an optimal place to examine gender and ethnicity within the framework of democracy because these emergent countries are the pivotal regions and the pilot tests of democratic theory and assistance.¹¹⁵ Nation/state building is occurring at a rapid, haphazard, and frantic pace. Therefore, if democratic assistance is relevant anywhere, it must be applicable in the FSU. Within the FSU, Central Asia is most pivotal for US foreign interests due to: (a) regional concerns relating to China and the Middle East, (b) the potential for oil, and (c) the regional tendency toward conflict.¹¹⁶ Discord cannot be easily contained within the confines of Central Asia because of politically sensitive neighbouring countries (Reuters 1999). How these states handle the ethnic question, how well these states govern (their ability to create acceptable human conditions for their populations) and whether democratic consolidation occurs are, thus, vitally important considerations.¹¹⁷

Within Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan has been selected for analysis due first to its apparent commitment to democracy. Of all the Central Asian states, only Kyrgyzstan claims to be an “island of democracy.” Kyrgyzstan’s President, Askar Akaev,¹¹⁸ has made a most serious verbal commitment to international human rights and law (Akaev 1995). Kyrgyzstan receives the largest per capita democracy assistance in Central Asia because of its perceived potential as a democratic “Switzerland” of Central Asia (Anderson 1999; OECD 1999). The second point about Kyrgyzstan is its ethnic complexity. With over 52 various ethnic groups, and three significant cross-border ethnic communities, Uzbek, Tajik, and Uigher, the ethnic dimension is critical. Thirdly, gender divisions are particularly salient because women are leading movements in civil society and because Kyrgyzstan is a society marked by influential gender roles. Finally, Kyrgyzstan is of considerable geo-political, hydro significance. Kyrgyzstan holds the region’s water supply and, thus, the region’s access to electric power. Given the looming water conflict, and due to the former Soviet structure, the

Central Asian states are dependent on each other for supplies of gas, fuel, power, and water. This is another significant aspect of the pivotal role that Kyrgyzstan holds in the balance between regional stability and chaos. Kyrgyzstan's democratic reforms provide the greatest amount of freedom in Central Asia, which could either mean space for human development, progress, and democracy or could mean, as feared by other Central Asians, space for chaos, ethnic conflict, and outright war.¹¹⁹ Thus, this research focuses on the role played by a leading Western democratic donor, the United States, in a country self-promoted as the "island of democracy," within a region prone to ethnic conflict divided by gender and of significant strategic importance (Huskey 1999; Kuehnast 1997).

4.2 History of Kyrgyz People-Region

"There are virtually no facets of Central Asian life that have not been seriously affected by the experience of colonial domination" (Clement 1994:87)

Although this dissertation is not an attempt to examine the historical context of Russian and then Soviet conquest of Central Asia, a brief historical background provides a context for evaluation of the field research results put forth in the next chapter. There is practically no other region of the world that has "literally dropped off the map for centuries" (Carley 1995:294). Comparatively little has been written about Kyrgyz history primarily because the Kyrgyz people never governed themselves prior to "independence" from the USSR in 1990. Before Russian involvement, the history of the Kyrgyz people is vague, sporadic, and controversial, with a "homeland," the region that is now called Kyrgyzstan, long inhabited before the arrival of any Kyrgyz ethnic group (Anderson 1999:3). The most accurate history is that the Kyrgyz, at the beginning of the 10th century, came from the Upper Yenisey river of Siberia and were forced to migrate south due to advancing Mongol tribes. Once settled around the Issy-kul and Naryn regions, they were unable to escape the established Mongol domination.

Prior to Russian/Soviet involvement, the Kyrgyz people were a relatively minor and insignificant tribal group. Unlike Mongols or Kazakhs, the Kyrgyz did not enjoy regional prominence until Soviet rule when USSR leaders created the "myth" of limited "statehood" and national identity for the Kyrgyz. Modern Kyrgyz territory was inextricably part of the power struggles between Great Britain, Russia, and Turkey at the beginning of the century, dubbed the "Great Game" by Kipling. The Russians, and hence Soviets, heavily influenced Kyrgyzstan's history as winners of

the Great Game. The Soviet past created the “grounded reality” of all-social, political, cultural, ethnic, gender, and economic forces, past and current. Soviet and Russian components of Kyrgyz history are inextricably bound to the past and present adding to the complexity of current reality (Clement 1994:87).

After Mongol rule, the Kyrgyz tribes fell to the Chinese, in the middle of the 18th century, under the powerful khanate of Kokand. Kokand held power until the Russian influence in the region increased and gained control. In 1775, the first Kyrgyz emissary was sent to Russia. In 1830, the tribes of the region accepted suzerainty of the land of what was then called Kokand. By 1862 some Kyrgyz tribes joined Russian soldiers in storming the current capital, then called Pishpek (then renamed Frunze and currently called Bishkek). By 1876, Kyrgyz territory became subordinate to Russia.¹²⁰ Russian/Soviet rule acquired control over a group of tribal-nomadic people who had been under Mongol, then Chinese dominion.

The region of land that now encompasses modern day Kyrgyzstan came under Russian, and then Soviet, rule as a result of the Russian/Soviet triumph in the Great Game, a period of time, spanning the middle 1800s, where Great Britain and Russia conducted a race to be the first to conquer, colonise, and, therefore, rule, the vast area of land that is known as Central Asia, circled by India, China, the Middle East, and Russia. Kyrgyzstan, thus, is a country recovering from a colonial past. Although the policies and tools of Soviet colonisation were dramatically different from that of the European powers in Africa, the resulting confusion over matters of identity and government are similar. The following excerpt from Imperial Russia’s version of manifest destiny regarding Russia’s intention in Central Asia demonstrates the colonial attitude that began during the Great Game and continued with Soviet rule over the region.

The position of Russia in Central Asia is that of all civilised States which are brought into contact with half-savage nomad populations, possessing no fixed social organisation. In such cases it always happens that the more civilised State is forced, in the interest of the security of its frontiers and its commercial relations, to exercise a certain ascendancy over those whom their turbulent and unsettled character makes most undesirable neighbours -Gorchakov Circular 1864- (Olcott 1987:75).

The only serious challenge to Soviet/Russian rule came in 1916 when the Russians tried to draft the local male population into military service to fight in World War I. In mid-July of 1916, over 10,000 people gathered in Osh to demonstrate against the

draft. The demonstration led to violence with over 2,000 Russians killed in the more isolated Russian settlements, and over 100,000 Kyrgyz dead when the Russians responded harshly to the killings. Over a third of the Kyrgyz population fled to China via the Torugart Pass with many perishing along the way (Anderson 1999:7).¹²¹ After the 1920s, there was no serious threat to Russian/Soviet rule. The Russians, thus, embarked on a campaign to provide basic universal education, healthcare, and industry. The Kyrgyz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was created in 1927 and was renamed the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic in 1936.

In 1938, the Stalinist terror reached Bishkek with the trial and execution of leading Kyrgyz political and cultural leaders. After 1938, the pace of political changes, occurring since 1916, slowed and Soviet consolidation began in earnest. Due to its military importance, Kyrgyzstan was a closed republic within the Soviet Union. The USSR used the Kyrgyz republic to test torpedoes in Lake Issy-kul,¹²² mine uranium in the rich veins of the Kara-Balta region, and provide a buffer along the Chinese border of Naryn *oblast*. In return for tight security and greatly restricted freedoms, even by Soviet definition, the material needs of the Kyrgyz Republic were met by Moscow.

Employment was guaranteed. Poor, elderly, and other disadvantaged members of society were supported by the state. Education and healthcare was universalised, industry was created, and housing was built. Many of the USSR's top Russian scientists were sent to Kyrgyzstan for military purposes, resulting in large communities of Russian Jews and Russian German scientists who established and promoted an excellent education system and a rich cultural life in the capital city. Due to its proximity to the Fergana Valley, the breadbasket of the USSR, Kyrgyzstan enjoyed lush and abundant fruits, vegetables, grain, and sugar. Meat from cows and sheep was also bountiful. In general, the subsidised life was, if not politically free, materially satisfactory. After World War II, many Russians attempted to gain transfer to Kyrgyzstan as life was considered much better in Frunze than other parts of the USSR. From a non-distinct nomadic past to a region of importance in a world superpower, Kyrgyzstan had come a long way. Between 1938-1985, the majority of people were "grateful" and "loyal" to the Soviet modernisation project, resulting from both genuine commitment to the Soviet modernisation process and due to their inability to hold any dissenting views given that any opposition to Soviet policy resulted in severe consequences, including loss of life.¹²³

On August 31, 1991, the Kyrgyz Republic became an independent secular state. Since 1999, the three essential factors underlying Kyrgyzstan's present situation,

which influences gender and democracy, are: (1) involuntary independence from the USSR, (2) anarchy, and (3) ethnicity. First, Central Asia, and Kyrgyzstan, did not launch an independence movement from the USSR, instead the USSR/Russia removed itself from Central Asia. The result of Soviet/Russian colonisation was that the collapse of the USSR “was an abrupt and unexpected end to membership in what most residents regarded as a legitimate political community” (Huskey 1999:3). Unlike the Baltics or Eastern Europe, or Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan along with other Central Asia states, did not want to leave the USSR. The ambivalence, even reluctance, with which Kyrgyzstan greeted the Soviet Union’s collapse is directly related to the Soviet contribution in modernising Kyrgyzstan and “in nurturing, if only unintentionally, the beginnings of a Kyrgyz national identity” (Huskey 1999:3).

In a March 17, 1991, referendum (nine months prior to the official end of the USSR) the Central Asians overwhelmingly voted to remain part of the USSR (Snyder 1995: xv). The population of Kyrgyzstan today is not one that looks back to a heroic resistance or a daring independence movement. There are no democratic leaders in Kyrgyzstan since there was no movement for freedom, independence, and democracy. The resulting post-Soviet population generally feels abandoned and yearns for the Soviet past. With no goal, no struggle, no clear vision of the future, anarchy is one likely resulting state of affairs. The population of Kyrgyzstan is one that did not want to leave the USSR, and today overwhelmingly agrees that life was much better during Soviet times than today because there was certainty, security, and jobs.

The second factor, then, is the anarchy that has existed in Kyrgyzstan since the Soviet collapse.¹²⁴ As Claudia Svyatkina, president of a local election commission in Jalal-Abad said, “What we have now is not democracy but anarchy,” (Associated Press 2000). The anarchy has been increasingly controlled by an underlying, thus far soft, totalitarianism. The original Western euphoria over President Akaev’s commitment to authentic democracy and economic reform has significantly diminished due to increasing repression and corruption.¹²⁵ President Akaev has increasingly emulated President Nazarbayev’s (Kazakstan) and President Karimov’s (Uzbekistan) autocratic rule, while frequently objecting that, as President of Kyrgyzstan, he does not have enough power to accomplish the necessary reforms.¹²⁶

The first serious retardation of democratic development began in 1994, only three years after independence, when Akaev, disillusioned with the very limited democratic constraints on his executive power, launched an authoritarian offensive, which has increasingly strangled democratic culture (Huskey 1997:257; US Department of State

1995). First, Akaev formed the Committee to Defend the Honour and Dignity of the President during this time. Second, always reluctant to respect the basic tenets of a democracy—a constitutionally limited term of office—Akaev began building his power base that would support him as a permanent president. Akaev is “not the head of the executive branch but a kind of republican monarch who serves as the guarantor of the constitutions... operating at the pinnacle of state power” (Huskey 1999:17). By the time of the 1995 parliamentary elections, what was emerging was not a consolidation of democracy, but an increasingly cynical population alienated by excessively corrupt and self-interested elites. These elections also confirmed the continuing strength of tribal and clan ties with both Akaev’s and his wife’s clans in firm control. “If the 1995 parliamentary elections represent a defining moment, it is not in the consolidation of democracy but in the criminalization and regionalization of politics in Kyrgyzstan” (Huskey 1997:265-266).¹²⁷

1996 brought President Akaev’s February referendum that greatly extended his powers. This referendum violated both the Constitution and the Law on Referendums (US Department of State 2000). This referendum consisted of a simple “yes” or “no” vote to more than 50 complex constitutional amendments. Most constituents admitted they did not understand the referendum. The US Department of State reported that voter apathy was high; turnout was low, and ballot stuffing was rampant, yielding results “reminiscent of the Soviet era” (US Department of State 2000:11). The President’s power was consolidated, and he became the dominant political force in Kyrgyzstan, with the power to nominate the prime minister, appoint the government ministry heads, and the director of the state bank (Pannier 1997:94). Akaev also controls the courts¹²⁸ (US Department of State 2000). Judges wishing to maintain their position must allegedly pay \$25,000 (USD) for this privilege (International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights 1999). Additionally, Akaev has taken serious measures (mainly via the courts) to silence and subjugate the media (Pannier 1997,94).¹²⁹ From *Res Publica* to *Verchery Bishkek* the major independent news sources of Kyrgyzstan have been intimidated into submission by the government and the minor newspapers have been closed.¹³⁰ Potential political opposition has also come under the same serious intimidation and harassment, resulting in no organised political opposition whatsoever. The media has been used by President Akaev to manipulate opinion against the opposition.¹³¹

The culmination of these controls was evident in the February-March 2000 parliamentary elections when Akaev attempted to control both the process and the outcome of the elections through the courts and the media. Blatant governmental

manipulation resulted in spontaneous country-wide protests, including demonstrations, hunger strikes, and even a suicide, by citizens frustrated with the overt corruption and their lack of the ability to elect their own representatives (Handrahan 2000). The government countered with arrests and injunctions against those who demonstrated.¹³²

The mass popular protests represented a point of desperation. While both the US and the Kyrgyz governments may hope these protests will quiet down and be forgotten, any such naïve assumptions would indicate a serious underestimation of the long-term impact that these unleashed frustrations may have. Ignoring the demands of the protestors may serve to further align the population with other elements in the region that are addressing the needs of the average person, perhaps, more effectively than Western assistance, i.e., the competing Islamic fundamentalist movement. With large numbers of Islamic fundamentalists allegedly posed for insurgency into Central Asia, a disgruntled, hopeless, and resentful population is just what a fundamentalist movement needs.¹³³

There is little authentic governmental commitment to democracy and a decreasing belief by the population that Kyrgyzstan is a democracy.¹³⁴ From the average Bishkek teacher¹³⁵ to the mountain shepherd, people are aware that Akaev and his government have stolen their chance for a better economic future.¹³⁶ As Pannier notes, “If the Kyrgyz economy does not improve, Akaev will have few to blame but himself” (Pannier 1997:95).¹³⁷ With a porous border, incompetent and ineffective government, and general anarchy, people who live in Kyrgyzstan are seeking alternative environments. Over 594,000 of the top Russian Jews and Germans (and other Slavic peoples) have already emigrated to Russia, Israel, or Germany leaving an intellectual and administrative vacuum, notably in the fields of healthcare and education, which have virtually collapsed.¹³⁸ Uzbekistan, with its police state, at least offers personal security, something that Kyrgyz citizens desire. The Islamic fundamentalist insurgents in Batken offer jobs and money. For families that have been living on bread and tea since the apricot industry collapsed with the USSR, any source of income is welcome (Handrahan 2000). Throughout the August 1999 war in Batken, Akaev never visited the region, choosing instead to visit Germany. This lack of commitment to the south served to further align the population in this region with the insurgents.¹³⁹ When the state provides no benefits for the citizens, citizens will vote with their feet if they cannot vote in legitimate elections, as is the case in Kyrgyzstan, and the state will eventually cease to exist. This is a distinctly possible future for Kyrgyzstan (Olcott 2000:6).

The third influential factor since 1991 has been the importance and persistence of ethnicity to politics and power distribution, including the potential for serious, prolonged ethnic conflict. Ethnicity is the most critical factor in political processes and the one most often ignored by democracy promoters. There have already been two serious ethnic conflicts in Kyrgyzstan. First, the Osh incident of June 1990, the most serious and prolonged ethnic conflict, the Caucasus excepted, in late Soviet history. Second, the Batken incident of August-November 1999, based on clear ethnic lines of Tajik, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek. Kyrgyz support for the insurgent Muslim fundamentalist Tajik/Uzbek rebels was directly related to the poverty and frustration of Kyrgyz in that region.¹⁴⁰ Academics and practitioners alike continue to caution that ethnic conflict is potential; however, in Kyrgyzstan, it is more than a “potential” (Sagdeev 1995). Ethnic friction has been ongoing in direct relation to the highly ethnic political process of government. Recently Max van der Stoep, Commissioner for National Minorities with the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), gave a serious warning that Central Asia might soon become the “new Kosovo” (Reuters 1999). Key people responsible for US democracy assistance to Central Asia were not even aware that this statement had been made.¹⁴¹ Moreover, US democracy officials remained unwilling or unable to notice how salient ethnicity is to the political process and hence to democracy building efforts.¹⁴²

4.3 The Relevance of Ethnicity

*“Kyrgyzstan lies on the northern edge of a conflict zone that extends from western China to the Caucasus—running through the region is a set of high mountain ranges”
(Huskey 1999:1)*

Ethnicity in Kyrgyzstan is at the centre of a complex web of economic, social, and political relations. The complicated ethnic tapestry is a residue from the Soviet era when republics were multi-national political systems that are now separated by competing, largely corrupt, clan systems. Since 1991, Akaev has been building a national identity from scratch with a serious dearth of usable national history.¹⁴³ Unlike other FSU states, Kyrgyzstan had no prior period of national independence. Due to a constructed absence of effective institutional checks and balances, the President enjoys “broad discretionary power in defining the country’s national identity and therefore its national interests” (Huskey 1999:7). Akaev is, thus, the primary narrator of Kyrgyzstan’s story, which has become almost exclusively an ethnic Kyrgyz narrative. Wide-scale and/or state-sponsored/sanctioned intolerance

and/or ethnic conflict and/or benefit is perceived by the population to be the responsibility of Akaev.¹⁴⁴

Not only has Kyrgyzstan been a crossroads for various ethnic groups, numerous religious traditions have also influenced the region, including Manicheism, Shamanism, Nestorian Christianity, Buddhism, Zoroastrians, Confucianism, and Islam (Pannier 1995:26). When the Muslims came to Central Asia in the 7th century, they made far better progress converting the settled societies of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan than the nomads of Kyrgyzstan. Islam was introduced to Southern Kyrgyzstan in the 8th century, during an Arab invasion, and in the North as late as the 18th century, yet the nomadic populations of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan did not adopt Islam until the end of the 19th century, and even then Islam never successfully converted the population (Carley 1995:295; Dobson 1995:3). Until the 1990s, Islamic influence in Kyrgyzstan has been relatively impotent and sporadic. The overriding ethnic influence has been Mongol, resulting in Kyrgyz being historically a nomadic people with yurts (felt tents), saddles, handicrafts, traditions, and shamanism, very similar to those of their 10th-17th century rulers, the Mongols.¹⁴⁵

The Kyrgyz are generally classified as a sub-section of the dominant Kazak ethnicity and were first distinguished by the Russians/Soviets as Kara-Kyrgyz, being somewhat darker due to the higher altitude of their grazing pastures.¹⁴⁶ The Kyrgyz people of today descend from various Mongol, Turkic, Chinese, Russian, Greek, and Arabic people. "Kyrgyz" history has been one of disunity and internal war and struggle, with various tribes and khans assaulting each other in bids for power and pasture (Anderson 1999:3). Due to a weak and vague past, mainly under domination, there are no strong folk tales or national myths that the Kyrgyz can rely on to boost their sagging collective identity. Despite Akaev's push for the dubious Manas, an ancient Kyrgyz warrior, to be the national hero of choice, including an UNESCO sponsored \$2.5 million dollar thousand year anniversary of Manas in 1995, Manas is only a passing reference for the average person. The UNESCO "celebration" was largely greeted as a waste of money by an increasingly cynical and poverty stricken population.¹⁴⁷

During Soviet rule, there were two major immigrant streams into Kyrgyzstan. First, there was a massive influx of Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Tatars, Armenians and other Europeans during the period between 1926-1959.¹⁴⁸ Second, Stalin's deportation policies brought Koreans, Crimeans, Germans, and Turks to Central Asia as punishment for collective disloyalty during World War II. Under the USSR, ethnic

Russians accounted for between 22% and 59% of the population, concentrated in the capital cities of Central Asia. Ethnic Central Asians were largely excluded, in favour of the Russians, from highest-quality education, the best employment opportunities, and good health services because: (a) these were concentrated in the capital city, and (b) were primarily created for non-Asians.

Thus, the “ethnicity factor” in current Central Asian politics originated in the Soviet habit of forced population movement and arbitrary redistricting. During the early 1920s, the new Soviet-created republics shattered an existing zone that was territorially structured into city-state khanates and tribal confederations. The Soviets hoped to modernise Central Asia and to prevent dissension with a divide and rule tactic that involved creating five distinct national entities. By carving out the territories, “the Soviets made certain that sufficient ethnic diversity is included within each boundary to prevent the emergence of a powerful unified force with anti-Soviet tendencies” (Youssef 1995:3-4, 21-22).

While the Soviet creation of the Kyrgyz “autonomous republic” provided the Kyrgyz with symbols and rituals of statehood, which they lacked, Russian cultural imperialism which accompanied the Soviet state-building experiment was heavily promoted in Central Asia; much more so even than in Russia itself. Ironically, it was easier to find copies of Tolstoy or Dostoevsky in Bishkek than in Moscow. Russian culture and Soviet ideology penetrated Central Asia simultaneously with a Soviet sponsored “Kyrgyz” identity. Kyrgyzstan today is left “with a Soviet mentality to undo; a mentality that has left them looking to the state for direction on just about every facet of life, before they can set about solidifying and developing a sovereignty more germane to their own history and culture” (Carley 1995:302, 300).

The resulting Kyrgyz identity has been one that in large part has been created, or is at least heavily influenced by the Soviets. Before the Russian Revolution, people in this region did not define themselves as a member of a nation or ethnic group because these nations did not exist (Carley 1995). Thus, “Kyrgyz as a separate nation would not have existed at the end of the 20th century without Imperial Russian and Soviet Rule” (Huskey 1999a:245). Near the end of Soviet rule, in 1989, the ethnic Kyrgyz population became a majority in their own country for the first time, accounting for 52% of the national count (Youssef 1995:11). In sum, the Kyrgyz have traditionally been politically weak as well as ethnically solvent, generally passive, people. Only a modern twist of Soviet-influenced fate provided a political homeland that the Kyrgyz neither fought for nor particularly desired.

An overview of Kyrgyz history since independence (1991-2000) demonstrates the constant presence of ethnicity within the political process, as well as ethnic conflict. Indeed, the entire political culture exists under a shadow of ethnic tensions. Important governmental institutions, such as the *akims*, internal police, the White House, and law enforcement organs such as the courts and the police, blatantly function as ethnic Kyrgyz preserves. The President's Press Secretary, Kamil Baialinov, admits, "It is not a secret that responsible officials of the highest rank come primarily from this or that clan (*rodovogo klana*). That is reality. In our small republic, no matter where you turn, everyone is someone else's man [sic]" (Huskey 1997:263). The system of rewards, favours, bribes, perks, and punishment is Kyrgyz and male (Anderson 1999:23-62; Carley 1995:309).¹⁴⁹

Corruption, the primary means for distribution of material wealth and goods, falls along clear ethnic divisions. While the poor migrants in the cities are almost exclusively ethnic Kyrgyz, the Russians and Uzbeks still enjoy the best housing in Osh and Bishkek, a carry-over perk from Soviet days. Paradoxically, because essential institutions have become Kyrgyz preserves, valued access to hard currency is provided almost exclusively for elite ethnic Kyrgyz. The history of corruption was well established under the USSR, with clear linkages between corruption, localism and ethnic identity. Independence brought foreign aid (the largest single source of hard currency), which both exacerbated the scale of corruption and provided the new Kyrgyz ethnic elite with all but unrestricted access to large sums of money. Amid the new electoral rules and "democratic" structures the old traditions and networks of corruption continue at an intensified and ethnically Kyrgyz level (Huskey 1995:816).¹⁵⁰

Distinct cultures exist, within the Kyrgyz ethnicity, in the five major valleys, Fergana, Talas, Chui, Issy-Kul, and Naryn. This is evident in speech, dress, food, and even political and social values. These Kyrgyz clan ties, linked by blood or marriage, are profoundly important and highly regional. Promoted most prominently by President Akaev, Kyrgyz clanism contributes greatly to the tribal nature of politics and resource allocation (Anderson 1999:39-41). Robert Putnam has effectively argued that trust among elites, which only comes in Kyrgyzstan via family members, provides the mortar for democracy construction. If the population does not trust the elite government members, as is the case in Kyrgyzstan, and the government does not trust the people, authentic democracy is unlikely. In Kyrgyzstan, there is no actual political elite, there is only Akaev and his clan.¹⁵¹ Akaev holds power through the *akim* system

(local regional governors) whom he appoints directly and who are exclusively ethnic Kyrgyz. The *akim* structure is the backbone of Akaev's authorisation power (Huskey 1997:259). *Akims* exercise firm control over their regions, and Akaev exercises firm control over the *akims*. Despite the first local elections in 1999, the *akims* are still in firm control of their regions or *oblasts* (Handrahan 2000).¹⁵²

Internally originated violence continues to result from a crisis of governing. The increasingly dissatisfied population is frustrated by the ethnically based corruption that interferes with the government's ability to provide citizens with the most basic social and economic rights. Besides the disgruntled new ethnic minorities (i.e. Russians) and the insurgents in Batken, the poor alienated Kyrgyz male youth represent a serious threat to public order and provide a potentially strong support for extremist politics. The male Kyrgyz youth began the *Ashar* demonstrations for government housing, leading, in part, to the ethnic violence in Osh of 1990 where an estimated 200 people died (Anderson 1999:19-20; Huskey 1999:2).

Women, excluded from the long established system of patronage, represent significantly freer political players and potential democracy advocates. "Inasmuch as a high level of women's public involvement contributes to the emergence of a civil society, and a civil society in turn serves to minimise the likelihood of armed conflict; the increasing constraints on women's role in Kyrgyzstan may make the country more prone to social violence" (Huskey 1999:15). While Huskey, one of the foremost researchers on Kyrgyzstan, has contributed greatly to the understanding of how vital the ethnic/clan/national is to political power and material distribution in Kyrgyzstan, he has, like all other researchers, missed the significance of gender within ethnic identity. As this research demonstrates, through fieldwork outlined in Chapter Five, ethnicity/clan/kin matters far more for men than for women.¹⁵³

4.4 The Relevance of Gender

"Kyrgyzstan is a land of contradictions" (Anderson 1999:xi)

Because the official state government and civil society are both highly influenced by gender in the FSU-Kyrgyzstan, mapping these relationships is salient in understanding key relations/dynamics (Moghadam 1994). As explained earlier in this chapter, vast paradoxes span every area of human development and existence, with events and symbols often not what they appear, creating a strange phenomenon and a vocabulary for describing Kyrgyzstan rich with words like: murky, ambiguous,

paradoxical, bizarre, fuzzy, shaky, etc. (Carley 1997:293). This condition also applies to gender situations and definitions. For example, while women's participation in civil society is at a high level so is domestic violence. Bride kidnapping is on the increase yet so are the numbers of women graduating from post-secondary education. As the Asian Development Bank reports, "While women are among those groups most seriously affected by the overall decline in social indicators, they have also become a major driving force in the political and economic reform" (Kuehnast 1997:2). An overview of Kyrgyz history since independence (1991-2000) demonstrates the constant pressure on women to conform to various aspects of new identities that are in competition for dominant socio-political power. The increased reports of female slavery (*sharoo*), prostitution, trafficking in women, rapes, gang rapes, murders, bride kidnapping, sexual and domestic violence, and extreme poverty are indicative of a society in turmoil with conflicts of gender (as defined by each competing socio-political identity) and, hence, women, situated at the centre of the crisis. The following section examines the gendered significance of ethnicity, within the framework of Kyrgyzstan's "democratic" transition in which Muslim ideas of female identity vie for attention alongside the transitional/democratic concept of "woman" and both notions are attempting to replace the established norm of the Soviet model of "woman." These conflicting male definitions of ethnicities and their gendered identities are resulting in extremely high levels of violence against women (Kuehnast 1997:39; Karasaeva 1998; United Nations 1999).¹⁵⁴

Currently, there are five competing socio-political processes, all with their own definitions of "woman." The four dominant patriarchal models are: (1) a former Communist-Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist ideological foundation, (2) the new influence of Islamic/Muslim fundamentalism, (3) an indigenous process of "remembering" nomadic and tribal traditions, and (4) the influence of Western democratic assistance. The fifth process is the aforementioned anarchy that paradoxically allows women the opportunity and freedom to create, occupy, and determine their own model of "woman." This phenomenon might be called the Kaleidoscope Model as women are pulling, mixing, and matching the most beneficial components from all four male patriarchal models. Creation of this female space/identity is occurring alongside the struggle for one patriarchal dominant model and is most evident in the dominance of women in civil society.

4.4.1 *Soviet Construction of Woman*

Because the foundations of the FSU still remain relevant to Kyrgyz society, Soviet gender roles are also still an influential model. A critical understanding of gender and the political process from a Former Soviet Union (FSU), non-Western perspective is necessary. Attempts to understand FSU gender definitions through Western feminist ideals produces a bewildering situation. References to “gender”, “emancipation,” and “feminism” are irrelevant to a cynical, slogan-weary FSU audience. Western feminists discuss the right to work. FSU women speak about the new-found freedom not to be mandated to work. Western feminists discuss changing sexual objectification of the female body. FSU women are only now discovering the power of female sexuality. In the FSU, feminism was, and is, generally portrayed as a luxury for “bored, whiny, bourgeois Western women who could afford to burn bras, while women in East Central Europe lined up for hours to get them” (Goldman 1996:37; Molyneux 1991; Berry 1995; Goetz 1991; Goldman 1996:36; Holmgren 1995:15).¹⁵⁵

First, during Soviet times, make-up and stylish clothes could only be found illegally, through contacts and connections. Obtaining such goods signified a personalised triumph over state-imposed norms and consumer priorities and signified the worth of the woman to her family. Hence, the recent explosion of beauty contests and overt sexuality in Kyrgyzstan, as in the rest of the FSU, is a political statement about the freedom to explore femininity and sexuality which did not exist during Soviet times. Second, where Western feminism focused heavily on reproductive rights, Soviet women, with limited birth control available, had ample access to abortion. Free abortion, provided by the state, was often the only birth control available. Freedom of choice was not an issue in the FSU. Third, the state also provided crèches at work and a year’s paid maternity leave. Issues of childcare and maternity leave are also non-issues. Fourth, formal representation of women was obligatory under the repressive Soviet Union. The resulting moral onus on public life has not diminished with “democratic” development but has grown in direct relation to the number of corrupt politicians and unscrupulous businessmen, and the general failure of “democracy.” Therefore, “politics” takes on a very different definition than Western understanding and this helps explain the lack of desire to be involved in corrupt, criminal, and repressive state systems. Fifth, as explained in Chapter One, the Soviet public/political environment provided little privilege in the realm of freedom and human rights. Domestic space was the only place for limited freedom and humanity in daily life, and this was highly valued. While Western women “have struggled to

escape a devalued home into a powerful professional and political world, many Soviet women (and men) sought sanctuary and fulfilment in the less monitored world of family and friends, a domestic space that was far more capacious and stimulating than obligatory work or meaningless politics” (Holmgren 1995:21-22).¹⁵⁶

The Soviet Revolution, like other revolutions, promised women “emancipation” in return for active support (Reynolds 1986). Yet, the promises of “equality” never fully materialised. Despite Marx’s claim that male and female workers constituted a “genderless class,” the roles of Soviet “women” were restricted by gender definitions.¹⁵⁷ The “ideal Soviet woman,” who was always depicted as being Russian, was valued publicly for three reasons. First, the Soviet state relied heavily on the image of “the good Soviet mother” in producing, mobilising, and controlling the population. Women had a specific role in physically producing the nation¹⁵⁸ and were valued for their childbearing, hence, population-increasing capacity. The State even provided Hero of the USSR awards if a woman had more than six children. The ideal woman was always a mother. Second, women were valued for their contribution to the labour force. In the race to beat the West, all human capital was recognised and mobilised. Work was not a privilege. It was not even a choice. While the Soviet woman was a heroic worker, she was also an icon of beauty and sexual desirability who was also a strong, tough, “macho,” manual labourer contributing to her country’s development. Third, women were valued not for their sexuality as humans, as women, but for the sexual gratification they could and should provide to the men of USSR as their duty. Stalin even called on women to also fulfil the patriotic duty of “keeping the fires burning in their hearth and their men happy by taking care of their beauty.” These concepts of the Soviet “woman” still form the expectations and behaviour of women in Kyrgyzstan today (Temkina 1996:220; Williams 1986:68; Pavlychahko 1992:96).¹⁵⁹

4.4.2 Muslim History: Re-Invented and New

Gender relations in countries that are transitioning to democracy while simultaneously strengthening an Islamic identity produce bizarre paradoxes. Nira Yuval-Davis and Deniz Kandiyoti have written significantly about the role of gender, nationalism/ethnicity and transitional societies, Kandiyoti particularly in reference to Turkey/Central Asia. Kandiyoti puts forth anecdotal evidence of what active feminism translates to in Turkey; “In 1987 Turkey was a country offering the perplexing spectacle of a sit-in and hunger strike by ultra-religious women students demanding the right to don the veil to go to classes... and a small group of feminists

marching through the streets to demonstrate against violence against women” (Kandiyoti 1989:126). Due to a similar ethnic identity and an increased Turkish influence/presence in Kyrgyzstan, Kadiyoti’s example has relevance to the Kyrgyz case. Similar paradoxes exist in Kyrgyzstan.

There are currently two forms of Islamic resurgence in Kyrgyz society carrying different understandings of “woman.” The first is an indigenous “remembering” influenced by increased funds, presence, and conversion activity in progress mainly by the Turks and Saudis as they attempt to bring Central Asia under their influence. The new “remembered” Muslim influence is highly varied but is predominantly concerned with the renewal of traditions that increase male power. For example: (1) *kalym*, the price that is paid, by money, property, or livestock, to acquire a bride; (2) a widow may not marry anyone else of her choosing but is required to remarry the next of kin in her dead husband’s family, i.e. brother, uncle, etc. This is a customary tradition in Kyrgyzstan, sometimes called *jenesin aluu*; (3) bride kidnapping, the practice of “stealing” a bride when one cannot afford the *kalym*. This is not a Muslim tradition but rather a nomadic tradition that originated in the need for a nomadic women to marry a strong nomadic man, but it is often understood to be a Muslim tradition; (4) making polygamy legal, for example, was debated for two full days in the Parliament on the basis that it is a Muslim tradition that the Russians prohibited and if Kyrgyz men want to be “real” then they must reinstate the tradition of polygamy. Outlawing vodka, which is forbidden by Muslim tradition, was not discussed (Moghadam 1997:81).¹⁶⁰

Second, there is an element of radical Islam in competition with traditional Sunni Islam, Wahabism.¹⁶¹ Wahabism, supported by the Taliban and also funded by the Saudis, supports a greatly restricted role for women as a central theme (Moghadam 1994). With Taliban support behind the Batken rebels in Southern Kyrgyzstan, the case of Afghanistan is foremost on the minds of the population, particularly women, who fear a Taliban take over. The Taliban, now in control of the majority of Afghanistan, are not only explicitly antifeminist, they promote a brutal regime of terror and violence with human rights abuse focused primarily on the women within their own society. A system of gender apartheid has been created in Afghanistan. Women are the property of the men, and male honour depends upon the virtuous conduct of the female (Moghadam 1997:75,78). It is important to note that the Taliban came to rule as a result of Western and US foreign assistance, which is supposed to support democracy, civil society, and human rights, but, in the case of Afghanistan, failed to support women’s rights.¹⁶²

In the south of Kyrgyzstan the Wahhabis, most often called “mojahedin” by the local population, are reported to be engaged in re-education sessions for women. In one village, several girls were gathered and “educated” in the ways of radical Islam and then rolled together, five or six, in a carpet and beaten “to get the devil” out of them. Two girls died. The “education” and exorcism of the “devil” is directed at the female members of the community.¹⁶³ Because the mojahedin have a permanent base in Tajikistan, historical tensions between Kyrgyz and Tajiks have been heightened. Yet, despite the strain, Tajik and Kyrgyz women have crossed the ethnic line to meet in each other’s homes to make carpets. When asked how they avoided the ethnic friction that the male members exhibit, the women said that first, as women, they want to feed their children. Since the Kyrgyz women make better wool and the Tajik women make better designs, they decided to co-operate. “In business between women,” one woman said, “there is no ethnic conflict.” Paradoxically, in the same region, Tajik women were reportedly forced by their husbands to lie naked in front of the only water source in order to prevent Kyrgyz men from obtaining water. These juxtaposed incidents prove how pivotal gender can be either to harmony or conflict.

4.4.3 Tribalism

In an effort to locate public and private identities, many people have returned to the tribal roots that shaped this region of the world only 70 years ago. Some prominent Kyrgyz researchers, such as Achylova, claim that “tribalism is a fundamental aspect of the modern Kyrgyz national consciousness and though it represents another basis for division, it is largely responsible for the survival of Kyrgyz civil society through various periods of subjugation” (Achylova 1995:326). Tribalism thus is equated with civil society in Kyrgyz understanding, leading to the argument that the origins of the tribal Kyrgyz had roots of democratic principles. To some degree this is authentic in terms of Western understanding of civil society and democracy. Historically, nomadic society relied on co-operation and individualism; however, the roots of the Kyrgyz nomadic tradition have been completely erased and Russified.¹⁶⁴ Therefore, a resurgence of tribal norms in modern life results in patriarchal, and often barbaric, rule by terror, resplendent with human rights violations rather than civil society and progressive stability as Achylova argues (Moghadam 1997; Achylova 1995:321).

Moreover, because tribalism is ruled through a biological, paternal, kinship lineage, with power reserved for certain essential male biological descendants, tribalism is essentially patriarchal. Therefore, in the realm of tribalism, women are “channels of

non-descent” and, hence, non-important (Bloch 1987:330). In Kyrgyzstan, tribalism results in practices such as the revived *aksakal* courts. *Aksakal* courts (literally translates as White Beard Court) consists of the oldest men in the village who make all the village decisions, including moral and family, and rule the villages as if an elected town and family morality council. Although the *aksakal* are not elected, they have been given powers of judgement and punishment, with the police force under their control, by President Akaev. Moreover, President Akaev has publicly supported the role of *aksakal* courts and has reinforced and revived their importance in Kyrgyz society, despite reported cases of medieval punishment, such as public stoning by the *aksakals* as punishment for violating local custom and rules.¹⁶⁵

Of *aksakals* Amnesty International notes,

Allegations have recently been brought to the attention of Amnesty International concerning activities authorised by the so-called ‘elders’ (*aksakal*) courts,’ which were set up following a call reportedly made by President Akaev at a congress of elders in January 1995 for ‘the formation of a wide network of autonomous and active civil institutions, independent of state and political structures.’ That congress reportedly adopted a provisional status regulating the activities of *aksakal* courts, whereby they were given responsibility for examining cases of administrative violations; property, family and other disputes; and minor crimes passed to them by state procurators. The President is reported to have signed a decree approving this statute on 25 January 1995.... Furthermore, Amnesty International is concerned about allegations that extra-legal militias operating under the authority of *aksakal* courts have subjected people to illegal detention and ill-treatment and have administered punishments handed down by *aksakal* courts, including whipping and stoning (Amnesty International 1996:5).

These militias are known as *choro*. Little restriction has been placed on their activities by regular law enforcement bodies. In some villages an *azindan*, or place of illegal detention, has even been established. Corporal and capital punishment by the *aksakal* and *choro* have been reported. The US State Department Report for 1996 notes, “local elders’ courts have committed a number of abuses.... torture is sometimes used to extract confessions” (US Department of State 1997).

4.4.4 *Western Democratic Influence*

The emergence of “male democracy,” both in the Kyrgyz government and reflected by US “male” democratic assistance, has substantially decreased, rather than improved, women’s quality of life. “Democracy” has brought reports of female

slavery (*sharoo*), prostitution, trafficking in women, rapes, gang rapes, murders, bride kidnapping, sexual violence, a 30% increase in domestic violence, and extreme poverty, with women now comprising 90% of the poorest sectors of society (United Nations 1999). Violence against women has become so extreme that the UN issued a report warning the government to address this issue, “in the face of widespread violence against Kyrgyz women—including domestic violence, gang rape, and systematic assault and battery—expert members of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women... urged Kyrgyzstan to re-evaluate its programs and policies... astonished at the rise in the number of vicious crimes against women, they pressed the Government to identify the root causes of that grave phenomena and devise ways to suppress it” (United Nations 1999). In this same report Kyrgyzstan was described as a “patriarchal society” (United Nations 1999).¹⁶⁶

The “macho-capitalism” element in the “emerging” democracy of Kyrgyzstan is also evidenced by the new power structures that are dominated by young, mostly male, “entrepreneurs,” who are members of the former Soviet nomenclature and corrupt government officials. US democracy assistance mirrors the Kyrgyz patriarch power structure by sending mostly male experts to train Kyrgyz men in the principles of democracy. Male democracy assistance not only fails to provide “democratic” programs/progress for women, but it has also disregarded women as potential political leaders in Kyrgyzstan, and in other newly emerging societies, even if they have a proven track record in democratic leadership skills through their leadership of civil society/NGOs. Feminist and women’s projects, perhaps because they are restricted by a narrow WID sector, have not been successful. Western feminists brought to Kyrgyzstan have too often focused on “an exclusionary insistence on women’s needs and concerns (the historical Achilles heel of liberal Western feminists)” and have largely ignored the rapid, largely unchecked devaluation of those needs and concerns in the new FSU, including Kyrgyzstan (Holmgren 1995:25, 27).

Nevertheless, even this exclusion has been paradoxical. As Holmgren notes, “despite the inequalities of capitalism (or for that matter, the hidden privileges of democracy) women have not only been made its victims and unwitting accomplices, but have managed to work the system to gain political and economic power” (Holmgren 1995:26). This gain has been through the leadership of NGOs. Achylova correctly points out that “the future of democracy in Kyrgyzstan depends on developing a civil society and a political culture that can address these ethnodemographic problems” (Achylova 1995:330). The future of Kyrgyzstan also relies on the role that women can play in this problem-solving and to what extent women can negotiate the

public/private chaos and determine an acceptable female identity both in terms of self-identity and society. By disregarding the democratic political worth of female NGO leaders and instead insisting on backing male political leaders with no “democratic” track record, US democracy assistance is crippling its own goals of democratic consolidation as well as implicitly informing Kyrgyz women that democracy, at the public policy level, is a male domain both in Kyrgyzstan and in America.

4.4.5 Transitional Society and Linkages Between Gender and Conflict

“For women, all revolutions have failed” (Lorber 1994:277)

While the “democratic transition” in Kyrgyzstan has meant violence against women, transitional periods also create anarchy and anarchy produces openings. Openings provide an opportunity for women to become involved in society. Women are often involved in revolutions; however, although visible and active at the early stages of revolution they are not able to capitalise on their contributions and achievements in times of societal transitions because gender domination always remains more vital than political change. Although women are welcome in the informal sector, the relationship between women and formal politics, i.e. the state, has always been problematic. Women are exploited differently but equally whether it is the Soviet system or the new “democratic” system. Women have never had their “own” revolution (Lorber 1994:277-278; Reynolds 1986:xiv).

Women must strategize within a set of constraints that Kandiyoti terms “the patriarchal bargain.” “These patriarchal bargains exert a powerful influence on the shaping of women’s gendered subjectivity and determine the nature of gender ideology in different contexts” (Kandiyoti 1988,275). Kandiyoti goes on to explain that the patriarchal bargain does not simply inform women’s rational choice but also shapes the unconscious aspects of gendered subjectivity because the “bargain” begins early in childhood socialisation and continues through the adult stages (Kandiyoti 1988:285). This is all the more confused as the accepted behaviour of a woman in Soviet society was quite different from what it now means to be an “acceptable” woman. Between a renewed Muslim influence, a Western capitalist influence, and a recent Soviet history, all with very different standards of what it means to be a woman and a citizen, women are finding themselves off balance and constantly negotiating and re-negotiating their womanness in a patriarchal as well as political and economic transitional phase.

In addition to a fundamental crisis in what defines “woman,” the collapse of the communist order has also resulted in an intense psychological crisis throughout Kyrgyzstan. Norms, standards, values, and concepts of being an individual and being a citizen are in fundamental flux. This private and public identity crisis represents the greatest danger for the construction of a stable, democratic, and civil society. This can be no better explained than by a Kyrgyz citizen. Achylova’s statement pinpoints the “kaleidoscope” effect of transition.

At one level, the problem for civil society is the arrested development of new cultural and political institutions due to the co-operation and paralysis suffered during the Soviet period and the economic pressures that exist today. The key weakness, however, is that although political independence has meant spiritual and psychological emancipation and freedom of discussion and creative activity, personal freedom has nevertheless, been hindered by a growing atmosphere of lawlessness, corruption, nihilism, and impoverishment. All these factors prohibit the development of civil society (Achylova 1995:325).

The increase of violence directed toward women is indicative of a society in turmoil with conflicts of gender, as defined by each competing socio-political identity. Since gender relations/definitions are situated at the centre of the identity crisis, women are placed to receive a substantial amount of the turmoil; the “identity fall-out.” Because the female body, female reproductive capacity, and female sexual capacity are all significant markers of ethnic identity, each varying strand in the complicated ethnic tapestry in Kyrgyzstan mandates a different definition of “woman.” Since the entire socio-political culture exists under a shadow of ethnic tensions, society at large also necessarily exists within the tensions of competing gender definitions. Hence, gender relations, similar to ethnicity, are also located at the centre of the same complex web of economic, social, and political relations. This severe crisis of identity, economy, and politics, integrally complementing each other is the “grounded reality” for women in Kyrgyzstan (Carley 1995:300, 309; Tabyshalieva 1997).¹⁶⁷

The jumble of cross-laid identities and confused concepts of “what it means” to be “Kyrgyz” (or Russian or Uzbek, etc.) is projected upon women’s bodies and behaviours as the principal spaces where men define what it means to be a man and thus a Kyrgyz or Uzbek, or Uigher, etc.¹⁶⁸ The male nature of ethnic identity is evidenced by the facts that: (1) ethnic identity in Kyrgyzstan is perceived as being more important for men than for women, with the majority of adults defining their primary identity as gender if they are women, and ethnically based if they are male; and (2) ethnic Kyrgyz know they are “Kyrgyz” if they have “seven generations of

fathers.” To be Kyrgyz, therefore, one must be male and have firm control of the paternal lineage.

As described in the previous section, due to the forced independence of Kyrgyzstan, President Akaev has been responsible for creating a corresponding new national identity. National ideology and myths of origin/nation are predicated on a sexual order. This sexual order excludes women from the community, the creation, and the polity because the myth of origin relies on “essential identities” to define belonging, resulting in exclusionary male ideologies (Charles 1998:7). To be “Kyrgyz” (or Russian, or Uzbek, etc.) fundamentally means to be a *man*.¹⁶⁹ Being a “Kyrgyz” (or Russian, or Uzbek, etc.) man is defined predominantly by: (1) treatment of women, (2) amount of vodka consumed, and (3) toughness and/or fearlessness. Women are excluded from the origin of Kyrgyz ethnicity. This female exclusion mandates male sexual control of the female in order to preserve “clean” male generations.¹⁷⁰ Such “control” often results in and justifies male on female or male on male violence.¹⁷¹

4.5 The Potential for Ethnic Conflict

The term that best describes Kyrgyzstan since independence, particularly in reference to ethnicity, is murky. Crucial aspects and understandings of society are nearly impossible to pin down as a result of the many ambiguous determinants and few absolutes. In relation to identity, an anarchical and paradoxical nature reigns. Few other FSU states are undergoing such a frantic search for a viable identity. “Indeed, in some other new states, it is hardly an issue” (Carley 1995:299). Moreover, the political identity of the average citizen has become strongly ethnic since independence with “ethno politics” regularly superseding “nationality politics.” With no common external enemy, and thus no unifying force against which the male “citizen” can assert himself and prove his value to society/nation, nationalism turns inward with ethnic identities, stretched across borders, becoming ascendant. The Soviet heritage that gave every country in the region a mixed, multi-ethnic population provides the current excuse/right for each country to interfere in the affairs of others in defence of its kin (Youssef 1995:ii, iii).¹⁷²

Nearly ten years since “independence,” some Soviet habits are atrophying, leaving a vacuum for tribal norms to reassert themselves, and Islamic fundamentalism to assert itself. While some scholars argue that “what is taking place is a return to tradition, not an eruption of fundamentalist passion” (Reiff 1997:17), fundamentalism is becoming an increasingly apparent element in the composition of the post-Soviet

ethnic make-up. While some researchers claim that “the attraction of this [Islamic] ‘forbidden fruit’ seems to be waning somewhat as the realities of Islamic morality become more apparent” (Pannier 1995:26), the success of the Batken *mojahedin* in co-operating with Kyrgyz families, combined with new Saudi sponsored mosques in every small village in Kyrgyzstan since 1991, provides evidence that Islam’s hold in the region is tenacious. The future of Kyrgyzstan rests, in part, with the forthcoming effect Islam has on the region as people either flee due to fear or embrace Islam due to the security Islam offers. Any power of persuasion that radical Islam has is directly related to popular satisfaction with “democratic” development.¹⁷³

Of all the development agencies operating in Kyrgyzstan, only The World Bank [hereinafter the Bank] has assessed ethnicity in relation to development practices. The Bank’s study notes that the recent outbreaks of violence demonstrate that development-related problems, i.e., poverty, unemployment, lack of housing, lack of water, lack of women’s rights, collapsed education systems, etc., exacerbate existing relationships of conflict between ethnic and tribal groups. Yet, the Bank also fails to examine in depth the role of gender in ethnic conflict. The Bank concludes that there are three types of potential ethnic conflict: (1) ethno-territorial, (2) ethno-environmental, and (3) ethno-economic. The potential for wide-scale ethnic conflict in Kyrgyzstan/Central Asia is high. Serious conflict is predicted due to a mixed and often resentful ethnic population experiencing: extreme poverty, unemployment, corruption, poor self-image and confidence, with no strong past history or positive national identity, drug trade, weapons trade, and a powerful, well-financed Muslim fundamentalism movement seeking recruits in the South. Of the Bank’s three ethnic conflict types, ethno-economic, exacerbated by ethno-territorial, is the base for ethnic tensions and conflict already ongoing in the South of Kyrgyzstan (Youssef 1995:ii, 3).¹⁷⁴

To understand the origin of ethnic conflict in Kyrgyzstan, arguably the origin for Central Asian conflict, Muslim identity and the history of Southern Kyrgyzstan (Osh and Jalal-Abad *oblasts*) must be examined. In Osh *oblast* ethnic conflict between Uzbek and Kyrgyz, over the lack of housing, left more than 200 dead in 1991. It is in Osh *Oblast* that the Batken war of 1999 occurred and reoccurred in 2000. In 1995, Youssef, among other researchers, already noted that the southern region of Kyrgyzstan was experiencing “severe instability” (Youssef 1995:50). In 1999-2000, that instability manifested itself in Batken. More than a few Kyrgyz believe that Osh may even break away from Kyrgyzstan within three to five years.¹⁷⁵

Studies of the potential for ethnic violence erupting again in Osh, as it did in 1991, are conflicting. Lubin, for example, states that, “For many Uzbeks and Kazaks included in the survey, nationality or citizenship play an insignificant role as a focal point of identity. The family and community showed to be the major point of reference and more powerful source of self-identity” (Lubin 1994). However, the comprehensive World Bank study states that, “ethnic affiliation showed to be the strongest bond in most aspects of life for the majority of Uzbeks and Kazaks respondents surveyed in 1994. Most expressed strong desires to not work with and not live next door to another ethnic group than their own; least of all to have a member of another ethnic group marry into their family” (Youssef 1995:24). Field research from this dissertation supports the Bank’s results. Ethnic/national identity is a vital aspect to the lives of citizens of Central Asia, particularly Southern Kyrgyzstan. Even when ethnic identity is not the justification for conflict—water, housing, and land are the genesis of the conflict—ethnic identity easily lends itself to be manifested as the conflict due to deep-seated ethnic animosity from the Soviet history which put in place and which has been allowed to continue, a highly contentious pattern of economic, political, and goods (land, housing, water rights, etc.) distributed along ethnic lines (Youssef 1995:47).

There are two main reasons for the Southern instability in Kyrgyzstan. First, the ethnic violence that the region is experiencing today is a residue of Soviet redistricting. The new *oblast* of Batken, for example, includes seven enclaves that belonged to Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Osh is part of the fertile Fergana Valley. This land originally belonged to Uzbekistan but was divided by the Soviets in 1929 (Youssef 1995:46). One section (Samarkand and Bukhara) was given to Tajikistan as compensation for losing Holy Land in Uzbekistan, and the other part was given to Kyrgyzstan in the form of Osh *oblast*. The remainder of the Fergana Valley stayed in Uzbekistan. In 1936, the Pamiris, people who lived in the Pamir Mountains bordering Kyrgyzstan, were stripped of their distinct ethnic identity by the Soviets, and incorporated into Tajikistan. Second, there is a Muslim fundamentalist movement in the Tajik-Kyrgyz border areas, funded by the Saudis, closely linked to Usamah Bin Ladin, terrorist in nature, and led by an ethnic Uzbek. This group has declared a *jihad* on Uzbekistan. Important to this equation is the fact that the Uzbek minority is far better off economically and politically than the ethnic Kyrgyz in their own country (Youssef 1995:13).¹⁷⁶

The substantial Uzbek community in the South has been very active in the revival of Islam, particularly in Osh province. This Muslim identity is much stronger than the

“Muslim” identity of the north of Kyrgyzstan. Being a Muslim is one example of the new male attempt to define Kyrgyz, and other Central Asian, identities. While most Kyrgyz (men and women) will self-identify as Muslim, now able to practice after 70 years of Soviet imposed atheism, their idea of what it means to be Muslim has been heavily influenced by Shamanism and Buddhism from Mongol rule and typically combines Shamanist/Buddhist traditions with misinterpreted Muslim ideas.¹⁷⁷

There is an ongoing process in Osh that is the transformation of Islam from a religious identity to a distinct mode of ethnic self-expression. Islam provides a vital “hook,” a facet of nationalism that provides psychological comfort for people searching for a modern identity. Therefore, there is a great potential for Islam to become political both as a positive identification force and as a means of protest against the Kyrgyz government which has proven itself incapable of meeting the urgent needs of its population, particularly in the South (Fuller 1994:100, 114; Youssef 1995:63). This behaviour mirrors similar reactions and embracing of Islam globally, as both Fuller and Youssef document. The fundamentalist movement that is growing in Kyrgyzstan is like fundamentalist movements all over the world. These are “basically political movements which have a religious or other cultural imperative and which seek in various ways and in widely differing circumstances to harness modern state and media powers to the service of their gospel” (Yuval-Davis 1998:175). Yuval-Davis asserts that the rise in fundamentalism is directly linked to a global crisis of modernity. Although this statement reflects global issues, Yuval-Davis also provides a nearly exact summary of the ongoing situation in Kyrgyzstan, the dissatisfaction, the clear failure of so-called “democracy,” and the emotional identity vacuum. As the promise of democracy fails, the rise of Islam replaces the hope for democracy and capitalism, particularly in Southern Kyrgyzstan.

Both capitalism and communism have proved unable to meet people’s material, emotional, and spiritual needs. As Afshar illustrates... a general sense of despair and disorientation has opened people up to religion as a source of solace. It provides a compass and an anchor that gives people a sense of stability and meaning, as well as a coherent identity.... In the Third World... the rise of fundamentalism is also intimately linked with the failure of nationalist and socialist movements to bring about successful liberation from oppression, exploitation, and poverty. Religion and other traditionalist ideologies have also been utilised by militants as ‘indigenous’ imperialism and the interventions of superpowers (Yuval-Davis 1998:176).

4.6 Summary

In sum, the case of Kyrgyzstan confirms that: (1) ethnic identity is an essential component of the political process, (2) male definitions of female behaviour, societal role, and appearance are an essential component of ethnic identity, and (3) gender is a considerable variable in the political process. Additionally, as a result of competing identities in the transitions, each with their own gender definitions, women have been the foci of a great deal of violence and “transitional” stress. Nonetheless, ethnicity, and, therefore, gender within ethnicity, have been largely overlooked as integral components of the political process, and, hence, the “democratic transition” by US democratic assistance. This neglect, in relation to gender, is related to macro-level problems, outlined in the previous chapters, that democracy theory and assistance has with “inclusion” and patriarchy. Moreover, this oversight is at the expense of authentic democratic assistance due to significant factors that are revealed when gender and ethnicity are examined within the “democratic” transitional process in Kyrgyzstan. A comprehensive feminist analysis necessarily reveals under-developed gendered understandings of how society operates, with ethnicity being an essential factor, as this chapter has examined; providing evidence of the salience of gender and ethnicity to the political reality of Kyrgyzstan.

Chapter Five

Analysing Identity in Kyrgyzstan: Fieldwork Method and Design

“White feminists working outside of their own culture face certain ethical and methodological challenges” (Crnkovich 1995:105)

5.1 Feminist Mixed Model Research Design and Paradigms

The following chapter outlines the components of the fieldwork involved in this research explaining: the rationale and design of the research methods, survey sets, data collection, the relationship between qualitative and quantitative methods used, the methodology for interpreting the data, and the protections that were built into the research design and data collection to guard against “tainted” research and improve the validity of the research and results. Fieldwork was conducted in Kyrgyzstan in 1999, preceded by an 18-month period in the field as a volunteer, that fostered both cultural and socio-political immersion. Essential understandings gained during these 18 months were implemented into both survey set design and data collection methodology and are described in the appropriate sections of this chapter.

A pragmatist, feminist, parallel/simultaneous mixed method design supports this research. This research uses gender as a research strategy, dissecting all theories and research methods. In other words a feminist/gender perspective on the two main theoretical frameworks, ethnicity and democracy, is undertaken. Gender is also considered with the mixed methodology framework of this research implementing both qualitative and quantitative gender analyses (Ribbens 1998). Building on past methodological developments, including Burton (1992), the methodology in this research attempts to incorporate both “conventional” and “alternative” in a framework that takes advantage of the best that both models have to offer in the most appropriate context. The mixed method design is based on Tashakkori and Teddlie’s (1998) typology, that includes parallel and/or simultaneous gathering of both qualitative (QUAL) and quantitative (QUAN) data, with an emphasis on QUAN (QUAN+qual). Creswell (1995) and The Patton Design Dimension, Patton (1990), also inform this design (Tashakkori 1998:52-56). The Patton Design mixes methodologies across the three stages of the research process: (1) design, (2) measurement, and (3) analysis. The mixed model strategy implemented in this research offers a controlled research design in a natural setting, with a dominant QUAN aspect, and employs the most

appropriate methods to answer the fundamental hypothesis. Mixed design also aids in obtaining results that are more accurate because the overall design best mirrors the process of inductive and deductive reasoning that occurs in the research process. Pragmatism is also relevant because this approach recognises that QUAN and QUAL techniques are compatible (Tashakkori 1998:12).¹⁷⁸

As “the lives of women have been largely overlooked in the interest of objective and quantitative research,” the research design builds on feminist insights about methodological inclusion (Tomm 1989:4). The assumptions built into quantitative research have traditionally allowed data collection to mitigate the validity of the women or the female in data collection. Feminists have greatly added to the acceptance of qualitative research that allows the subject knowledge to come through without being placed in a research made framework that often restricts or ignores female responses. An increased use of qualitative data, either alone or incorporated into a mixed methodology, has allowed for an improved understanding of quantitative data and provided a data collection method that allows the research to locate action and experience in the context in which it occurs. Qualitative research also allows for “new” units to be “discovered” or included. Hitherto, social science data collection has seen the “public” and not the “private” as the appropriate field in which to ask questions. Therefore, quantitative research questions were designed with the public and, thus, the male in mind. The validity of the “private”, i.e., domestic and female, was not sufficiently considered. The less structured nature of qualitative data collection allows for narratives to arise from unexpected places, and these include female, private, and domestic (Ribbens 1998).

Mixed model research is a growing trend in the social sciences because mixed models offer more comprehensive research strategies (Tashakkori 1998:x). Greene et al. (1989) outlined five mixed model rationales that provide clarity and encourage researchers to choose the riskier complexity over the ease of certainty. Greene’s objectives include: (1) *triangulation*, seeking convergence of results, (2) *complementarity*, examining overlapping and different aspects of a single phenomenon, (3) *initiation*, uncovering paradoxes, contradictions, and new perspectives, (4) *development*, a sequential use of data, and (5) *expansion*, adding breadth and scope to a research project (Greene in Tashakkori 1998:43). Since the present research is concerned with the relations between variables, rather than a description of the variable itself, only a mixed model or a triangulation of data, method, and theory can begin to capture these relations (Patton 1990; Brewer and Hunter 1989). Moreover, due to the complex nature of “transitional” social norms

and relations in Kyrgyzstan, an uni-dimensional research approach would fail to capture/ understand the nature of gendered ethnicity in the complex transitional process. The triangulation/mixed model provides the most comprehensive theoretical, methodological, and analytical framework to discover the complementarity, initiation, and expansion of the variables.

5.2 Feminist Data Collection Method and Type

Data collection follows the dominant-less dominant (QUAN+qual) mixed method design, with an overall feminist method resting on quantitative measures supported by selected qualitative techniques (Tashakkori 1998:44). Data collection techniques were primarily field experiments conducted in a natural setting that sought to confirm a prior hypothesis. The quantifiable aspects of this research include inferential statistics gathered through survey/questionnaire research with supporting qualitative aspects mixed in, including participant observation and interviews. This QUAL data was recorded simultaneously to QUAN collection in a reflexive research journal with the objective of informing the QUAN data collection as well as generating documentation of additional QUAL data. The journal is discussed at greater length at the end of this chapter. This QUAN+qual data collection method is described by Creswell (1995) as having the advantage of presenting a consistent paradigm and gathering limited information that allows the researcher to probe in detail (Creswell 1995:177).¹⁷⁹

5.2.1 Survey Strategy and Procedure

The survey sets are located in the appendix. In order to ensure accurate and appropriate measurement, a pilot test of the survey sets was performed via a small, informal, focus group of Kyrgyz citizens prior to field research. This tested the validity of the questions relative to the Kyrgyz cultural context. The survey sets were designed with carefully worded neutral language and a question order formulated to alternate between quantifiable and qualitative data, with quantifiable information valued as less threatening by respondents than qualitative questions. A clustering method was used for random sampling on the adult population by interviewing in local markets in the capital cities of each *oblast*. Although variables such as ethnic identity are notoriously difficult to measure, there are counterbalancing variables that are relatively easy to measure, i.e., level of education and gender.

Research methods followed self-report techniques mixed with an interview format. The survey questionnaire, administered in an interview format, acted as a funnel for

containing structured, closed-ended quantitative questions to informal, open-ended qualitative questions. In addition to the formal interviews, both Survey Set One and Survey Set Two included an informal/observational component that was critical in overcoming tainted survey results, building trust in the target population, and contributing to qualitative research aspect. Eight separate surveys were prepared for field research implementation. All surveys were written with similar questions in order to contrast and compare different levels of society.

Survey Set One was designed and administered in order to determine local self-identification of primary identification levels. As explained in Chapter One, obtaining results that delineated ethnic identity was the primary objective of Survey Set A.1. As ethnicity is theoretically understood to be “marked” by social “boundaries,” including religion, language, life style, kinship, homeland, phenotypic characteristics, and gender roles, this survey was designed to test the theory of ethnic identification in a practical setting. The survey also sought to determine if identification differs between gender, rural-urban, education level, ethnic groups, and how it has or has not changed under, and after, Soviet rule. Survey Set One was administered through personal interviews (the researcher speaks Russian) with the assistance of a Kyrgyz translator when necessary to: (A.1) rural population adults and community leaders, (B.1) rural population children, (C.1) capital city, Bishkek, community leaders, and (D.1) rural and Bishkek government officials. The Child Self-Identification, Survey Set B.1, surveyed children age eight to eleven, randomly from secondary schools in each *oblast* capital. As any child in school can read and write, surveys were completed during classroom time under the supervision of the researcher. Although the results of this survey subset were interesting, the survey results were inconclusive for the purposes of this dissertation. Analysis of the child population has been set aside for future research.

Survey Set One-Average Adult Population Self-Identification (A.1) is the survey designed to test the prior hypothesis that ethnic identity has a gendered variable. Because survey A.1 is the primary survey, the most extensive statistical analysis has been completed on A.1. Other surveys were designed as supplementary surveys to elicit supporting evidence related to concepts of democracy, gender, and ethnicity. However, only A.1 was directly designed and is henceforth, relevant to the primary hypothesis of this dissertation. Quantitative statistical analysis was carried out using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS for Windows version 6.0). Complete data results are listed in the appendix.

- Adult Population Perspective:* Because Kyrgyzstan is a closed population that does not allow for easy access into the home, questionnaires were completed in the central markets of each *oblast's* capital cities. Since the markets are the centre place for debate, dialogue, and human interaction, the bazaars offered the most natural, non-threatening, environment. By interviewing in the markets, the researcher met the survey population in a manner that aided in producing a high participant comfort level that contributes to a high internal validity rate. Additionally bazaar based interviews aided in: (a) not biasing the samples toward Kyrgyz, who are more open to foreigners and might invite them into their homes, (b) avoiding the former Soviet method of home and community forum interviews, which would incur the risk of invoking former fears from Soviet style categorisation, particularly around the issues of ethnic identity, and might thereby taint the sample results, and (c) providing greatest access to the more inaccessible populations, as the most remote rural populations habitually travel into the *oblast* centres to sell their produce. Market place interviews made it possible to access a diverse and representative sample population as all ages, income levels, ethnicities, gender, etc. shop and/or work in the markets. The following sub-categories are used to organise the questions that comprise Survey Set A.1. These sub-categories assist in detailing specific considerations in the rationale and design of Survey Set A.1.
- Primary Identity:* A.1's survey design was constructed to be consistent with Mach's definition of ethnicity. "Ethnic identity is essentially subjective, a sense of belonging, a definition of self and one's own group in relation with others. It consists of two mental processes: the search for the self and the constriction of boundaries between one's own group and that of the others... [ethnicity] is based on self-definition" (Mach 1993:12); and Nira Yuval-Davis' key question on identity, "Identity constitutes the conscious "self" – the answer, or rather answers, to the question, "Who am I?" (Yuval-Davis 1998:169). The opening and closing questions of this survey sought directly to solicit participants' primary identity, "Who are you?" and "Describe yourself in one word." Interestingly, while no one had difficulty in answering the first question, the last question (in some ways the same question) provoked great curiosity, anguish, and embarrassment. To sum one's self/life into one word proved to be a difficult and thought provoking task. Additionally, many people were pleased/flattered by these questions and took great time/care in responding. Many people, particularly women, told the researcher that no one had ever asked them this question, and/or they had never thought about this before and how important it was. A number of women told the

researcher that these questions made them think of their lives in a new context and caused them to consider who they really were. Additionally, these questions about self-identification were designed to be un-linked to ethnicity.

- *Ethnic Origin and Teaching for Self and Children:* The series of questions about children's ethnic identity, origin, and teacher of that identity were designed to elicit responses that indicate the unconscious manner that gender influences ethnicity. These questions were the first to inquire about ethnicity because: (a) asking about someone else's identity is less threatening, and (b) most parents enjoy questions about their children. Therefore, these questions were designed to "warm/open" the participants. As with the questions addressing knowledge of their children's ethnicity, participants were asked, later in the survey, how they knew their ethnic identity. For the purpose of comparative values, these responses will be described in this section. This question provoked a great deal of laughter and confusion, as many people had never thought about how they know, they "just know" was a frequent response. This indicates the assumed nature of ethnicity, e.g. one is what one is because one is. Participants were then asked who taught them about their ethnic identity. This repeat of the child question was designed primarily to determine if there is a generation difference that might be attributed to ethnic identity formation under the USSR as compared to independence.
- *Ethnicity of Self & Other: Qualities and Descriptions:* The series of questions relating to ethnicity and self/other identity comprise the "heart" of the survey. These were designed to probe about the nature of ethnic identity and gender. Participants were asked if they had an ethnic identity before they were asked any other questions about their own ethnicity. The researcher did not want to assume that people thought they had an ethnicity. This procedure also was followed for all surveys. The participants were then asked about the qualities of their ethnicity. This question, coupled with a later question about the traditions, symbols, values, and stories of the participants' ethnicity, was designed to capture "ethnic identity markers" as people who live these markers understand them. The body of literature on ethnicity is rich in the importance of land, traditions, symbols, values, and stories in ethnic communities. The researcher wanted to determine if these were as important to people in daily life as the academy might claim. The final questions of this series were asked later in the survey, when people felt the most comfortable, and asked directly if men and women have different understandings of ethnic identity. This question was directly followed by asking the participant if they as a man (or woman) felt an ethnic or citizen identity before being male (or

female). Then the question was reversed, and the participant was asked how they thought the opposite sex would respond.

- *Citizenship & Ethnicity of State:* The questions on citizenship and ethnic identity of the state complement similar questions in all of the other surveys. These were designed for comparative value between different actors in society, those attempting to influence new concepts of citizenship, state identity, and ethnic identity, i.e. government leaders, USAID officials and partner NGOs, and community NGOs, and those who are the target of that influence, i.e. the adult population. As concepts of citizenship, state, and identity have all drastically changed since independence from the USSR, these primary political identities are in great flux and suffer from different actors attempting to influence the population in different ways. The question, “Who is a citizen of Kyrgyzstan?” sought to determine if the increasing “Kyrgyzness” of the state identity was influencing the population’s understanding of who belonged as well as the predominance of *jus soli*, where one lives, or *jus sanguine*, who one is. This question also hoped to solicit a gender response. The series of questions regarding the ethnic identity of the state proved baffling for most people. The no response rate was high on this question, as most people were reluctant to respond directly that they did not know.
- *Active in Politics/Community/Nationalism:* These questions were meant to determine the level of political and community apathy, as well as the level of nationalism. These answers are very indicative of how “democracy” has blocked, restricted, and ignored the population rather than engage and empower the average person as it should. This indicates how poorly “democratic” reform is working in Kyrgyzstan.
- *Life Conditions Under Independence Versus the USSR:* This question was written to ask, “If you have an ethnic identity, is it different under the new Kyrgyz State than it was during the Soviet period?” Originally, the question was meant to gain insight into the changing nature of ethnicity. However, it became very clear, after the first few surveys, that people interpreted this question as, “How has life changed since Soviet times?” The question was changed to ask, “Is life different now than it was under Soviet rule?” This question, more than any other, provoked great discussion, gratitude, and grief. Participants often “poured their hearts out” relating how bad life had become.

Survey Sets C.1 and D.1, NGO-Government were administered in order to determine NGO, largely female, and government, largely male, reactions to concepts of ethnicity, democracy, gender, and citizenship. These surveys aim: (a) to establish if the official and the male perspective is hostile to women's political participation, if NGO participation is taken seriously, if men see the public space expanding for women, and if male government leaders view women as (equal) citizens; (b) to determine why leaders of Kyrgyz civil society became involved, if they have formal political ambitions, how they see their work affecting Kyrgyz "democracy," if there is an ethnic component to this work, if they think there are problems between citizenship and women; and (c) to assist overall determining linkages between gender, civil society, citizenship, and ethnicity.

- *NGO Perspective:* In order to identify the relationship between civil society, gender, ethnicity, and democratic assistance, leaders of NGOs in Kyrgyzstan were interviewed. It is already known, through previous research and work in the community by the researcher, that this population is disproportionately female. When possible, NGO directors, rather than staff, were interviewed because the NGO leaders influence the policy and decisions of that NGO. These surveys were completed in writing by the participants under the supervision of the researcher.

While the survey sample is small, because the respondents are simultaneously: (a) community leaders, and (b) actors in whom US donors place so much hope in and responsibility for encouraging democracy in Kyrgyzstan, the weight of the responses is substantial and indicative. Responses have been coded and averaged. Exhibit responses have been drawn from the interview text and are displayed as recorded, when appropriate. These responses represent the exact answers of NGO members in Kyrgyzstan and have not been altered except for minor grammatical and spelling changes. Original text was in Russian or Kyrgyz and was translated to English by a native Kyrgyz/Russian speaker. No responses were interpreted as (a) do not know but is reluctant to admit a lack of knowledge or understanding, (b) is reluctant to provide a response due to fear/concern as the response may be considered controversial or anti-government, or (c) felt that the follow-up question was redundant to answers already provided to the primary question. Full survey responses are located in the appendix. Similar questions were asked in different ways, and questions were also supported by two or three follow-up questions. Follow-up and repeat questions serve to: (a) elicit a greater understanding of why an original response was provided, and (b) often provide the opportunity to gain responses to more sensitive questions by re-phrasing the question in a manner that

is, perhaps, less threatening. The first three questions on the survey, name, region and title and name of NGO have been suppressed in order to protect identities. Full responses are in the appendix.

- *Governmental Perspective:* In order to identify the relationship among the Kyrgyz government, gender, ethnicity, and democratic assistance, all leaders of the local government, *akims*, were interviewed. It is already known through previous research/work that this population is completely male. These surveys were completed in an interview style with a tape recorder, and the researcher wrote responses onto the survey form. Although it was anticipated that these interviews might have been difficult, or impossible, to obtain, all *akims* who were able provided long interviews on very short notice.

Survey Set Two was designed to obtain foreign donor population response to concerns about local concepts of ethnicity, citizenship, civil society, and gender, and to determine if contradictions exist between local and international understanding of democracy, ethnicity, gender, and the linkages of these factors. Unfortunately, for the entire Survey Set Two, the only respondents were two USAID partner organisations in Kyrgyzstan. Due to the poor response rate of A.2, B.2, and C.2 the administration of D.2 was cancelled. Analysis of Survey Set Two was primarily valuable to consider what a significant no response rate indicated. USAID themselves undertook a “stocktaking” survey to determine their own reputation and areas for improvement (USAID 1998). Upon contacting their own staff and NGO partners, USAID had a staggering no response rate and in fact had to request completion of the survey and extend the survey deadline several times. When NGO partners did respond their answers were as negative as the response that this research received in this dissertation (USAID 1998). Therefore, both the difficulty USAID had in obtaining responses and then the receipt of negative answers are in support of similar difficulties this researcher encountered with the USAID and USAID partner surveys.

- *Foreign Donor Perspective:* The foreign donor and donor partner survey samples were designed for interviews with the unit directors of the US foreign donor and foreign donor partner population both in Washington, D.C., and Kyrgyzstan in order to determine if there is a location relationship between understanding the Kyrgyz identity and a location relationship between gender and democratic assistance. When the donor community was approached by the researcher, everyone consistently requested an e-mail of the survey rather than take the time for an interview. All USAID and USAID partner surveys were e-mailed, three

times at intervals of approximately four weeks. Yet, despite good relations with the donor community, invitations to internal meetings, and the provisions of all documents requested by the researcher, the response rate of the surveys was extremely low. Although the researcher knew the foreign donor community is a hermetically sealed community, as the researcher had worked in that community and had built good relations, the researcher did not anticipate difficulty gaining access and responses from the donor community. Unfortunately, for the entire Survey Set Two, the only respondents were two Partner Organisations in Kyrgyzstan out of a total estimated possible 60 responses. Due to the poor response rate of A.2, B.2, and C.2, the administration of D.2 was cancelled. It is already known through previous research/work that this population is disproportionately male.

5.3 Sample Size and Method of Measurement

A.1 and B.1 in Survey Set One used the population parameter of the countrywide population of Kyrgyzstan, 4,856,200 as determined by the 1999 Kyrgyz government census.¹⁸⁰ The capital city, Bishkek, is nearly at 800,000. Of the entire population 2,375,000 are men and 2,481,000 are women (Itar-Tass 1999). This population was sub-divided among the six *oblasts* plus Bishkek in order to sample a relevant proportion of urban-versus rural population and to gain a sample size that is accurately distributed throughout the country. In October 1999, a new *oblast* was created, Batken. However, the field research had already been conducted when this new *oblast* was part of Osh *oblast*. Therefore, this data is based on the number of *oblasts* at the time of the field research in August 1999. As the 1999 census did not provide a break-down of population by *oblast*, an assumption was made that the *oblasts* grew at the same rate and proportion since the last governmental figures, listed below. This is the most accurate population breakdown currently available. The sample size calculation used Epi-info for a proportion (relative margin) with a total population of 4,856,200 confidence rate at 95% or .95 margin .05 probability .50 sample size is 384. Of this sample size, approximately half of the population interviewed were women, half men. Proportional random, cluster sampling procedures were used for A.1 and B.1.

C.1-D.2 in Survey Set One and Two defined the population parameter as the number of directors or managers in each set. Government officials are defined as: *akims*, or *oblast* directors. Non-proportional, non-random systematic matching, purposeful sampling procedures were used for C.1 and D.2. The C.1 Survey Set takes into

account the fact that while officially 961 NGOs are legally registered in Kyrgyzstan, common estimates place the number of authentic NGOs at an estimated 50 to 60 in number.

Sample Size for A.1 and B.1

OBLAST	POPULATION & PERCENTAGE¹⁸¹	SURVEY SIZE
Bishkek	592,100= 13.2%=642,051	51
Chui	747,900=16.7%=810,994	64
Issy-Kul	425,300= 9.5% = 461,179	37
Osh	1,415,500= 31.6%= 1,534,914	121
Naryn	264,200=5.9%=286,488	23
Jalal-Abad	826,800 = 18.5% = 896,550	71
Talas	204,600= 4.6%=221,860	18

Sample Size for A.1-D.2

Survey Set One	Survey Set Two
A.1) Average Adult Population: 384	A.2) USAID officials in Kyrgyzstan: 10
B.1) Average Child Population: 384	B.2) USAID partners in Kyrgyzstan: 20
C.1) NGO Leaders: 50	C.2) USAID in Washington: 10
D.1) <i>Akims</i> : 7	D.2) USAID partners in Washington: 20

5.3.1 Measures of Association/Relationship

The mixed method data analysis used in this research was modelled on Tashakkori and Teddlie’s (1998) Type V Mixed Design (Confirmatory Investigation, Quantitative Data/Operations, Qualitative Analysis and Inference) (Tashakkori 1998:164); however, this research manipulated that model slightly to: Confirmatory Investigation, Dominant Quantitative Data/Operations with Supporting Qualitative Data/Operation and Concurrent Quantitative Analysis and Inference via Narrative Profile Formation by Sector. This cross-checking by mixed methodology also serves to strengthen the reliability and validity of all data. QUAN data is presented by the descriptive methods of central tendency, relative standing, and association relationships between variables.

Relevant conclusions drawn from the field research results are divided by survey set and sector, as outlined below. All survey sets C.1-D.2 confirmed the argument

developed in Chapters One and Two that the understandings of democracy, citizenship, and civil society are highly gendered to the disadvantage of women. Significantly, the research confirms the reality of these theories in the daily lives of citizens in the transitional democratic structure of Kyrgyzstan, and provides evidence that all “players” are aware of the gender divisions and discrimination against women. Additionally, all survey sets expressed frustration/problems with foreign assistance. A.1, the survey set designed to test the primary hypothesis that ethnicity is gendered, confirms the emerging body of literature that asserts there is a gender character to ethnic identity. Survey Set A.1 results and conclusions are described first and separately from the remaining surveys.

The main variable in this survey set revolves around adult males compared with adult females regarding their perception of ethnic identity. Gender is the independent variable (x) and the concept of ethnic identity is the dependent variable (y). Gender emerges as the determinant of ethnic identity. This research is correlation research, not influencing any variables but only measuring and seeking relations (correlation) between the sets of variables with the main variable set relationship being that between gender and ethnic identity. The nature of the variables, or indicators, listed below is nominal variables, allowing for qualitative classification and for quantitative measurement. Additionally, the resulting data was crosstabbed for four key variables: gender, age, location by regional *oblast*, and ethnicity and then also controlled for gender. Education was also crosstabbed and controlled for gender; however, this initial cross variant analysis was not factored into the final results because education level appeared to have little affect on response. The only two questions where education levels had significant results were: (1) in relation to the question, “Is ethnicity more important for men or women or is there no difference?” 51% of secondary school educated women said there was no difference while 51% of university educated men said they did not know; (2) The question, “Does the Kyrgyz state have an ethnicity?” 68% of secondary school educated women and 59% of secondary school educated men. The highest percentages of responses that cited Kyrgyz blood and/or ethnicity came from both university educated men and women.

The aim of this exploratory research was to provide, or map, an understanding of how people perceive the issues surrounding ethnicity. Therefore, however cumbersome for statistical analysis, open answers were the only research tool that could ensure more valid, untainted responses. In survey set A.1, the free range of response mechanisms resulted in a large and diverse body of data with many similar or slightly similar responses. In order to organise A.1 results for statistical analysis, these responses had

to be reduced into categories. While categories do not necessarily produce the most precise tool, they are necessary in order to gain generalisation. Two levels of analysis were used in A.1 in order to enable the clearest understandings of the results. The first category grouping, resulting in Frequency Table One, listed in the appendix, was used for the first tier of results, level one. In the frequency tables, the valid percentage is the number used for data analysis. At times, original raw responses are mentioned, when the lack of statistical significance renders these answers valuable.

The second level of analysis utilises Frequency Table Two, listed in the appendix, unless otherwise stated, and forms a four-step process. First, the original analysis was crosstabbed by region, ethnicity, age, and gender. Significant and stable relations that emerged from this first crosstab step are described in the result section. Second, gender was controlled for across all questions. Third, this entire process was repeated in collapsed categories that enabled the small sample size to provide slightly more statistically significant responses. This is called Crosstab 2. The first data analysis is labelled Crosstab 1. Fourthly, on Crosstab 2 only, gender was controlled for, making Crosstab 2G. Any significant relationships that emerged due to a gender control or were suppressed due to a lack of gender analysis are described and explored in the analysis of the research. Controlling for gender provided evidence of several important aspects of ethnicity and demonstrated the relevance of a gender analysis in relation to ethnicity.

At times, significant relationships emerged that were not stable. A stable relationship is defined as having a minimum of 20%, or less, cells with an expected count less than five. The lower the percentage the more stable the relationship. The instability of some results was largely due to the low sample size; thus even though a relationship may exist the sample size must be larger in order to determine if the relationship is always likely to exist. However, significant relationships that are not stable still provide indication that more extensive surveying may yield a significant-stable relationship and are thus worthy of mention. Nearly stable significant relationships are still accounted for. It is important to understand that the two measures of association, the Pearson R correlation coefficient and the Spearman correlation, are conservative measures given the small sample size and the exploratory nature of the analysis. Therefore, the results have been taken beyond simple statistical analysis and controlled for gender.

Significant relationships are defined as having a Pearson Chi-Square value, often called the P-value, lower than 0.05. The lower the P-value the more likely the

relationship. The Pearson Chi-Square represents the statistical significance of the relationship. A P-value was run on the resulting data. The reliability or the P-value (statistical significance level) of a result is the estimated measure of the degree to which it is an accurate representative of the population. The value of the P-value represents a decreasing index of the reliability of a result as outlined by Brownlee (1960). The higher the P-value, the less reliable the observed relation between the sample variable as an indicator of the relation between the respective variables in the population. The P-value represents the probability of error involved in accepting the observed result as valid, i.e., a P-value of .05 (i.e., 1/20) would indicate there is a 5% probability that the variable relation is a “fluke.” In an effort to consider the widest possible range of results, statistically significant or near significant, and stable or near stable results have been included in the results section below. The final matrix, however, includes only significant and stable results. Gender Control results are noted by (G), i.e., AgeG. Under regional significance, the capital city, Bishkek, is part of Chui *oblast*, which makes Chui a significant region.

5.4 Evaluation of the Validity/Reliability of Data Results

The power of the research to support results/inferences is highly dependent on the quality of the data collection and the assurance of validity. Therefore, before outlining the data results the following section considers the reliability and quality of the collected data by examining: (1) validity of research design/structure, (2) validity of research measurement, and (3) validity of the forthcoming results. Since this is mixed methodology research, both QUAN and QUAL validity considerations are relevant. Measurement validity of QUAN is dependent on the quality of the data collected. Internal and external validity is then a component of the conclusions made on the analysed data. QUAL methods, on the other hand, require that analysis coincides with, or takes place, shortly after data collection. Inferences are made and more information is collected. Because the researcher collected the QUAN data directly, the researcher was able to take advantage of both QUAL/QUAN methods and improve the overall outcome, validity, and depth of the research results.

A dominant QUAN method of collecting data, evaluating data quality, and analysing for results was implemented parallel to supporting QUAL methods including: (1) the ability of the surveys to be flexible and respond to concerns that participants had, either in re-wording questions in one case, or in going off the track of the survey to record related issues, stories, etc. that were not part of the formal interview process; (2) being “in the field” also allowed for the vital QUAL methods of observation and

prolonged engagement; (3) a reflexive journal maintained throughout the QUAN data collection supports and contributes to data results; (4) most important, although the surveys had a pre-established structure/questions, these questions allowed for the QUAL principle of emerging categories. While this meant a great deal more effort during the QUAN analysis phase, grouping and regrouping, in order to gather diverge responses into similar and meaningful categories, the QUAL emerging principle greatly enhanced the reliability of the data in that it was not influenced by the researcher providing pre-existing categories to select from, but allowed for open-ended response, thereby gaining a more accurate representation of the participants authentic opinions; and (5) QUAN data has been Qualitized into narrative summaries. In sum, QUAN data without the support of QUAL methods is significantly weaker. As this research benefits from a mixed model approach, the quality of the data is significantly increased.

5.4.1 Validity of Research Design Strategy

First, in order to reduce for error and increase the MAXMINCON principle (Kerlinger 1986), maximise experimental variance, minimise error, and control extraneous variance (Tashakkori 1998:31), the following factors, intended to overcome selection bias and account for additional relationships that could influence the main variable, were taken into account as part of original research design and data collection techniques.

Observer Interference: Conducting field research into the areas of gender and ethnicity in Central Asia is sensitive. As the researcher is female, this creates additional consideration. Due to historical factors and current tensions surrounding both gender and ethnicity, this field research was designed with the utmost cultural sensitivity. In addition to specific considerations, listed below, feminist methodologies have contributed throughout the research to constructing a more sensitive research design. The very nature of feminist standpoint theory and feminist ways of knowing contribute to a more reliable, less threatening, data collection instrument (Renzetti and Lee 1993:171). Feminist methodology was used in constructing a sensitive research design that enabled all aspects of the field research to gather highly sensitive material in a relatively unobtrusive manner.

The researcher's own identity underwent several shifts (away from Western, white female) that were advantageous. First, because gender is so salient in Kyrgyz society and owing to the fact that the majority of the people do not know how to categorise a

Western, white woman, the third gender of “honorary male” is often used by the Kyrgyz. The status of honorary male provided the researcher with all the benefits of being a female in Kyrgyz society and few of the negatives as well as most of the benefits of being a male to which there are few negatives. For example, the researcher was welcomed among the women as *ajay*, sister/aunt, but could also be alone with all the men to discuss politics. Second, the researcher occupied the respected status of guest, which is a position of considerable importance due to local rules and norms of hospitality. A foreign guest receives heightened respect due to fear, curiosity, and a desire to show foreigners the most famous aspect of Kyrgyz identity: hospitality. Although the researcher was a foreigner, the researcher was also considered “a Kyrgyz daughter,” due to the length of time the researcher had lived and worked in Kyrgyzstan and the knowledge that the researcher exhibited about Kyrgyz culture and traditions. The researcher was placed into the optimal hybrid category receiving the respect for a foreigner and the intimacy that would be provided to a Kyrgyz, the flexibility and obscurity of a woman and access and privilege reserved for men.

Participant Reactivity: Due to historical factors of fear associated with “official surveys” and questions of citizenship, employment, and ethnic identity, participant reactivity is an important element to consider. Allowances for mitigating participant reactivity were considered. Additionally, as participant reactivity is directly correlated to an observer component, the researcher's status also was factored into situational analysis. Finally, in order to mitigate sampling bias and sampling error the research design took the following factors into account during analysis. Although the researcher anticipated a high degree of reluctance to answer questions, honestly or at length, she was surprised to find these expectations were not correct. On the contrary, due to the extreme frustration, poverty, and loss of hope, the majority of people interviewed were grateful to have been asked their opinion and, in most cases, more than willing to speak openly, honestly, and at great length about issues of citizenship, democracy, and ethnicity. The researcher's consideration, in the end, was how to conclude interviews that might have gone on for hours, in a gentle manner. The researcher did not anticipate the emotional fatigue resulting from the desperation of the respondents and their psychological need to “unload.” Additionally, the researcher did not anticipate the gratitude and pride, exhibited by the majority of respondents, at being asked their opinion about their country. The researcher was frequently thanked and congratulated for her interest in Kyrgyzstan.

This positive participant reaction also resulted from the selection and accompaniment of a young Kyrgyz female research assistant. While Kyrgyz participants felt more

trustful and open due to the presence of a Kyrgyz assistant, Russian and Uzbeks in the rural regions were often more guarded, thus, slightly tainting some responses. In Bishkek, minorities did not seem troubled by the presence of a Kyrgyz assistant, and frequently related problems with relationships with Kyrgyz. A small degree of tainted results did occur in Jalal-Abad and Osh *oblast* where Uzbeks would claim they were nationalists but refuse to explain why (due, most likely, to the presence of a Kyrgyz research assistant). Correspondingly, Kyrgyz in this region claimed they were nationalists because they “hated” Uzbeks. Uzbek-Kyrgyz tensions in this region are notoriously high. Additionally, Osh adult population surveys were not performed by the researcher but by a male, Kyrgyz tolerance education NGO worker, trained by the researcher. Therefore, Osh adult population results may be tainted and cannot be guaranteed for quality control.

Soviet Residue for Terms of Ethnicity and Nationalism: As outlined in Chapter Three, the Russian equivalent of the English word nationality is *natsionalnost*. While nationality in a Western context often refers to citizenship, the Russian *natsionalnost* referred to an individual’s membership in a “national” collective within Soviet citizenship. *Natsionalnost* is inherited from one’s parents and *grazhdanstvo* or citizenship from the state. Nationalism, *natsionalism*, was understood to be a dangerous and negative term under the USSR. Inter-national, or friendship among the nations of the USSR, was the accepted term. The Survey A.1 asked “Are you a nationalist? If so, yes? If not, why not?” This question was designed to determine if the negative context of nationalism, believing that one’s nation/ethnic group is better than others or that one hates another nation/ethnic group (which would have been a crime against the state under Soviet rule) had increased in the decade of authentic Kyrgyz independence since the collapse of the USSR.

Due to the outbreaks of ethnic tension and fighting in Kyrgyzstan, there has been concern that nationalism, in the negative sense of hating another ethnic group, has drastically increased. The follow-up question asking for a justification for being or not being a nationalist was structured in order to determine reasons for ethnic hatred or tolerance. As anticipated, with the exception of the South of Kyrgyzstan, most people responded that they were not “nationalists” but “inter-nationalists” because they grew up with a “love for all Soviet nations.”

Ethnicity in Russian is *ethnos*. Soviet research largely understood *ethnos* to be “self-reproducing collectives based on self-identification and a distinct culture as well as... a major determinant of social action” (Shanin 1989,414). The researcher did not want

the surveys to reflect an assumption that people inherently had an ethnicity. Thus, the first survey question was, “Do you have an *ethnos*?” In line with literature and history, many Russians felt that only non-Russians had ethnicity, that it was something more primitive than Russians, as the former dominant ethnic group had. When a person did not understand the word *ethnos* (i.e., a few people gave tribal answers), no correction was made as the researcher wished to determine how people in Kyrgyzstan understood these concepts today. When translated into Kyrgyz the term that best conveyed the concept of ethnicity was *tamyr* which translates as roots and implies a tribal or regional response and not an ethnicity. Therefore, even when doing the survey in Kyrgyz the Russian word *ethnos* was used. Complete survey questions, both in Russian and English, are located in the appendix.

Gender: Information was collected, whenever possible, separated by gender. Due to the traditional nature of Kyrgyz society, a female’s results may be tainted by her husband’s opinion if both were interviewed together. Had these interviews been conducted collectively, with spouses/relatives present, the measurement validity would have been severely hindered as, due to the patriarchal nature of society, wives would not feel free to respond to the questions honestly but, in most cases, would provide the same response as her husband. Evidence of this phenomena is demonstrated by the intractable problem of “family voting” where the husband votes for the wife and female relatives.

Rural/Urban Difference: The population of Kyrgyzstan is 4.8 million of which 800,000 live in the capital city, Bishkek. In order to obtain a more reliable survey of the representative population of Kyrgyzstan, survey samples were divided per *oblast*. As the rural/urban divide is drastic, a proportional representation was also necessary to consider the difference between rural and urban citizens and the impact, if any, that relationship may have on gender and ethnic concept.¹⁸² Moreover, since of the 111 foreign donor offices located in Kyrgyzstan only 15 foreign donor offices are located outside of Bishkek/Chui *oblast*, the majority of interaction with foreigners occurs in Bishkek.¹⁸³ In the more remote regions, the researcher was, at times, the first foreigner with whom people had direct contact. This often prompted curiosity and delight, as opposed to foreign-local relations in Bishkek, which are steadily declining, and most often resentful and cynical.

Illiteracy/Poverty: The illiteracy rate in the rural population is high. Moreover, most of those who are literate do not have a telephone or receive mail, as the postal system has collapsed. In order not to bias the sample toward literate/wealthy individuals,

questionnaires were not dispensed but were read to individuals with responses recorded by the researcher. The rural areas were surveyed in Kyrgyz language, when necessary, with the assistance of a Kyrgyz language translator/assistant. Nearly all interviews were performed with the presence of a tape recorder, as a backup to the written records.

5.4.2 *Validity of Measurement*

Although statistic validity for the adult population, A.1., was high when controlling for gender between gender and ethnicity (outlined in section 8.4.5) and other variables because confidence in the results (conclusions/inferences/relationships) is so depended upon further proof of validity, the following three sections provided additional evidence, not only for A.1, but for all the other survey sets (B.1-D.2), which were not as extensively statistically analysed. These validity considerations ensure that the research measured what it was intended to measure and not something else and that the measurement was relatively error free. These validity tests, structured into the development of the surveys and run on the resulting data, provide confidence that the survey sets and resulting data do possess a high-validity rate and thus, give additional credibility to the results. The first section explains the validity of the measurements.

The face validity, what the survey appeared to be surveying, was constructed slightly differently from the actual objective, in order to lower the likelihood of participant reactivity that would skew results. Participants often thought the surveys were primarily about gathering the stories and traditions of Kyrgyzstan rather than testing for ethnic identity and gender. This low face validity was apparent by the participant reactions (outlined in section 8.2.2., *Participant Reactivity*). The low face value indicates that participant reactivity was also low, thereby, obtaining “cleaner,” more authentic results.

Judgement validity in this research is proven to be high. Prior to and during survey implementation, various “experts” were invited to assess the questionnaires in order to provide professional judgement as to the validity of the structure and content relevant to determining anticipated outcomes. The statistics advisor at The London School of Economics’ Methodology Institute, Amani Siyam, examined, and approved all survey structures and methodology prior to implementation. Two Kyrgyz, on professional USAID fellowships in America, Salta Sulamanova and Aisuluu Bedaleava, and Kyrgyz students at the American University in Kyrgyzstan examined and approved the surveys’ cultural content. Kate Johnson, of the Women in Development (WID)

office of USAID examined the surveys' development and gender content. Johnson suggested that all questions highlighting different levels of knowledge between USAID Washington and USAID Kyrgyzstan were unnecessarily antagonistic. These were removed at Johnson's request on the condition that she would encourage USAID staff members to complete the surveys if these questions were removed. USAID staff members in Kyrgyzstan and Washington examined the surveys for content and responded positively, citing that USAID was attempting new programs in the unexplored area of gendered ethnicity, and that these results would be very useful. Cultural, developmental, and statistical "expert judgements" were sought prior to and during survey implementation, all with very positive feedback, providing proof of high levels of judgement validity.

The predictive validity is high because of the high indicant of expected/anticipated results matching actual results, particularly the main hypothesis. Therefore, the survey instruments are considered valid because they were able to accurately predict the pre-supposed outcome/responses. The effectiveness of this research to support the inference that stated variables, particularly gender and concepts of ethnicity, are linked in a relational manner is high due to the research structure that isolates concepts of ethnicity, across the population of a country, with the gender factor. Moreover, the mixture of qualitative and quantitative inquiry allows for greater examination and explanation of the resulting relationship. This is readily apparent due to the statistical conclusion validity of the resulting high covariation of gender and concepts of ethnicity. Therefore, the internal validity rate is proven to be high.

Empirical validity is the most common means of assessing measurement validity providing proof that results should be consistent with measures of other related constructs or surveys/measures of similar construct (convergent validity) and/or results should be inconsistent with unrelated measures of unrelated constructs/surveys (discriminate or divergent validity). In other words, triangulation of data results from different survey sets within the overall research should indicate similar results, which they do. For example, USAID partners provided evidence of problems with foreign assistance in Kyrgyzstan, as did *akims*, and NGO directors. The reliability of the results that there appears to be problems with foreign aid is high. Likewise with the question concerning the gender of NGO directors, all survey groups confirm that women form the NGO community of Kyrgyzstan. This empirical validity is proven through the survey sets results, in the preceding sections, as results were compared and contrasted between sets.

External validity of the measurements is also the degree to which the results may be transferable. Transferability of generalisation is a considerable outcome of this research because of: (a) the global nature of gender ethnicity, i.e. these are not relationships exclusive to Kyrgyzstan; and (b) the global nature of democracy assistance and their standard structures, i.e. the US government does not only provide democracy assistance to Kyrgyzstan. USAID's request to examine these research results for assistance in future programming as well as the small, but growing, body of literature linking and examining the relationship between gender and ethnicity provides evidence that the results of this research are regarded as externally valid.

Empirical/ convergent validity is also evidenced by the high rate of compatibility of the research results of this dissertation to those from similar surveys. Although there have been no other surveys completed in Central Asia that isolate gender, ethnicity and US democracy assistance, there have been a number of surveys completed on issues that relate to parts of the survey sets of this dissertation. These studies have been referenced in Chapter Four and include:

- The World Bank completed the only known survey on the relevance of ethnicity to development in Central Asia (Youssef 1995). The Bank concludes that there are three types of potential ethnic conflict: (1) ethno-territorial, (2) ethno-environmental, and (3) ethno-economic (Youssef 1995:3). Potential for wide scale ethnic conflict in Kyrgyzstan/Central Asia is high.¹⁸⁴ The study notes that the recent outbreaks of violence demonstrate that development-related problems, i.e., poverty, unemployment, lack of housing, lack of water, lack of women's rights, collapsed education systems, etc., exacerbate existing relationships of conflict between ethnic and tribal groups (Youssef 1995:ii). While the Bank failed to examine in-depth the role of gender in ethnic conflict, the other Bank results corroborate the results of this dissertation research: that ethnicity is relevant, influential, and an ignored component of development, and that lack of attention to women's issues is one component of potential ethnic violence.
- Richard Dobson's (US Information Agency [USIA] Office of Research) survey of the Kyrgyz population regarding the state of "democracy" (Dobson 1995) confirms results from this dissertation field research in the area of lack of democracy, popular frustration, and a general feeling that life was better under Soviet rule than today. According to the Dobson study, "Many participants drew attention to improprieties in the appointment of persons to positions of responsibility, especially appointments according to family, clan, or ethnic ties

rather than competence” (Dobson 1995:2). Dobson’s respondents noted, “People say with dismay that the law of the jungle is beginning to rule,” says a Russian student at Jalal-Abad University (Dobson 1995:5). One man in Jalal-Abad said, “It’s impossible to build a house, yet kingly villages are springing up! Little towns of well-to-do people are growing our midst” (Dobson 1995:5). A law student explained, “We don’t have rich people and poor people but rich people and destitute people!” (Dobson 1995:5). Additionally, the US Department of State and Amnesty International support Dobson’s findings and the results of this research (US Department of State 2000; Amnesty International 1998). These, among other reports from NGOs that monitor the region, are listed through Chapter Six, as providing evidence to the assertions of this dissertation.

- The International Foundation for Electoral Systems’ (IFES) USAID funded survey (IFES 1997) contradicts both this researcher’s findings and Dobson’s results with a reported 60% of those interviewed in the IFES survey claiming that Kyrgyzstan is a democracy. There are two factors that may account for this contradiction: (a) the IFES survey was completed four years before the field research of this dissertation; and (b) IFES conducted interviews in people’s homes—which means that people would have been conscious of making a good impression on their guest and also initiates the fear (from Soviet times) that their home may be wire tapped. IFES also reported that 43% of people thought the life of their children would be worse than their life—compared to only 32% who thought their children’s life would be better. In addition, 86% said that official corruption is a serious problem.
- Lubin’s (1994) study provides inconsistent or divergent validity on the point of nationalism; however, Lubin’s study is in conflict with all other studies relating to the potential for ethnic violence in Central Asia. Lubin states that, “For many Uzbeks and Kazaks included in the survey, nationality or citizenship played an insignificant role as a focal point of identity. The family and community showed to be the major point of reference and more powerful source of self-identity” (Lubin 1994). However, The World Bank study states, “Ethnic affiliation showed to be the strongest bond in most aspects of life for the majority of Uzbeks and Kazakh respondents surveyed in 1994. Most expressed strong desires to not work with and not live next door to another ethnic group than their own; least of all to have a member of another ethnic group marry into their family” (Youssef 1995:24). Field research from this dissertation supports The Bank’s results,

demonstrating that ethnic/national identity is a vital aspect to the lives of citizens of Central Asia, particularly Southern Kyrgyzstan.

- Finally, an instructive study of “ethnic” conflict in London communities discovered that in response to the fundamental problems resulting from a particular conflict, “women expressed the belief that, as women, they were part of the solution to these problems” (Reid and Burlet 1998:280). Moreover, the women argued that in the private space of the home they held power that they could use to discourage their male relatives from participation in violent street protests. These women also asserted that they were a powerful influence in encouraging constructive solutions to community problems (Reid and Burlet 1998,280). Finally, many of the women argued that the exclusive presence of men in conflict situations is symptomatic of a “macho religio-cultural identity which socialises male youths to believe that they are more important than women and exclusively in charge of community honour” (Reid and Burlet 1998:280). The Reid and Burlet study suggests that women in civil society hold the potential to heal and prevent ethnic conflict. As outlined in Chapter Four, although democracy assistance programs believe that civil society promotion is the key to consolidating strong democracies, they have not yet recognised and, therefore, have failed to utilise a powerful tool in combating and preventing ethnic conflict and violent nationalism, women at the community level who are leading civil society. The Reid and Burlet study, combined with the knowledge that women comprise the overwhelming leaders in civil society and the results from the field research of this dissertation demonstrating that women: (a) self-select gender over the ethnic as a primary identity and that (b) women’s understanding of an ethnic identity is significantly less violent than corresponding male descriptions and thus demands urgent follow-up from policy makers and the development community. These findings should also encourage the academy to examine and understand ethnicity in new gendered dimensions.

5.4.3 Validity of Results

Reliability, internal validity, and credibility of results represent different terms for the same concern; are the results valid and if so why? It is not sufficient to prove that the measurement tool, surveys in this case, had a high validity. The credibility of the results, or the internal validity of the data, must also be examined. For survey set A.1, this is largely accomplished by traditional QUAN methods listed below. For the remainder of the surveys, and including A.1, the following methods of reliability tests

provide additional means for proving that the relationships between the variables, primarily gender and ethnicity, are “real” and not spurious (Tashakkori 1998; Krathwohl 1993).

Proof of explanation credibility and translation fidelity provide conceptual evidence linking the variables. In this research, the relationship between the variables is theoretical and conceptually sound because gender identities cross and influence all other human identity layers. Therefore, ethnic identity, as a form of human identity, is also influenced by, and exhibits, gendered differences. The translation fidelity, the degree to which the conceptual framework has been translated into elements of the measurement tool is high. This is indicated by the matching theoretical categories of Chapter One to Five, democracy, ethnicity, and gender, in the survey structures. Eliminating rival explanations is critical for result reliability. Any other plausible explanations for the results have been eliminated by the detailed participant reactivity, Section 8.2.2. of this chapter. Because the survey method was carefully constructed to consider and overcome selection bias, account for, and eliminate, additional relationships that could influence the main variable (that men and women were interviewed separately), the possibility of interfering factors or rival explanations has been reduced. The results are credible because both conceptual and empirical evidence has been carefully constructed.

QUAN Indicators of Reliability

Because the nature of A.1 was exploratory and mapping, attempting to indicate hypothesised correlations, there are no exact tests for quantitative validity that can be observed, other than those inherent to the statistical process of obtaining results. These tests and measures of data validity were included in the data results section above and explained as part of the process of examining the range of observations possible from the data. That four levels of analysis were completed on this small sample size and that questions were open-ended, providing more reliable results, are the most significant measures of reliability for Survey Set A.1.

QUAL Indicators of Reliability

The additional crosscheck of qualitative and quantitative provides final evidence of the high rate of validity and reliability of the results and the methods of this dissertation research Survey Sets A.1-D.2. Lincoln and Guba (1985) provide the basis for accounting for the “trustworthiness” of the data, as it is often called in QUAL

research. The following tests provide evidence of QUAL credibility (Tashakkori, 1998:90-93). Credibility is the same concept as QUAN reliability.

Prolonged engagement in the research environment, or “the field,” is vital to establishing credibility of knowledge and comprehension of how that society operates. Of all the QUAL credibility measures, prolonged engagement is most important because without this “deep immersion” a researcher is more than likely to misunderstand complex cultural norms, alienate the participant population, ask irrelevant questions, and risk missing important considerations. Moreover, a researcher who has not spent sufficient time in the field is unable to determine if participant responses are valid or if, perhaps, the participant is lying or providing misleading information due to cultural issues. Without a solid background of prolonged engagement, QUAN results are highly suspect.

Persistent observation is complementary to prolonged engagement. It is possible for a researcher to be in a community for an extended time without exerting observation techniques. In other words, quantity of time spent in the field does not necessarily indicate a firm and adequate understanding of the community in question. It is the QUAL credibility check of persistent observation that provides validity to the prolonged engagement aspect. Persistent observation, coupled with prolonged engagement, is particularly relevant to the Kyrgyz context in that Kyrgyzstan, as a society in transition, is extremely socially complex with vast paradoxes, and competing social norms. Indeed, it was not until the researcher had lived and worked in Kyrgyzstan for a year that she began to understand how and why things were done and began to think with a “Kyrgyz mentality.” That said, acquiring the “Kyrgyz mentality” was a difficult and painful process because this viewpoint is almost completely opposite to a Western understanding of the world.

Moreover, because the Kyrgyz are a closed and paranoid society, it took nearly a year before the researcher was accepted as a friend, and trust was adequate enough to be invited into Kyrgyz homes: the ultimate indication of acceptance. During this time, the researcher maintained a non-fictional account of her life focusing on the psychological difficulties, for observer and participant, of living in a country in transition. This manuscript provided a reference for recalling the emotions and insights into the Kyrgyz culture/ethnicity, gender relations, and problems with foreign democracy assistance. Indeed, the account assisted in configuring the conceptual framework of this dissertation. Extensive prolonged and comprehensive engagement and observation provided additional guarantees that both the researcher’s quality of

information, as well as inferences from this data, were based on extensive and multi-faceted experience in Kyrgyzstan and the foreign assistance community.

Benefits of thick description/descriptive methods were further evidenced by the use of a daily reflexive journal maintained during the field research surveying in 1999. These QUAL tools allow for a great deal of descriptive information to be gathered, considered, and explained. Moreover, maintaining the reflexive journal, recording regular information about self and method forced the researcher to reflect on the day-to-day issues of the on-going QUAN research. This additional QUAL support and data collection necessarily enhanced the QUAN data collection because daily time was set aside for thinking about the process of QUAN data collection, participant responses, the researcher's role, the type of information that was being collected, etc. Without this pre-established simultaneous QUAL tool, the researcher may not have thought about the QUAN process and issues of research interference, etc. The QUAL reflexive journal ensured that the researcher was conscious, on a daily basis, of the role the researcher was playing and, no doubt, enabled the researcher to collect QUAN data in a far more sensitive and thoughtful manner than might have occurred with the QUAL reflexive journal.

5.5 Summary

Although some QUAL researchers believe that triangulation implies a fixed "truth" can be found, this researcher understands triangulation of sources, methods, and theories, to provide greater assurance of reliability, as well as more in-depth and diverse insights (Denzin 1978). While there can never be "one truth," there are social phenomena that occur across communities and nations demanding investigation, comprehension and comparison. The nature of reality is multiple and, to a large degree constructed; however, there are still reasonably objective and agreed upon social phenomena. There is a "reality" that can be tested and determined; however, "reality" has to be recognised as confined within ways of knowing reality that are not absolute but rather exist in degrees that can be inconsistent and multiple.¹⁸⁵ Therefore, because the epistemological base cannot be completely free from relationships, values, and judgements, the "realities" of this research reflect both deductive and inductive logical reasoning. The relationship of the knower to the known is somewhat inseparable, including degrees of objective and subjective understandings. The role of values in inquiry is influenced, but not bound, by the values of the knower and the known. At its best, social science acknowledges and reduces human error; however, social science can never be completely free from the realities of human life. This

research supports enquiry that is relatively objective, uninfluenced by personal relationships, value-free, and independent. Generalisations, accounting for time and context, are possible and necessary. Casual linkages, cause and effect, do exist and although it may be difficult to obtain complete accuracy, it is necessary to establish/examine these kinds of relationships. Logic is both inductive and deductive.

Chapter Six

Gendered Attachments to Ethnicity: Survey Results

“Men better understand the concepts of citizenship because they feel a responsibility for their family and the republic.”
(Response from male akim)

“Women are submissive and it is the culture for them to be in the background. The majority accepts this role. The few that don't, are quite literally, outcasts.”
(Response from male international donor)

“Anyone can be a man but I am a Kyrgyz man!”
(Response from average adult male)

6.1 Results of All Survey Sets

This chapter describes the results of the field research, divided by the relevant Survey Sets. Complete conclusions are detailed in the final section of this chapter. While some of the appropriate literature is referenced in relation to the results detailed below, survey results will be primarily examined in relation to the literature discussed in the first three chapters in Chapter Seven, primarily the Yuval-Davis Typology. This chapter seeks to present the research results in an objective and clear manner. Due to the richness of the data obtained from the complex Survey Sets, a separate analysis of the key results in Chapter Seven allows for a more concise presentation.

The central finding of the field research was that men and women relate differently to ethnic identity. Though ethnicity proved to be important to both, it was a less centrally defining feature for women. The women interviewed also understood their ethnicity in a less antagonistic way than men, as the women were less likely to define their ethnicity with adjectives and events that presumed a conflict with “the other.” The second important finding was that all participants shared the perception that it was women who were overwhelmingly prominent in the associations of civil society. However, this recognition of women’s role in civil society was not taken as evidence of their centrality to processes of democratisation. On the contrary, many men interviewed took the strong association between women and civil society as a marker of the lesser importance of non-governmental organisations in comparison to elected and appointed political positions. Men welcomed women’s involvement in the less

important civil society sphere because they saw it very much as “women’s work” while politics was viewed as “men’s work.”

Low Response Rate

Only one survey set suffered a high no response rate: USAID Survey Sets A.2-D.2. This low response rate is consistent with other attempts, including one by USAID themselves, to survey attitudes of USAID staff members and partners and indicative of the sense of fear and closed corporate society that permeates USAID (Carothers 1999). One USAID/WID staff member, originally enthusiastic about this research, informed the researcher that it would be difficult to receive survey responses due to the fear in “the agency” of providing answers to any research where it might be possible to determine the origin of the comments. This USAID staffer, who asked to remain anonymous, said “the agency” feels under attack and predicted a low rate of response. This low-response rate provides evidence that USAID, although attempting reform, remains an agency suffering from low staff moral and high paranoia, resulting in a “closed shop” mentality and reputation. Moreover, the high level of frustration toward foreign assistance by the two USAID partners did complete the surveys indicates that the surveys may have been perceived as a vehicle to “vent” because official channels for dissent, constructive criticism and even programming suggestions do not appear to be available.

Primary Identity

The responses to both questions relating to primary identity in Survey Set A.1 provide overwhelming evidence that gender is a more primary identity for women than ethnicity, and that ethnic identity is a more primary identity for men. Moreover, the results from both questions support each other and provide further confidence that these results are not spurious. Not surprisingly, the majority of those who gave ethnic responses were Kyrgyz, the new ethnic majority in Kyrgyzstan. Age and region had some affect on responses with people at or over 35 largely giving ethnic, citizen, or gender responses. When age was controlled by gender it revealed that the women who did give an ethnic response were largely 35 or older, while the men, conversely, who gave an ethnic response were under 35. This may indicate that ethnic identity and attachment develops and is an identity that women “grow” or are conditioned into; alternatively it may suggest that ethnicity is becoming less central to the younger generation of Kyrgyzstan’s women. As for region, the overwhelming majority of those that provided negative adjectives when describing themselves were exclusively

young people from the South. The negative self-impression indicates a lack of belonging and dissatisfaction among the Southern youth and is concerning. This should be factored into development programs dealing with Southern poverty and identity issues. When region was controlled for gender, it was revealed that half of the women who gave an ethnic response live in the North; while half of the men that gave an ethnic response, live in the South. These results are highly interesting and unpredicted, providing evidence of a stronger male youth ethnic attachment/identity, primarily in the South of Kyrgyzstan. Finally, the positive reaction to both questions about self-identity provides evidence of the importance of identity and self-perceptions of identity to people.

Overall, these results provide greater insight into the apparent willingness of women to cross ethnic boundaries and work together in situations of ethnic conflict. If, indeed, ethnicity is less important for women than their female gender then the fact that women are willing to co-operate in bridging ethnic communities is not surprising. Correspondingly, if men, particularly young men, hold a higher affinity for ethnic identity, then it is not surprising that a man who feels his ethnic identity is threatened may resort to defensive tactics, including violence. While the results do not indicate that women always choose gender over ethnicity, the high level of gender identity responses for women compared to the low level of gender identity response for men, for both questions, indicates the potential power a female gender identity holds. These results are significant to the emerging field of gender and ethnicity and demand greater exploration with larger survey sizes and diverse regions in order to determine the degree to which this may be a global phenomena.

Ethnic Origin and Teaching for Self and Children

A father, the paternal line, was the dominant response to questions about ethnic educator and ethnic determinant of the children, with responses to both questions supporting each other. That most participants understood their children's identity to be determined by the father/father's "generations" indicates the patriarchal nature of ethnic identity. However, this paternal nature of ethnic determinants occurred more with ethnic Kyrgyz men and women than any other ethnic group. When ethnicity was controlled by gender, an overwhelming percent of non-Kyrgyz non-Slavic, i.e. ethnic "other" men, provided maternal determinant responses. More Southern women, also, gave maternal determinant answers than any other region. In order to provide increased assurance that these responses are not spurious, adults were asked the same questions of themselves. When asked about their own ethnicity, more adults thought

their ethnicity was determined by paternity than any other response. The state came in after paternity as the ethnic determinant with the smallest percentage claiming maternal determinant. More men than women said the state was the ethnic determinant. Again, the majority of both men and women that gave maternal determinant answers live in the South and were ethnic "other." 0% of Kyrgyz men gave a maternal determinant answer. This time age appeared to be relevant when controlled for by gender with the majority of women giving maternal determinant answers being under 35 years old.

As far as ethnic education is concerned, the prediction that fathers may determine ethnicity but mothers educate was invalid. When asked who is the ethnic educator of their children, paternal responses came in first, followed by schools and maternal response last. Again, the paternal nature of ethnic educator occurred more with ethnic Kyrgyz than any other ethnic group with more Kyrgyz men and women providing paternal educator responses. When ethnicity was controlled by gender, an overwhelming percent of non-Kyrgyz non-Slavic, i.e. ethnic "other" men, provided maternal educator responses. More Southern men and women gave maternal educator answers than any other region. When adults were then asked who taught them their own ethnicity, paternal responses came in second as ethnic educators, after school, with maternal response enjoying an increased, but still low, percentage. Again, ethnic Kyrgyz, both men and women, comprised the majority of paternal educator responses. Of the men who responded with maternal educator responses, the majority were again ethnic "other." Again, the majority of men and women who gave maternal responses live in the South.

The results for this series of questions predicted and provided evidence of significant differences between how parents and children learned about ethnic identity. Adults, primarily, claimed that they had learned about ethnicity in school yet, only a small percentage of the same adults said their children learned about ethnicity in school. The difference in responses relating to school might be due to several factors including: adults with children too young to be in school yet, a break down of the education system since the USSR and increased poverty resulting in a reduction in both schools and people sending their children to school, and/or a change in the state-sponsored ethnic curricula in schools since the USSR. Despite these differences, that schools emerged as a significant factor in the education of ethnic identity is important for future development assistance that seeks to promote tolerance education.

Most significant, these results provide further evidence that the woman is perceived as the receptacle but not the determinate of ethnic identity and supports the literature outlined in Chapter Three that argues there is an assumed male nature in ethnic identity. What these answers refute is the literature that argues that women are ethnic educators. In a highly patriarchal society, such as Kyrgyzstan, the survey answers indicated that women had little control over how and what ethnic identity their children learned. The results indicate that patriarchal nature has increased since independence by the increased role maternal educators and schools played for adults versus the dominant paternal role that adults claim determine and educate the ethnicity of children. This may be linked to the correlation between paternal educator and determinant and the Kyrgyz ethnicity since the Kyrgyz ethnicity has become more dominant since independence. The repeating maternal response from ethnic “others” in the South is curious and worthy of future investigation.

Ethnicity of Self & Other: Qualities and Descriptions

The results of the questions designed to probe the nature of ethnic identity and gender provided supporting evidence to the body of ethnic theory in the academy that views symbols of ethnicity, i.e. land, traditions, values, and stories, as important to perceptions of ethnic community. Regarding ethnic qualities, more than half of the men surveyed responded with negative adjectives while more than half of the women responded with positive adjectives. The majority of the women and men who gave negative answers live in the South. The majority of men who gave negative answers were also ethnic “other” while the majority of women who gave positive adjectives were ethnic Kyrgyz. The majority who did not define their ethnicity by adjective but rather by non-adjectives, such as treatment of women or religion, etc., were 35 or older, indicating, perhaps, a change in ethnic identification by age. Clearly, these results support other answers in providing more evidence of high levels of dissatisfaction and negative self-image in the South.

The responses regarding the question about traditions, symbols, values, and stories, demonstrated that ethnic symbolism is highly important to all ethnic groups questioned, except for Russians.

The majority of those who mentioned geo-physical symbols, i.e. land, mountains, were women. Nearly the same proportion of those who gave responses including jewellery, dress, appearance, and food were also women. Men, on the other hand, were far more interested in stories, songs, folk traditions, national games, and bride

kidnapping. Age proved relevant, when again the youth provided the majority of negative responses and those 35 or older gave the majority of positive responses. Participants enjoyed these questions the most and would typically spend the longest amount of time answering these two questions by telling the researcher long “ethnic” stories of ancient khans who ruled this or that valley, battles that were fought between this and that clan, and hence why Kyrgyz are this way or that, and ancient stories of why this clan is the clan of the deer because seven generations ago someone married a beautiful deer in the forest, etc. Every holiday and tradition was often listed to the researcher in detail to prove that the participant knew the traditions. Indeed, the participants took great pride in naming all of the traditions possible. If a participant was short on time, they would often insist that they knew and loved all of their traditions but there just was not time to list them all. The researcher gained the most credibility by asking these two questions, as the researcher was frequently praised for “caring” about Kyrgyz traditions and stories and travelling to all the *oblasts* to “gather” these stories before they are forgotten. Indeed, many people assumed the objective of the research was to catalogue all the Kyrgyz stories and traditions.

These results support the prediction that ethnicity has different associations for women and men. It appears that women associate ethnicity with “things” such as jewellery, food, and clothing, while men associate ethnicity with “action” that can include violence. These results support the arguments made in the emerging body of gendered ethnicity that asserts women are perceived to be part of the ethnic symbolism of the community by their appearance and behaviour. That men provided more active and sometimes violent contents of ethnic identity, such as sheep polo—and other national games, or traditions that included subjugating women, such as bride kidnapping, does provides some evidence of the association of male violence and ethnic identity. Additionally, these deductive conclusions are further supported by the survey results that when asked directly if ethnicity was more important for men or women, both sexes of all ethnic groups responded that ethnicity was more important for men and less important for women.

When asked directly if men feel ethnic or male first, the majority of men reported to feeling male first. A majority of women did not know. The majority of those who said ethnic first were, again, ethnic Kyrgyz male and female, although this time, as opposed to earlier responses, fewer of the youth and more of those over 35 gave precedence to ethnicity. When asked directly if women feel ethnic or female first, the majority said female with the majority of men responding that they did not know. Those who put ethnic first were 35 and older, live in the South and are ethnic Kyrgyz.

While the majority of men who responded with female before ethnic live in the South. These results are less clear than other Survey Sets, but do indicate a reluctance to comment directly on the other gender's perception of ethnic or gender priority. These results also provide more supporting evidence to the ethnic Kyrgyz attachment to ethnicity and a Southern maternal influence. What was not anticipated, but was brought out by this survey, was the men who refused to separate being a man from being Kyrgyz, Uzbek, and Russian. Although statistically this figure was only 1%, the men who felt this way became angry and insulted, demanding to know how a man could be separated from his ethnicity. This indicates how strongly some men link their ethnicity to their "maleness," e.g. one respondent said, "Anyone can be a man but I am a Kyrgyz man!" Women respondents never exhibited the same tensions between a gender and ethnic relationship.

The male ethnic link was more clearly established when adults were asked directly if ethnicity was more important for men, for women, or made no difference between the two. Although not overwhelming, one third of respondents said that ethnicity was more important for men. This response was equal to those who did not know and those who thought it depended on the individual or the level of education. Only a small fraction thought that ethnicity was more important for women and the majority of both men and women who thought this live in the South, with ethnic "other" women providing the majority of these answers. This supports the increasingly apparent maternal influence in the South that is reflected in these results. Women tended to think ethnicity was more important for men and men tended to think it was more important for women; however, most of these respondents explained that it was more important for women because women had less control over their ethnicity in that they would lose their ethnicity if they married outside of their ethnic community. Younger people thought ethnicity was more important overall than people 35 or older.

Citizenship & Ethnicity of State

These questions, designed for comparative value with the NGO, *akim*, and USAID surveys, indicated very open, non-Kyrgyz, non-discriminatory responses. Living in or being born in Kyrgyzstan, followed by legal definitions, all rated higher than Kyrgyz blood, providing evidence that the average citizen does not prejudge their perception of citizenship based on ethnicity.

President Akaev's "Kyrgyzstan is Everyone's Home" campaign was often mentioned. The Presidential message is that all ethnic groups belong to Kyrgyzstan. This is a

positive result in that the message of the necessity of ethnic tolerance has been both heard and taken seriously by the average citizen. Only three people provided the correct legal definition of citizenship; this was higher than the NGOs and *akims*, none of whom provided a correct definition. What was unanticipated in the citizenship question was the number of respondents, 2%, who provided answers such as, “only the rich” or “only the corrupt.” These negative answers indicate a frustration on the part of the average adult population who perceive themselves to be outside the privileges, economic, legal, and political, of “new Kyrgyz citizen.” These viewpoints reflect the authentic situation where the privileges of the state are increasingly reserved for a few Kyrgyz, now very wealthy from foreign aid, who belong to the tribal families of President and Madame Akaev. The majority of those who gave Kyrgyz ethnic answers live in the South and were 35 or older. The majority of those who gave a legal definition or said anyone/everyone also live in the South.

Relating to gendered perceptions of citizenship, the question, “Who are you?” did provide evidence of the gendered perception of citizenship, as of those who gave a citizenship identity, 73% were men. As described below, the NGOs, *akims*, and USAID surveys all provided evidence that concepts of citizenship are male and biased against women; but the adult population, by and large, provided gender-neutral responses. However, this question yielded less than 1% who gave an overtly gendered response. Yet, when ethnicity was controlled by gender the majority of women who said anyone/everyone were ethnically Kyrgyz, while half of the men who said everyone/anyone were ethnic “other.” The majority of women who said ethnic Kyrgyz were ethnic “others;” of the men who said ethnic Kyrgyz, half were ethnic Kyrgyz. These results are perplexing and inconclusive. Future research is needed in order to draw conclusions on what ethnicity controlled by gender in the context of citizenship perceptions might mean.

When NGOs were surveyed with questions relating to citizenship, 36% of NGOs surveyed indicated that a person had to be “Kyrgyz” in order to be a citizen. In contrast, Only 10% of the average adult population provided “Kyrgyz” related response to the question of citizenship. This contradiction slightly weakens the more tolerant “ethnic” findings and reveals more of the “ethnic” Kyrgyz prejudice that has been increasing since 1991, even among the NGO population. Of greater concern, for several reasons, is the 0% rate of correct legal definitions. (1) As only citizens can vote, how well the general population, and the NGO leaders in particular, understand criteria for citizenship and hence voting privileges has the potential to greatly affect who participates in elections. (2) A major component of USAID’s democracy

assistance has focused on funding NGOs, the NGO Coalition as the leader, to train election monitors for the elections. Therefore, the leaders of the NGOs are: (1) being funded to inform the population on citizenship issues, and (2) perceive that they have a role in creating better understanding of citizenship, yet, overall, they lack the most basic knowledge on who is a citizen and indicates a serious training or learning gap. Additionally, gender was considered highly significant in concepts of citizenship with citizenship largely understood to be male as women were not protected by either legal or political representation.

When *akims* were asked questions relating to citizenship, the responses on these questions indicated a high level of ignorance regarding both the definitions of citizenship and the relationship between a government representation and citizens in a democracy, i.e., there was a demonstrated lack of understanding that government officials were representatives of the population and/or public servants. Yet, as the *akims* are not elected and none has a background in government “serving” the people but rather in the Soviet idea of government “controlling” the people, these answers are not surprising. It is deeply disturbing that not one response provided the correct legal definition of citizenship. As with the NGO surveys, gender was considered highly significant in concepts of citizenship, with citizens perceived to be, and should be, highly male. The USAID partner answers indicated a gap between donor objectives and results vis-à-vis concepts of citizenship. While USAID partners had a high level of knowledge about citizenship and indicated that part of their job was to promote these ideas, the lack of knowledge with the NGOs and *akims* does indicate a training/transfer gap. That USAID partners supported the local NGO and *akims* perception that citizenship is gendered to the disadvantage of women is significant as it represents unanimity.

In the adult survey, a follow-up question to citizenship asked adults directly if the new state had an ethnicity. Half of the adults did not know while one third said Kyrgyzstan as a state did have an ethnicity, and that was ethnically Kyrgyz with the majority who gave these answers being ethnic Kyrgyz men and women living in the South. These results again demonstrate the increased attention surrounding concerns of ethnicity in the South. When NGOs were surveyed on issues relating to ethnicity, the majority of NGOs responded that Kyrgyzstan as a state has an ethnicity and that this is multi-ethnic. This may indicate that the NGO community is more aware of the need for tolerance/multi-ethnic identity, etc. It may also indicate a higher level of sophistication when compared with the average adult population response where 30% out of 384 surveyed said that the ethnic identity of the new state was “Kyrgyz.”

Relating to ethnicity, the *akims*, by half, noted that the state ethnicity was Turkish based. This finding is unique to the *akims* and may be indicative of the activity of the Turkish government in the region to gain power and loyalty. That half believed the state was multi-ethnic is a positive recognition of the importance of ethnic tolerance/diversity at high-political levels. Ethnicity was seen to be a key issue to peace, stability and growth in the region by leading representatives of USAID democracy assistance partner organisations, yet ethnicity is not prominently considered in US democracy assistance.

Gender and Politics/Community/Nationalism

The series of questions related to activity in politics/community/nationalism revealed a high level of apathy by the average citizen. The large majority said they were not politically active. The majority of those who said they were politically active were Kyrgyz men 35 years or older, living in Chui *oblast*. This clearly indicates the perception that politics is the domain of men, particularly older and ethnically Kyrgyz men living in the capital city, and indicates a serious “disenfranchisement” on behalf of the population that is not Northern, ethnic Kyrgyz, and male. When asked about the level of activity in the community, again, the large majority was not active. Of those who were, the majority, both men and women, live in the South, with the men tending to be 35 or older. Community activity proved to be less exclusively male and ethnic, with no significant difference according to gender and ethnicity. That people in the South are more active in the community and more people in the North in politics demands further investigation.

Although it was predicted that nationalism might be significant, overall responses were low with only 15% of all adults claiming to be a nationalist. Not surprisingly, over half of those who said they were nationalist live in the South and were ethnically Kyrgyz. Interestingly, of those women who said they were nationalists, the majority were Kyrgyz and under 35, while the majority of men who claimed to be nationalists were ethnic “other.” These results are slightly tainted due to the Kyrgyz research assistant that accompanied the research and thus reluctance on the part of non-Kyrgyz to be blunt about nationalist feelings. During the interview, Kyrgyz would frequently relate that they “hated” Uzbeks, while Uzbeks would only say they were nationalist but either refused to say why or would respond that they preferred Uzbeks to all other ethnic groups. The difficult economic times do not seem to be breeding resentment against other nationalities/ethnicities but rather against the corrupt government that is responsible for the overall poverty and collapse of social services. The high rate of

nationalism found only in the South is concerning and provides more evidence to the preoccupation with ethnic tensions/hatred simmering in the South.

Of NGOs surveyed, relating to gender and political issues, the majority of respondents indicating that governmental positions were important but that women were not free to take part in these due to patriarchal behaviour and systematic restrictions responsible for the lack of female access. Responses overwhelmingly claimed that men, in contrast, are free to act in politics but do so out of self-interest. In direct contrast to the positive (beneficial for society) reasons that women would like to become involved in politics, the NGO directors provided no positive responses relating to male involvement in politics.

Relating to gender and political issues, *akims* clearly responded that women's place was not in politics but "in the home." Men, *akims* claimed, belonged in politics because men are more responsible than women. These responses correlated with the NGO perception of citizenship and politics as male dominated. However, while the *akims* thought that the presence of men in politics was beneficial for society, NGOs overwhelmingly expressed that men enter politics for selfish reasons. USAID partner organisation representatives in Kyrgyzstan believed gender to be relevant to issues related to: NGOs, citizenship, ethnicity, and politics. Generally, women were perceived to be discriminated against by the men in society and government and treated as "second class citizens." This discrimination: (a) greatly restricted the positive role that women can and do play in society and also resulted in (b) a general submissive nature among the women because women who do not submit to the male power structure are "quite literally, outcasts." Women were perceived to be more responsible, industrious, focused, trustworthy, caring, and better financial managers than men, as well as less prone to alcoholism and internal divisions than men. Women were perceived to be less concerned with ethnicity, and more likely to work together as women across ethnic lines than men.

Life Conditions Under Independence Versus the USSR

The vast majority believes that life was better under the USSR with only a fraction claiming life is better now. Of the more than half of all adults who thought that life was better under the USSR because of jobs, money, and education, the majority were 35 years old or older. While this response was anticipated, it was not predicted that nearly one third of all people, mostly Kyrgyz men, think life was better under the USSR due to freedom, rule of law, security, and democracy. This indicates the

extreme level of corruption in the Kyrgyz state today and how very far the state is from democracy, despite what President Akaev and USAID claim. The question seeking to determine the level of satisfaction with life under independence when compared with life under the USSR provoked responses indicating the high level of dissatisfaction with the current government and the inability of the “democratic” government to provide basic services. That the majority of people interviewed preferred life before is a grave indication of the failing nature of the democratic transition.

NGO Issues

An overwhelming majority of NGOs surveyed thought that NGOs were beneficial for society. One remark indicated the increase in “false” NGOs or GONGOs (Government Operated NGOs) that are flourishing in Kyrgyzstan due to the amount of money there is available from donors for NGOs. The object of creating an NGO to earn money is also indicated by “Four girls got a job!” remark. The overwhelming majority claimed that women dominate NGOs because the NGO sector requires hard work and solving difficult social problems and the (male) government does not want to be bothered; therefore, women are allowed, even encouraged, to manage the NGO sector.

The fact that *akims* thought that all/most NGOs were led by women, should be led by women, and are part of democracy is positive; however, it appears paradoxical when compared with responses about women in “politics,” i.e., White House and Parliament, where the *akims* did not believe women belonged. Although the *akims* thought NGOs were part of democracy, it was clear that NGOs should have the same view as government and “help” the *akims*. NGOs were needed, not for “democratic” value but because they were necessary in that NGOs performed the difficult tasks in society, supporting the same view that NGO directors expressed. It is interesting that, in contrast to the NGO surveys, only one *akim* realised that NGOs allowed women a chance to be involved in “policy” because the political space was not open. The comparative results from the *akims* and NGO directors around the issue of gender and NGO/politics illustrates a fundamental paradox,¹⁸⁶ expressed in the literature; that is the extent to which female involvement is allowed and encouraged in civil society (when this means taking care of the elderly, young, and disadvantaged within the community as outlined in Chapter Two) compared to the restricted female role in ethnic-political decisions to represent or protect the community. USAID partners responses supported that of local NGOs and *akims* with a belief that NGOs are both

beneficial for society and the domain of women. USAID partner responses also mirrored local NGO responses in perceiving women as more responsible and, therefore, “better” at NGO work.

Democracy and Governance Issues

Among NGOs surveyed progressive democratic elements of society were seen to originate from civil society, citizens, and the population. Conversely, regression in democratic advancement was clearly blamed on government action. The series of democracy questions indicated that the leaders of the most active and authentic NGOs in Kyrgyzstan, those that receive democratic training and funding from the US, have an unclear and/or ambiguous understanding of: (1) what constitutes democracy, (2) if democracy is important or relevant for Kyrgyzstan, and (3) do not believe that the international community can bring/assist/provide democracy to Kyrgyzstan. Overall, the NGO leaders blame the government for repressive measures that block or hinder democratic growth, and give credit to civil society for promoting and enhancing democracy. However, those who did not believe there was democracy in Kyrgyzstan felt that a mix of citizen action and governmental reform was needed in order to promote a democratic culture. The low-response rates to some of the democracy questions may indicate that: (a) people are concerned about providing responses because of their fear of the government, and/or (b) there is, again, a serious gap in knowledge of “democracy” among the leaders of Kyrgyzstan’s civil society. If the later, this indicates a serious training or learning gap on the part of US democracy assistance that has provided extensive “study tours,” training, and expertise to the leaders of the NGO community. The fact that only one respondent thought the international community could assist in democracy promotion also suggests that the democratic assistance that is currently being provided is irrelevant to the local situation/needs.

Akim responses on democracy and governance issues were much more honest and open than anticipated. Although more than half of the responses indicated that “government” was understood to mean President Akaev, one *akim* was openly critical of the role of government. That half of the *akims* credited President Akaev with the amount of foreign assistance Kyrgyzstan receives, indicates the high level of presidential control over foreign-aid distribution. However, that half of the *akims* related problems with foreign aid indicates a level of frustration with the connection between corruption and foreign aid, in, as one *akim* noted, the White House. This level of dissatisfaction is indicative in one *akim*’s, again surprisingly frank, response

that he hopes there will be a new president in ten years. Concern with rising nationalism, noted by one *akim*, is a positive sign in that there is recognition of the destructive nature of nationalism. The greed of the *akims*, for both power and money, and their loyalty to Akaev, is highly indicative throughout all responses. As was the lack of knowledge on basic issues of citizenship, governance, and democracy. This lack of knowledge was confirmed by one *akim* who hoped that in ten years *akims* would be of better quality and better trained to do their jobs. As for representatives of foreign assistance—USAID partners—foreign assistance was perceived to be extremely negative. The candour with which the respondents answered this question indicates a high level of dissatisfaction with the ethos and methods of foreign aid, and a deep frustration at the lack of effectiveness in foreign assistance in meeting objectives of providing positive developmental “assistance.”

6.2 Results -Quantitative Survey Set (A.1) Average Adult Population Self-Identification: Qualitized Narrative Profile Results Description by Sector

Survey Set One
A.1) Average Adult Population: 384
B.1) Average Child Population: 384
C.1) NGO Leaders: 25
D.1) <i>Akims</i>: 7

This section reports the results from Survey Set A.1, Adult Population, Primary self-identity. This research was carried out in every *oblast* in Kyrgyzstan, with the exception of the new *oblast* of Batken. The response rate was 100%.

6.2.1 Demographics

The demographics accurately reflected the population in question. 30% of those surveyed lived in Bishkek or Chui *oblast*. 20% were from Naryn, Issy-kul, or Talas and 50% were from the South of Kyrgyzstan, Jalal-Abad, and Osh. Although each *oblast* and Bishkek were surveyed separately, in order to ensure correct population proportions, for statistical significance: (1) Chui and Bishkek have been combined, (2) Naryn, Talas, and Issy-Kul, the mid-regional *oblasts*, have been combined and (3) Osh and Jalal-Abad, the two Southern *oblasts*, are combined as the South.

48% of those surveyed were 35 years or younger and 52% were over 35, providing a fairly even percentage of those who grew up under the USSR as opposed to those who became adults during independence. No one under twenty-one was surveyed. 45% of those surveyed were Kyrgyz. 17% were of Russian or other white, Slavic, or European origin. 40% were ethnic “other,” including Korean, Chinese, Uigher, Dungan, Jewish, etc. 48% were women and 52% were men, also a near accurate reflection of the gender breakdown in Kyrgyzstan. 44% of those surveyed had finished or had some secondary schooling. 56% had higher education, or specialised technical education. 5% were divorced. 66% were married. 28% were single and 1% were widowed. 13% were professionals. 27% worked as traders in the bazaar or as drivers. 18% worked in the “alternative” economy engaged in “private business.” 6% worked in factories, cafes, or stores. 2% were farmers or shepherds. 19% were unemployed. 14% worked for the government. The composite of the average adult would be a married Kyrgyz (man/woman) from the South who has some kind of specialised or higher education, over 35 years of age and is working in the bazaar or as a driver.

6.2.2 Primary Identity

- Who are you?

Level One

24% of all people responded with their name. 22% of people were not sure or responded with answers relating to human identity, i.e., person, me, human, etc. A gender or professional response came in at 18% and 17% respectively, with ethnic responses at 9%, slightly ahead of citizenship at 6%.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender:	73% of those who responded as citizen were men while only 27% were women. 66% of those who gave a gendered response were women while only 34% were men. Of those surveyed who provided an ethnic response, only 36% were women while 66% were men.
Age:	Of those who gave an ethnic, citizenship, or professional identity, 77%, 58%, and 71%, respectively, were over 35 years of age. Of those who gave negative adjectives, such as, poor, sick, stupid, and unemployed, to this question 80% were 35 years or younger, according to Crosstab 1.

Region: 100% of those who gave negative adjective responses to the question “who are you?” resided in the South of Kyrgyzstan.

Ethnicity: Of those surveyed who gave an ethnic identity, 74% were “other” ethnic group, i.e. non-Kyrgyz or Slavic. Ethnic Kyrgyz constituted 53% of those who responded with their name.

AgeG: 65% of women who gave their profession and 82% of women who gave an ethnic response were over 35 years of age. Of those women who gave their name, 65% were under 35 years of age. Conversely, of those men surveyed who provided their name, 62% were over 35 years of age. Of men who provided an ethnic or professional response 75% were over 35.

RegionG: Of the women who provided an ethnic response, 46% live in Chui *oblast*. Of the men who gave a gender response, 64%, and ethnic response, 55% live in Southern Kyrgyzstan.

EthnicityG: Of the women who gave their name, 51% were Kyrgyz. This compared to women who gave an ethnic answer of whom 55% were non-Kyrgyz/Slavic. For the men, of those who gave their name, 55% were Kyrgyz, of those who gave gender, 59% were non-Kyrgyz-Slavic, and of those men who gave an ethnic answer, 85% were non-Kyrgyz-Slavic.

• **Describe yourself in one word?**

Level One

17% responded that they were a human, person, or being. Only 6% provided ethnic responses. 17% described themselves with a gender response. 4% provided positive adjectives, such as confident, pretty, decent, dependable, extraordinary, energetic, fun loving, friendly, happy, and honest, with 6% providing negative adjectives, such as, bad, bored, fool, lonely, not responsible, of weak character, pessimist, rude, slow, unnoticed, and unlucky. 7% described themselves by their profession and only 2% did not know. Gender response held a second place ranking in both questions after “don’t know” and human being. Ethnicity ranked low in both questions.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender: Of those who gave a gender response, 70% were women compared to 31% men. Of those women who gave a professional responses, 35% were women, compared to 65% men.

Age:	Of those who gave an ethnic response, 71% were over 35 years of age. Of those who gave negative adjective, 71% were under 35 years old. Of those who gave profession, 69% were over 35 years old.
Region:	Of those who gave an ethnic response, 57% were from the South. Of those who gave a negative adjective, 76% also were from the South.
Ethnicity:	Of those who gave an ethnic response, 62% were Kyrgyz. Of those who gave a gender response, 55% were also Kyrgyz. Of those who gave negative adjectives, 48% were “other” ethnicity, i.e. non-Kyrgyz non-Slavic.
AgeG:	Of those women who gave a negative response, 89% were under 35 years of age. Of those men who gave an ethnic response, 80% were over 35 years old.
RegionG:	Of those men who gave an ethnic response, 70% were from the South. Of men who gave negative adjectives, 92% were also from the South.
EthnicityG:	Of those women who gave an ethnic response, 64% were Kyrgyz; of those who gave a gender response 58% were also Kyrgyz. Of those men who gave an ethnic response, 60% were Kyrgyz. Of those who gave a negative adjective, 50% were “other” ethnic men.

6.2.3 Ethnic Origin and Teaching for Self and Children

- How do you know your child’s ethnicity?

Level One

In particular it was predicted that participants would say that their children’s identity was determined by the father or father’s “generations.” This proved true with 22% responding in this manner, the second highest percentage after “don’t know” at 41%. 3% thought ethnicity was determined by mothers or female generations and 21% thought that both parents determined the ethnicity of the child. Only 10% thought the state determined the identity by passports or language and 41% did not know.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender:	Of those who responded with mother or grandmother, 6% were women.
Age:	Of those who responded with father/grandfather, 65% were over 35 years of age. Of those that responded with state 68% were also over 35 years old.

Region:	Of those who did not know, 67% were from the South.
Ethnicity:	Of those who responded with father/grandfather, 59% were Kyrgyz.
AgeG:	Of those women who said mother grandmother, 63% were over 35 years old. Of those women who said state, 69% were over 35 years old. Of men who said mother/grandmother, 75% were under 35 years old.
RegionG:	Of those women who said mother grandmother, 63% were from the South. Of those women who did not know, 70% were also from the South. Of men who said both parents, 54% were from the South.
EthnicityG:	Of those women who said father/grandfather, 65% were Kyrgyz. Of those who said state, 69% were also Kyrgyz. Of those men who said father/grandfather, 52% were Kyrgyz. Of those men who said mother/grandmother, 75% were "other."

- **Who taught ethnicity to your child?**

Level One

It was also predicted that while men determined ethnic identity, women, particularly grandmothers, taught about ethnicity; however, this prediction was false. Surprisingly, respondents overwhelming claimed their children learned about their ethnicity from their fathers and male relatives/community members at 23%. Schools came in second at 12%, equal to mothers and/or grandmothers. 15% said that both parents taught the child ethnic identity and 32% did not know.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender:	Of those who responded father/grandfather, 67% were men. Of those who said mother grandmother, 71% were women.
Age:	Of those who said father/grandfather 72% were over 35 years old. Of those who said school, 72% were over 35 years old. Of those who did not know, 72% were under 35 years old.
Region:	No regional significance.
Ethnicity:	Of those who said father/grandfather, 51% were Kyrgyz. Of those who said both parents, 60% were Kyrgyz.

AgeG: Of those women who said fathers/grandfathers, 69% were 35 years or older. Of those women who said schools, 68% were over 35 years of age. Of men who said schools, 78% were 35 years or older. Of those who said father/grandfather, 73% were over 35 years old.

RegionG: Of those women who said schools, 53% live in Chui *oblast*. Of those women who said mother/grandmother, 65% live in the South. Of those men who said school, 50% live in the South. Of those who said mother/grandmother, 69% live in the South; of those that said father/grandfather, 56% live in the South, and of those who said grandparents, 67% live in the South.

EthnicityG: Of those women who said father/grandfather, 59% were Kyrgyz. Of those women who said both parents, 84% were Kyrgyz. Of those men who said mother/grandmother, 54% were “other.”

- **How do you know your ethnicity?**

Level One

When asked how the adults knew their ethnicity, only 10% thought their ethnic identity was determined by blood, genes, or land. 36% claimed their ethnicity was determined by their father/grandfather or male generations, compared to 4% who thought their mother or female generations determined their ethnicity. 12% claimed that some type of state sponsored mechanism such as passport, language, or both parents determined their identity.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender: Of those who said father/grandfather, 60% were men. Of those who said mother/grandmother, 63% were women. Of those who said state, 61% were men.

Region: Of those who said father/grandfather, 46% live in the South. Of those who said mother/grandmother, 81% live in the South. Of those who did not know, 63% live in Chui *oblast*.

Ethnicity: Of those who said mother/grandmother, 50% are ethnic “other.” Of those who said father/grandfather, 51% are Kyrgyz.

AgeG: Of those women who said mother/grandmother, 60% were younger than 35 years of age. Of those men who said father/grandfather, 58% were 35 or older. Of the men who said mother/grandmother, 83% were younger than 35 years old.

RegionG: Of those women who said mother/grandmother, 70% live in the South. Of those women who did not know, 71% live in Chui *oblast*. Of those men who said mother/grandmother, 100% live in the South.

EthnicityG: Of those men who said mother/grandmother, 0% were Kyrgyz. Of those men who did not know, 70% were "other."

- **Who taught you your ethnicity?**

Level One

When asked who taught the adults their ethnic identity, 37% claimed they learned about their ethnicity in school. 20% said fathers or grandfathers taught them their ethnicity, with only 14% claiming that mothers or grandmothers taught ethnicity. 11% said both parents and 10% did not know.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender: Of those who said father/grandfather, 70% were men. Of those who said mother/grandmother, 70% were women. Of those that said grandparents, 86% were women.

Age: Of those who said mother/grandmother, 69% were younger than 35 years old.

Region: No significant relationship by region.

Ethnicity: Of those who said school, 44% were Kyrgyz. Of those that said mother/grandmother, 51% were "other."

AgeG:	Of those men who said mother/grandmother, 82% were younger than 35 years of age.
RegionG:	Of those women who said mother/grandmother, 50% live in the South. Of those men who said father/grandfather, 58% live in the South. Of those men who said mother/grandmother, 91% live in the South.
EthnicityG:	Of those women who said father/grandfather, 9% were Russian/Slavic. Of those women who said grandparents, 58% were Kyrgyz. Of those men who said mother/grandmother, 0% were Kyrgyz and 27% were Russian/Slavic with 72% "other." Of men who said grandparents, 50% were Russian/Slavic and 0% were Kyrgyz.

6.2.4 Ethnicity of Self & Other: Qualities and Descriptions

- **Do you have an ethnic identity?**

Level One

7% did not know, or did not have an ethnicity. 45% of those surveyed said they were Kyrgyz. 17% were Russian or Slavic non-Asian. 26% were other, including Korean, Chinese, Jewish, etc. Although there is some perception that tribal roots are the most important identity in Kyrgyzstan, only 4% responded with tribal answers.

Crosstab 1 was primarily used for this question because collapsing the categories into Crosstab 2 obscured important gender and regional distinctions evident in Crosstab 1.

Level Two-Crosstab 1 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender:	No significant relationship.
Age:	75% of those who said they were ethnically mixed were younger than 35 years old.
Region:	Of those who were ethnically mixed, 75% live in the South. Of those, who did not know their ethnic identity, 68% live in the South.

AgeG:	Of those women who said they were ethnically mixed, 75% were younger than 35 years old. Of those men who said they were ethnically mixed, 75% were younger than 35 years old.
RegionG:	Of those women who were ethnically mixed, 75% live in the South. Of those men who were ethnically mixed, 75% also live in the South.
EthnicityG:	Ethnicity cannot be crossed by ethnicity.

- **What are the qualities of your ethnicity?**

Level One

11% didn't know or claimed there were no qualities of their ethnicity. Less than 1% provided responses that included behaviour or control of the women in their ethnicity. 11% provided negative adjectives, with 65% providing positive adjectives. 7% defined the qualities of their ethnicity by things, such as mountains, clothing, etc. Less than 1% related religion to their ethnicity and only 5% mentioned tribal attributes.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender:	Of those who gave negative adjectives, 62% were men. Of those who gave positive adjectives, 52% were women.
Age:	Of those who defined ethnicity by non-adjectives, including religion, quality/treatment of women, etc., 65% were 35 years old or older. Of those who did not know, 74% were younger than 35 years old.
Region:	Of those who gave negative adjectives, 61% live in the South. Of those who gave positive adjectives, 53% also live in the South.
Ethnicity:	Of those who gave positive adjectives, 49% were Kyrgyz.
AgeG:	Of those women who gave non-adjective, i.e. including religion, quality/treatment of women, 61% were 35 years or older. Of those men who gave non-adjective, i.e. including religion, quality/treatment of women, 68% were 35 years or older.
RegionG:	Of those women who gave negative adjectives, 63% live in the South. Of those men who gave negative adjectives, 59% live in the South.
EthnicityG:	Of those women who gave positive adjectives, 51% were Kyrgyz. Of those men who did not know, 61% were "other."

- **What are the traditions, symbols, values, and stories of your ethnicity?**

Level One

41% did not know or answered “many.” This high “don’t know” does not indicate that many people do not know but that many people, perhaps, had not thought about it, or did not have the time to relate all. 19% mentioned family celebrations with 7% mentioning religion and religious holidays. 5% said that dress, customs, jewellery, food, etc, were symbols of their ethnicity. Less than 1% noted phenotypic responses. 9% mentioned literature, song, dance, folk stories. 7% noted national games. 3% provided negative adjectives with 8% providing positive adjectives. Less than 1% noted the land, mountains, or the country.

Level Two-Crosstab 1 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Crosstab 1 was primarily used for this question because collapsing the categories into Crosstab 2 obscured important gender and regional distinctions evident in Crosstab 1.

Gender:	Crosstab 1 revealed that of those who gave geographical responses, i.e., land, mountains, 68% were women. Of those who said jewellery, dress, appearance, food, 67% were women. Of those who gave negative adjectives, 70% were men. Of those who gave racial response, 100% were men. Of those who gave stories, songs, folk traditions, etc., 61% were men.
Age:	Of those who gave negative adjectives, 69% were younger than 35. Of those who gave racial characteristics, 100% were under 35. Of those who said land, mountains, 100% were 35 years old or older. Of those who gave positive adjectives, 71% were 35 years or older.
Region:	Of those who said they did not know, 64% live in the South. Of those who gave religious answers, 50% live in Chui <i>oblast</i> . Of those who gave dress, food, jewellery, 56% live in the South. Of those who gave racial response, 100% live in Chui. Of those who gave negative quality, 53% live in the South. Of those who said, land-mountains, 67% live in Chui.
Ethnicity:	Of those who said family celebrations, over 50% were ethnic Kyrgyz. Of those who responded with religion and/or religious or other holidays, over half were Russian/Slavic. 84% of those who gave positive adjectives were ethnic Kyrgyz. Also over half of those who gave national games, literature-songs-dance, and/or dress,-jewellery-food were ethnic Kyrgyz.

AgeG: Of those women who gave negative responses, 75% were under 35, with 92% of those women giving positive response 35 or older. Of those men who gave literature, song, dance, 70% were 35 or older.

RegionG: Again, of those women and men giving negative response, over half were from the South.

EthnicityG: Of those women giving negative responses, 75% were Russian/Slavic, whereas, nearly half of those men giving negative response were Kyrgyz.

- Do men and women have different ideas & means of ethnic identification?

Level One

35% did not know. 29% said it depends on the individual person or level of education. 4% said ethnicity is more important for women. 31% said ethnicity is more important for men. 2% thought that there was no difference within their own ethnic group but other “lower” ethnic groups discriminated against “their” women.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender: Of those who thought men and women do understand ethnicity in different ways and that ethnicity was more important for men, 71% were women. Of those who thought men and women do understand ethnicity in different ways and that ethnicity was more important for women, 53% were men.

Age: Of those who thought men and women do understand ethnicity in different ways and that ethnicity was more important for women, 64% were younger than 35 years old. Of those who thought there was no difference or that it depended on the individual, 66% were 35 years old or older.

Region: Of those who thought men and women do understand ethnicity in different ways and that ethnicity was more important for women, 88% live in the South.

Ethnicity: Of those who thought men and women do understand ethnicity in different ways and that ethnicity was more important for women, 50% were “other.”

AgeG: Of those women who thought men and women do understand ethnicity in different ways and that ethnicity was more important for women, 70% were younger than 35 years of age. Of those men who thought

who there was no difference or that it depended on the individual, 66% were 35 years or older.

RegionG: Of those women who thought men and women do understand ethnicity in different ways and that ethnicity was more important for women, 8% live in the South. Of those men who thought men and women do understand ethnicity in different ways and that ethnicity was more important for women, 100% live in the South.

EthnicityG: Of those women who thought men and women do understand ethnicity in different ways and that ethnicity was more important for women, 60% were ethnic "other." Of those women who thought men and women do understand ethnicity in different ways and that ethnicity was more important for men, only 5% were Russian/Slavic. Of those men who thought men and women do understand ethnicity in different ways and that ethnicity was more important for women, 50% were Kyrgyz. Of those men who thought that there was no difference or that it depended on the individual, 53% were Kyrgyz.

- **Do you feel an ethnic identity before being a man?**

Level One

70% said that men are male first. 26% said that men are ethnic first. 2% did not know and less than 1% said it depended on the individual or level of education. 1% said that men and their ethnic identity cannot be separated.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender: Of those who did not know 64% were women.

Age: Of those who said ethnic before male gender, 66% were 35 years or older. Of those who did not know or said it depends on the person, 64% were also 35 years or older.

Region: Of those who said male gender before ethnic, 58% lived in the South. Of those who did not know or said it depends on the person, 73% live in Chui *oblast*.

Ethnicity: Of those who said ethnic before male gender, 65% were Kyrgyz.

AgeG: Of those women who said ethnic before male first, 61% were 35 years or older. Of those men who said ethnic before male, 80% were 35 years or older.

RegionG: Of those women who did not know or said it depends on the person, 71% live in Chui *oblast*. Of those men who did not know or said it depends on the person, 75% live in Chui *oblast*.

EthnicityG: Of those women who said ethnic before male 69% were Kyrgyz. Of those men who said ethnic before male 62% were Kyrgyz.

- **Do you feel an ethnic identity before being a woman?**

Level One

78% said that women are female first. 18% said that women are ethnic first, with 3% that did not know and less than 1% claiming it dependent on the individual or level of education.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender: Of those who did not know or said it depends on the person, 92% were men.

Age: Of those who said ethnic before female gender, 65% were 35 years or older. Of those who did not know or said it depends on the person 85% were also 35 years or older.

Region: Of those who said female gender before ethnic, 54% live in the South.

Ethnicity: Of those who said ethnic before female gender, 52% were Kyrgyz.

AgeG: Of those women who did not know or said it depends on the person, 100% were 35 years or older.

RegionG: Of those women who did not know or thought it depends on the person, 100% live in Chui. Of those men who said female gender before ethnic, 58% live in the South. Of those who said ethnicity before female gender, 51% live in the South.

EthnicityG: Of those women who did not know or thought it depends on the person, 100% were Russian/Slavic. Of those women who said ethnic before female, 61% were Kyrgyz. Of those men who did not know or thought it depends on the person, 50% were Kyrgyz.

6.2.5 Citizenship & Ethnicity of State

- **Who is a citizen of Kyrgyzstan?**

Level One

34% said anyone who lives here with 6% saying anyone who is born in Kyrgyzstan. 27% said me, anyone, everyone, or all people. Only 10% provided answers that related to ethnic Kyrgyz. Less than 1% respond with gendered answers, e.g. one woman said, "My son is a citizen but not my daughter." By and large, however, the majority of people gave responses that were gender and ethnically neutral. While 12% based their responses on legal measures, only three out of 384 gave the correct legal definition; however, this is significant when compared with the NGO and *akim* population where no one provided the correct legal answer.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender:	Of those who gave a legal definition, 63% were men.
Age:	No significant relationship.
Region:	Of those who said everyone, anyone, 52% live in the South. Of those who gave a legal definition, 65% live in the South. Of those who gave an ethnic Kyrgyz response, 57% live in the South.
Ethnicity:	No significant relationship.
<hr/>	
AgeG:	Of those women who said anyone born or living in Kyrgyzstan, 62% were under 35 years of age. Of those women who gave a legal definition, 65% were 35 years or older. Of those men who gave an ethnic Kyrgyz response, 67% were 35 years or older.
RegionG:	Of those women who gave a legal definition, 71% live in the South. Of those men who gave a legal definition, 62% live in the South. Of those men who gave an ethnic Kyrgyz response, 61% live in the South.
EthnicityG:	Of those women who said everyone, anyone, 61% were Kyrgyz. Of those women who gave an ethnic Kyrgyz response, 53% were "other." Of those men who said everyone, anyone 51% were ethnic "other." Of those men who gave an ethnic Kyrgyz response, 50% were Kyrgyz.

- **Does the new Kyrgyz State have an ethnicity?**

Level One

50% did not know, thought maybe, or provided no response. 30% said that the state did have an ethnicity and this was Kyrgyz, blood, or ethnicity. 9% said the state had no ethnic identity. 4% said that before there was the USSR and now there were only negative identities. 2% said the ethnic identity of the state was evidenced by the constitution, the flag, or the land. 5% said the ethnic identity was democracy, freedom, and the general independence of Kyrgyzstan. Interestingly, although the government has been pushing the Manas epic as the most important symbol of Kyrgyz identity and history, only 17 people out of 384 people mentioned Manas in connection to these series of questions, or any other questions in the adult survey.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender:	No significant relationship.
Age:	Of those who said before and/or during the USSR there was but now there is no state ethnic identity, 62% were younger than 35 years of age.
Region:	Of those who said yes, the constitution, flag, democracy, 54% live in Chui. Of those who said yes, Kyrgyz blood, 62% live in the South.
Ethnicity:	Of those who said yes, Kyrgyz blood, 52% were Kyrgyz.
AgeG:	Of those women who said during the USSR yes, now no, 68% were younger than 35 years. Of those men who said yes, Kyrgyzstan has an ethnicity and who is the constitution, flag, democracy, etc., 69% were 35 years or older. Of those men who said yes, Kyrgyz blood, 57% were also 35 years or older.
RegionG:	Of those who said yes, Kyrgyz blood, 62% live in the South.
EthnicityG:	Of those women who said yes, Kyrgyz blood, 54% were Kyrgyz. Of those men who said yes, Kyrgyz blood, 51% were Kyrgyz.

6.2.6 Active in Politics/Community/Nationalism

- **Are you active in politics/government and how?**

Level One

It was predicted that political apathy would be high, indicating frustration and blockage from the system and this proved true with 73% saying they were not

politically interested or active. 18% said they were politically active with 8% claiming they use to be but no longer are or are only sometimes now.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender:	Of those who were active, 69% were men. Of those who are sometimes active or interested, 60% were men.
Age:	Of those who were active, 66% were 35 years or older.
Region:	Of those who were not active or interested, 50% live in the South. Of those sometimes active or interested, 57% live in Chui <i>oblast</i> .
Ethnicity:	Of those who were active, 46% were Kyrgyz. Of those who are sometimes active or interested, 50% were Kyrgyz.
AgeG:	Of those men who are active, 74% were 35 years or older.
RegionG:	Of those women who are sometimes active or interested, 50% live in Chui <i>oblast</i> . Of those men who are sometimes interested or active, 62% live in Chui <i>oblast</i> .
EthnicityG:	Of those men who are sometimes active or interested, 62% are Kyrgyz.

- **Are you active in your community? If you are active what do you do?**

Level One

It was predicted that community apathy would be high, indicating frustration and blockage from the system, and this proved true, and 71% claiming they were not active or interested in community work. 20% said they were active in the community with 2% saying they used to be or are sometimes now active.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender:	No significant relationships.
Age:	No significant relationships.
Region:	Of those who said yes, 64% live in the South.
Ethnicity:	No significant relationships.
AgeG:	Of those men who said they are active, 67% were 35 years or older.
RegionG:	Of those women who are active, 61% live in the South. Of those men who are active, 65% live in the South.
EthnicityG:	No significant relationships.

- **Are you a nationalist and why or why not?**

Level One

Although it was predicted that nationalism might be significant, the overall responses were very low with only 15% who claimed they were nationalistic because they thought their ethnicity was better than others or hated other ethnic groups. 83% said they were not nationalistic because they grew up in a multi-ethnic country, USSR and/or Kyrgyzstan, or they were of mixed blood themselves. Only 2% did not know or did not respond and 1% said they were not but could be in the future or were sometimes now due to the war in Batken.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender:	No significant relationships.
Age:	No significant relationships.
Region:	Of those who said they were nationalists, 59% live in the South.
Ethnicity:	Of those who said they were nationalist, 63% were Kyrgyz.
AgeG:	Of those women who are nationalists, 59% are younger than 35 years old.
RegionG:	Of those women who said they were nationalists, 45% live in the South. Of those men who said they were nationalists, 74% live in the South.
EthnicityG:	Of those women who said they were nationalists, 83% were Kyrgyz. Of those men who said they were nationalists, 48% were "other."

6.2.7 Life Conditions under Independence Versus the USSR

- **Is life different under the new Kyrgyz State than it was during the Soviet period?**

Level One

The reasons life was better before independence broke down into several categories. 53% thought life was better under the USSR due to the availability of jobs, money, and education, which are now lacking. 26% thought life was better under the USSR due to independence, freedom, equality, and democracy that are now lacking. Of those who thought life was better now, 9% thought so because people could now be

Kyrgyz or Muslim, and they could not before. 5% thought there was no difference between life under the USSR or Kyrgyzstan and 9% did not know.

Level Two-Crosstab 2 Results by Variable and Gender Control

Gender: Of those who said life was better under the USSR because there was democracy, freedom, independence, 63% were men.

Age: Of those who said life was better under the USSR because there were jobs, money, education, 60% were 35 years or older.

Region: Of those who said life was better under the USSR because there was democracy, freedom, independence, 56% live in the South. Of those who said there was no difference, 67% live in the South.

Ethnicity: Of those who said life was better under the USSR due to democracy, freedom, independence, 52% were Kyrgyz.

AgeG: Of those women who said life was better under the USSR because there was democracy, freedom, independence, 62% were under 35 years of age. Of those women who said life was better now because people were free to be Kyrgyz and/or Muslims, 72% were also under 35 years old. Of those men who said it was better under the USSR because there were jobs, money, education, 62% were 35 years or older. Of those men who said it was better now because people were free to Kyrgyz and/or Muslims, 64% were 35 years or older.

RegionG: No significant relationship.

EthnicityG: Of those women who said life was better under the USSR because there were jobs, money, education, 49% were Kyrgyz. Of those women who said it was better now because people were free to Kyrgyz and/or Muslim, 50% were Kyrgyz.

6.3 Data Results for Remaining Survey Sets, B.1-D.2

6.3.1 Data Results for Survey Set One (C.1) Civil Society/NGO Leaders in Kyrgyzstan: Qualitized Narrative Profile Results Description by Sector

Survey Set One
A.1) Average Adult Population: 384
B.1) Average Child Population: 384

C.1) NGO leaders: 25

D.1) <i>Akims</i> : 7

This section highlights the civil society responses (C.1). The research was carried out in every *oblast* in Kyrgyzstan, with the exception of the new *oblast* of Batken. In C.1 Jalal-Abad, Osh, and most of Bishkek did not respond. It appears that non-responses had more to do with problems concerning organisational and communication logistics rather than non-interest.

Demographics

The majority of NGOs, 76%, are directed by women whose average age is 38. Given the fact that Bishkek, representing the most sizeable NGO population, received a poor response rate and the South, Osh and Jalal-Abad, did not respond at all, the survey results are not sufficiently comprehensive. However, at least for Chui, Talas, Issy-Kul, and Naryn, these surveys provide valuable insight into a number of “democracy” variables. Despite under represented regions, NGO responses when compared with the responses from the general adult population survey (A.1) “weigh” significantly more per response because their answers are representative of the community as NGO directors are perceived as community leaders.

NGO Issues

There is 100% agreement that NGOs have been beneficial to Kyrgyzstan, though one with one remarking that NGOs were beneficial three years ago but are no longer so. By and large, the NGO workers themselves saw their role as: (1) positive in society, (2) serving the underrepresented and “common people,” and (3) a substitute for the failure of the state in social services. When asked why they continued to direct their NGO, 32% responded that they do so out of love or passion for the job and the gratification the job brings in terms of community respect. 52% said they felt obliged to serve society and to help make things better in Kyrgyzstan. When asked where they would be in ten years, nearly half, 44%, said they would be upwardly mobile within the NGO community. Despite USAID’s emphasis on the role of NGOs in democracy building efforts, only 8% of NGOs related their importance in society to democracy. Yet, 88% thought that NGOs were part of democracy with 48% reporting that they created their NGO to push for democratic change.

Ethnicity

Of those surveyed, 80% responded that the new state of Kyrgyzstan had an ethnicity with 60% responding in an affirmative tone that this was distinctly a multi-ethnic state. Only 4% noted the issues of “Kyrgyzism” and ethnic tensions. 24% of all respondents thought that ethnicity was relevant to their NGO work with 52% responding that it was not relevant. When asked to justify this response, 80% did not.

Citizenship

Questions concerning citizenship were designed to: (1) provide a second means to elicit feelings of racism or ethnic tensions and (2) determine the level of knowledge about what constitutes citizenship. On the issue of “Kyrgyzism,” 36% provided answers that indicated that a person had to be “Kyrgyz” in order to be a citizen. Of those surveyed, 0% provided the correct legal definition of who was a citizen of Kyrgyzstan. While the level of knowledge of what legally constitutes citizenship was low, when asked if their NGO helped create a better understanding of citizenship in Kyrgyzstan, 80% reported yes. Questions of how the NGO promotion of citizenship differed from the government’s promotion were not statistically significant to draw conclusions from. These questions were only beneficial in that they provided an additional space for some respondents to criticise the government’s commitment to democracy. When asked if gender is involved in concepts of citizenship, 80% responded that women were not equal and that politicians did not have any interest in making women equal.

Democracy and Governance

There were mixed responses to the direct question, “Is Kyrgyzstan a democracy?” with 32% reporting “maybe,” 36% claiming “yes,” and 24% asserting “no.” When asked to justify their response, 52% provided no answer. 24% said there was no democracy in Kyrgyzstan due to government repression, corruption, etc. 12% said there was democracy due to progressive elements in society. Of those surveyed, 0% claimed that the government provided democracy. When asked if Kyrgyzstan should be a democracy, less than half, 44%, provided an affirmative yes. 56% provided no response on this question. When asked to justify this response, only 20% gave answers that related to the principles of democracy, i.e. freedom, rule of law, and equality. When asked what would make Kyrgyzstan a democracy, if it was not, 32% provided answers related to changes in government and/or citizen behaviour. When

asked if Kyrgyzstan was not a democracy, what was Kyrgyzstan, 68% gave no response and 20% responded that Kyrgyzstan was totalitarian, authoritarian or anarchical. When asked who or what could make Kyrgyzstan a democracy, only 4% thought that the international community could assist/bring democracy to Kyrgyzstan.

When asked to comment on the government's role in Kyrgyzstan, 12% said there was no government, there was only the president. 28% reported a negative role with 20% saying the government played a positive role. When asked about foreign assistance, 60% said positive things about foreign assistance. 28% said that foreign assistance was generally good; however, there were many problems with funds not reaching the intended recipients, funds not being used as intended, funds remaining only in Bishkek, funds creating a dependency, and not enough knowledge/consideration of the local situation/local NGO before providing funds. One respondent said they would rather have no foreign assistance at all. However, when asked if their NGO objective related to the changes in Kyrgyz society since independence 64% said yes. 56% of the 64% gave answers related to human rights or democracy issues. 0% said no. When asked if they think and/or want their NGO to contribute to the democratisation of Kyrgyzstan, 88% said yes. 0% said no. When asked the final question, what was the most important factor for peace, stability, and economic growth in Central Asia, 44% answered with issues related to ethnic peace, stability, tolerance, and friendship. 20% answered related to democracy and 16% provided answers related to economic growth.

Gender & Politics

When asked why there are so few women in parliament and the White House, 68% said this lack was due to male restrictions/behaviour, be these individual, community, society, or governmental. 20% thought that women were too passive and this lack indicated that women needed to initiate more female solidarity and less passivity. 4% said this lack was due to a "Muslim" culture. 64% said that these positions were important. When asked if there were many women leading NGOs, 96% said yes. Of this group 21% said this was because it was the only way for women to take part in decision-making and/or contribute to society and half said it was because women could do the job better than men. When asked if men feel free to act in politics, 84% said yes. Of this group 45% said this was because men were self-interested and politics provided an opportunity to capitalise on that self-interest. No one claimed that men are involved in politics for the benefit of society or democracy. When asked if

women felt free to act in politics, only 8% said yes. 80% said absolutely no or generally no.

6.3.2 Data Results for Survey Set One (D.1): Local Oblast/Government Leaders (Akims) of Kyrgyzstan: Qualitized Narrative Profile Results Description by Sector

Survey Set One
A.1) Average Adult Population: 384
B.1) Average Child Population: 384
C.1) NGO leaders: 25
D.1) Akims: 7

Demographics

Akims are 100% male with an average age of 43. When interviewing was conducted, there were only six *oblasts*, or local administrative units, in Kyrgyzstan. An *oblast* is led by an *akim*, or a local governor. *Akims* are not elected but rather selected and appointed exclusively by President Akaev. The new *oblast* of Batken, an effort to appease the neglected population of this region who, by and large, had supported the Muslim fundamentalist insurgency of August 1999 in that region, was created after the field research was complete. President Akaev tends to replace and rotate the *akims* at a rapid pace. For example, the new Talas *akim*, Keneshbek Karachalov, was appointed in December 1999 after these surveys were completed.

Of the six *oblasts*, every *akim* who was in the *oblast* capital when the researcher was also there granted an interview. The two *akims*, Issy-kul and Talas, who were not interviewed, were both travelling in other parts of the country when the researcher was in their *oblast*. In both cases, deputy *akims* granted meetings but were reluctant to complete a formal interview. Although the deputies promised the *akim* would complete the survey upon return and fax the completed survey, this did not occur. The *akim* return rate is thus 67% with four out of six completing a formal interview. Biographical information is available on all *akims* in the appendix.

NGO Issues

75% thought that women were leading NGOs. Reasons given for women's involvement in NGOs included, "Because they want power and they want to be involved in policy" and "Kyrgyz women are very strong and I am glad they run the NGOs." The majority believed that NGOs were beneficial and necessary for society because NGOs perform the difficult work of social service providers that others do not want to do. The consensus was that NGOs should have the same viewpoint as government and help government. While NGOs were, overwhelmingly, perceived to be part of democracy, only one *akim* believed the advocacy component was a beneficial part of democracy, "NGOs are pushing people to do better and helping government by pushing government to do better."

Ethnicity

Akims are 100% ethnic Kyrgyz. 100% believed the state did have an ethnic identity with 50% claiming this was Turkish based. Multi-ethnic and Kyrgyz responses were equally divided. Half of the *akims* thought that ethnicity was not relevant to their work with 25% believing ethnicity was "very important" as, "I [*akim*] have responsibility for all Kyrgyz."

Citizenship

The majority of *akims* responded that anyone who lives in Kyrgyzstan is a citizen. No *akim* provided the correct legal definition of citizenship. One *akim* noted that citizens were represented by "their rights." Other responses were non-sensible. 75% thought that their position as *akim* did not relate to concepts of citizenship, while 25% responded that their position as *akim* was highly relevant to citizenship issues, "Yes, it helps. How it helps is a difficult question. But it is several sides of a question: (1) Economic and social-political problems, I solve, (2) social dependants, and (3) street fighting-security and military. *Akims*, this office, should be working on these three important questions. Security questions are a big concern. There is a problem of criminals on the street because it [the country and Chui] is at a crossroads for many people... Chechnya, Uzbeks, Uigher--we have problems with the diaspora."

Democracy & Governance

75% believed that Kyrgyzstan is a democracy, with one *akim* stating, “Democracy is not something to bring on a plate.” Reasons that Kyrgyzstan was a democracy included: free elections, free media, freedom in general, rule of law, and “because our president is a democrat.” Half of the *akims* thought that Kyrgyzstan should be a democracy while half did not respond. Regarding the role of government, 50% responded that government played a large/strong and positive role while one *akim* said, “It doesn’t play the role it should.”

50% of *akims* responded with a mixed, positive and negative, response regarding foreign assistance, claiming that foreign aid is necessary but “makes us lazy” and “We have some problems. I worked in the White House and know the situation well. ...It is good they help us.” 50% of *akims* mentioned they were “grateful” to President Akaev for “bringing” and “getting” the foreign aid.

Regarding the role of *akims* since independence, one *akim* noted that before Moscow controlled everything and now “We have only ourselves.” Another *akim* thought, “The *akim* is the assistant to the president, and his [*akim*] duty is to control people.” Only one *akim* believed he would still be in politics in ten years, “President of Kyrgyzstan.” 50% thought that the position of *akim* would be elected in ten years. One *akim* wanted “more power and money.” Regarding the situation of their country in ten years, responses included: “new president. Government should be better-economy and democracy better,” “...the most reformed country!” and “Nationalism is more and more in Central Asia, even we [Kyrgyz] are doing it ourselves.” 50% of *akims* believed that tolerance and harmony between nationalities was the essential factor for the future of Central Asia. One *akim* claimed that Kyrgyzstan “would be a superpower again!”

Gender & Politics

75% thought that women should not be involved in politics; “Why should they be in these positions?” and women “should stay home and look after children.” One *akim* thought Islam was responsible for the lack of women in politics while another said it was because “women are not very active.” A final *akim* thought there were many women in the White House and Parliament. 50% thought that these were important positions because of control and “The White House... is the command of the country.”

Half of the *akims* thought that men felt free to act in politics while half thought that women did not feel free to act in politics. One *akim* claimed, “Women will become more active.” 75% thought that citizenship did have a “gender” and that was male. Rationales included, “Men better understand the concepts of citizenship because they feel a responsibility for their family and the republic” and “Our biggest problem is that the laws are the same on paper but in life they are different... women are scared.”

6.3.3 Data Results for Survey Set Two (A.2-D.2): USAID Officials and USAID Partners in Washington/Kyrgyzstan: Qualitized Narrative Profile Results Description by Sector

Survey Set Two
A.2) USAID officials in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakstan: 10
B.2) USAID partners in Kyrgyzstan: 2 out of 20
C.2) USAID in Washington, DC: 10
D.2) USAID partners in Washington, DC: 20

The researcher was invited to present results to senior levels at USAID Washington, visit the Gender Team in USAID Kazakstan, advise the USAID Mission Director for Kazakstan and Kyrgyzstan on gender policy, and advise and present findings before two high-level USAID partner organisation directors in Washington. Additionally, the researcher was invited to an USAID and USAID Partner Strategy Session for revising USAID’s Strategy Objectives in Washington and the researcher received top-level USAID support and assistance gathering USAID documents and materials. However, although all individuals promised to fill out the surveys and requested (and continue to request) to receive the complete research results, only two people actually completed the surveys. Despite the low-response rate, analysis of Survey Set is still valuable because: a) the high lack of response is indicative, and b) the responses that were provided carry weight due to the high position of the two responses. Although results were minimal, they were sufficient to create the following qualitized narrative profiles.

Demographics

The two responses were respectively, the resident representative for the main USAID partner NGO that promotes democracy (headquartered in Washington with the local

office in Bishkek that covers the entire country) and the resident representative of the main USAID partner NGO that handles humanitarian and human rights programs (headquartered in Washington State with offices in Washington DC). This resident representative is located in Osh and manages Southern Kyrgyzstan. Both respondents had been in their position in Kyrgyzstan for over 17 months. Both representatives were male. Of the possible 60 directors of US PVOs, Washington and Kyrgyzstan offices, and USAID representatives, only four are women; one PVO office in Kyrgyzstan, two PVO offices in Washington, and one USAID staff member in Almaty. The USAID Kyrgyzstan staff members, of two, are both male. Therefore, 93% of US democracy assistance USAID staff members and partner organisations, both in Washington and in Kyrgyzstan, are male.

NGO Issues

Both respondents thought that NGOs were beneficial for society. One respondent thought that “definitely” NGOs are part of democracy. The other respondent did not know. When asked if there were many women leading NGOs and why or why not, both respondents said there were many women leading NGOs; “Almost all. Women are more powerful than men individually in this country, and perhaps less prone to internal division when trying to achieve a goal. They are not nearly as lazy, or as afflicted with alcoholic and other addictions as the men” and “Yes [because] the international community has targeted women for training.”

Ethnicity

One respondent thought that Kyrgyzstan had a very Kyrgyz ethnic identity. The other thought there was no ethnic identity to the state. When asked if ethnicity was relevant to US democracy assistance, one respondent said, “No. We would like to see an identity based more of shared values and principles than shared ethnicity.” The other respondent did not know. One respondent thought there was a difference between men and women regarding ethnicity, “Women are less concerned with it.” The other respondent did not think there was a difference. When asked to cite the most important factors for peace, growth, and stability in Central Asia both respondents cited ethnic tolerance as the key factor. One respondent said ethnic harmony was secondary to economic stability.

Citizenship

Both respondents had a high level of knowledge about how citizens are legally represented. One respondent did not think that USAID democracy programs provided a better understanding of citizenship issues. The other respondent thought that USAID democracy programs did provide assistance with citizenship issues; “Yes. By providing models and experience from other democratic countries where ethnicity is not the main source of national identity and, in our case, helping those concepts become internalised and home-grown through direct apprenticeship.” This respondent also thought that this was somewhat different from how NGOs promote citizenship. “NGOs promote the idea that citizens can change their circumstances and future.”

Both respondents thought that concepts of gender were involved with issues of citizenship due to negative discrimination against women and more positive greater female solidarity, respectively. “Women are made to feel as second class citizens with very little say in what is going on. Culturally and traditionally this is the way life is” and “I have found myself that Russian and Kyrgyz and Uzbek and other women are more often friends with each other than their male counterparts, and that the women are more apt to work together for a goal without regard to their ethnicity.”

Democracy & Governance

One respondent thought that Kyrgyzstan is a democracy, but “not a perfect one,” and the other respondent thought Kyrgyzstan was not a democracy. The yes response was justified by stating, “Generally, free elections are held; many officials are elected.” The no response was justified by, “It [Kyrgyzstan] is controlled by a bunch of corrupt officials who were Communist under the former Soviet Union. Decisions are made in secret.” When asked if Kyrgyzstan was not a democracy what was it, one respondent said, “It is a proto-democracy, a gestating democracy.” The other respondent said, “Kyrgyzstan is a little Russia. A few people in control, massive corruption; I think Kyrgyzstan is a mess.”

One respondent thought that Kyrgyzstan should be a democracy because, “People’s will should be respected.” The other respondent thought that Kyrgyzstan had the potential to be a democracy. In order to make Kyrgyzstan a democracy, one respondent said there needed to be, “more freedom of expression, assembly, and association ... more elections of local officials ... more frequent elections for state positions, rather than only once every five years.” The other respondent called for,

“openness, less nepotism, less corruption.” When asked why the US promotes democracy in Kyrgyzstan, the respondent said, “Strategically, I suppose, to prevent radical Islam from achieving regional strength. Otherwise, out of the goodness of our hearts, because we do believe democracy will lead to better lives for people ... and there’s truly not much other US interest here.” The other respondent said, “So it doesn’t return to Communism.”

Both respondents had a negative view of the government of Kyrgyzstan and a negative view of foreign assistance, respectively. “The Kyrgyz government doesn’t necessarily like or trust the Kyrgyz people,” and “It [Kyrgyz government] is blocking the development due to high taxes and corruption. If those two things could be changed, it would do a great deal to help Kyrgyzstan.” “Generally, with notable exceptions, I find it [foreign assistance] overblown, overpaid, lazy, arrogant, and basically ineffective;” “a lot of money has been dumped here with little supervision and capacity building. If there was a partnership rather than sponsorship mentality established here in the beginning, Kyrgyzstan would be much further along.” Additionally, when asked where they saw the country in ten years, both were hopeful but not optimistic.

Gender & Politics

When asked why there are so few women in parliament and the White House, one respondent cited “cultural impediments to powerful women. Islam, nomadic traditions.” The other respondent claimed, “The mentality of women are inferior to men.” Both responded that these were important positions. One respondent said, “I think women in Kyrgyzstan are more responsible and trustworthy than men. (or is that true about the rest of the world as well?) They care more about families and the people. And they are very aware of how to run a household on a small budget.”

When asked if men felt free to act in politics (and why/why not and how) one respondent thought that men did feel free due to, “changes in laws, upcoming elections. With, of course, many thousands of exceptions, the men are unfortunately fundamentally and overwhelmingly lazy, so many opportunities will be missed.” The other respondent felt that men did not feel free. “I think that most don’t care. It would be interesting to see how many people who are in power now, were in power before.” When asked if women felt free to act in politics (and why/why not and how) one respondent thought that women did feel free, “changes in laws, upcoming elections. They will achieve more, relatively, than men, as they are generally more focused and

more industrious.” The other respondent thought that women did not feel free, “Women are submissive and it is the culture for them to be in the background. The majority accepts this role. The few that don't, are quite literally, outcasts.”

6.4 Summary of Key Findings

The following summary highlights comprehensive key findings of all Survey Sets, divided by sub-categories correlating to the themes of this research. This summary is followed by detailed research results with full responses of Survey Sets found in the appendix.

Primary Identity

- The responses to both questions relating to primary identity in Survey Set A.1 provide overwhelming evidence that gender is a more primary identity for women than ethnicity and that ethnic identity is a more primary identity for [particularly younger] men.
- The overwhelming majority of those who attached negative adjectives to questions of self-identity were young people from the South. The negative self-impression indicates a lack of belonging and dissatisfaction among the Southern youth. This should cause considerable concern and should be factored into development programs dealing with poverty and identity issues in the South. There was also evidence of a stronger male youth ethnic attachment/identity, primarily in the South of Kyrgyzstan.

Ethnic Origin and Teaching for Self and Children

- A father, the paternal line, was the dominant response as the ethnic educators and ethnic determinant of the children with responses to both questions supporting each other. In a highly patriarchal society, such as Kyrgyzstan, the survey answers indicated that women had little control over how and what ethnic identity their children learned. More young, Southern, non-Kyrgyz women gave maternal determinant and educator answers than any other region.
- Most adults claimed that they had learned about ethnicity in school, yet only a small percentage of the same adults said their children learned about ethnicity in school. Despite these differences, schools still emerged as a significant factor in

the education of ethnic identity. This is important for future development assistance that seeks to promote tolerance education.

Ethnicity of Self & Other: Qualities and Descriptions

- Regarding ethnic qualities, more than half of the men surveyed responded with negative adjectives while more than half of the women responded with positive adjectives. The majority of the women and men who gave negative answers live in the South. These results support other answers in providing more evidence of high levels of dissatisfaction and negative self-image in the South.
- The responses regarding the question about traditions, symbols, values, and stories, demonstrated that ethnic symbolism is highly important to all ethnic groups questioned, except for Russians. Age proved relevant when, again, the youth provided the majority of negative response and those 35 or older gave the majority of positive response.
- Women associated ethnicity with “things” such as jewellery, food, and clothing while men provided more active and sometimes violent contents of ethnic identity, including sheep polo, national games, and subjugating women, such as bride kidnapping. These results provide evidence of the association of male violence and ethnic identity.
- When asked directly if ethnicity was more important for men or women, both sexes of all ethnic groups responded that ethnicity was more important for men and less important for women.

Citizenship & Ethnicity of State

- Only 10% of the average adult population provided “Kyrgyz” related response to the question of citizenship.
- 36% of NGOs surveyed indicated that a person had to be “Kyrgyz” in order to be a citizen.
- The *akims* demonstrated lack of understanding that government officials were representatives of the population and/or public servants.

- NGO surveys, *akims*, and USAID partners all thought that gender was considered highly significant in concepts of citizenship, with citizens perceived to be, and expected to be, highly male.
- The majority of NGOs responded that Kyrgyzstan as a state has an ethnicity and that this is multi-ethnic. This may indicate that the NGO community is more aware of the need for tolerance/multi-ethnic identity, etc. The *akims*, by half, noted that the state ethnicity was Turkish based.

Gender and Politics/Community/Nationalism

- The large majority said they were not active in politics or the community. The majority of those who were politically active were Kyrgyz men 35 years or older, living in Chui *oblast*. The majority of those active in the community were men, over 35, and women living in the South.
- Only 15% of all adults claimed to be a nationalist; over half of these adults live in the South and were ethnically Kyrgyz.
- The majority of responses from the NGOs surveyed indicated that governmental positions were important but that women were not free to take part in these due to patriarchal behaviour and systematic restrictions.
- *Akims* clearly responded that women's place was not in politics but "in the home." Men, *akims* claimed, belonged in politics because men are more responsible than women. These responses correlated with the NGO perception of citizenship and politics as male dominated.
- USAID partner organisation representatives in Kyrgyzstan believed gender to be relevant to issues related to: NGOs, citizenship, ethnicity, and politics. Generally, women were perceived to be discriminated against by the men in society and government and treated as "second-class citizens."

Life Conditions Under Independence Versus the USSR

- The vast majority believes that life was better under the USSR with only a fraction claiming life is better now. Nearly one third of all people, mostly Kyrgyz men,

think life was better under the USSR due to freedom, rule of law, security, and democracy.

NGO Issues

- An overwhelming majority of NGOs surveyed thought that NGOs were beneficial for society with the overwhelming majority claiming that women dominate NGOs because the NGO sector requires hard work and solves difficult social problems of which the (male) government does not want to be bothered. Therefore, the NGOs reported, women are allowed, even encouraged, to manage the NGO sector.
- All *akims* thought that all/most NGOs were led by women, should be led by women, and are part of democracy.
- USAID partners responses supported that of local NGOs and *akims* with a belief that NGOs are both beneficial for society and the domain of women. USAID partner responses also mirrored the local NGO responses in that they perceived women as being more responsible and, therefore, “better” at NGO work.

Democracy and Governance Issues

- Among NGOs surveyed, on issues relating to democracy and governance, progressive democratic elements of society were seen to originate from civil society, citizens, and the population. Conversely, regression in democratic advancement was clearly blamed on government action.
- When asked about issues relating to democracy and governance more than half of the *akims* responded that “government” was understood to mean President Akaev.

6.5 Summary

The field research surveys confirm the hypothesis of this dissertation, that ethnicity has a gender component. In sum, gender appears to be a more primary self-identity for women than ethnicity. Conversely, men are more attached to their own ethnic identity than their gender. Moreover, when questioned about how the opposite sex perceives their self-identity both men and women responded that they believed that gender is more important for women than ethnicity while men valued their ethnicity more than their gender. Respondents saw ethnic identity as transmitted by men; perceived ethnicity as paternal and ethnic educators also as paternal. Finally, men consistently provided more violent responses than women when asked to name the qualities of their ethnicity. One significant spurious result was that ethnic identity is, overwhelmingly, learned in school. Moreover, supporting evidence of the significant role that ethnicity, gender, and citizenship play in civil and political sectors is documented by the survey results. Politics clearly had a male gender correlation. Finally, there is some indication that USAID partner NGOs are aware of this gendered role but lack the ability to inform programming due to the overall lack of competence of US foreign assistance. The following conclusion, Chapter Seven, examines what these results mean in terms of future democratic assistance programming.

Chapter Seven

Gendered Ethnicity and the Future of US Democratic Assistance

*“The transversal pathway might be full of thorns, but at least it leads in the right direction”
(Yuval-Davis 1998:186).*

7.1 Feminist Research and Women as Agents of Change

Feminist research has been closely linked with activism and social change. “Merely collecting descriptive statistics or experimental data about women does not constitute feminist research. Feminist research must be part of a process by which women’s oppression is not only described but challenged” (Gorelick 1991:462). The overall goal of feminist research is to break the systematic exclusion of women from public society, legal standards, historical records and understandings, etc., as well as to change normative values associated with women at large and feminist research within the academy. As the history of feminist research has been closely linked with prescription, participation, and active research, so has this research. This section explores prescriptive measures for US democracy assistance in relation to the understanding of gendered ethnicity developed in this thesis.

As described in Chapter Three, the majority of research probing gender and ethnicity falls into five main categories (Barot 1999:6). The Yuval-Davis-Anthias typology has also outlined the ways by which women themselves participate in the ethnic group process. Since Barot’s categories and the Yuval-Davis-Anthias typology guided the design of this research, field research results are now compared to the relevant aspects of both. Although there is some overlap between these two, for the sake of clarity, each will be examined separately.

According to Barot’s categories, the theorising that locates the place of national identity/nationalism in the female relates to ethnic self-concepts. As the literature documents, women’s bodies are often used as “vehicles” for the symbolic depiction of political purpose. The results of this research confirmed this theory by male survey responses that defined their ethnicity by the behaviour, domination, or appearance of

women. These responses included issues such as, bridekidnapping, the notion that a woman loses her ethnicity when she inter-marries—thereby rendering it not acceptable for women to marry outside of their ethnic group, although this is perceived as acceptable for men, as well as general comments made by men in the Kyrgyzstan research on how “their” women act, behave, dress versus “other” women.

A smaller body of research, mentioned by Barot, focuses on the “special” role of women as mothers (and/or women) in the transfer/teaching of ethnic identity. This includes a controversial body of research that understands women to be necessarily more peaceful than men (Engel 1991:135; Coomaraswamy 1999:8; Reardon 1996). The results from the Kyrgyzstan research suggest problems with, at least the first part, of this theory. Contrary to the popular images, this research did not show that women occupied a predominant, or a special, place in teaching ethnicity. The most frequent responses to the question, “Who taught you and your children about ethnicity?” was schools.¹⁸⁷

The Yuval-Davis-Anthias typology relevant to this research includes the argument that women serve: (1) as biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectives, (2) as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups, (3) as central participants in the ideological reproduction of the collective and as transmitters of its culture, and (4) as signifiers of ethnic/national differences—as a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction, and transformation of ethnic/national categories.

- ***Male Honour and the Female as Ethnic Boundary Marker: Point One***

The results clearly support the notion that ethnicity and violence have a distinctly male component but this research did not probe the degree to which male ethnic violence is directed at the “other’s” women. However, the “rejection” of women who marry “other” ethnic males did come through in several survey responses where men and women related that women should not marry outside of the ethnic group. If they do, they lose their ethnic identity. This does support the idea that female members of the ethnic are reproducers of the male ethnic boundaries (Yuval-Davis 1997). The

research results also yielded evidence for the idea that ethnicity is transferred from the father to the child through the mother. Therefore, the female (a) body, (b) reproductive capacity, and (c) sexual capacity were perceived, at least indirectly, by the people surveyed as ethnic markers. Future research might directly question these issues.

- ***Gender as Central to Ethnic Violence and Peace: Point Two***

Ethnic violence, usually sexual, is directed inward and committed against the female “self” when male community leaders “mark” and/or “protect” their boundary markers with women, themselves, as a prominent ethnic marker. The high levels of violence against women during Kyrgyzstan’s “nation/ethnic” building process supports this theory. The surveys did not specifically solicit responses relating to violence and this also would be an area for future research. Significantly, while the surveys provided evidence that women may have shared experiences and interests as women, mothers, and wives, that could be leveraged to reduce the significance of ethnic or national identity, the research results also indicated that patriarchal social constructions have allowed women only limited positions of power and decision-making. Thus, the potentially positive factor of gendered ethnicity, as a population base willing to work across ethnic lines and promote greater ethnic tolerance, may be confounded by the lack of leadership that women are afforded—both by their own communities and governments, as well as donors programs. Thus, gendered ethnicity in addition to women’s rights and empowerment may prove to be vital, and interlocking, ingredients in preventing ethnic conflict, though the evidence is not conclusive.

- ***Ethnic Myth of Creation and the Female: Point Three and Four***

While these surveys did not demonstrate that women held positions as caretakers and educators of ethnic practices and rituals, they did show that women are more concerned with ethnic rituals, such as weddings, holidays, jewellery, and type of clothes. This supports the notion that women represent the blank space where men can project and transfer an ethnic identity. The surveys also provided evidence that women figure symbolically in the originating myths of ethnic identity, as suggested in

the literature, by the male survey respondents who related their tribe or ethnic origins began with a woman who was a warrior, a deer, a fox, the sun, etc. and their father, seven generations back, who fell in love with her and “overcame or won her over,” married her, and had children (Benton 1998). In such stories, the subsequent generations have been “clean, pure, white.” Related concepts of sex, sexual power, and women’s role in the formation of ethnic identity as procreation, sacrifice, and birth came through in the Kyrgyzstan surveys, supporting the idea that myths of ethnic origin are predicated on a sexual order that excludes women from the community, the creation, and the polity. The myth of origin relies on “essential identities” to define belonging. This results in exclusionary ideologies, in which movements toward sexual equality can be abandoned because they are seen as undermining sexual differences which define “essential identities” (Charles 1998:7,12). Again, women’s human rights education may provide a particularly important component in democratic assistance that could help decrease ethnic possession, inter-ethnic violence, and intra-ethnic violence against women.

7.2 Fraternity, Violence, and Citizenship

Although the results from this research demonstrated that men provide more violent associations of their ethnicity than women, in correlation with the body of literature reviewed in this dissertation, women are not, therefore, *necessarily* more “inherently” peaceful. However, that men identified with their ethnicity over their gender, only in one case out of 384 providing a gendered identity, while women overwhelmingly provided gender responses when questioned about their self identity provides supporting evidence to the emerging theory of gendered ethnicity that asserts while ethnic violence focuses on the female, alternatively female gender alliances may reject ethnic conflict—one is less likely to fight for an identity to which one is not so strongly attached.

The notion that women have shared experiences and interests as women, as mothers and wives is often used as a way of reducing the significance of ethnic or national identities. Additionally, when women define themselves as reproducers of their collectivity, they gain (or regain) control of their reproductive potential and their own

sexuality (Moghadam 1994; Papanek 1994; Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989; Charles 1998:8). By doing so, women may be able to reject intra-ethnic violence directed against them as “ethnic boundary markers,” and also reject the inter-ethnic violence between ethnic groups (Reid 1998). Women are more vulnerable to possession by “the other” (who is male) when women inherently lack self-possession of their own (Benton 1998:35). It thus follows that women’s rights and empowerment may be a catalyst towards preventing ethnic conflict. Feminist politics, therefore, might incorporating the notion of women’s positioning and ethnic differences into its agenda, rendering all feminist politics, coalition politics (Yuval-Davis 1998:168).

The results of this dissertation, in relation to the literature on gender and nation/ethnicity, led to a conclusion that the female gender has a significant potential to be cultivated as an agent of change in democratic transitional societies. This potential may be both in preventing/blocking ethnic conflict through gender solidarity (with female dominated civil society as a potential mechanism) as well as in promoting more general levels of empowerment and fundamental human rights for the community as a whole. As noted about the female driven civil society in Mongolia, “A second theme that unites these women [Mongolian] is their willingness to change, and their desire to be an active agent of change through higher education. These are not the passive poor, buffeted by the winds of ill fortune, but strong, vigorous women who accept challenges” (Avery 1996:9). The survey results from Kyrgyzstan yield ideas and attitudes similar to those described by Avery (1996) of Mongolia.

However, the results from Kyrgyzstan also evidenced a frustration on behalf of women NGO leaders at not being included at decision-making levels that hold real political power. Not restricted to Kyrgyzstan, Waetjen (1999) describes similar frustrations for women in Africa: “It was clear to us that we could not hope to tackle (poverty, disease, and ignorance) successfully... unless our women were given scope through our constitution that enabled them to take a lead in our campaign to limit poverty, disease, and ignorance” (Waetjen 1999:676). As the female NGO leaders in Kyrgyzstan articulated in their survey responses, so have other researchers noted of other women working for change: “Critics argue that, in practice, women’s attempts

to (re)articulate and forge social change within communities have often been interpreted as threat to the status quo by both community members and the wider system of power (Kennedy, Kubelska, and Walsh 1993). This is evidenced by, particularly, the *akim* responses that women's activities in NGOs was acceptable but that women were not welcome at higher political, and male, levels, as well the NGO responses which described how they were blocked from political activities beyond NGO work. These results also confirm the body of literature, outlined in Chapter One and Two, that argues concepts of democracy, citizenship, and civil society are highly gendered, generally to the disadvantage of women.

As outlined in Chapter Three, attempts to respond to Reich's call for new citizenship models would be greatly aided by a recognition that traditional citizenship models have been male, as Chapter Two argued, and have mobilised around concepts of "fraternity" and ethnic brotherhood necessarily including violence, as Anderson has argued. Furthermore, recognition of the gendered nature of civil societies and the linkages this dynamic shares with ethnic identity may aid democracy assistance programming in creating democratic procedures that provide means to relieve ethnic tensions. Starting from these premises, a feminist analysis of ethnicity potentially offers a great deal to those engaged in preventing ethnic conflict and promoting democracy.

US democracy assistance, evidenced by Chapter Two and the survey results, has neither examined nor understood the complex social realities within which women operate. US democracy assistance has failed to recognise the powerful, potential role that women can play in consolidating real democratic gains. Women, from the Inkataha's in Africa to the Kyrgyz in Central Asia, must be allowed and encouraged to translate their local social action into the political decision-making arena. Democracy assistance could do much to capitalise on the power of female civil society as an agent of change and ethnic conflict prevention.

7.3 Implications for US Democratic Assistance & Future Research

*“A possible way out of this impasse is a rights-rather than identity based politics”
(Charles 1998:8)*

In relation to the original hypothesis, this research has outlined the problems with current US democratic assistance, arguing that primary flaws involve a non-recognition of ethnicity. This contention, analysed by feminist/gender theory, reveals the further non-recognition/inclusion and/or restriction of women and/or female behaviour both within US democracy assistance, local democracy building and ethnic identity construction. This research has argued that the “discovery” of gendered ethnicity has particular importance for US democracy assistance in that the tendency of women to self-identify with gender over ethnicity and the corresponding tendency of men to relate primarily to an ethnic identity may hold importance in ethnic conflict prevention programs. Moreover, this research suggests that the predominance of women in civil society also holds potential for new programmatic efforts that could take advantage of the nature of gender ethnicity in preventing ethnic conflict.

The evidence of this research suggests that: (1) women self-identify with their gender above their ethnicity and that when ethnicity does matter to women it takes a different form from male ethnic identity; (2) women are more fully involved in civil society than men; and (3) there is a greater male identification with ethnicity and with official identities such as citizenship and political representation. As noted in Chapter Three, ethnic identity represents a persistent and, perhaps, necessary component of human society as it exists today. The question, then, is not whether societies can eliminate ethnic identifications but under what conditions ethnic identity is destructive to human societies. Greater understanding of how, when, and why ethnicity is gendered holds the potential to assist in understanding, and thus preventing, ethnic identity that is destructive to democracies and human societies in general.

The primary contributions of this dissertation are summarised as follows. (1) While the gendered nature of ethnicity is an increasingly prominent theme in the feminist literature, much of this latest research exists with relatively little supporting empirical evidence. The research of this dissertation provides much needed empirical evidence

confirming feminist theorising that ethnicity does have a gender component, resulting in significantly different understandings and levels of identification of ethnicity for men and women. (2) A detailed analysis of USAID documents, provided in this dissertation, reveals an overlooked and surprising lack of attention to ethnicity and the a largely nominal gender inclusion within USAID's democracy programming. (3) Finally, this dissertation highlights the ambiguity in current claims about the importance of civil society—a theme, as demonstrated, that is increasingly part of the literature on democracy. While civil society is proven to be largely dominated by women, in the case of Kyrgyzstan, this gender imbalance means: (a) that civil society risks being dismissed and disparaged as “merely” women's work instead of contributing to greater democratisation of society and culture, (b) that women's participation does not translate into equal participation or validity within formal political structures, and (c) that it does not appear to encourage (male) citizens to regard women as their political equals.

Rhetoric about the importance of civil society will remain such unless theorists of democracy incorporate the gendering of both civil society and the more formal channels of political power into their understanding of how civil society, democracy, and gender operate. Thus far, the type of critical feminist analysis that would reveal these dilemmas has not occurred within USAID assistance. Instead, there appears to be a naïve and ill-informed celebration of civil society, lacking in comprehensive understanding of its gendered dimensions and the implications these have in preventing authentic political power and representation for women. Without such connections between informal and formal participation it is unlikely that assistance programming can take advantage of a female-dominated, civil society that promises to be less prone to ethnic conflict.

There are several prescriptive measures put forth in the academy that support and are supported by the findings of this research. These could be incorporated in US democracy assistance. Rosalind Brunt's (1989) argues that, “Unless the question of identity is at the heart of any transformatory project, then not only will the political agenda be inadequately “rethought” but more to the point, our politics aren't going to make much headway beyond the Left's own circle” (Brunt in Yuval-Davis 1998:182).

Both the World Bank's recommendations, acknowledging that ethnic identity can affect development outcomes and, thus, that an ethnic analysis should be incorporated into all development/assistance programs, and the Swiss Government's democracy assistance to Kyrgyzstan, a model fundamentally based on recognition of ethnicity, "Democratic Governance in a Multi-Cultural and Multi-Ethnic Society," supports Brunt's arguments and the findings of this research that identity, particularly ethnic, is an important consideration. While US democracy assistance would benefit from the World Bank recommendations and the Swiss model, both fail to include a feminist/gender analysis of ethnicity (Youssef 1995:i; Paul deGuchteneire 1998).

Moghadam also offers an important feminist argument, "It is important to provide an alternative to these movements [nationalism/ethnic patriarchy], one which is based on universal human rights and, at the same time, takes into account and values difference" (Moghadam 1994:22). As Moghadam continues to argue, feminism must accept the Enlightenment legacy in order to include its basis in "humanism" and the moral value set based on respect for autonomy/freedom of individual human beings. In too many political ideologies, "Women's importance as symbols of cultural identity legitimise a denial of their rights as human beings" (Moghadam 1994:22). As Moghadam suggests, in order to counter this women have to be deconstructed as symbols of cultural identity and reconstructed as "human beings." In other words, a rights based rather than identity based political process and structure is necessary. Charles suggests that, "This is a task that feminism is uniquely fitted to accomplish" (Charles 1998:23).¹⁸⁸

Promoting what Yuval-Davis calls "transversal politics" provides a means to supersede identity politics and include respect for difference, exclude one privileged voice, and recognise the potential of creating common political interests as women (Charles 1998:23). In relation to gender inclusion, Yuval-Davis quotes Italian women who call the methodology of this recognition "rooting and shifting." "Rooting" is recognising the importance of one's own memberships/identities while maintaining the flexibility to "shift" in relation to understanding other's memberships/identities. Transversalism replaces universalism in that it does not imply a homogenous foundation, which is in reality exclusionary (Yuval-Davis 1998:184-185; Yuval-Davis

and Werbner 1999:1-30). Transversalism might be understood as a rights based political process that accounts for the importance of identity.

Finally, Charles Frankel's 1962 work, "The Democratic Prospect," mentioned in Chapter Two, provides the most effective rationale as to why democracy maintains its status as the most reliable form of government to embody, protect and uphold the values of human rights and human dignity. Indeed, Frankel's answers to why to choose democracy represents the best rationale why democracy assistance, if performed thoughtfully, can improve lives, benefit populations, and has the potential to embody the principles of human rights and development.¹⁸⁹ However, for all of Frankel's insights, gender, and thus women, are not recognised. Neither is ethnicity. David Held also offers a modern version of Frankel's work when Held argues that it is a fallacy to discuss democracy today without thinking about more cosmopolitan models of democracy (Held 1993:269). He proposes examining the potential that regional parliamentary models may hold in overcoming the inadequacies of today's "democracies." Frankel's epilogue and Held's regional parliamentary models, benefiting from gendered ethnic inclusiveness and transversal politics, represent powerful beginnings for future research and democratic assistance programming,

A feminist Held and Swiss mixed-model, using the results of this research and the World Bank's results, as well as Frankel's rationale, combined with a Moghadam/Yuval-Davis feminist theory on gendered ethnicity and effective grassroots women's rights advocacy would augment and provide more inclusive, effective programmatic structures for US democracy assistance in Kyrgyzstan. The scope of feminist/gender research is broad and much territory in the realm of ethnicity remains unexplored. While future research, for example, might examine sexual definitions of ethnicity, ethnic violence, and the linkage to domestic violence, or economic development and ethnic community with a gender analysis, as far as the impacts of gendered ethnicity within transitional democracy frameworks, this research does demonstrate that there is a necessary recognition that a gendered ethnic analysis demands a correction of US democracy assistance programming.

Gendered constraints of democracy assistance explain, in part, how and why women engage in democracy differently and gendered ethnicity expands on emerging research that demonstrates the different concepts of identity women possess. Often, would-be democracies are fraught with dangerous ethnic divides. Gendered understandings of ethnicity have not been comprehensively examined, particularly within democratic assistance frameworks. Therefore, understanding the under-researched role of gender in ethnic identity during transitional societies will necessarily inform democratic institution building. Consideration of gendered ethnicity, women's less violent and more gendered understanding of ethnicity combined with women's ability to promote this identity through a female-dominated civil society, may strengthen sustainable democracy and decrease violent ethnic sentiments. These are, after all, the self-reported goals of democratic assistance. If the goal of US democratic assistance is to promote peaceful, stable democracies, then the means by which democracy assistance pursues these objectives should be reviewed in consideration of gendered ethnicity, providing more support to women's concepts of identity and their activity in civil society rather than promoting, disproportionately, the male, ethnic state structure (Handrahan 2000b).¹⁹⁰

7.4 Summary

The non-recognition of the female ability to reject an ethnic identity in favour of a gender identity and work with others across ethnic lines within their universal role as caretakers and leaders of civil society, indicates that a powerful tool for ethnic violence prevention has been overlooked (Reid 1998). Donor promotion of male leaders has largely reasserted the public-private dichotomy and helped foster the establishment of dominant male ideologies, particularly within "new democracies." Transitional "democracies" have little commitment to gender equality in the home, community, or state, and allow, even foster, gendered definitions of "male" citizenship and ethnic identity based on male involvement in the public political domain, which, as demonstrated in this dissertation, necessarily involves violence.

As Touraine has asserted, "Democracy is not an end in itself" (Touraine 1997:31). Yet, in current US democracy assistance, the promotion of democracy has become an

end to itself. To remedy this situation it is “high time for self-criticism” (O'Donnell 1996:47). Effective USAID deconstruction would allow the power and potential of women as democratic agents to be seriously examined.¹⁹¹ This research demonstrates that gendered ethnicity will have an important impact as a political strategy within democratic assistance as appropriate ways of integrating women's ethnic experiences are developed within the decision-making frameworks of democratic assistance.

###

Endnotes

Endnotes for Chapter One

¹Thomas Carothers (1999) begins this process with his groundbreaking book, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. The work of Carothers is the first serious academic exploration into the democracy assistance business.

²See also: Stetson (1995), Peterson (1992), Kandiyoti (1989), Elshtain (1992), Brown, (1986), Anthias (1989), Cornell (1990), Elshtain (1997), Tickner (1991), and True (1993).

³“The gender analysis approach is increasingly considered by many development professionals as a means to an end.... U.N. studies also assert that the consideration of women’s contributions and potential is critical to the outcome of development” (Martin GAO/NSIAD-94-16-1994:55).

⁴Also known as the Newly Independent States (NIS). The GOA reports defines NIS or FSU countries as: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan (Zanardi 1995: 1).

⁵This assessment is restricted to states rather than private donors.

⁶Other significant donors to the FSU include the European Union (EU) and Germany. The EU’s Technical Assistance for the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS) allocated some \$2.8 billion from 1991-1999 and Germany has provided \$56 billion from 1989-1999 (Tarnoff 1999:6). Germany has given the most funds to the FSU with the US in second place (Tarnoff 1999:6). The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development’s (OECD) aid flow database on CD-ROM provides comprehensive data on the volume, origin and types of aid and other resource flows to recipient countries. Data was retrieved directly by the author from “Geographical Distribution of Financial Flows to Aid Recipients Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development,” Washington, DC Centre, CD-ROM Library, also available in <http://www.oecdwash.org/PUBS/ELECPUBS/epdevt.htm#geodist>; (1999).

⁷According to the Congressional Research Service (CRS) (Tarnoff 1999) as of May 1999 (from 1992) an estimated \$6.5 billion in US assistance has gone to the FSU. Of this \$6.5 billion, (as of September 1998-from 1992) USAID had obligated an estimated \$5.7 billion (Tarnoff 1999:3). FY 1999 FSU funds account for approximately \$847 million, about 6% of total US worldwide foreign aid for 1999 (Tarnoff 1999:3). The FY2000 budget requested \$1.032 billion for the FSU, a 22% increase over the FY 1999 level (Tarnoff 1999:2). GAO reviewed only 28 awarded USAID Global Bureau contracts between 1991-1996, which were estimated at \$310 million (Nelson 1996). It is impossible to provide exact assistance figures, as USAID did not maintain separate and/or accurate accounts of funds to the NIS. In January 1995, the State Department Co-ordinator for NIS Affairs reported some \$2.9 billion in obligations and \$1.8 in expenditures for Russia alone through December 1994. Funds for the NIS are allocated through P.L. 102-511, otherwise known as the Freedom for Russia and Emerging Eurasian Democracies and Open Market Support Act (October 1992). P.L. 102-511 is commonly known as the Freedom Support Act (FSA)(Zanardi 1995). From 1990-1994 FSA occupied 16.21% of the Department of State’s fund allocated to the FSU (Zanardi 1995:75). In addition to USAID there are at least 23 other US departments and agencies that had programs in the FSU as of 1996, some of which could also be considered democracy assistance (Zanardi 1995: 18); however, USAID, US Department of Agriculture (USDA), and US Department of Defence (DOD) implemented the majority of programs (Zanardi 1995: 2). Between 1990-1994, the US Government (USG) obligated \$5.4 billion and expended \$3.5 billion for bilateral non-credit programs to the FSU of which only 5.36% was allocated for “democratic” reform (Zanardi 1995:14, 23) although all FSA funds could be considered to be democratic assistance.

⁸According to CRS reports, “Foreign aid is an instrument of US foreign policy, and US relations and interests in the former Soviet Union determine levels, direction, and types of aid

funding” (Tarnoff 1999:8). “The Central Asian states.. are of increasing interest to the United States for their oil production and strategic location... The increase in funding for the NIS under the FY 1999 appropriations, however, has permitted a 26% increase for Central Asia to \$136.9 million. The Administration had requested an 18% increase for FY 2000 (Tarnoff 1999:11).

⁹Kyrgyzstan holds the water supply of the region and, thus, the region’s access to electric power. Due to the former Soviet structure, the Central Asian states are dependent on each other for supplies of gas, fuel, power, and water. A looming water conflict provides another example of the pivotal role that Kyrgyzstan can play in regional stability or chaos.

¹⁰According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) aid flow figures since 1991, Kyrgyzstan has received an estimated \$1.45 billion (USD) (OECD 1999) and GAO report NSIAD-96-37 Former Soviet Union (Zanardi 1995:22).

¹¹This sentence was written in April of 1999 before the Batken conflict that broke out in Kyrgyzstan in August of 1999, only a few days before this researcher arrived in Kyrgyzstan to conduct fieldwork. Thus, the field research was undertaken while Kyrgyzstan was at war. As this sentence predicted, the conflict is proving hard to contain and has already involved three of the five Central Asian states, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan. Uzbek rebels from Tajikistan have declared a Holy War on Uzbekistan and Southern Kyrgyzstan is the battleground.

¹²The GAO is required by Congress to audit federal governmental agencies. Members of Congress may request specific audits when a particular concern or problem is evident. GAO reports from 1992-1999 were reviewed for this research with nineteen reports relevant to USAID democracy and/or WID programs generally and in the FSU. See also: (Fyodorov 1999; Waller 1996; Johnson 1997; Waller 1997; Kaiser 1999; Lloyd 1999; Cavanaugh 2000; Goble 2000; and Pressley 2000).

¹³Johnson (1997) provides a concise outline of the various forms of feminism, goals, and defining parameters.

¹⁴Much has been written critiquing feminists for primarily understanding Western, white females, including works by Frye (1982), Collins (1990), hooks (1982, 1984, 1989, 1991), Ramazanoglu (1989), Maynard (1994), and Spelman (1988) and Ann Marie Goetz (1991).

¹⁵This debate included many other relevant “actors,” including but not limited to Donna Haraway’s “Situated Knowledges” (Haraway 1988).

¹⁶For an excellent discussion of all components of gender, see Judith Lorber’s *Paradoxes of Gender*, which includes concepts of social control, kinship, and identity (Lorber 1994).

¹⁷In other words, female genital mutilation is as horrifying as bulimia and anorexia and both are a result of patriarchal oppression.

¹⁸Researchers have argued for women to enter the privileged/democratic public space (Jones 1990), (Pateman 1970), (Phillips 1991), (Phillips 1993), and (Dean 1997).

¹⁹See also: Edmondson (1992), Carley (1995), Fish (1995), Goldman (1996), Harris (1993), Holmgren (1995), Temkina (1996), Browning (1992), Molyneux (1991), and Pavlycahko (1992).

²⁰See also: (Kandiyoti 1987), “Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case,” which provides similar details regarding female “emancipation.”

²¹Significantly, Lenin recognised this and “looked forward” to the day when the “crushing drudgery” of women’s housework would end. This was not out of concern for women, as it is sometimes interpreted, but out of the need to get women out of the home and into the labour market in order to produce. Lenin was also known to say that women’s backwardness pulled men back from the “new society—like little worms which, unseen, slowly but surely rot and corrode” (Williams 1986:68).

²²A word very important to all aspects of Soviet/post-Soviet society—meaning special connections. There is no real equivalent word in the English language to *blat*. The importance of *blat* cannot be stressed enough. Without *blat*, one was not able to live under Soviet, or current, conditions. *Blat* is often conflated with corruption. The West sees *blat* as

using private and personal connections to gain “things”—money, products, influence, favours, trips, women, vodka, political freedom, etc. In Western terms this is corruption or crony capitalism. In Soviet/Russian terms, this is “how things are done.” There was, and is, no other means because there was, and is, no reliable system of rule of law, government, taxes, salary, etc. Corruption in Western terms exists and will continue to exist in post-Soviet societies until there is no need for *blat*. *Blat* is the rule of law.

²³Going to the market on crowded buses that often break down, standing in long lines, carrying heavy bags, beating rugs, washing clothes by hand, etc.

²⁴19 November 1997 at The London School of Economics and Political Science. The panel, consisting of leading experts such as Michael Ignatoff, Anthony Smith, and O’Brien, was unable to answer the question.

²⁵De Tocqueville, Mills, Bryce, Paine, Jefferson, Madison, Plato, Socrates, and Bentham set the stage for theories of democracy. Dahl, Huntington, Lijphart, Gurr, Grey, Zolo, Shapiro, Sartori, Schmitter, Karl, Connor, Diamond, Horowitz, Carothers, Bollen, Lipset, Powell, Berry, Fukuyama, Philips, Barber, Elamn, and Kaplan will lend to the examination the modern democratic process.

²⁶The theories of Smith, Rothschild, Barth, Horowitz, Hutchinson, Gourevitch, Gellner, Hechter, de Silva, Gurr, Volkan, Campbell, Anderson, Erikson, Brass, van den Berghe, Connor, Ra’anana, Mach, Ryan, Yuval-Davis, and others are brought to bear in this chapter.

²⁷The notion of praxis, knowledge gathered and processed for the purpose of changing the world rather than knowledge gathered for statistical study support the foundation of this research (Stanley 1990, 15).

²⁸Kyrgyzstan received more aid money per capita than any other country in Central Asia because it was seen as a democracy and, therefore, provided the best place for democratic assistance success.

²⁹It is beyond the scope of this research to examine all the problems with democracy assistance. This has already been accomplished by Thomas Carothers in *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Carothers 1999). The debates of whether democracy is the best form of government or if capitalism breeds democracy are also beyond the scope of this research. It is accepted that democracy is currently an arguably effective governmental means to promoting human dignity, if applied correctly. Although there are certainly serious considerations of whether democracy can be exported and indeed democracy importing even suggests a contradiction in terms. Yet, this research refrains from judgement as to whether the West should or should not export democracy (Ikenberry 1999; DiPalma 1997, 14). Rather, as the West is currently doing so, a more valuable examination, with an aim to improving the application of such policy, will be put forward.

³⁰Pateman (1983, 1970), Eisler (1988), De Beauvoir (1989), Elshtain (1992), Duerst-Lahti and Kelly (1995), Yuval-Davis (1989), Holgrem (1995), Duran (1991), Johnson (1997), Hartsock (1983, 1985, 1997), Haraway (1985, 1990, 1997), hooks (1997), Elshtain (1992), Bordo (1989, 1997), Harding (1986, 1997), Hekman (1997), Grant (1991) Tickner (1991), Kandiyoti (1988), MacKinnon (1989), Phillips (1991, 1993, 1997), Lovibond (1989), Felski (1989), West (1997), Keller (1990), Goetz (1991), Foucault (1972, 1980), Molyneux, (1991) Gorelick (1991) Peterson (1992), among others set the theoretical ground for this paper.

Endnotes for Chapter Two

³¹People did not include women or slaves.

³²Held (1993) suggests that the speech was probably composed by Thucydides some 30 years later; nonetheless, the words have meaning.

³³The feminist/gender field, in comparison, has welcomed constructive criticism with a goal to solidify theory that is constantly allowing feedback, critical discussion, and progress of gender theory as it relates to all social and natural science issues.

³⁴These include: (1) explanation and prediction on the basis of general laws, (2) empirical verifiability and objectivity, (3) quantification and measurement, (4) systematically, and (5) evaluation (Zolo 1992:25).

³⁵Although many theorists would agree there is democracy if there is popular sovereignty, political equality, distributive equality, civic consciousness, good economic performance, and state competence; however, determinates of when and how these conditions are defined as existing is not delineated (Rogers and Cohen 1992:422).

³⁶“If scholars do not attach the same meaning to the concept.... they can at least specify which ‘meaning’ they ‘mean’ ” (Schedler 1998:102). As Giovanni Sartori notes, “Different things should have different names” (Schedler 1998:103).

³⁷Although USAID has undergone an intense reform since the mid-1990s, the results of which have produced innumerable new documents and acronyms, substantive problems remain.

³⁸US/Washington democracy practitioners refer to those at USAID or USAID partner NGOs, that are responsible for US democracy assistance, whether that is policy, procedure, or practice. This is also evident in the field research gathered for this dissertation.

³⁹The IMF continued to make loans to Russia even when they were well aware of the \$719 million of IMF loans that the Central Bank transferred to offshore accounts and despite former Russian Finance Minister, Fyodorov, publishing an article in *The Washington Post*, begging IMF not to issue more loans (Williams 1999). He said, “The Russian authorities have learned the craft of pulling the wool over the eyes of the West, and the West has learned to pretend not to notice” (Fyodorov 1999). See also: a whole series of newspaper articles issued during the Summer of 1999, regarding IMF loans and Russian government misuse, including (LaFraniere 1999; Blustein 1999; Williams 1999; Kaiser 1999; and Fyodorov 1999). Lloyd notes that there is an estimated \$200 to \$500 billion in aid and loans to Russia that is not in Russia but is in foreign individual bank accounts (Lloyd 1999).

⁴⁰Although Schedler attempted to correct the basic definitional problems in 1992, his plea was ignored. “While ‘democratic consolidation’ may have been a nebulous concept since its very inception, the conceptual fog that veils the term has only become thicker and thicker the more it has spread through the academic as well as the political world. If it is true that ‘[n]o scientific field can advance far if the participants do not share a common understanding of key terms in the field,’ then the study of democratic consolidation, as its current state of conceptual confusion is condemned to stagnation. The aspiring subdiscipline of ‘consolidology’ is anchored in an unclear, inconsistent, and unbounded concept, and thus is not anchored at all, but drifting in murky waters” (Schedler 1998:92).

⁴¹Political parties, legislatures, judicatories, local government, interest groups, and media in civil society.

⁴²Stable, coherent, regularised, and effective both in their own functioning and in their various relations with one another.

⁴³The theory of democratic transition and consolidation both imply that there is a process, a definite time-line, of how and when certain events occur along the political change to democracy. This is another serious flaw of democracy theory/practice.

⁴⁴ See also: a listing of varied democratic definitions (Grey 1997:44-46). Other sources include (Shapiro 1996; Cohen 1971; Kainz 1984; Macpherson 1973; and Moss 1975). This research also agrees with Christiano seven limits to democratic authority (Christiano 1997:22).

⁴⁵For example, Chinggis Khan had a rule of law, the Yasa, and elections. The elections were so important that the hordes left Eastern Europe when Ogadei Khan died and returned home for the elections of the next Khan. Chinggis Khan also had institutions of justice and government; lists of ambassadors survived, demonstrating how regulated his government was.

⁴⁶US assistance has provided basically the same assistance program for Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia, despite the drastic differences in cultural, social, and political environments. Central Asia’s funds and programs were lumped in with Russia/NIS for the first four years of donor involvement.

⁴⁷Lukin calls the democratic assistance effort “a ruthless (though hopeless) attempt by a group of fanatical ‘democratic’ ideologues to impose their abstract ideal” (Lukin 1999). “... ‘Democratic’ activists viewed democracy not as a system of compromises among various groups and interests or as the Spartan of powers but as the unlimited power of ‘democrats’ replacing the unlimited power of the communists. What emerged from the totalitarian ruins was not a ‘normal’ democratic country but a society of clans and cliques fighting for power” (Lukin 1999:39).

⁴⁸“Mongolia confronts students of democracy and regime change with a puzzle: How did a country that ‘should have’ ended up at the level of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan in terms of democratic achievement find its way into company with Hungary and Poland?” (Fish 1998:129)

⁴⁹“I do not find alien the concept and practice of democracy. At the heart of Buddhism lies the idea that the potential for awakening and perfection is present in every human being and that realising this potential is a matter of personal effort. Thus not only are Buddhism and democracy compatible, they are rooted in a common understanding of the quality and potential of every individual” (Dalai Lama 1999:4).

⁵⁰“The Mongolian experience holds lessons for scholars, analysts, and policy makers. First, it demonstrates the supreme value of a commitment to compromise. Avoiding political violence, always and everywhere democracy’s most venomous antagonist, left the door open to early, broad strides toward democracy even under inhospitable circumstances. Second, Mongolia showcases the virtues of institutions that disperse power, and particularly of a legislature-dominant form of semipresidentialism. Third, the Mongolian experience highlights the advantage of the absence of a single ‘father’ [sic] of democracy and national independence. ... Fourth, Mongolia’s transition demonstrates the enormous potential of political parties to advance democratizations” (Fish 1998:139-140).

⁵¹“William Bodie (1993) nicely summarises the resulting US ambivalence, “Today the United States clearly seeks to cultivate democratic institutions on the territory of the former Soviet empire. However, American policy also seeks objectives in post-cold war Europe—arms reductions and non-proliferation. Russian economic stabilisation amelioration or ethnic conflict—which, though favourable to US interests, may actually hinder the rapid adoption of democracy in the region. To date, it is not clear whether the United States is more interested in the internal pluralism of the Soviet successor regimes or their external behaviour” (Grey 1997:255).

⁵²Almost all the democracy researchers agree that promoting democracy has been a central goal to US foreign policy (Grey 1997:251). As former Assistant Secretary of State, Talbott states, “The American people want their country’s foreign policy rooted in idealpolitik as well as realpolitik. The United States is uniquely and self-consciously a country founded on a set of ideas, and ideals, applicable to people everywhere. The Founding Fathers declared that all were created equal... America’s participation in international affairs is not just about stopping or deterring aggression, it is fundamentally about freedom versus tyranny” (Talbott 1996:49).

⁵³“As Seymour Lipset pointed out decades ago, the evidence is overwhelming that economic development has a strong positive effect on democratisation” (Huntington 1997:5).

⁵⁴Ray goes into a detailed history of the origins (Ray 1997:50).

⁵⁵If the US foreign policy community wished, it would not take much to recognise the myths as Ray has effectively done. “The first such myth is that, although it may be true that democratic states have not fought wars against one another, they are just as war-prone as autocratic states in general in their relationship with other kinds of states. The other myth is that although it may be true that democratic states do not fight wars against one another, this is an empirical regularity or pattern that up to this point is entirely bereft of any convincing theoretical explanation. It has been reported almost endlessly for years not that ‘nobody knows’ ... why democracies do not fight wars against one another” (Ray 1997:57).

⁵⁶ (Fyodorov 1999; Waller 1996; Johnson 1997; Waller 1997; Kaiser 1999; Lloyd 1999) and (Olcott 2000 Cavanaugh 2000; Goble 2000 and Pressley 2000).

⁵⁷ (Rosseau 1992 Edition; Rousseau 1973; and Rousseau 1974). (Makus 1996) provides a comprehensive feminist analysis of Hobbes, Locke, and Mill in relation to politics and women.

⁵⁸ (Zerilli 1994) provides a comprehensive overview.

⁵⁹ In Great Britain, women did not receive the right to retain their citizenship/nationality independent of marriage until 1948. By 1981, women were given the right to transfer citizenship to their children. (King 1989:22)

⁶⁰ Exclusion of women from the social sciences has legitimised subordination and oppression (Newland 1991:5).

⁶¹ 13 December 1999, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "Thomas Carothers Discusses his new Book, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*." This researcher was a participant. This question was from Carol Yost, Director of the Global Women in Politics Program at The Asia Foundation, so it could be argued that effectively that Carothers' recommendations appeared to have no impact on traditional male democracy promoters.

⁶² The analytical priority given to a category modelled on a white, Western feminist experience has a profound epistemological effect that constrains "the possibility of knowing" (Goetz 1991:141).

⁶³ Civil society researchers are yet another separate set; Oommen, Sellers, Romanucci-Rossia, de Vos, Rex, Burg, and Farnen, Fish, among others.

⁶⁴ The previous authoritarian state left no room for public, non-government controlled society. All power and prestige was in the state realm, with nearly all members of society members of the Communist Party, the only party, in the state system. Therefore, ambitious professionals had no choice other than to align themselves with the state structure if they hoped to rise professionally.

⁶⁵ A new GIT team (Gender Issues Team) had been established, although none of the four team members would correspond with the researcher despite the promise of the mission director and the participation of the researcher as one of three experts on gender in Central Asia invited by USAID to brief the mission director on issues of gender.

⁶⁶ Underline added by researcher for both this and the next USAID statement.

⁶⁷ *Res Publica* is a newspaper; however, the two top editors who have been punished for their commitment to a free press in Kyrgyzstan are women.

⁶⁸ One week before the USSR "gave" Central Asian republics independence all heads of Central Asian republics met in Almaty and voted to remain part of the USSR. Thus one is not surprised to hear the statement made by the Naryn *akim* that Kyrgyzstan will be a "superpower again."

⁶⁹ In his article, Bivens discloses the practices of USAID funded, Burson-Marsteller, a New York public relations (PR) firm that implemented a project in Kazakstan to "ensure that the Kazakstanis understood the privatisation process" (Bivens 1997:68). The USAID agreement provided to the PR firm was a "cost-plus" arrangement where USAID paid all of Burson-Marsteller's expenses plus 7%. This arrangement encourages for-profit firms to spend as much as they can—they more they spend the more they make. Bivens, a 26-year-old American journalist who knew nothing about either public relations or privatisation was offered a package of \$90,000 per annum to conduct a bus to billboards to soap opera campaign on privatisation. See also (Williams 1999; Lloyd 1999; Fyodorov 1999; Waller 1997).

⁷⁰ See also: (Avery 1996), "Women of Mongolia," and (Bystydzienski 1992; Duerst-Lahti 1995; and Friedl 1986).

⁷¹ See appendix for field research results and transcripts with the NGOs; all female directed in Naryn, where they demanded to know why they were not receiving political training to contest local office from the donors.

⁷²Civil society is no different from child-rearing, physical labour in the fields, to gathering in hunting and gathering societies (Lorber 1994:33-34).

⁷³“I dare say that in Kyrgyzstan the seeds of democracy are sown in fertile soil..... however, there is nothing more difficult than learning to live free” (Akaev 1995:14).

⁷⁴Exact overall figures for US aid to Kyrgyzstan is subject to controversy and confusion. The Congressional Research Service (CRS) reports, “Among the former Soviet republics (excluding the Baltic states), Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, and Georgia ranked highest in cumulative US government aid obligated as of June 30, 1996, with most Central Asian states receiving much less (including food, medical, and technical aid, and aid for nuclear weapons disarmament and safeguards for Kazakstan). Kazakstan and Kyrgyzstan were exceptions, with Kazakstan ranked at fifth (\$366.44 million) and Kyrgyzstan at seventh (\$289.08 million). In FY 1996, the Administration planned to spend at least \$17.6 million in humanitarian and technical assistance to Kyrgyzstan, which would rank fourth in such aid per capita among the NIS... The Administration request for FY 1997 includes modest increases for all the Central Asian states over FY1996 funding. P.L. 104-208” (Omnibus Appropriations for FY1997). This reduced the Administration request for the NIS, setting it at \$625 million for FY1997, which is not expected to affect planned aid for Central Asia. In response to a congressional question on November 14, 1995, Coordinator of US Aid to the NIS Richard Morningstar indicated that the Administration was planning a phaseout of Freedom Support aid to Central Asia by the year 2001, though other aid would continue. Besides bilateral aid, the United States contributes funds to international financial institutions (IFIs) and nongovernmental relief organisations that aid the Central Asian states (Nichol 1996).

⁷⁵ See: <http://www.ifes.org>

⁷⁶ See: <http://www.abanet.org/ceeli/home.html>

⁷⁷ See: <http://www.icma.org/go.cfm> and <http://www.urban.org/>

⁷⁸ See: <http://www.ndi.org> see also http://www.kind.net.kg/whoiswho/political_parties.htm for the details of political opposition leaders in Kyrgyzstan.

⁷⁹ See: <http://www.rferl.org>

⁸⁰ See: <http://www.cango.net.kg/>

⁸¹ See: (Amnesty International 1996).

⁸²“Suppose the following to be the state of affairs on board a ship or ships. The captain is larger and stronger than any of the crew, but a bit deaf and short-sighted..... The crew are all quarrelling with each other about how to navigate the ship, each thinking he ought to be at the helm; they have never learned the art of navigation... indeed they say it can't be taught and are ready to murder anyone who says it can. They spend all their time milling round the captain and doing all they can to get him to give them the helm. If one fraction is more successful than another, their rivals may kill them and throw them overboard... and turn the voyage into the sort of drunken-pleasure cruise you would expect. Finally, they reserve their admiration for the man who knows how to lend a hand in controlling the captain by force or fraud; they praise his seamanship and navigation and knowledge of the sea and condemn everyone else as useless... with all this going on aboard aren't the sailors on any such ship bound to regard the true navigator as word-spinner and a star-gazer, of no use to them at all?” quoted in (Held 1993:261).

⁸³“What happened in Russia was not reform but a conspiracy on the part of the most effective and rapacious part of the Soviet ruling class (the nomenclature) ‘with support from the IMF and other Western institutions’ to preserve its dominant position in the country. The democratic movement representing the broader ‘middle class’ was thus isolated from real power because of its own tactical mistakes” (Lukin 1999:35-36).

⁸⁴As of 1996, gang rape comprised 11% of all rapes in Russia (Goldman 1996,44). See also: Transition 1999-Human Development Report for Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS, available in <http://www.undp.org/rbec/pubs/hdr99/foreword.pdf>, ISBN No: 92-1-126109-0-Sales No: E.99.III.B.6; 7 (1999).

Endnotes for Chapter Three

⁸⁵ Psychology and psychiatry, for example.

⁸⁶ Volkan, interviewed by author, 6 June 1994.

⁸⁷ "Every group has its clearly defined place within the mental model and its relations between groups are conceptually established. In order to prevent the clear image from disorder, symbolic boundaries are constructed which separate groups and codify the patterns of interactions between them" (Mach 1993:55).

⁸⁸ Many of the previous secret documents of the KGB and USSR are now available on public data bases, such as the US Library of Congress,
<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/intro.html>

⁸⁹ Again, this is a very male view of competing interests, inclusion and exclusion, us-them rather than a more social-learned female response of sharing and co-operation.

⁹⁰ Humans may sometimes opt out of an ethnic identity and other times they are bound by the same ethnicity. During the Holocaust, European Jews largely could not elect out of their ethnicity. During slavery and into today, American blacks were and are bound primarily by the phenotypic aspects of their ethnicity. Conversely, some European Jews, prior and during the Holocaust, "became" Catholic to escape persecution. Some Uzbeks living in Kyrgyzstan registered as "Kyrgyz" under Soviet rule for housing, educational, and other rational purposes. Salient to the gender question, field research in Kyrgyzstan demonstrated that when a woman married she "lost" her ethnic identity or placed it second to her husband's as the family and children bore the ethnic identity of the father. Perhaps this is why gender is more salient to women as they are not allowed to maintain their ethnic identity if they marry outside of the ethnic group into which they were born.

⁹¹ Until Nira Yuval-Davis' book *Gender and Nation* (1997), the first comprehensive examination of the relationship between gender and nationalism.

⁹² Although other areas of Frederick Barth's research are controversial, Barth's boundary markers concept provide a useful delimited explanation of ethnicity. For Barth, an ethnic group has an important ascriptive character that is exclusive and its continuity relies on the maintenance of a boundary of identity and values (Barth 1969:14). Barth lists four characteristics that define ethnic groups: (1) biologically self-perpetuating, (2) sharing fundamental cultural values, (3) creating a field of communication and interaction, and (4) membership identifying itself, and is identifiable by others, as distinguishable. Van den Berghe has identified "ethnic markers" which demarcate ethnic boundaries. These are: (1) genetically transmitted qualities such as phenotype, skin pigmentation, stature, hair texture, facial features or other 'racial' characteristic; (2) human-made ethnic uniforms such as body mutations, tattoos, piercing .etc.; and (3) behavioural characteristics such as speech, demeanour, manners, and lore (Van den Berghe 1981:29).

⁹³ The Jewish community, following the matriarchal lineage being an exception.

⁹⁴ One important boundary marker is the ethnic myth. A myth, anthropologists generally agree, presents a story about a society which transmits values, norms, and patterns of a given culture (Mach 1993:58). The folktale serves a dual purpose as it contains historical information and expresses emotional value, i.e., the "logic of myth" (Mach 1993:59). It is based more on belief than knowledge and is metaphysical, therefore it cannot be tested empirically or rationally, containing structurally encoded principles of human thought which allow groups to understand the order of the universal, understand life's goals, form a coherent image of the nation, know the communities glories and victories, share the group's suffering and losses, and perceive a historical mission. A strong ethnic myth may be the key to long term ethnic survival. The mythical construction of the past is therefore a crucial component of human identity (Mach 1993: 59, 60, 62-63).

⁹⁵Although in this age of political correctness most academics shy away from racial characterisation, the phenotypic aspect of ethnic groups cannot be ignored. Whether academics are comfortable with the racial aspect of humanity or not, race is an inescapable aspect of current human conditions. Human communities define, exclude, include, discriminate, and kill over racial differences. Although it is not within the realm of this research to debate the primordial aspect of ethnicity, it must be stated, that while ethnicity is changeable, fluid, and humanly constructed, that it does not rule out the uncomfortable notion that there is something about ethnicity that humans are born into, i.e., racial and/or phenotypic characteristics. To ignore this is to banish racial issues to a realm where they are deemed irrelevant. The exclusion of race from the discussion of ethnicity is similar to the exclusion of gender from ethnicity. Gender when banished to the realm of irrelevant leaves little room for a discourse that can isolate the positive and negative factors that gender may bring to ethnicity; similar to the racial discourse. It is convenient for white males in the Academy to claim that race is not part of ethnicity, in an effort to move beyond racism and in a fear that they might be labelled racist; however, race is relevant to an African-American as they cannot move beyond the relevance of the racial or the significance of phenotypic aspects in human communities and daily life. Likewise with gender.

⁹⁶For example, rape in ethnic cleansing.

⁹⁷Ethnic identity is fluid, changeable, created, re-created, and constructed. It is a human concept subject to change, misinterpretation, improvement, and imagination. Therefore, there is a significant “constructed” aspect of ethnicity and ethnic relations. However, human life also has certain pre-determined biological factors. It is the more or less “fixed” or “given” aspects of human physical identity that primordialist assert are salient to ethnicity. These “biological aspects” and created cultural factors are salient to the degree that human communities determine that they are relevant. Humans create and attach meaning to “human creations,” such as language, religion, custom, and to “natural creations,” such as land formations, weather patterns, animals, and biological differences in humans, including race and gender. Therefore, ethnicity is both fluid, constructed and “imagined” and “given.”

⁹⁸Racial differences or the physical, phenotypic characteristics of different social groups labelled race in sociological and anthropological terms of understanding, do not necessarily carry racial messages, racism, or inherent negative or positive characteristics. The key aspect of race and ethnicity that has been misunderstood is this: outwardly seen racial differences are used by social groups of humans globally to distinguish. Based upon physical, phenotypic differences humans have created social justification for inclusion and exclusion. To say that phenotypic characteristics are not used by social groups in ethnic boundary markers is a methodological error. Certainly, a few privileged elite living in so-called cosmopolitan societies and having financial access to the scientific means may change the colour of their skin, the shape and colour of their eyes, the colour of their hair, the shape of the facial structures, and even their sex. But most of the world is thickly and permanently bound within their outward physical appearance known as race and sex.

⁹⁹As Anthony Giddens has suggested, humans have “manufactured uncertainty” in the post-enlightenment strive. Giddens duly notes that modernity is far more complex than anticipated. Moreover, some “answers” and “progress” have transcended humans into realms beyond comprehension. The West, particularly, has seen the future as territory to be captured, taken over, shaped, managed, and harnessed. Yet, modernity has created deep uncertainties in human lives and produced a world that is beyond control of human understanding. Giddens calls this understanding of modernity the cutting-edge debate in social science.

¹⁰⁰The most oppressive human rights violations occur when the state embarks on a campaign of eliminating ethnic differences in the name of progress and modernity. The policies of Hitler, Stalin and Mao, in particular, demonstrate that the freedom to have and to hold, to create and recreate one’s ethnic identity is sacrament and the key to global peace. These regimes built their policies on “freeing” or transcending people from the “oppressive” chains of ethnic identity which resulted in massive human rights violations.

¹⁰¹Volkan, interviewed by author, 6 June 1994.

¹⁰²For example, a Kyrgyz identity existed prior to Soviet rule; however, the Soviet State manipulated and influenced this identity for nationalistic purposes (Huskey 1995).

¹⁰³Campbell has named nationalism a tool utilised by the state in pursuit of legitimacy (Campbell 1992,11). Anderson calls nationalism an anomaly (Anderson 1991:4).

¹⁰⁴For a complete discussion of the violence invoked by the nation-state, refer to David Campbell's *Politics Without Principle Sovereignty, Ethics and the Narratives of the Gulf War* (1993). There are over 114 self-determination movements by ethnic groups around the globe (Halperin 1992).

¹⁰⁵Kyrgyzstan, for example, holds 51 ethnic groups from the Koreans who were moved by cattle car from the Russian Far East, to Jews, Germans, and other Russian/European groups. Serious irredentism claims of rebel Tajik groups in Southern Kyrgyzstan erupted in ethnic conflict during the summer of 1999. Additionally, there are irredentism Uzbek claims in the South that created the violent ethnic conflict of 1991.

¹⁰⁶“If we accept the premise that ethnic identity is a natural basis for political organisation and that nationalism as an ideology has proved its functional power through history then any theory of democracy must incorporate contingencies for the resolution of ethnic conflict” (Helsi 1997:202). “Politicians can either contribute to or work against the rise of ethnic conflict. ... Ethnic based political participation is more than just manipulation of the masses by their leaders. The beliefs held by the people do place constraints on the activities of elites. Leaders cannot move too far afield from the mood of the people or the people will quickly find new leaders” (Helsi 1997:203).

¹⁰⁷Helsi has also provided a solid theoretical framework that democracy assistance could use to begin understanding how and why ethnic identity becomes political (Helsi 1997). This ethnic-political framework includes five major political conditions and how ethnicity is salient to each.

¹⁰⁸As most FSU scholars agree, ethnic conflict is a serious threat to the post-communist states and the likelihood of successful democratisation (Helsi 1997:213).

¹⁰⁹See also: (Smith 1986, 1996, 1997).

¹¹⁰“Women are used in defining boundaries and asserting the dominance of some men over other men through the protection of ‘their’ women... to protect ‘their’ women they engage in violent conflict and rape the women of ‘their’ enemies” (Allen 1998:59). Also described in the Burlet-Reid (1998) study described in detail in Chapter Eight.

¹¹¹“In fact, research has shown that it is not the men who first introduce children into the ethnic imagination of their community. It is the women through songs, stories, legends, and folk tales. They keep alive the myths and are the first to transmit a sense of the collective memory of success and suffering to children. Stories of great kings, the description of ‘other’ people are often imbibed by children not from racist patriarchs but from the mother who distils this information and first creates an awareness of ethnic or nationalist belonging” (Coomaraswamy 1999:8). The field research of this dissertation contradicts this notion.

¹¹²“This place which is assigned to women means not only that women’s sexual behaviour is circumscribed but also that ‘other’ men must not be allowed sexual access.... Thus women are central to reproducing the collectivity but they are also its weakest spot-sexual access to them by an ‘outsider’ destroys their value to the nation” (Charles 1998:10).

¹¹³“The domestic sphere, and women within it, are regarded as significant for the transmission of cultural identity... Kandiyoti argues that because the domestic sphere, and women within it, represents the maintenance of tradition and cultural identity, it assumes a heightened significance in the face of modernising state which undermines cultural diversity by the granting of individual, universal rights... ‘This reinforces the stranglehold of communities over their women, whose roles as boundary markers become heightened’ ” (Kandiyoti in Charles 1998:13). Yuval-Davis “suggests that women accept myths of origin which include stories of male control over female sexuality because such stories offer women a place as

women and elevate their reproductive power-as long as they are in the service of the nation” (Charles 1998:21).

¹¹⁴Sarah Burton provides an excellent overview of sexuality and ethnic identity and violation relative to ethnic creation (Charles and Hintjens 1998:27-44).

Endnotes for Chapter Four

¹¹⁵This research focuses on USAID’s Democracy and Governance (D&C) sector of the Global Bureau’s democratic assistance to the FSU’s Kyrgyzstan. The FSU is USAID’s highest profile and largest democracy project. According to the Congressional Research Service (CRS) as of May 1999, since 1992 an estimated \$6.5 billion in US assistance has gone to the FSU (Tarnoff 1999). Of this \$6.5 billion, (as of September 1998-from 1992) USAID had obligated an estimated \$5.7 billion (Tarnoff 1999:3). Fiscal Year (FY) 1999 FSU funds account for approximately \$847 million, about 6 % of total US worldwide foreign aid for 1999 (Tarnoff 1999:3). The FY 2000 budget requested \$1.032 billion for the FSU, a 22 % increase over the FY 1999 level (Tarnoff 1999:2). GAO reviewed only 28 awarded USAID Global Bureau contracts between 1991-1996, which were estimated at \$310 million (Nelson 1996). It is impossible to provide exact assistance figures, as USAID did not maintain separate and/or accurate accounts of funds to the NIS. In January 1995, the State Department Co-ordinator for NIS Affairs reported some \$2.9 billion in obligations and \$1.8 in expenditures for Russia alone through December 1994. Funds for the NIS are allocated through P.L. 102-511, otherwise known as the Freedom for Russia and Emerging Eurasian Democracies and Open Market Support Act (October 1992). P.L. 102-511 is commonly known as the Freedom Support Act (FSA) (Zanardi 1995). From 1990-1994 FSA occupied 16.21% of the Department of State’s fund allocated to the FSU (Zanardi 1995:75). In addition to USAID, there are at least 23 other US departments and agencies that had programs in the FSU as of 1996, some of which could also be considered democracy assistance (Zanardi 1995:18); however, USAID, US Department of Agriculture (USDA), and US Department of Defence (DOD) implemented the majority of programs (Zanardi 1995:2). Between 1990-1994, the US Government (USG) obligated \$5.4 billion and expended \$3.5 billion for bilateral non-credit programs to the FSU, of which only 5.36 % was allocated for “democratic” reform (Zanardi 1995:14, 23) although all FSA funds could be considered to be democratic assistance. See also Raballand (2000).

¹¹⁶ See Robert Gee’s (US Assistant Secretary of Energy for Policy and International Affairs) testimony before the US House of Representatives (12 February 1998) on why the US is active in Central Asia (Gee 1998). According to CRS reports, “Foreign aid is an instrument of US foreign policy, and US relations and interests in the former Soviet Union determine levels, direction, and types of aid funding” (Tarnoff 1999:8). “The Central Asian states ... are of increasing interest to the United States for their oil production and strategic location... The increase in funding for the NIS under the FY 1999 appropriations, however, has permitted a 26% increase for Central Asia to \$136.9 million. The Administration had requested an 18% increase for FY 2000” (Tarnoff 1999:11).

¹¹⁷Formerly the battleground for the British/Russian Great Game, Central Asia again stands at the heart of processes of modernity. With nuclear Kazakstan, civil-tribal war in Tajikistan, which has now crossed the border into Kyrgyzstan, the Uigher cross-border question, deep reaching environmental disaster, and fast growing HIV/STD epidemics it is here where modernity will create peril or privilege. Named the “new Colombia” for a blossoming drug and arms trade, Central Asia is rich with ethnic conflict potential. The kindling for conflict includes: bordering Afghanistan, Tajikistan, a puddle of blood and chaos, unknown quantities of nuclear and other weapons available at local bazaars, new and potentially vast oil sources, the Uigher movement permeating Central Asia’s high mountain passes and challenging

governmental commitments to freedom of speech and assembly, increasingly militant Uzbekistan, a new, extremely well-funded and sophisticated mujahedin from Tajikistan that has launched a Holy War on Uzbekistan, and a looming water conflict in the Fergana Valley.

¹¹⁸There are at least two different spellings of President Akaev's family name—Akayev and Akaev. In order to avoid confusion, the latter has been used throughout this research.

¹¹⁹See Idinov 1999a, Idinov 1999b and Idinov 1999c.

¹²⁰See Anderson (Anderson 1999:4).

¹²¹Since independence one can view on quite a few 1916s laid out in large white rocks on mountains sides. 1916 is a symbol of Kyrgyz independence and nationalism.

¹²²Issy means hot and Kul means lake in Kyrgyz language. Issy-Kul is a huge, high altitude mineral lake that never freezes due to the saline level. Therefore, it provides the perfect place for year-around military testing.

¹²³Although Central Asia, including Kyrgyzstan, has described it as a region of "tragic experiment" under Soviet rule the average person saw their lives improve from nomadic tribalism to citizens of the USSR (Clement 1994:87). The tragedy of the USSR involved acts such as redistricting, environmental damage, restrictions of freedom, not generally known/understood by the public. As Kyrgyzstan was far from Moscow, when compared to other regions, it escaped the brunt of Stalin's brutality.

¹²⁴Although there are many indications of the anarchical state of Kyrgyzstan, perhaps the most evident is the state of Law Enforcement Agencies (LEA). According to the Kyrgyz Committee for Human Rights (KCHR) "police brutality is one of the most urgent problems... law enforcement officers break laws and violate human rights [and] decay from the inside" (Dyryldaev 1998). The KCHR reports regularly on police abuse, listing details, date, and names. These reports can be found at: www.neww.org/countries/Kyrgyzstan/KCHR. "People say with dismay that the law of the jungle is beginning to rule," says a Russian student at Jalal-Abad University (Dobson 1995:5).

¹²⁵^aThe head of the National Statistical Office in Bishkek boasts that he is no longer overseen by parliament. Rather, he answers only to the President. This, he says, 'guarantees freedom, because the president only wants objective statistics.' In the same vein, a vice president and former economic minister responsible for introducing the national currency says he is not the father of any reforms. 'No, President Akaev is our father,' he says and points to a large presidential portrait on the wall" (Bransten 1997).

¹²⁶According to the US Department of State's 1999 Country Report, "Although the 1993 Constitution defines the form of government as a democratic republic, President Askar Akaev dominates the Government" (US Department of State, 2000).

¹²⁷The US Department of State reported that the 1995 parliamentary elections were "marred by irregularities" (US Department of State 2000:10). "Forced into independence, the Central Asian states have created institutional arrangement that rely on the previous Soviet structures, with a modicum of "democratic" influences" (Kangas 1995:275). "The major human rights question raised in 1994 was whether the Government was manipulating the political system to ensure its retention of power" (US Department of State 1995). "Though Akaev has been increasingly critical of the role of 'tribalism' in Kyrgyz politics, in part its continued strength would appear to stem from his own political strategies" (Anderson 1999:43). "The most powerful clan in the country is a clan which currently holds the real power. This clan includes all the top figures. Bosses of the clan of power are [President] A.[Askar] Akaev," (*Kyrgyz Rukhu* 1999).

¹²⁸^aThe appointment of ethnic Kyrgyz to key positions in the judicial system has led to charges by non-Kyrgyz that the system is arbitrary and unfair, and that the courts treat Kyrgyz more leniently than members of other groups" (US Department of State 1997).

¹²⁹Libel, in Kyrgyzstan, is a criminal, not civil, action. Amnesty International (AI) and Human Rights Watch (HRW) have both covered the decline in media freedom extensively. Both AI and HRW reported on the problems with *Res Publika*, including the trials of Yrysbek Omurzakov, Alexander Alyanchikov, Zamra Sadykova, and Tamara Slashcheva. "This trial

[Omurzakov] should never have started. The Kyrgyzstani authorities have already been internationally condemned for bringing a criminal prosecution in what should be a civil case of libel. They are clearly using criminal legislation in a bogus manner to punish and silence a prominent government critic” (Korbin 1997). See also (Amnesty International 1997a, Amnesty International 1997b; Amnesty International 1996; and Amnesty International 1997c).

¹³⁰Under the heading “Freedom of Speech and Press,” in US Department of State 1995 Country Report, it was reported, “In 1994, the Government restricted these rights” (US Department of State 1995). See also the US Department of State’s 1999 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices (US Department of State, 2000 and Carley 1993). See also (Anderson 1999:25-63). Newspaper *Kriminal* was closed. *Asaba’s* (independent Kyrgyz language newspaper) offices were raided by state security officers on 24 April 1999 during the night and erased all of their computer files. In August 1998 *Asaba* had been evicted from its old offices after renting space there for 32 years in order for the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) to take over the building (US Department of State 2000). *Res Public* has had a long record of government harassment. *Vecherny Bishkek* came under fire in 1999 under the allegation of unpaid taxes. Militia and tax authorities harassed the newspaper’s owner, Aleksander Kim. Kim claims that the allegation of unpaid taxes and subsequent harassment only came after the newspaper had interviewed opposition candidates (US Department of State 2000,7; International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights 1999a; and International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights 1999b).

¹³¹“Journalist Erkin Turaliev confessed that he has recently received an order from the presidential spokesman to denigrate the opposition leaders before parliamentary elections” *Pyramid TV*, February 12, 2000 (www.kind.net.kg).

¹³²See RFE/RL reports, (Idinov 2000a; Idinov 2000b; Idinov 2000c; Idinov 2000d; and Idinov 2000e).

¹³³ These elections, coupled with the government’s failure and apparent weakness in Batken during August 1999, represent a loss of respect and fear of the government by the average person.

¹³⁴See the research results of this dissertation, listed in the appendix. See also Richard Dobson’s USIA Office of Research survey of the Kyrgyz population regarding the state of “democracy” in Kyrgyzstan (Dobson 1995). Although IFES’ USAID funded survey (IFES 1997) contradicts both this researcher’s findings and Dobson’s results with a reported 60% of those interviewed in the IFES survey saying that Kyrgyzstan is a democracy. There are two factors that may account for this contradiction: (a) this was early by four years from the field research of this dissertation; however, this does not account for the Dobson findings, and (b) IFES conducted interviews in people’s homes—which means that people would have been self-conscious of making a good impression on their guest and also initials the fear of the general population (from Soviet times) that the home may be wiretapped. IFES also reported that 43% of people thought the life of their children would be worse than their life—compared to only 32% who thought their children’s life would be better. In addition, 86% said that official corruption is a serious problem. According to the US Department of State’s 1999 Country Report, “The Government’s human rights record was generally uneven and poor in some areas. The Government limits citizens’ ability to change their government. There were credible reports of police abuse and brutality” (US Department of State 2000). “Amnesty International also expressed concern at continuing reports of serious human rights violations by law enforcement officials, including alleged torture and ill-treatment of criminal suspects” (Amnesty International 1998).

¹³⁵No teachers, for example, have been paid their 1999 salaries and many have not received 1998 salaries either. Teachers are owed some \$1.3 million USD in back wages by the Government (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty 2000).

¹³⁶There are far too numerous cases and examples to mention here; however a few of the more renowned cases are listed to provide supporting evidence. For example, the prominent case

of several senior level government officials (including former Prime Minister Apas Jumagulov and former Prime Minister Kubanychbek Jumaliev-current akim in Jala-bad) alleged involvement with Shalkar Jaisanbaev, formerly director general of Kyrgyzgasmunaizat company who embezzled nearly \$200 million in government funds related to the ongoing gas crisis. Jaisanbaev left Kyrgyzstan in 1998 and his location is not officially known (Idinovn 1999). Former chair of the National Bank and former Finance Minister, Marat Sultanov is also suspected of involvement. There is also the high level case of Kyrgyzaltyn gold company where Dastan Sarygulov, former President of the company, is alleged to have also committed serious fraud and embezzlement against the government (Idinovn 1999). "The management of this newly created state company was given to Dastan Sarygulov, who had no previous mining experience but was a close associate of President's Akaev's wife. ...nearly \$20 million worth of gold had been sent to Switzerland by Seabeco" (Olcott 1996:102). Dastan is also a very close friend of President Akaev, having been his best man at Akaev's wedding (Anderson 1999:41). Akaev continued to defend Dastan, "a man frequently charged with corruption or incompetence" (Anderson 1999:41). These cases are widely known and discussed from dinner parties to market stalls. According to Dobson's study, "many participants drew attention to improprieties in the appointment of persons to positions of responsibility, especially appointment according to family, clan, or ethnic ties rather than competence" (Dobson 1995:2). The knowledge and resentment of the population toward the corrupt ethnically Kyrgyz and male government officials is also support by field research for this dissertation. One respondent, when asked who was a citizen of Kyrgyzstan, said, "Akaev." Another person said, "Only the corrupt." See also: a US Army report commissioned by the US Library of Congress, "government corruption and malfeasance also contribute to an atmosphere of lawlessness. In the mid-1990's bribery, kickbacks, and influence peddling became increasingly common in government agencies. Law enforcement officials have received little cooperation from the legislator in punishing their colleges who are caught violating the law. In 1993 the Interregional Investigations Unit, established to combat bribery, found itself shut down after twenty successful investigations and replaced by an economic crimes investigation unit, some members of which began taking bribes themselves" (Curtis 1996).

¹³⁷"Since 1990 the economic decline in Kyrgyzstan has been steeper than anywhere else in the former Soviet Union, save Armenia" (Olcott 1996:98).

¹³⁸However this number does not include the additional 8,000 Russians who, as of 9 March 2000 nearly 8,000 (since the beginning of 2000) had applied for immigration to Russia. Records for the first three months of 1999 show that only 200 Russians had applied for immigration during that same time period. Additionally, there is an estimated 12,000 Russians left Kyrgyzstan in 1999, most following the Batken incident that also need to be included in the immigration statistics (RFE/RL 2000).

¹³⁹Interview with Raya, President of Tolerance International (Kadyrova 1998 and BBC 2000). The area from Kyzyl-Kyya north was relatively safe, with the capital of Osh *oblast*, Osh City itself, still occupied by US Peace Corps volunteers, US foreign assistance representatives, etc. The US Peace Corps had removed all volunteers south of Kyzyl-Kyya. Rumours in Osh from taxi drivers were that Akaev was too afraid to visit Batken or even Osh for fear of his own life. Akaev did visit Batken when the incident was nearly over on 9 October 1999 (RFE/RL, 1999). "Because Kyrgyzstan authorities were unable to decisively deal with Namangani and because several high ranking officers of the internal troops were among the hostages taken, the authority of the army and the power-wielding agencies of Kyrgyzstan has been severely damaged. This is especially true in the south where civilians had little confidence in the government to begin with" (Makarenko 2000).

¹⁴⁰As of 12 October 1999, (approved by Parliament on this date) three districts (Lailak, Kadamjai, and Batken) in the South West *oblast* of Osh became a new *oblast* renamed Batken. In 1999 there was a war in the Batken region of Kyrgyzstan (Osh *oblast*) where Muslims fighters from Tajikistan (lead by an ethnic Uzbek Juma Namangani) crossed into Kyrgyzstan

and took over 300 people hostage including four Japanese geologists. This group known as *mojahedin* and Hizb-e T or the Party of Purification, declared a *jihād* on Uzbekistan and threaten to do so to Kyrgyzstan if Kyrgyzstan does not let them through to Uzbekistan and/or give them territory for an independent state in Southern Kyrgyz. The group is referred to by different names, which include (1) Namangani—named after the leader, (2) Hizb-e Tahrir (Party of Purification), (3) the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, and (4) the incident is most often simply referred to as Batken, after the rayon where the incident occurred. See RFE/RL Reports, Idinov 1999a , Idinov 1999b , Idinov 1999c and BBC Reports: BBC 2000a , BBC 2000a . See also: (Makarenko 2000 and Idinov 1999).

¹⁴¹The researcher was asked to give a briefing to Glen Anders the USAID Resident Representative for Kazakstan and Kyrgyzstan regarding gender issues in Central Asia on 15 December 1999. At this briefing, neither Anders nor his colleagues were aware this statement had been made.

¹⁴²Indeed, even when Max van der Stoel, Commissioner for National Minorities with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), warned that Central Asia might be the “new Kosovo,” few in the US democracy assistance, and particularly the US democracy assistance to Central Asia crowd were even aware that this statement had been made (Reuters 1999). See also Lubin (1995) where Lubin details US assistance to Central Asia from 1993-1996. “Democracy programs often mention ethnic conflict as a constraint but rarely incorporate these issues explicitly into programme design as well” (Lubin 1995:328).

¹⁴³“Central Asian nations are confronting serious questions regarding their ethnic minorities. The titular nationalist in Central Asia now find themselves in the position the Russians occupied prior to 1991: each is a dominant ethnic group, confronting a variety of demands from the minority populations” (Kangas 1995:280).

¹⁴⁴To this end, Akaev created the “Kyrgyzstan is Our Home” campaign. The country is filled with large red billboards, television commercials, posters, and other propaganda announcing “Kyrgyzstan is Our Home.” Some of these posters show Akaev encircled by a group of multi-ethnic children. Indeed, during this researcher’s surveys many people used Akaev’s exact words or attributed to Akaev the idea that “Kyrgyzstan is Our Home,” everyone’s home.

¹⁴⁵Two examples of the Shamanist and Buddhist influences that have been confused with modern Islamic influence included: the wind prayers that are tied on bushes and trees or rock piles where they are deemed to be spirits or holy spots. This is a Shamanist trait very close to the Mongols. The second is a Buddha carved into a stone face at Issy-Atar, remaining from Mongol rule, which today the locals rub butter on its stomach and “pray to Allah.”

¹⁴⁶Kara meaning black, as the “Kyrgyz,” to the south of present day Kazakstan, occupied higher mountain pasture than the Kazak, who inhabited that steppes to the north. “Kyrgyz” because of the altitude and sun, much darker.

¹⁴⁷UNESCO Report 1994-2001, National Organising Committee for Manas 1000. The Secretary Executive of the Kyrgyz National Commission Adash Toktosunova claims that final figures are “confidential.”

¹⁴⁸All white Eurasians are thought of as European in Central Asia, as Fyodor Dostoyevsky said of Russians and Russia’s interest in Central Asia, “In Europe we are hangers-on and slaves, whereas we shall go to Asia as masters... In Europe we were Asiatics, whereas in Asia we, too, are Europeans” (Dostoyevsky in Meyer 1999:169).

¹⁴⁹“Ethnicity remains a critical issue in these countries, as political parties often coalesce around ethnic identities” (Kangas 1995:278).

¹⁵⁰“Corruption in Kyrgyzstan has taken many forms, but the two dominant ones seem to be the establishment of protection rackets and the use of official positions for private gain. In December 1998-January 1999 the deputy minister of finance, industry, and ecology were arrested on corruption charges” (Huskey 1999:7-8). “Speaking in early 1999 Prime Minister Jumabek Ibraimov admitted that ‘high ranking posts in the Government had been sold in the

past" (Huskey 1999:18). "Although fortunes have been made, most of the shady dealings occurred within a short period; as Chyngyshev (Prime Minister-forced to resigned in December 1993 after Gold scandal) himself declared just weeks before his own ouster, almost everything of any value in Kyrgyzstan had already been stolen" (Olcott 1996:103). According to the US Department of State's 1999 Country Report, "Economic crimes such as tax evasion, embezzlement, and theft of government property, including that of electric power, are common. Prosecution for these crimes is relatively rare and sometimes appears to be directed at opponents of the Government" (US Department of State 2000). In a recent article in the Kyrgyz Press, it is reported that, "for the period of 1992-1996 Kyrgyzstan Prosecutor General's Office had revealed more than 10 thousand gross violations of the law. The most typical violations are bribery, securities law violations in buying the shares of the most profitable enterprises, absence of the necessary documents avowing sources of income in acquiring the large blocks of shares by individuals etc... Those million-dollar credits, which were got under governmental guarantees, were spent past retrieve. There is no information about destiny of 30 million dollars obtained by Social Fund... There is no one sphere of life, which is not touched with corruption... The international community knows Kyrgyzstan as a country introducing democratic reforms and market economy. In practice, this image masks the former command-permission system of management on market relations, which is supported with regulatory acts, rules, and instructions. Therefore, potential foreign investors such as Daewoo, Samsung, BMW and others prefer to invest to economies of the neighbouring countries ..." (Kurmanov 2000). President Akaev does not accept any blame for the current state of Kyrgyzstan, "Today the country (Kyrgyzstan) is poor, largely because of certain events in our history and seventy years spent in the grip of a totalitarian system" (Akaev, 1995,10). Akaev continues, "there are three factors hindering the development of democracy in the Newly Independent States: the former Party nomenclature, our non-democratic folk traditions, and ethnic confrontation... One of our top priorities is to establish inter-ethnic peace and harmony" (Akaev 1995:15). "There used to be a popular saying in Communist times...." "If you don't steal from the State, then you're stealing from your own family." The higher up you were, the more you could, and usually did, steal. In this respect, little has changed in today's Kyrgyzstan' (Bransten 1997).

¹⁵¹"Some of his [President Akaev's] close relatives and leading supporters have garishly enriched themselves at public expense" (Kinzer 1999). See (Hvoslef 1995) for an in depth examination of the role of tribalism in modern Kyrgyzstan. "Politics became the art of family ties and loyalties that occupied the upper classes of society" (Kangas 1995:273). As the newspaper *Kriminal* argued in 1997 that only Talas and Kemin people ran the country. Kemin and Talas, are the homelands of Akaev and his wife respectively. The newspaper was shut down for publishing this article (Anderson 1999).

¹⁵²According to a research survey conducted by USIA, of the many similar interviews, the opinion expressed by an orchard manager in Jalal-Abad, explains the corruption of the akim system. 'I think that privatisation is a complete deception! From the very beginning the akims [local officials] bent it to their wills like a dog so it served them and not the people!' A Tajik journalist in Jalal-Abad also said, 'I agree [with the opinion just cited]. So far, our rulers are deceiving the people. Why? Because they've expropriated [prikhvatizirovali, a play on the word for "privatised"] all the funds. This is expropriation by those who are in power, acting through figureheads. They've expropriated everything" (Dobson 1995:5-6). Moreover, Akaev has moved Northern friends to control the Southern region. For example, the aforementioned former Prime Minister Kubanychbek Jumaliev, was fired by President Akaev when he was Prime Minister because of corruption was then appointed *akim* to Jalal-Abad. Shuffling of key top government officials is one way that Akaev appears to hold a strong intolerance against corruption, while in reality the senior government official fired for corruption charges often turns up in another position (Anderson 1999:27).

¹⁵³There is some evidence that women are less likely to be corrupt and to condone corrupt behaviour. According to a recent IRIS, a Washington based research NGO, study reports,

“corruption is less severe where women comprise a larger share of the labour force, and where women hold a larger share of parliamentary seats” (Anand Swamy 1999).

¹⁵⁴Carley calls these the murky aspects that are crucial-and hard to pin down, some of which plague the entire FSU, like the absence of reformed legal institutions, and some of which are particular to Central Asia, such as the identity crisis. In sum, Central Asia exhibits many ambiguous determinants with few absolutes (Carley 1997:293). “During the transition, female enrolment in higher education has risen from 55% to 66% of all students” (Kuehnast 1997:39). So extreme has the violence against women become that the UN issued a report warning the government to address the serious issue. “In the face of widespread violence against Kyrgyz women—including domestic violence, gang rape, and systematic assault and battery—expert members of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women... urged Kyrgyzstan to re-evaluate its programs and policies... astonished at the rise in the number of vicious crimes against women, they pressed the Government to identify the root causes of that grave phenomena and devise ways to suppress it” (United Nations 1999).

¹⁵⁵“A Western feminist theory seems an extravagant, luxurious emphasis on individual fulfilment in light of the material, financial, psychological and physical hardships that plagued Soviet society and continue to plague post Soviet society” (Holmgren 1995:20). In general, “new feminism” in the FSU, where it exists, has a different style, content, and objective from Western feminism (Buckley 1992:64). Stress, in women’s groups, is primarily placed on economic and family survival.

¹⁵⁶Partha Chatterjee has written a great deal about gendered nationalism in India, including concepts such as *satidaha*, the immolation of widows, etc. (West 1997:xvii). In this body of research Chatterjee asserts that due to colonialism, the home was the location of “nationalism” and under the protection of women, as the public realm was a harsh and destructive environment for Indian identity under colonisation. Traditions and customs were deemed barbaric and backward, not in line with “modernisation” that the British Empire was attempting to bring to India. The home provided a spiritual, private, space for Indian tradition and custom that was untouched by colonisation. This is similar to the situation in Kyrgyzstan.

¹⁵⁷It is a consistent Western mistake to understand the FSU in terms of Marxism. Marxism in the Soviet Union is similar to Muslims in Kyrgyzstan today. The theory was used as propaganda when necessary but society was never formed upon authentic Marxist or communist lines. The Soviet Union, and its legacy today, was an abusive, totalitarian regime, that used and manipulated its tightly controlled population as a means to the end of global political and economic domination, which it failed to achieve.

¹⁵⁸See also: (Yuval-Davis 1997).

¹⁵⁹In all revolutions, women who had been “loyal” to the cause, who were qualitatively and quantitatively necessary to achieve revolutionary objectives, were marginalized when the new regime needed a male elite in order to receive international recognition and legitimatisation (Lorber 1994:255). An overview of this discussion is presented in Mary Buckley’s *Perestroika and Soviet Women* (Buckley 1992) and (Pavlychko 1992:89).

¹⁶⁰Of one hundred members of the *Jogorku Kenesh*, Kyrgyz parliament, only five are women. See Eugene Huskey, *Kyrgyzstan: The Fate of Political Liberalisation*, in *CONFLICT, CLEAVAGE, AND CHANGE IN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS*, 264 (Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott eds., 1997). Polygamy narrowly lost a vote in the *Jogorku Kenesh* to make it legal in the early 1990’s; however, the parliament has no records of past votes. Magzimov Jenish Mamyrakashevich, *Jogorku Kenesh* staff member, Expert of Government Committee on Law-Making, confirmed (Telephone and Personal Interview of September 7 and 6 respectively, 1999) that the debate took place and that except for one to six votes (he couldn’t remember exactly) polygamy would have been legal.

¹⁶¹Wahabism is radically different from the traditionally practised Sufism as it represents “a more austere form of Islam. If Sufism is more inward-looking, concentrating on internal mysticism, Wahabism is more outgoing, even aggressive” (Corley 1999). Wahabism was founded by 18th-century Arabian preacher Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, who

called for a return to “pure Islam.” Sheikh Muhammad bin Saud joined Wahhab and provided political and military power to support. There are now Wahhabis missionaries in Kyrgyzstan, financed by wealthy Saudi families (Brauer 1999) and (Pannier 1999), who suspected to be part of the Batken rebels and supported by the Taliban. While the first strand of Islam is supported by the government and general population of Kyrgyzstan, Wahabism is greatly feared (Corley 1999) as the Central Asian population cling to a weakening secular statehood. Furthermore, because the fighting in Afghanistan has produced a large number of refugee whom have fled into all of the modern Central Asia states, creating tense issues around refugee populations, scarcity of resources, and ethnic tensions, Islamic fundamentalism is greatly resented. “Saudi Arabia was among the major donors to Islamic projects as the formerly communist world opened up again to religion in the late 1980s. From Macedonia and Bosnia to Central Asia, the Saudis have been financing the building of mosques and medressahs (Islamic schools) and sponsoring theological students” (Corley 1999).

¹⁶²In 1970 two mullahs protested about miniskirts, women teachers, and schoolgirls by shooting at the legs of women in Western clothing and throwing acid upon the women. Gulbeddin Hekmatyar was involved in this event, aiding the mullahs in these human rights violations. Hekmatyar was a leader in the mujahideen and hailed a “freedom fighter” by then US President Ronald Reagan (Moghadam 1997:85).

¹⁶³If a man sees another man’s wife naked the husband, in order to save the honour of his generations, should kill the man who saw his wife naked. Raya Kadyrova, Director of the Kyrgyz NGO, Foundation for Tolerance International, recorded this event and related that she was convinced that the Tajik men forced their wives to lay naked. (Kadyora 2000, Kadyrova 1998, and Berdiev 1999).

¹⁶⁴Thus tribalism, while providing a fair amount of stability in the current crisis environment is also most likely to lead to future “ethnic” conflict as groups of Kyrgyz citizens, Koreans, Germans, Jews, Russians, Uzbek, etc., that have no nomadic past nor tribal lines become increasingly frustrated by living in a country that is governed by tribal relations.

¹⁶⁵ See also: See President Akaev’s speech to members of *aksakal* courts, UTRO BISHKEKA, 8 May (1999) 2.

¹⁶⁶According to the report one Kyrgyz NGO wrote after the 1995 UN Beijing women’s conference, “Economic and cultural crisis in Kyrgyzstan led to sudden moral principles decline, moral faintheartedness..., gradual forgetting about the historical inheritance, indifferent relations among people and many other negative consequences. The transitional period burden in all forms first of all hit women. This was reflected in family life where the growth of violence in relation to a woman is observed and expressed in beating, systematic injury causing, psychological dignity humiliation, and often getting raped by a husband. ... we have to make note that a subject applying violence to a woman in a family is not only a husband but also close relatives” (Karasaeva 1998).

¹⁶⁷“Russian culture was also heavily promoted in the Central Asian republics, much more so, ironically than in Russia itself, where it might have been dangerous to Soviet ideology. In Central Asia it became a tool for suppressing the influence of the indigenous culture” (Carley, 1997:300). A. Tabyshalieva, Director of the Kyrgyz Peace Research Centre, provides an overview of current instability factors in Kyrgyz society. These include: economic stagnation; sharp drop in living standards; inter-regional dependencies for water, gas, energy, raw materials; privatisation attempts are, rightly viewed, as ‘former communist—current democrats stealing from the state; division of Labour and new wealth fall along ethnic lines; corruption, drug trade, and the Mafia; traditional versus modernity cross-generation conflict; brain-drain; water is scarce and the Aral Sea and poor water management will lead to increased tensions; general emotional confusion—not knowing where to look now that the state is gone; new foreign quests for oil; and the Tajik and Afghan war (Tabyshalieva 1997). To Tabyshalieva’s lengthy list this researcher would add; high alcoholism rates, break-up of the family, tribalism, foreign corruption, decline in educational standards and general

rate of drug addiction among young men is 2.5 times higher than male adults (*Slovo Kyrgyzstana* 2000). On 9 October 1998, 700 tons of weapons heading to Afghanistan from Iran were confiscated by the Osh National Security Department. The weapons were in 16 train cars and were labelled humanitarian aid. The weapons includes: anti-tank mines, land mines, grenades, machine gun bullets, cannon projectiles, and missiles (Dyryldaev 1998).

¹⁷⁵“Over the last decade, Osh has emerged as a key transit centre for arms headed for the Tajik and Afghan battle zones, as well as for drugs destined for Russia and Europe. In October 1998, Kyrgyz customs officials discovered 700 tons of weapons sent from Iran to Afghanistan camouflaged as humanitarian aid. According to Alexander Zelichenko, an official with the Kyrgyz anti-drug police, some 100 kilograms of opium were transported daily across the Kyrgyz-Tajik border between 1993 and 1997. Zelichenko says that the main danger to the country from the drug trade is that the cash it generates has the potential for corrupting badly paid government officials, and indirectly helps to fuel the conflicts in Tajikistan and Afghanistan, where warlords use drugs to pay their troops” (Cheterian 1999). See also: (United Nations 1997) and (Anderson 1999: 19-21, 90-91).

¹⁷⁶“Spread across 22,000 kilometres, the Fergana Valley is the economic, religious, and multiethnic heart of Central Asia. It is home to 9 million people, nearly a fifth of the population of the region. With a predominately Uzbek population, the valley sprawls across three Central Asian nations: Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan—a legacy of Soviet efforts to ensure that it would never emerge as a unified regional power. That attempt has been successful in many ways, as the valley is the epicentre of the high-stakes political and ethnic rivalries that spill across its borders” (Cheterian 1999).

¹⁷⁷ See (Akbarzadeh 2000) .

Endnotes for Chapter Five

¹⁷⁸“The method must follow the question” (Gene Glass in Tashakkori, 1998:22). The works of Glaser and Strauss (1967), Creswell (1995), Brewer and Hunter (1989), Patton (1990), Sechrest and Sidani (1995), Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) and Patton (1990), Corbin and Strauss (1990), Strauss and Corbin (1994), and Galtaung (1988) have all contributed to the dual paradigm research model utilised in this research. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) describe mixed method model as “studies that are products of the pragmatist paradigm and that combine the qualitative and quantitative approaches within different phases of the research process” (Tashakkori 1998:19). Rule (1997), McKenize, Powell, and Usher (1997), Galtung (1988), Foucault (1980), Gadamer (1975), Harding (1987), Hekman (1990), Stanley (1990), Reason (1988), Smith (1987), Webb (1991b), Steier (1991), Unger (1987), Stones (1996), Sylvan and Glassner (1985), Smith (1999), Blaikie (1993), Crotty (1998), Williams, Mundy, and Stuart (1996), Bunge (1998), Dubin (1978), Nicholson and Seidman (1995), Tucker (1998), and Renzetti and Lee (1993) have provided a base for paradigm development and theoretical research design.

¹⁷⁹Coffey and Atkinson (1996), Silverman (1993), Psathas (1994), Denzin and Lincoln (1994), Stern and Kalof (1996), Dey (1993) Tesch (1990 and 1991), Strauss and Corbin (1990), Miles and Huberman (1984), Strauss (1987), Bliss (1983), Sayer (1992), Becker and Geer (1982), Fielding and Lee (1991), Gubrium and Holstein (1997), and Ely, Vinz, Downing, Anzul (1997) have contributed significantly to construct of qualitative research and design in this research. See also: Schacht (1995), Bryman and Cramer (1990), Hedrick, Bickman, and Rog (1993), Denscombe (1998), Traub (1994), Malec (1993), Maier (1991), Lewis-Beck (1994), Sapsford and Jupp (1996), Boniface (1995) Burstein, Freeman, and Rossi (1985), Merton, Coleman, and Rossi (1979), Blossfeld and Prein (1998), Patriarca (1996), and Bartholomew (1996) have contributed significantly to concepts of quantitative research and design used in the construction of the quantitative theory, data collection, and analysis of this research.

¹⁸⁰ Located at the Kyrgyz National Statistic Commission <http://stat-gvc.bishkek.su/>

¹⁸¹ 1995 figures are the latest one obtainable as found in *Geografiia*, weekly supplement to the newspaper *Pervoe Sentiabria* December 1995 No. 47 p. 1 (Huskey 1999: 244).

¹⁸² Due to the danger inherent in travelling in Kyrgyzstan and precisely in travelling to the rural region, the researcher travelled whenever possible with a male and female Kyrgyz from the *oblast* in question. This also helped to gain access and trust when conducting *akim* and NGO interviews.

¹⁸³ According to USAID Partner International NGO, Counterpart Consortium's March 2000 list of international organisations registered in Kyrgyzstan.

¹⁸⁴ "In the early 1990s, most observers would have predicted chaotic years and wars ahead for the Central Asian republics as a result of weak states unable to protect artificially drawn and ethnically confusing borders. Excluding the war in Tajikistan, Central Asia has proven more stable than predicted. But as Tashkent-based journalist Abdulkhamid Khojayev puts it: "This place resembles the Soviet Union in the early 1980s. It is calm at the surface. ... Everyone knows something will happen, but no one knows what" (Cheterian 1999).

¹⁸⁵ Weber (Weber 1949) was the first to argue that there was a difference between the natural and social science; however, he thought that once the subject and object were separated a scientific method could be applied. While there are certainly degrees of separation that a researcher can place between him/her self and the object of his/her research, social sciences are not natural sciences and can never be shaped in the same paradigms. Social sciences consist of human interaction between subject and object, and human interaction is always tainted by the subjective, inconsistent human condition. Even Comte (1798-1857), the founder of positivism, in 1844, recognised that rational thought must be subordinated by a love of people and that only motivated in this manner could scientific enquiry into the social condition promote progress.

Endnotes for Chapter Six

¹⁸⁶ See also: (Yuval-Davis 1998:178) who talks about this paradox.

Endnotes for Chapter Seven

¹⁸⁷ "In fact, research has shown that it is not the men who first introduce children into the ethnic imagination of their community. It is the women through songs, stories, legends, and folk tales. They keep alive the myths and are the first to transmit a sense of the collective memory of success and suffering to children. Stories of great kings, the description of 'other' people are often imbibed by children not from racist patriarchs but from the mother who distils this information and first creates an awareness of ethnic or nationalist belonging" (Coomaraswamy 1999:8). The field research of this dissertation contradicts this notion.

¹⁸⁸ Stetson (1995) provides an excellent alternative framework of citizenship and how it could include women. Makus' (1996) conclusion provides excellent prescriptive support. (Dean 1997) and (Voet 1998) both include a useful sections on feminism and the new democracy. use this for prescriptive.

¹⁸⁹ Says Frankel, "no one can say with assurance that democracy makes people wiser or more virtuous. But political democracy invites men to think that there may be alternatives to the way they are governed. ... the virtue of liberal democracy is that it permits second thoughts... it is a system that makes it possible for men, not to love their enemies, but at least to live without fearing them" (Frankel 1962: 173, 174, 177). Frankel recognises what US democracy assistance has forgotten, that "the importance of the democratic political method lies mainly in its non-political by-products. ... in the conditions that protect its liberties in the kind of consensus that prevails in the character of the conflicts that go on within it and in the manner

in which it educates its rulers and citizens... so far as political democracy is concerned these conditions are only means to ends: they make competitive, elections possible. But it is because a system of competitive elections requires and fosters such conditions that it justifies itself. The conditions required for maintaining an honest electoral system are the best reasons for wishing to maintain it" (Frankel, 1962:168).

¹⁹⁰A GAO study, "US Had Made Slow Progress in Involving Women in Development," demonstrates how little women have been considered in US democracy assistance. Although this study was completed in 1993 (Martin 1994), Carothers' latest assessment of US democracy assistance also recommends, similar to the 1993 GAO report that democracy assistance does not include women to a sufficient degree (Carothers 1999). Both studies conclude that more substantive involvement of women within programmatic frameworks would improve the success and quality of assistance.

¹⁹¹ To some degree, this is already being recognised as the field research for this dissertation was funded twice by the US Department of State Title VIII, through the Institute for International Education and The Kennan Institute.

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Glossary of Russian Terms

- Aksakal:* Literally translates as white beard, consists of the oldest men in the village who make all the village decisions, including moral and family, and rule the villages as if an elected town and family morality council.
- Azindan:* A place of illegal detention established by village elders, or the *aksakals*.
- Blat :* A word very important to all aspect of Soviet/post-Soviet society—meaning special connections. The importance of blat cannot be stressed enough. It is a concept for which there is no real equivalent, nor word, in Western society or English language. Without blat one was not able to live under Soviet rule or today. It is the current origin and conflation with corruption. The West sees blat as using private and personal connections to gain “things,” money, products, influence, favours, trips, women, vodka, political freedom, etc. In Western terms, this is corruption or crony capitalism. In Soviet/Russian terms this is “how things are done” there was and is no other means because there was and is no reliable system of rule of law, government, taxes, salary, etc. Corruption in Western terms exists and will continue to exist in post-Soviet societies until there is no need for blat. Blat is the rule of law.
- Bride kidnapping:** The practice of “stealing” a bride when one cannot afford the *kalym*, or bride price.
- Byt:* Daily life.

- Cheka:* *Vse-Rossiyskaya Chrezvychaynaya Komissiya Po Borbe S Kontrrevolitsiyei I Sabotazhem*, or the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage. The first state security apparatus created 20 December 1917, the forerunner of the KGB.
- Chernozhopye:* Black assess—Russian ethnic slur against non-Russian, ethnic minorities, particularly those of Asia origin.
- Choro:* Militias organised by the village elders, *aksakals*, to inflict punishment assigned by the *aksakals* to individuals in a village with whom the *aksakals* have found fault.
- Kyxhna:* Kitchen, a symbol of freedom during Soviet rule.
- Druzhiba narodov:* Friendship of the peoples, another slogan that supported the Soviet meaning of *natsionalnost*. In other words, one could be proud of one's ethnic particulars as long as that pride supported friendship among all peoples/nations of the USSR.
- Ethnos:* Generally translated as ethnicity. The Russian understanding is a self-reproducing collective based on self-identification and a distinct culture. Also often understood as a determinant of social action. *Ethnos* is synonymous with *natsionalnost*.
- GULAGS:** Main Administration of Corrective Labour Camps.
- Grazhdanstvo:* Citizenship.
- Internatsionalnost:* Internationalism was a particular slogan that accompanied national diversity and uniqueness. This term was, and is, used as in, "I am not a nationalist. I am an inter-nationalist as part of the USSR."

Jenesin aluu: This is the name given to the Kyrgyz tradition that a widow may not marry anyone else of her choosing but is required to remarry the next of kin in her dead husband's family, i.e. brother, uncle, etc.

Kalym: The price that is paid, by money, property, or livestock to acquire a bride. The brideprice.

KGB: *Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti*, or the Committee on State Security.

Natsionalnost: Most often translated as nationality but in Russian/Soviet terms refers to an individual's membership in a collective or nation rather than a state citizenship. *Natsionalnost* is inherited from one's parents.

Natsionalist: Nationalist was very different from *natsionalnost*, and means does one support one ethnic group/nation above the others? Does one believe that their nation is better than all other people and thus not believe in the equality of nations within the Soviet brotherhood? This term connotes a type of racism, arrogance, and divisive hatred that could promote conflict between ethnic/national groups and a separation from the then USSR state. People were taught that to be proud of one's nation was good but to be a nationalist was bad.

Natsionalism: Nationalism. Although the USSR encouraged *natsionalnost* identity, nationalism was not encouraged, and, in fact, was active and severely discouraged. Nationalism was seen as subverting the State. Same connotation as above.

NKVD: People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs.

Raznoobrazie: National diversity, encouraged by the Soviet system but only within the overarching and strict limits of the Soviet state.

Rabotnitsa: Working woman.

Svoeobrazie: National uniqueness, again encouraged by the Soviet system but only within the overarching and strict limits of the Soviet state.

Sharoo: Female slavery.

Zhensovety: Women's councils.

Acronyms

ABA/CEEI - American Bar Association/ Central and East European Law Initiative

ADB - Asian Development Bank

CAR - Central Asian Region

CEC - Central Election Commission

CNFA - Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs

CP – Congressional Presentation

D&G – Democracy and Governance

DRL - Democracy, Rights, and Labour

EBRD - European Bank for Reconstruction & Development

E&E – Europe and Eurasia (USAID’s Division)

ENI - Bureau for Europe and the New Independent States

EU - European Union

EU/TACIS - European Union / Technical Assistance for Commonwealth of Independent States

FINCA - Foundation for International Community Assistance

FY- Fiscal Year

GAO – Government Accounting Office

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GONGO – Government Operated Non-governmental Organisation

GTD - Global Training Development

GTZ - German Agency for Technical Cooperation

ICMA - International City/County Management Association

IFES - International Foundation for Electoral Systems

IMF - International Monetary Fund

IR - Intermediate Result

ISAR - Initiative for Social Action and Renewal in Eurasia

LEA – Law Enforcement Agencies

LLR - Low Level Result

MCI - Mercy Corps International

MPP - Mission Performance Plan

NED – National Endowment for Democracy
NDI - National Democratic Institute
NGO - Non-governmental organisation
NIS - New Independent States
NPI - New Partnership Initiative
NSC - National Security Commission
ODIHR – OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
ODT - USAID’s Office of Democratic Transitions
OSCE - Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OST - Office of Social Transitions
R4 - Results, Review and Resource Request
SO - Strategic Objectives
SRO - Self-Regulatory Organisations
UN - United Nations
UNDP - United Nations Development Programme
UNGIDB - United Nations Gender in Development Bureau
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF - United Nations Children Fund
US – United States
USAID - United States Agencies for International Development
USIS - United States Information Service
USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Akim's Bibliographical Information

As of 1 March 2000

Osh – Temirbek Akmataliyev: He was former governor (*akim*) of Talas *oblast*. A refined man whose main activities are putting up monuments of great people and organising concerts and marathons. He is also well known for his womanising skills, is alleged to enjoy young women. He is also very Islamic orientated and gave the most “Islamic” responses when I surveyed him. He does not like foreigners and believes that women should not be active in public life but rather should be home.

Batken – Mamat Aybalayev: He was the director of the Kadamjay Surma Kombinaty, Kadamjay Region of former Osh *oblast*, the only Antimony Industrial complex in the Republic. He was fired from the office for leading the complex to huge financial damages. There was even a criminal case opened on him but the results were inclusive probably because he became a deputy to *Jogorku Kenesh*, House of Representatives, and received immunity. After Batken crisis, he gained the trust of Akaev again. Batken was not an *oblast* when I was conducting research in August 1999.

Jalal-Abad– Kubanychbek Jumaliyev: Reported to be the “disciple” of Akaev –he was formerly Akaev’s student in physics. An apparent smart and gentle man who provided very good and honest responses for my research. However, as in all areas of Kyrgyzstan, looks can be deceiving; he is under criminal investigation and reported to be a main accompish in the \$200 million scandal that rocked the country. (RFE/RL Article 17 December 1999, “Two Former Kyrgyz Premiers Implicated in Corruption Case.” <http://www.rferl.org>).

Talas– Keneshbek Karachalov: He was appointed recently, in December 1999. I did not interview him.

Naryn – Askar Salymbekov: Askar Salymbekov is one of the first “juggernaut” businessmen in the Republic. He is the owner of the “Dordoï” complex (Tolchok), the largest bazaar in the country. Now, he is a grand patron of a national sport games “*ulak*.” He was the worst *akim* I interviewed; not very intelligent and obviously corrupt. He did not attempt to provide answers that gave the impression that he was concerned about the population. He only wanted to talk about his trips abroad and how wonderful Akaev is. He also thinks that in ten years Kyrgyzstan will be a superpower “again” and he will “be President.”

Chui – Kurmanbek Bakiev: This Bakiev is from the famous family of Bakievs – all of his brothers have held important positions in the government departments (KGB, MVD). His brother Marat Bakiev was a deputy in the *Jogorku Kenesh* and the other brother is the Chief Prosecutor of the Jalal-Abad *oblast*. This was the best *akim* that I interviewed. He was smart and honest about the problems that Kyrgyzstan is facing. He was willing to critique the government (within reason) and seemed earnest and sincere about improving life in his *oblast*.

Issy Kul – Toychubek Kasymbekov: This governor is the one who has been in office the longest. He has the reputation, more than others, of a sycophant. For example, in the winter of 1998-1999 when Akaev visited his *oblast* he ordered 40 tall pine trees cut from the mountains and put them in the ground along the road where Akaev was to drive by. He then boasted to Akaev about his efforts to make the region green. I did not have the opportunity to interview this *akim*.

Two Way Crosstabulation of Key Correlates & the Four Key Variables Combined with Controlling for Gender

Having investigated the simple two-way relations between the survey entities and the four variables of age, ethnicity, region, and gender the analysis progressed to re-examine the two-way relations between the survey entities and age, ethnicity and region controlling for gender. The gender control resulted in a significant level of relationships that were suppressed or revealed when gender was controlled for. This indicated that gender was highly salient for the variables in question. Results for the simple two-way relationship results are located in the columns sub-headed UC, for uncontrolled, and the gender controlled relations are located in the column sub-headed C, for controlled, in the Matrix Table. Survey questions that are highlighted by bold signify that these questions were affected significantly by gender.

Matrix Key

- UC Uncontrolled*
- C Controlled*
- No significant relationship*
- S Significant variable relationship but with the gender cell blank means that gender is a confounder and controlling for gender reveals the LACK of relationship*
- X Significant relationship between variables but look to gender cell to determine relationship*
- OX Controlling for gender produced a significant relationship that the simple variables did not account for; therefore, gender is a suppresser of the two way relationship and SHOULD be controlled for*
- XX- Both variables and gender control produced significant relationships. The gender control results was weaker than the variable; therefore, gender is a mild confounder but a significant genuine relationship persist*
- XX+ Both variables and gender control produced significant relationships. The gender control result was stronger than the variables; therefore, gender is a mild suppresser of the two-way relationship and SHOULD be controlled for*

Survey Set A.1 Significant Results Matrix

Survey Questions	Age		Region		Ethnicity		Gender
	UC	C	UC	C	UC	C	UC
Who are you?	S	--	--	--	S	--	S
Describe yourself in one word?	S	--	S	--	--	--	S
How do you know your child's ethnicity?	X	XX-	S	--	S	--	--
Who taught ethnicity to your child?	X	XX-	--	OX	S	--	S
How do you know your ethnicity?	--	--	S	--	S	--	S
Who taught you your ethnicity?	--	--	--	--	S	--	S
Do you have an ethnic identity?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
What are the qualities of your ethnicity?	X	XX-	S	--	S	--	--
What are the traditions, symbols, values, and stories of your ethnicity?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Do men and women have different ideas & means of ethnic identification?	S	--	S	--	--	--	--
Do you feel an ethnic or citizen identity before being a man?	S	--	--	--	--	--	--
Do you feel an ethnic or citizen identity before being a woman?	S	--	--	--	--	--	S
Who is a citizen of Kyrgyzstan?	--	--	X	XX	--	--	--
Does the new Kyrgyz State have an ethnicity?	--	OX	S	--	--	--	--
Are you active in politics/government and how?	X	XX+	-	OX	--	--	S
Are you active in your community? If you are active, what do you do?	--	--	--	--	S	--	--
Are you a nationalist, and why or why not?	--	--	--	--	X	XX+	--
Is it different under the new Kyrgyz State than it was during the Soviet period?	X	XX-	S	--	--	--	S

Full Text of Original Survey Sets

Survey Set One-Kyrgyzstan Population

A.1) Adult Primary Self Identification

(Green Form: Adult population, defined in Kyrgyzstan as 18 and over. For use in market place interviews). The survey objective is to illicit local self-identification of adult primary identification levels and determine if this differs between gender, rural-urban, education level, ethnic groups, etc.

- 1) Who are you?
- 2) Where do you live?
- 3) What do you live in?
- 4) Who is a citizen of Kyrgyzstan?
- 5) Are you male or female?
- 6) What is your age?
- 7) What is your education level?
- 8) Are you married?
- 9) Do you have children?
- 10) If you have children how many?
- 11) What age are these children?
- 12) What sex are the children?
- 13) Do your children have an ethnic identity?
- 14) If so, what and how was this determined?
- 15) Who teaches your children about their ethnic identity?
- 16) Are your children in school?
- 17) What do you do for money?
- 18) Are you active in politics/government and how?
- 19) Do you have an ethnic identity?
- 20) If you have an ethnic identity, what is it?
- 21) How do you know your ethnic identity?
- 22) What are the qualities of your ethnicity?
- 23) Are you active in your community?
- 24) If you are active, what do you do?
- 25) Who taught you about your ethnic identity?
- 26) If you're married, what is your husband/wife's ethnicity?
- 27) What are the qualities of your husband/wife's ethnicity?
- 28) Does the new Kyrgyz State have an ethnicity?
- 29) If the new Kyrgyz State has an ethnicity, what is it?
- 30) Is life different under the new Kyrgyz State than it was during the Soviet period? a) If so, how?
- 31) Do men & women have different ideas/means of ethnic identity? a) Why or why not?
- 32) Do men feel an ethnic identity before being male?
- 33) Do women feel an ethnic identity being female?
- 34) What are the traditions/symbols/values/stories of your ethnicity?
- 35) Are you a nationalist and why or why not?
- 36) Describe yourself in one word.

A.1) Самоопределение взрослых

(Зеленая форма: взрослое население определенное как граждане 16 лет и старше. Для интервью на рынках и в домах. Перед распространением необходимо пронумеровать каждую форму).

Целью данного опроса является изучение самоопределения взрослого населения, и определить есть ли разница по признакам пола, городским и сельским населением, уровнем образования, этническими группами, и.т.д.

- 1) Кто Вы?
- 2) Где Вы живете?
- 3) В чем Вы живете?
- 4) Кто является гражданином Кыргызстана?
- 5) Вы мужчина или женщина?
- 6) Сколько Вам лет?
- 7) Каков Ваш уровень образования?
- 8) Вы женаты/замужем?
- 9) У Вас есть дети?
- 10) Если есть дети, то сколько?
- 11) Сколько лет Вашим детям?
- 12) Какой пол у ваших детей?
- 13) Есть ли у Ваших детей этническая принадлежность?
- 14) Если да, то как это определяется?
- 15) Кто учит Ваших детей их этнической принадлежности?
- 16) Ходят ли Ваши дети в школу?
- 17) Если Ваши дети ходят в школу, то в какую и в какой класс?
- 18) Каким образом Вы зарабатываете деньги?
- 19) Имеет ли новое Кыргызское государство этничество?
- 20) Если да, то какое?
- 21) Откуда вы знаете о государственной этнической определенности?
- 22) Если существует Кыргызской государственной этничество, влияет ли оно на Вашу жизнь?
- 23) Если существует Кыргызской государственной этничество, как оно влияет на Вашу жизнь?
- 24) Если у Вас есть этническая определенность, отличается ли оно при Кыргызском государстве от того, что было при Советском Союзе?
 - а) Если да, то как?
 - б) Если да, то почему?
 - с) Откуда Вы это знаете?
- 25) Отличаются ли понятия и способы этнической определенности у мужчин и женщин?
 - а) Почему?
- 26) Чувствуют ли мужчины свою этническую или гражданскую определенность до самоопределения что они мужчины?
- 27) Чувствуют ли мужчины свою этническую или гражданскую определенность до самоопределения что они женщины?
- 28) Каковы традиции, символы, ценности, и истории вашего этничества?
- 29) Вы националист? Почему?

30) Охарактеризуйте себя одним словом.

31) Опишите ваш типичный день.

B.1) Child Primary Self- Identification

(Blue Form: Child population, defined in Kyrgyzstan as 18 and under. For use in secondary schools based interviews)

The survey objective is to illicit local self-identification of child primary identification levels and determine if this differs between gender, rural-urban, education level, ethnic groups, etc.

- 1) Who are you?
- 2) Where do you live?
- 3) What do you live in?
- 4) What school do you attend?
- 5) What grade level?
- 6) Are you male or female?
- 7) What is your age?
- 8) Do you have parents?
- 9) If you have parents do you have a mother?
- 10) Do you have a father?
- 11) Who is your mother?
- 12) What ethnicity is your mother?
- 13) Who is your father?
- 14) What ethnicity is your father?
- 15) Which parent taught you about your ethnicity?
- 16) How did they teach you?
- 17) What did they teach you?
- 18) What do you learn in school about your ethnicity?
- 19) Is your teacher male or female?
- 20) What ethnicity is your teacher?
- 21) What ethnicity are you?
- 22) What are the qualities of your ethnicity?
- 23) Describe yourself in one word.

В.1) Детское самоопределение

(Голубая форма: Детское население, определенное в Кыргызстане как население 16 лет и младше. Для интервью в начальных и средних классах школ, а также на рынках и в домах)

Целью данного опроса является изучение самоопределения детского населения, и определить есть ли разница по признакам пола, городским и сельским населением, уровнем образования, этническими группами, и.т.д.

- 1) Кто ты?
- 2) Где ты живешь?
- 3) В чем ты живешь?
- 4) В какой школе ты учишься?
- 5) В каком классе?
- 6) Ты мальчик или девочка?
- 7) Сколько тебе лет?
- 8) У тебя есть родители?
- 9) У тебя есть мама?
- 10) У тебя есть папа?
- 11) Кто твоя мама?
- 12) Какова этническая принадлежность твоей мамы?
- 13) Кто твой папа?
- 14) Какова этническая принадлежность твоего папы?
- 15) Кто из твоих родителей обучал тебя твоей этнической принадлежности?
- 16) Как они тебя этому обучали?
- 17) Чему они тебя учили?
- 18) Что ты проходишь в школе о твоей этнической принадлежности?
- 19) Твой учитель мужчина или женщина?
- 20) Какова этническая принадлежность твоего учителя?
- 21) Какова твоя этническая принадлежность?
- 22) Каковы качества твоего этничества?
- 23) Охарактеризуй себя одним словом.

C.1 Civil Society

(Yellow Form: This survey was administered to leaders of Kyrgyz civil society/NGOs.)

- 1) What is your name?
- 2) Where do you live?
- 3) What is your position?
- 4) Are NGOs beneficial for Kyrgyz society?
 - a) Why or why not?
- 5) Are you male or female?
- 6) What is your age?
- 7) Does the new Kyrgyz State have an ethnicity?
- 8) If the new Kyrgyz State has an ethnicity what is it and why?
- 9) Who is a citizen of Kyrgyzstan?
- 10) How are these citizens represented?
- 11) Does your organisation help to create a better understanding of what
it means to be a Kyrgyz citizen?
 - a) If so how?
 - b) Is this different than how the government promotes Kyrgyz citizenship?
 - a) If yes, why and how?
 - b) If no, why and how?
- 12) Is Kyrgyzstan a democracy?
 - a) Why or why not?
 - b) Should it be?
 - c) Why or not?
 - d) If it is not a democracy what would make it one?
 - e) If it is not a democracy what is Kyrgyzstan?
 - f) If it is a democracy who/what made/makes it a democracy?
- 13) Why did you create this organisation?
- 14) Are the NGOs part of democratic structures in Kyrgyzstan?
- 15) If you have an ethnicity what is it?
- 16) Is your ethnic identity relevant to your work?
 - a) If yes, why and how?
 - b) If no, why not?
- 17) What do you think of the government's role in Kyrgyzstan?
- 18) What is your knowledge and opinion of foreign assistance in Kyrgyzstan?
- 19) Why do you continue to direct this organisation?
- 20) Where do you see yourself, professionally, in ten years?
 - a) Your organisation?
 - b) Your country?
- 20) Is the objective of your organisation related to the changes in Kyrgyz society since independence?
 - a) If so, how?
- 21) Do you think, and/or want, your organisation to contribute to the

- democratisation of Kyrgyzstan?
- 22) Why are there so few women in Parliament?
a) In the White House?
b) Are these important positions?
c) Why or why not?
- 23) Are there many women leading NGOs?
a) Why or why not?
- 24) Do Kyrgyz men see political space or opening for them themselves?
a) If so, why and how?
b) If so, why and how to they act or not act on this space?
- 25) Do Kyrgyz women see political space or open for them themselves?
a) If so, why and how?
b) If so, why and how to they act or not act on this space?
- 26) Is gender involved in concepts of Kyrgyz citizenship?
a) If yes, why and how?
b) If no, why not?
- 27) What is the most important factor for peace, stability, and economic growth in Central Asia?

С.1 Гражданское общество

(Желтая форма: Данный вопросник будет раздан руководству Кыргызского гражданского общества. Информация о деятельности каждой организации будет записываться.)

- 22) Как Вас зовут?
- 23) Где Вы живете?
- 24) Какова Ваша должность?
- 25) Полезны ли НПО для кыргызского общества?
а) Почему?
- 26) Вы мужчина или женщина?
- 27) Сколько Вам лет?
- 28) Имеет ли новое Кыргызское государство этничество?
- 29) Если существует Кыргызское государственной этничество, что это и почему?
- 30) Кто является гражданином Кыргызстана?
- 31) Как представлены данные граждане?
- 32) Содействует ли Ваша организация лучшему пониманию того, что значит быть гражданином Кыргызстана?
а) Если да, то как?
б) Отличатся ли это от того, как правительство продвигает кыргызское гражданство?
в) Если да, то как?
г) Если нет, то почему?

- 33) Есть ли в Кыргызстане демократия?
- а) Почему?
 - б) Должна ли она быть?
 - в) Почему?
 - г) Если демократии нет, то что могло бы содействовать ее созданию?
 - д) Если Кыргызстан не демократичен, то какой он?
 - е) Если Кыргызстан демократичен, то кто/что способствует этому?
- 34) Для чего была создана Ваша организация?
- 35) Являются ли НПО частью демократической структуры Кыргызстана?
- 36) Если у Вас есть этническое, какое оно?
- 37) Имеет ли Ваша работа отношение к Вашей этнической принадлежности?
- а) Если да, то какое и почему?
 - б) Если нет, то почему?
- 38) Что Вы думаете о роли правительства в Кыргызстане?
- 39) Каково Ваше знание и мнение по поводу иностранной помощи Кыргызстану?
- 40) Почему Вы продолжаете управлять этой организацией?
- 41) Где Вы себя видите в профессиональном плане через 10 лет?
- а) В вашей организации?
 - б) В вашей стране?
- 20) Имеют ли отношение цели Вашей организации к переменам в кыргызском обществе после независимости?
- а) Если да, то каким образом?
- 21) Считаете ли Вы что Ваша организация делает вклад в процесс демократизации Кыргызстана?
- 22) Почему в парламенте так мало женщин?
- а) В Белом доме?
 - б) Важны ли эти посты?
- в) Почему?
- 28) Много ли женщин, руководящих НПО?
- а) Почему?
- 29) Принимают ли кыргызские мужчины активное участие в политической деятельности?
- а) Если да, то как и почему они действуют на политической арене?
- 30) Принимают ли кыргызские женщины активное участие в политической деятельности?
- а) Если да, то как и почему они действуют на политической арене?
- 31) Вовлечен ли вопрос пола в концепцию кыргызского гражданства?

- a) Если да, то почему и как?
- б) Если нет, то почему?
- 27) Какой самый важный фактор для мира, стабильности и экономического развития в Центральной Азии?

D.1 Government Reactions

(Pink Form: This survey was conducted in an effort to determine how individuals in elected and political salient appointed positions, in the Parliament, the White House, and the Ministries, view the NGOs.)

- 1) What is your name?
- 2) Where do you live?
- 3) What is your position?
- 4) Are NGOs beneficial for Kyrgyz society?
 - a) Why or why not?
- 5) Are you male or female?
- 6) What is your age?
- 7) Does the new Kyrgyz State have an ethnicity?
- 8) If the new Kyrgyz State has an ethnicity what is it and why?
- 9) Who is a citizen of Kyrgyzstan?
- 10) How are these citizens represented?
- 11) Does your government position help to create a better understanding of what it means to be a Kyrgyz citizen?
 - a) If so how?
 - b) Is this different than how the NGOs promote Kyrgyz citizenship?
 - c) If yes, why and how?
 - d) If no, why and how?
- 12) Is Kyrgyzstan a democracy?
 - a) Why or why not?
 - b) Should it be?
 - c) Why or not?
 - d) If it is not a democracy what would make it one?
 - e) If it is not a democracy what is Kyrgyzstan?
 - f) If it is a democracy who/what made/makes it a democracy?
- 13) What do you do in your position?
- 14) Are the NGOs part of democratic structures in Kyrgyzstan?
- 15) If you have an ethnicity what is it?
- 16) Is your ethnic identity relevant to your work?
 - a) If yes, why and how?
 - b) If no, why not?
- 17) What do you think of the government's role in Kyrgyzstan?
- 18) What is your knowledge and opinion of foreign assistance in Kyrgyzstan?
- 19) How long have you been in this position?
- 20) Where do you see yourself, professionally, in ten years?
 - a) Your government office? b) Your country?

- 21) Is the objective of your government office related to the changes in Kyrgyz society since independence?
 - a) If so, how?
- 22) Do you think, and/or want, your government office to contribute to the democratisation of Kyrgyzstan?
- 22) Why are there so few women in Parliament?
 - a) In the White House?
 - b) Are these important positions?
 - c) Why or why not?
- 32) Are there many women leading NGOs?
 - a) Why or why not?
- 33) Do Kyrgyz men see political space or opening for them themselves?
 - a) If so, why and how?
 - b) If so, why and how to they act or not act on this space?
- 34) Do Kyrgyz women see political space or open for them themselves?
 - a) Is so, why and how?
 - b) If so, why and how to they act or not act on this space?
- 35) Is gender involved in concepts of Kyrgyz citizenship?
 - a) If yes, why and how?
 - b) If no, why not?
- 27) What is the most important factor for peace, stability, and economic growth in Central Asia?

Д1 Реакция правительства

(Розовая форма: данная анкета будет распространена для определения отношения лиц, избранных или назначенных в Парламент, Белый Дом, и министерства к НПО.)

- 1) Как Вас зовут?
- 2) Где Вы живете?
- 3) Какая у Вас должность?
- 4) Полезны ли НПО для кыргызского общества?
 - a) Почему?
- 5) Вы мужчина или женщина?
- 6) Сколько Вам лет?
- 7) Если существует Кыргызское государственной этничество, что это и почему?
- 8) Кто является гражданином Кыргызстана?
- 9) Как представлены данные граждане?
- 10) Содействует ли Ваша правительственная должность лучшему пониманию того, что значит быть гражданином Кыргызстана?
 - a) Если да, то как?
 - 11) Отличается ли это от того, как НПО продвигают кыргызское гражданство?
 - б) Если да, то как?
 - в) Если нет, то почему?
 - 12) Есть ли в Кыргызстане демократия?
 - a) Почему?
 - б) Должна ли она быть?
 - в) Почему?

- г) Если демократии нет, то что могло бы содействовать ее созданию?
- д) Если Кыргызстан не демократичен, то какой он?
- е) Если Кыргызстан демократичен, то кто/что способствует этому?
- 13) Чем Вы занимаетесь будучи на Вашем посту?
- 14) Являются ли НПО частью демократической структуры Кыргызстана?
- 15) Если у Вас есть этническое, какое оно?
- 16) Имеет ли Ваша работа отношение к Вашей этнической принадлежности?
 - а) Если да, то какое и почему?
 - б) Если нет, то почему?
- 17) Что Вы думаете о роли правительства в Кыргызстане?
- 18) Каково Ваше знание и мнение по поводу иностранной помощи Кыргызстану?
- 19) Как долго Вы находитесь на данной должности?
 - 20) Где Вы себя видите в профессиональном плане через 10 лет?
 - а) В правительственном кабинете?
 - б) В вашей стране?
- 21) Имеют ли отношение цели Вашего правительственного офиса к переменам в кыргызском обществе после независимости?
 - а) Если да, то каким образом?
- 22) Считаете ли Вы что Ваш правительственный офис делает вклад в процесс демократизации Кыргызстана?
 - 23) Почему в парламенте так мало женщин?
 - а) В Белом доме?
 - б) Важны ли эти посты?
 - в) Почему?
- 24) Много ли женщин, руководящих НПО?
 - а) Почему?
- 25) Принимают ли кыргызские мужчины активное участие в политической деятельности?
 - а) Если да, то как и почему они действуют на политической арене?
- 26) Принимают ли кыргызские женщины активное участие в политической деятельности?
 - а) Если да, то как и почему они действуют на политической арене?
- 27) Вовлечен ли вопрос пола в концепцию кыргызского гражданства?
 - а) Если да, то почему и как?
 - б) Если нет, то почему?
- 28) Какой самый важный фактор для мира, стабильности и экономического развития в Центральной Азии?

Survey Set Two-International Donor Population

A.2-B.2 USAID Officials in Kyrgyzstan(Regional Desk, i.e. Almaty) & Washington, DC.

(Grey Form: This survey will be conducted in an effort to determine attitudes, understandings, and degree of inclusion of gendered ethnicity in democratic assistance programs in USAID officials in Kyrgyzstan.

- 1) What is your name? (Optional)
- 2) What is your position?
- 3) Are NGOs beneficial for Kyrgyz society? a) Why or why not?
- 4) Are you male or female?
- 5) What is your age?

- 6) Does the new Kyrgyz State have an ethnicity?
- 7) If the new Kyrgyz State has an ethnicity what is it and why?
- 8) Who is a citizen of Kyrgyzstan?
- 9) How are these citizens represented?
- 10) Does USAID democracy programs help to create a better understanding of what it means to be a Kyrgyz citizen?
 - a) If so how?
 - b) Is this different than how the NGOs promote Kyrgyz citizenship?
 - c) If yes, why and how?
 - d) If no, why and how?
- 11) Is Kyrgyzstan a democracy?
 - a) Why or why not?
 - b) Should it be?
 - c) Why or not?
 - d) If it is not a democracy what would make it one?
 - e) If it is not a democracy what is Kyrgyzstan?
 - f) If it is a democracy who/what made/makes it a democracy?
- 11) What do you do in your position?
- 12) Are the NGOs part of democratic structures in Kyrgyzstan?
- 13) Is ethnic identity relevant to USAID democracy assistance?
 - a) If yes, why and how? b) If no, why not?
- 14) What do you think of the Kyrgyz government's role in Kyrgyzstan?
- 15) What is your knowledge and opinion of foreign assistance in Kyrgyzstan?
- 16) How long have you been in this position?
- 17) What are the traditions, symbols, values, and stories of Kyrgyz ethnicity?
- 18) Why does the US government promote democracy in Kyrgyzstan?
- 19) Where do you see Kyrgyzstan in ten years?
- 20) What is the objective of USAID democracy assistance to Kyrgyzstan?
- 21) Do concepts of ethnic identity differ between male and female Kyrgyz? a) If so, how?
- 22) Are USAID democracy funds contributing to the democratisation of Kyrgyzstan? a) If yes, how? b) If no, why not?
- 23) Why are there so few women in Parliament?
 - a) In the White House?
 - b) Are these important positions?
 - c) Why or why not?
- 24) Are there many women leading NGOs? a) Why or why not?
- 25) Do Kyrgyz men see political space or opening for them themselves?
 - a) If so, why and how?
 - b) If so, why and how to they act or not act on this space?
- 26) Do Kyrgyz women see political space or open for them themselves?

- a) If so, why and how?
- b) If no, why and how to they act or not act on this space?
- 27) Is gender involved in concepts of Kyrgyz citizenship?
 - a) If yes, why and how? b) If no, why not?
- 28) What is the most important factor for peace, stability, and economic growth in
 - Central Asia?

C.2-D.2 USAID Partner Organisations in Kyrgyzstan & Washington, DC

(Red Form: This survey will be conducted in an effort to determine attitudes, understandings, and degree of inclusion of gendered ethnicity in democratic assistance programs in USAID partner organisations in Kyrgyzstan.

- 1) What is your name (Optional)?
- 2) What is your position?
- 3) Are NGOs beneficial for Kyrgyz society? a) Why or why not?
- 4) Are you male or female?
- 5) What is your age?
- 6) Does the new Kyrgyz State have an ethnicity?
- 7) If the new Kyrgyz State has an ethnicity what is it and why?
- 8) Who is a citizen of Kyrgyzstan?
- 9) How are these citizens represented?
- 10) Does USAID democracy programs help to create a better understanding of what it means to be a Kyrgyz citizen?
 - a) If so how?
 - b) Is this different than how the NGOs promote Kyrgyz citizenship?
 - c) If yes, why and how?
 - d) If no, why and how?
- 11) Is Kyrgyzstan a democracy?
 - a) Why or why not?
 - b) Should it be?
 - c) Why or not?
 - d) If it is not a democracy what would make it one?
 - e) If it is not a democracy what is Kyrgyzstan?
 - f) If it is a democracy who/what made/makes it a democracy?
- 12) What do you do in your position?
- 13) Are the NGOs part of democratic structures in Kyrgyzstan?
- 14) Is ethnic identity relevant to USAID democracy assistance?
 - a) If yes, why and how? b) If no, why not?
- 15) What do you think of the Kyrgyz government's role in Kyrgyzstan?
- 16) What is your knowledge and opinion of foreign assistance in Kyrgyzstan?
- 17) How long have you been in this position?

- 18) What are the traditions, symbols, values, and stories of Kyrgyz ethnicity?
- 19) Why does the US government promote democracy in Kyrgyzstan?
- 20) Where do you see Kyrgyzstan in ten years?
- 21) What is the objective of USAID democracy assistance to Kyrgyzstan?
- 22) Do concepts of ethnic identity differ between male and female Kyrgyz? a) If so, how?
- 23) Are USAID democracy funds contributing to the democratization of Kyrgyzstan? a) If yes, how? b) If no, why not?
- 24) Why are there so few women in Parliament?
 - a) In the White House?
 - b) Are these important positions?
 - c) Why or why not?
- 25) Are there many women leading NGOs? a) Why or why not?
- 26) Do Kyrgyz men see political space or opening for them themselves?
 - a) If so, why and how?
 - b) If so, why and how to they act or not act on this space?
- 27) Do Kyrgyz women see political space or open for them themselves?
 - a) If so, why and how?
 - b) If no, why and how to they act or not act on this space?
- 28) Is gender involved in concepts of Kyrgyz citizenship?
 - a) If yes, why and how? b) If no, why not?
- 29) What is the most important factor for peace, stability, and economic growth in Central Asia?

Complete Results for All Survey Sets Except A.1

Data Results for Survey Set One (C.1) Civil Society/NGO Leaders in Kyrgyzstan

Position

- 12% Of those surveyed are Deputy Directors; of these 8% Male
68% Of those surveyed are Directors; of these 29% Male

Gender

- 24% Men
76% Women

Average Age

38

Are NGOs beneficial for KYRGYZSTAN?

- 4% Responded, Yes but three years ago--not now
96% Responded, Yes

Why or Why not?

- 4% Responded "Four girls got a job!"
8% Responded with answers related to democracy promotion or assistance
8% Responded that their NGO supported the state
12% No response
68% Responded that their NGO helped society because the government could not and NGOs are "closer to the problems of the common people" and/or "protected" common people. Examples of responses include:
- "NGOs help when the government is not able to help,"
 - "The development of the third section is essential. The third section is an important factor for the development and democratisation, and for building a civic society as they [NGOs] are more closer to the common people and know their needs," and
 - "They help people who are not protected and the government in resolving problems of social importance."

Does the new Kyrgyz State have an ethnicity?

- 4% Didn't understand
16% No
16% Yes etc.
The extra responses included:
- "There are more than 80 ethnic groups in Kyrgyzstan,"
 - "Yes, it is a sum total of factors: historical traditions, language, state,"
 - "Yes, independence and most of the population is Kyrgyz,"
 - "Yes, but multicultural."
- 64% Yes

If yes, what is State ethnic identity and why?

- 4% Provided irrelevant responses
4% Didn't understand
4% Responded that multi-ethnicity causes problems, "Kyrgyzstan has a very mixed ethnic population that sometimes causes separatists attitudes and movements that has a threat to the state unity"
28% No response
60% Responded with a positive, assertive tone that Kyrgyzstan is multi-ethnic. Examples of such responses include:
- "Kyrgyzstan is an international state. There about 90 ethnic groups and ethnic community organisations that protect their cultural traditions and customs" and
 - "Kyrgyzstan is a multinational state: for example, we have Yakuts, Dungans, etc."

Who is a citizen of Kyrgyzstan?

- 0% Provided the correct legal response
4% Responded closest to the real answer, responding, "those who lived in Kyrgyzstan no less than 3 years and are willing to accept a Kyrgyz citizenship."
20% Responded with either "born" and/or "lives" in Kyrgyzstan
40% Responded with answers that defined citizenship as legally granted by the state, i.e., "who has a passport" or "who has citizenship."
36% Provided subjective responses such as:
- "has passport and feel patriotic,"
 - "everybody who identifies themselves with Kyrgyzstan's culture, traditions and political system," or
 - "who was born in Kyrgyzstan, have citizenship, and who loves Kyrgyzstan."

How are these citizens represented?

- 0% Responded as predicted. This was meant to determine political representation; however all respondents repeated answers relating to legal or other means of determining if one was or was not a citizen.
- 4% Didn't understand
- 20% No response

Does your organisation help to create a better understanding of what it means to be a Kyrgyz citizen?

- 80% Reported, Yes their organisation did promote an understanding of citizenship. This is concerning considering that 0% know what actually constitutes citizenship.
- 20% Responded, No

If so how?

- 8% Responded with economic or business related answers
- 12% Responded with unity, community or collective action related answers
- 12% Responded with human rights related answers
- 24% Responded with civic/political or environmental education/training answers
- 44 % No response

Is this different than how the Government promotes Kyrgyz citizenship?

- 8% Yes-maybe, slightly or sometimes
- 16% No
- 24% Yes
- 52% No response

If yes, why and how?

- 4% Responded with pro-government responses
- 8% Provided anti-government responses, such as:
- "Government works according to the program designed for a long period of time, and we work on the programs designed for a more shorter period of time. I think we work on the basis of partnership, but the government works from the position of power" and
 - "Our government helps people only by word of mouth in reality it [the Government] suppresses any display of civil activity."

- 16% Responded with irrelevant answers
- 72% No response

If no, why and how?

- 96% No response. It is determined that the respondents, accounting for the 96% no response rate saw this follow-up as excessive and redundant.

Is Kyrgyzstan a democracy?

- 8% No response
- 32% Responded that Kyrgyzstan might be a democracy or is at the beginning of democracy. Examples of responses include: "Partly," "Yes, according to the Constitution," and "First steps of democracy"
- 24% Responded, No. Examples of No responses include, "No, rich people have the power"
- 36% Responded, Yes

Why or why not?

- 12% Responded with irrelevant answers, i.e. "to have a developed society"
- 12% Responded that Kyrgyzstan is a democracy due to a progressive elements. Examples include:
 - "Many political parties, NGOs, variety of education, travel abroad, open borders, study of different languages and cultures" and
 - "We can express our opinion more freely, present and push our ideas, independently resolve our own problems, and independently make decisions on our meetings."
- 24% Responded that Kyrgyzstan is not a democracy due to repressive government. Examples include:
 - "Everything is just for a show,"
 - "Government doesn't consider and listen to the opinion of its common citizens,"
 - "I can't see a full democratisation of Kyrgyzstan. Democratisation is a long process, but there are a lot of women organisations that became active and who promotes the progress of democracy in Kyrgyzstan,"
 - "High level officials are corrupt, and human rights are often violated in our country. And women still under the influence of prejudice," and
 - "There are no democratic traditions, citizens are passive, and the government has a wrong policy."
- 52% No response

Should it be?

- 44% Yes
- 56% No response

Why or why not?

- 8% Responded with answers related to financial growth
- 4% Responded with answers related to international reasons, i.e., "Because the world community, development requires it"
- 20% Responded with reasons that related to principles of democracy. Examples include, "There is no progress without real democracy built on the basis of law."
- 68% No response

What would make Kyrgyzstan a democracy?

- 4% Provided irrelevant responses
- 8% Responded with a mix of government and citizen action. Examples include:
 - "Self-consciousness and activity of Kyrgyz citizens, and a replacement of the government leaders" and
 - "So far, only our elite has declared the democracy. It is necessary that common people got imbued with this idea"
- 12% Responded with answers related to citizen action/education
- 12% Responded with answers related to government action. Examples include: "Order, law observance, law improvement, financial stability of citizens, and justice of the government."
- 64% No response

If Kyrgyzstan is not a democracy what is Kyrgyzstan?

- 12% Responded that Kyrgyzstan is in the "process" of democratisation or "on the way to a democracy."
- 20% Responded directly that Kyrgyzstan is "totalitarian," "authoritarian," "bureaucracy," or "anarchy." One respondent answered, "No Kyrgyzstan says it's democratic, but government's corruption stops the development of the democratisation. And our legal system is not perfect."
- 68% No response

If Kyrgyzstan is a democracy who/what made/makes it a democracy?

- 4% Responded that the international community could bring democracy

If yes, why and how?

- 4% Responded that related to non-discrimination such as, "Democratic development touches everybody no matter what their ethnic belongings."
- 8% Responded with answers related to the responsibility to serve the people
- 8% Responded with answers related only to Kyrgyz ethnic people
- 80% No response

If no, why not?

- 4% Responded ethnicity was not important because, "I belong to the primary nationality of Kyrgyzstan, I'm Kyrgyz."
- 12% Responded that ethnicity is not important because there should be no discrimination
- 84% No response

What do you think of the Government's role in Kyrgyzstan?

- 4% Provided irrelevant answers
- 12% Responded that there was no government, there was only President Akaev such as, "In Kyrgyzstan, the government doesn't have any role, everything is in the President's power, and it (the government) expresses only his (President) will, it doesn't have any activities and therefore any work."
- 12% Responded that government played a big role in Kyrgyzstan
- 20% Responded with a positive response of governmental role
- 24% No response
- 28% Provided a negative response of governmental role

What is your knowledge and opinion of foreign assistance?

- 4% Responded with negative opinions of foreign assistance, such as "Thank you, but we should be able to leave without it and rely on ourselves"
- 8% No response
- 28% Provided positive opinions of foreign assistance; however noted that there were problems such as:
 - "Kyrgyzstan receives a lot of foreign assistance which is very good. The only question is how we use it,"
 - "Kyrgyzstan receives foreign aid, but in most situations it is not being used for the purposes it was given to,"
 - "The foreign assistance for Kyrgyzstan is huge. Support goes to all spheres of life, but assistance doesn't always finds its people -- technical assistance and money stays in Bishkek," and

- “I’m aware of the amount of the foreign help, but don’t know where it all goes, and a foreign aid makes Kyrgyzstan dependent.”
- 60% Provided positive opinions of foreign assistance

Why do you continue to direct this organisation?

- 16% No response
- 32% Responded they did this work because they “loved it” and/or it provided self-fulfil and community respect. For example, “I love what I’m doing. I’m realising my dream -- increase of the culture and education level of the nation.”
- 52% Responded with answers that indicated obligation to NGO or to society. For example: “I feel obligated to help elderly poor Russian people.”

Where do you see yourself professionally in ten years?

- 4% Provided irrelevant answers
- 12% Didn’t know
- 40% No response
- 44% Responded that they would be in the NGO community, in a higher position of responsibility

Where will your country be in ten years?

- 4% Didn’t know
- 4% Responded, “In Russia”
- 4% Responded, “In parliament”
- 12% Responded, “active citizen or protecting human rights”
- 72% No response. It appears that this question was misunderstood, given the large no response rate and the response that were given were personal rather than country.

Is the objective of your organisation related to the changes in Kyrgyzstan since independence? If so, how?

- 8% Didn’t know/understand
- 28% No response
- 64% Responded, Yes. Of these, yes responses 56% provided answers related to human rights and/or democracy promotion/protection. Examples include:
- “There is been a totalitarian regime and colonial dependence, and that’s why liberation, increasing of national identity and democratisation is necessary” and
 - “Yes. Our organisation is dealing with Human Rights protection and in any country this is an important factor.”

Do you think and/or want your organisation to contribute to the democratisation of Kyrgyzstan?

4% Maybe

8% No response

88% Yes. Examples include:

- “Yes, if not the organisation then I myself,”
- “Yes. The existence of our NGO is already a democracy,” and
- “Yes, [NGOs] further the growth of people who believe in themselves.”

Why are there so few women in Parliament and White House?

4% Responded that the lack was due to the “Muslim community”

8% No response

20% Responded that the lack related to women’s behaviour, “No women solidarity, political passivity and our mentality”

12% Responded that the lack related to men’s behaviour. Example include:

- “Kyrgyz mentality and Kyrgyz men love power” and
- “Men don’t want women in Parliament, they [men] do everything push them behind. If there were more women in Parliament and in the WH, many problems would be resolved much faster”

56% Responded that the lack related to male societal/government restrictions. Example include:

- “Because in our society people think that women are weak” and
- “We have problems with gender balance, these positions are needed for women, because our main problems are social problems and women are more closer to the social problems.”

Are these important positions? Why or why not?

0% No

40% No response

64% Responded, Yes. Of these, yes responses 24% responded these positions are important to recognise equality. Examples include:

- “Yes, they are important because they decide people’s fate,”
- “Yes. Positions in Parliament would help to increase the role of women in the society, and to promote further education of women and increasing number of women in Parliament,” and

- “Yes. Women are more attentive, stubborn, bring more comfort and poetic.”

Are there many woman leading NGOs? Why or Why not?

4% Didn't know

96% Responded, Yes. Of these responses: 21% Responded that NGO work was the only way to take part in decision making. 50% responded yes because women could do the job better than men. Examples include:

- “Yes, because this is the only way for women to manifest themselves,”
- “Yes, it's a way for them [women] to realise their huge potential, and to show that they also can lead and meet their goals,”
- “Yes, because women always get the most difficult tasks to deal with,”
- “Yes, because its available and its not paid,”
- “Yes, because they [women] better see and realise problems in the society and try to resolve them ASAP. Women are more purposeful and diligent” and
- “Yes, because they do not drink.”

Do men feel free to act in politics? If so, why and how they act or not on this space?

4% No response

8% Sometimes

84% Responded, Yes. Of these 45% Responded this was because men were self-interested. Examples include:

- “Yes, mainly they act in their own interests,”
- “Yes. Sometimes legitimately, sometimes not,” and
- “Yes. They act in their own interests.”

Do women feel free to act in politics? If so, why and how do they act or not on this space?

8% Responded, Yes

12% No response

40% Responded, No

40% Somewhat, “a few,” or “would like to.” For example, “Yes, but not many of them. The time came when women realised that government needs their help”

Is Gender involved in concepts of Kyrgyz citizenship? Why or Why not? And how?

This question no and yes was understand both ways, i.e., no, because there is discrimination and yes because there is discrimination.

- 4% Responded "President Akaev"
- 16% No response
- 24% Responded, No. 55% of which Responded this was because women were not equal. For example:
 - "No, according to the law we have equal rights. But our society has its own unwritten rules" and
 - "No, there are no equal rights."
- 28% Didn't know. For example, "Don't know, perhaps not, because they [politicians] don't have interest in gender balance."
- 28% Responded, Yes. For example, "Yes, according to law, but not in reality."

What is the most important factor for peace, stability, and economic growth in Central Asia?

- 4% Responded, "Liquidation of corruption and illiteracy, and improving the legal system."
- 16% No response
- 16% Responded related to the economy, "Political stability and economic growth -- GDP on the level of 8-10% per year"
- 20% Responded with answers relating to democracy. Examples include:

Examples include:

 - "The development of democracy, but the true democracy, not imaginary one,"
 - "To build a democracy in Kyrgyzstan, and active involvement of women in the democratisation process," and
 - "Democratic development and maintenance of human rights."
- 44% Responded with answers related to stability, security, and ethnic peace/tolerance. Examples include,
 - "It's essential to know the ethnic differences of every nation, pay more attention to the youth -- how/where we want to see them" and
 - "Economic, military and political partnership with NATO, etc., smart use of foreign aid and the end of the religious expansion."

**Data Results for Survey Set One (D.1): Local
Oblast/Government Leaders
(Akims) of Kyrgyzstan**

Gender

100% Male

Average Age

43

Where do you live?

- 25% Lived, before becoming *akim* in the oblast he was now directing.
75% Where from Bishkek or other oblasts.

Are NGOs beneficial for Kyrgyzstan? Why or why not?

- 25% No response
75% Responded that NGOs were necessary/important for society.
Examples include:
- “We need them for our society... they do the difficult work. Why bother them?”
 - “Yes because they help our society so much. In short, we need NGOs. For example one NGO helped children, schools and teachers.”

Does the new Kyrgyz State have an ethnicity?

%100 Responded, Yes. Of the yes response one claimed, “it is multi-ethnic,” another “we have land which we allow everyone to live on.”

If yes, what is State ethnic identity and why?

- 25% Responded that the state is Kyrgyz based.
25% Responded that the state was “one home for all citizens, like Akaev says”
50% Responded that the state is Turkish based.

Who is a citizen of Kyrgyzstan?

- 25% Responded, those with passports
75% Responded, all who live here

How are these citizens represented?

- 25% Responded, "by their rights"
- 25% Responded, "everyone should be peaceful"
- 25% Responded, by quantity of ethnic groups
- 25% No response

Does your government position help to create a better understanding of what it means to be a Kyrgyz citizen?

- 25% Responded, No
- 25% No response
- 25% Responded, "My position doesn't matter. I would help no matter what"
- 25% Responded, "Yes, it helps. How it helps is a difficult question. But it is several sides of a question. 1) Economic and social-political problems. I solve 2) social dependants and 3) street fighting-security and military. Akims, this office, should be working on these three important questions. Security questions are a big concern. There is a problem of criminals on the street because it [the country and Chui] is a crossroads for many people... Chechnya, Uzbeks, Uigher--we have problems with the Diaspora."

Is this different than how NGOs promote Kyrgyz citizenship?

- 25% No response
- 75% Responded, no difference. Examples include:
 - "We are all citizens of Kyrgyzstan and should have the same views"
 - "The *akim* helps the NGOs and NGOs help the *akim* with his work"

Is Kyrgyzstan a democracy?

- 25% Responded, "Democracy is not something to bring on a plate"
- 75% Responded, Yes. One example, "We are an island of democracy. We are a big island."

Why or why not?

- 25% Responded, "Because half of the media is opposition and we have free elections."
- 25% Responded, "We have freedom, pluralism of ideas and an opportunity to progress."
- 25% Responded, "Because our President is a democratic people now have democratic views."

- 25% Responded, "We have a government and laws and departments and how people take these laws that makes a democracy. We have all conditions for a democracy here... we have a great deal of democracy."

Should it be?

- 50% No response
50% Responded, Yes. One response included, "Yes. It is an optional system. ... simple, people have another option but [I] think it is the best... people make this system."

Are NGOs part of democracy?

- 25% No response
75% Responded, Yes. Of these responses one added, "Of course. NGOs give a balance to society. The main goal of a democratic society is to make a balance and to have some conditions to give people opportunities to give the best of their abilities. NGOs are pushing people to do better and helping government by pushing government to do better."

If you have an ethnic identity what is it?

- 100% Kyrgyz

Is your ethnicity relevant to your work?

- 25% No response
25% Responded, Yes. "It is very important to my work... I have a responsibility for all Kyrgyz."
50% Responded, No, ethnicity is "not relevant" or "does not matter."

What do you think of the Government's role in Kyrgyzstan?

- 25% No response
25% Responded, "We can do all"
25% Responded, "A great role. All countries must have a government"
25% Responded, "It doesn't play the role it should"

What is your knowledge and opinion of foreign assistance?

- 25% No response
25% Responded, "We have some problems. I worked in the White House and know the situation well. The role of foreign aid,

- such as EBRD, Islamic Bank, etc. it is good that they help us. The social sphere is a very important role to Kyrgyzstan. UNDP is very important. They help schools, hospitals, etc. Germany and Switzerland helps--France, the Netherlands, TACIS, Danish, ADB.... we are grateful to foreign aid to our President Akaev for getting all the aid.”
- 25% Responded, “Because our President is an international politician. We are grateful to our smart President for bringing us so much aid.”
- 25% Responded, “I have two opinions on this question. First, we need foreign aid but second it makes us lazy, it makes us parasites.”

Where do you see yourself professionally in ten years?

- 25% Responded, “This depends on God.”
- 25% Responded, “I will be serving the people.”
- 25% Responded, “President of Kyrgyzstan.”
- 25% Responded, “I never thought about it.”

Where do you see the position of akim in ten years?

- 25% Responded, “Elected.”
- 25% Responded, “More independent more working for the regions. The Polish system is very good we should be like the Polish system... more power more money... we can fix our problems ourselves.”
- 25% Responded, “More developed, good structure.”
- 25% Responded, “By elections... small changes... better education and better trained people.”

Where will your country be in ten years?

- 25% No response
- 25% Responded, “New President. Government should be better-economy and democracy better.”
- 25% Responded, “It will be the most developed country because we have excellent reforms and we will be the most reformed country!”
- 25% Responded, “Kyrgyzstan in ten years we have very interesting time... mentality... We have a quiet mentality... nationalism is more and more in Central Asia, even we [Kyrgyz] are doing it [nationalism] ourselves.”

Is the objective of your office related to the changes in Kyrgyzstan since independence? If so, how?

- 25% No response

- 25% Responded, Yes
- 25% Responded, "There is a big different. Moscow gave all before. Akims were controlled. Now we have only ourselves. [Akims] should follow and enforce the laws of Kyrgyzstan."
- 25% Responded, "I work long hours and dream about work. The Akim is the assistant to the President and his duty is to control people. There is a direct connection [between democracy and the position of akims] We are no afraid of elections..."

Why are there so few women in Parliament and White House?

- 25% Responded, "Islam, but why should they be in these positions?"
- 25% Responded, "Women are not very active."
- 25% Responded, "Because they do not run for office. You can say there are few... [because] Kyrgyz [women] should stay at home and look after children."
- 25% Responded, "There are many. I don't think the number is small."

Are these important positions? Why or why not?

- 50% No response
- 50% Responded, Yes. "makes laws and controls laws," and "in the USA the White House is not important, here it is the command of the country."

Are there many women leading NGOs? Why or Why not?

- 25% No response
- 75% Responded, Yes. Explanations include:
- "Women and children NGOs are more active,"
 - "All NGOs are led by women.. Kyrgyz women are very strong and I am glad they run the NGOs"
 - "Because they want power and they want to be involved in policy"

Do men feel free to act in politics? If so, why and how they act or not on this space?

- 50% No response
- 50% Responded, Yes. Explanations included: "According to our law everyone can get involved" and "we are all political people-men."

Do women feel free to act in politics? If so, why and how do they act or not on this space?

- 50% No response
50% Responded, No. Explanations included, "Women will become more active in politics" and "Less than men."

Is Gender involved in concepts of Kyrgyz citizenship? Why or Why not? And how?

- 25% No response
75% Responded, Yes. Explanations included:
- "Male"
 - "Men better understand the concepts of citizenship because they feel a responsibility for their family and the republic."
 - "We are all the same. Our biggest problem is that the laws are the same on paper but in life they are different... women are scared."

What is the most important factor for peace, stability, and economic growth in Central Asia?

- 25% Responded, "Roots"
25% Responded, "People getting along better between nations—a better life, economy, work. The Fergana Valley is very important—farmers, youth problems..."
25% Responded, "Is we have peace we can have growth in ten years we will be a superpower again!"
25% Responded, "Harmony and tolerance between people."

**Data Results for Survey Set Two (A.2-D.2): USAID Officials
and USAID Partners
in Washington/ Kyrgyzstan**

Position

Resident Representative (Entire country-based in Bishkek)
Southern Regional Manager (Osh-Jalal-Abad)

Gender

%100 Male

Average Age

33 and 38

Are NGOs beneficial for Kyrgyzstan?

- "Yes"
- "Yes. NGO's have the ability to meet the needs of the people in a more direct and personal way, if they work in an open and democratic way."

Does the new Kyrgyz State have an ethnicity?

- "Yes"
- "No, everyone here is identified by their nationality. They are separate and distinct."

If yes, what is State ethnic identity and why?

- "Primarily Kyrgyz, by virtue of numbers and state dominance of Kyrgyzstan."
- "No response"

Who is a citizen of Kyrgyzstan?

- "Anyone born in Kyrgyzstan or naturalised."
- "People who have a Kyrgyz passport."

How are these citizens represented?

- “By deputies in Parliament, in local councils, and through the elected president and his administration.”
- “There is the local village council, then rayon administration, then Oblast administration, then Deputies at the national level.”

Do USAID democracy programs help to create a better understanding of what it means to be a Kyrgyz citizen?

- “Yes. By providing models and experience from other democratic countries where ethnicity is not the main source of national identity and, in our case, helping those concepts become internalised and home-grown through direct apprenticeship.”
- “No”

Is this different than how NGOs promotes Kyrgyz citizenship?

- “Somewhat. NGOs promote the idea that citizens can change their circumstances and future.”
- “No response”

Is Kyrgyzstan a democracy?

- “Yes, but not a perfect one.”
- “No”

Why or why not?

- “Generally free elections are held, many officials are elected.”
- “It is controlled by a bunch of corrupt officials who were communist under the former Soviet Union. Decisions are made in secret.”

Should it be?

- “Yes”
- “It has great potential (much better than the other 'Stans).”

Why or why not?

- “People’s will should be respected.”
- “I suppose there must be many years of training and maybe when the soviet generation passes on, the children of democracy will make change.”

What would make Kyrgyzstan a democracy?

- “More freedom of expression, assembly, and association would make it more of a democracy. So would more elections of local officials. So would more frequent elections for state positions, rather than only once every five years.”
- “Openness, Less nepotism, Less corruption.”

If Kyrgyzstan is not a democracy what is Kyrgyzstan?

- “It is a proto-democracy, a gestating democracy.”
- “Kyrgyzstan is a little Russia. A few people in control, massive corruption, I think Kyrgyzstan is a mess.”

If Kyrgyzstan is a democracy who/what made/makes it a democracy?

- “In relative terms, however, surrounded as it is by non-democracies, it looks pretty good.”
- “No response.”

Why do you do in your position?

- “I work with Parliament and political parties to help build them as democratic institutions.”
- “I work with NGO’s, local government structures and people to try to improve food sustainability, drinking water, infrastructure and people’s abilities to help themselves.”

Are NGOs part of democracy?

- “Definitely”
- “No”

Is ethnicity relevant to USAID democracy assistance?

- “No. We would like to see an identity based more of shared values and principles than shared ethnicity.”
- “Don’t know”

What do you think of the Government’s role in Kyrgyzstan?

- “The Kyrgyz government doesn’t necessarily like or trust the Kyrgyz people.”
- “It is blocking the development due to high taxes and corruption. If those two things could be changed it would do a great deal to help Kyrgyzstan.”

What is your knowledge and opinion of foreign assistance?

- “Will this be quoted anywhere? Generally, with notable exceptions, I find it overblown, overpaid, lazy, arrogant, and basically ineffective.”
- “It depends. If you are talking about grants or credits. I think there are too many credits given to Kyrgyzstan. The grants are not managed as well as they could be. My opinion is a lot of money has been dumped here with little supervision and capacity building. If there was a partnership rather than sponsorship mentality established here in the beginning Kyrgyzstan would be much further along.”

How long have you been in this position?

- 20 months
- 1.5 years

What are the traditions, values, symbols, stories of Kyrgyz ethnicity?

- “The Manas epic, of course. Also, a kind of adaptable, tolerant, agrarian Islam.”
- “Do you mean Kyrgyz as in the people or Kyrgyz as in the citizen? If citizen, they are varied amongst the many groups here (the big 3 Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Russian) and by region (north – south) and by oblast.”

Why does the US promote democracy in Kyrgyzstan?

- “Strategically, I suppose, to prevent radical Islam from achieving regional strength. Otherwise, out of the goodness of our hearts, because we do believe democracy will lead to better lives for people -- and there’s truly not much other U.S. interest here.”
- “So it doesn’t return to communism.”

Where do you see Kyrgyzstan in ten years?

- “Either fractured between the surrounding states, or with its own non-ethnic political identity based on democratic principles.”
- “My dream is to see a country that is moving towards a better economic situation. To have 30% poverty and less unemployment. To have a government that is by the people, for the people and with the people. But that is a dream. I fear that it will be business as usual.”

What is the object of US democracy assistance in Kyrgyzstan?

- “To help promote stability in the region, and combat the alternative of communism or radical Islam.”
- “It feels like USAID does not want Kyrgyzstan to revert to communism.”

Do concepts of ethnicity differ between male and female Kyrgyz?

- “Yes. Women are less concerned with it.”
- “I don’t think so.”

Are US democracy funds contributing to the democratisation of Kyrgyzstan?

- “Helping create indigenous democrats.”
- “Yes and No. When the money is used correctly, then people understand that in a democratic society there are checks and balances. No, because there was corruption during the soviet times. So life goes on as usual in that respect but the amounts of money is much greater.”

Why are there so few women in Parliament and White House?

- “Cultural impediments to powerful women. Islam, nomadic traditions.”
- “The mentality of women are inferior to men.”

Are these important positions? Why or why not?

- “Yes. Influence future lives.”
- “Yes. I think women in Kyrgyzstan are more responsible and trustworthy than men. (or is that true about the rest of the world as well?) They care more about families and the people. And they are very aware of how to run a household on a small budget.”

Are there many women leading NGOs? Why or Why not?

- “Yes. Almost all. Women are more powerful than men individually in this country, and perhaps less prone to internal division when trying to achieve a goal. They are not nearly as lazy, or as afflicted with alcoholic and other addictions as the men.”
- “Yes. The international community has targeted women for training.”

Do men feel free to act in politics? If so, why and how they act or not on this space?

- “Yes. Changes in laws, upcoming elections. With, of course, many thousands of exceptions, the men are unfortunately

fundamentally and overwhelmingly lazy, so many opportunities will be missed. With, of course, many thousands of exceptions, the men are unfortunately fundamentally and overwhelmingly lazy, so many opportunities will be missed.”

- “No, I think that most don't care. It would be interesting to see how many people who are in power now, were in power before.”

Do women feel free to act in politics? If so, why and how do they act or not on this space?

- “Yes. Changes in laws, upcoming elections. They will achieve more, relatively, than men, as they are generally more focused and more industrious.”
- “Women are submissive and it is the culture for them to be in the background. The majority accepts this role. The few that don't, are quite literally, outcasts.”

Is Gender involved in concepts of Kyrgyz citizenship? Why or Why not? And how?

- “Probably. I have found myself that Russian and Kyrgyz and Uzbek and other women are more often friends with each other than their male counterparts, and that the women are more apt to work together for a goal without regard to their ethnicity.”
- “Yes. Women are made to feel as second class citizens with very little say in what is going on. Culturally and traditionally this is the way life is.”

What is the most important factor for peace, stability, and economic growth in Central Asia?

- “It is a race, in my view, between the impulses towards fracture and balkanisation along ethnic lines, and a growing consciousness which we should encourage of Kyrgyz citizenship which is based on shared values and goals, and less on the ethnicity of the citizens. A melting pot, or at least a rich stew, rather than ingredients stored separately on the shelf.”
- “I think economics is the number one issue. People need to know that they will be able to eat, cloth their children and have a roof over their heads. Secondly, there needs to be respect and understanding of other cultures, religions and traditions. There is a long history of problems in this region due to these factors. It is not something new at all but friction that has simmered over a long time.”

Data Frequency Tables

Frequency Table One Results from Survey Set A.1 (First Grouping of Categories Used for Crosstab1 and Level One Results)

Demographics

EDUCLEV1

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No Response, None	2	.5	.5	.5
Secondary	168	43.8	43.8	44.3
University, Specilise	214	55.7	55.7	100.0
Total	384	100.0	100.0	

MARSTAT1

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Divorced	20	5.2	5.2	5.2
Married	251	65.4	65.4	70.6
Single	108	28.1	28.1	98.7
Widowed	5	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	384	100.0	100.0	

SPOUSEG1

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Mixed	2	.5	.5	.5
Don't Know, None, No Response	111	28.9	28.9	29.4
Kyrgyz	140	36.5	36.5	65.9
Russian/Slavic, Non-Asian, German..	41	10.7	10.7	76.6
Tribal	8	2.1	2.1	78.6
Other, Korean, Jewish..	82	21.4	21.4	100.0
Total	384	100.0	100.0	

DOMONEY1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Professional	48	12.5	13.0	13.0
	Bazar Worker, Driver	99	25.8	26.8	39.8
	Alternative Economy, Trade, Business, Private Firm	65	16.9	17.6	57.5
	Factory, Cafe, cashier	23	6.0	6.2	63.7
	Farmer, Shepherd	9	2.3	2.4	66.1
	Unemployed, Pensioner, housewife, student	71	18.5	19.2	85.4
	Government	54	14.1	14.6	100.0
	Total	369	96.1	100.0	
Missing	System	15	3.9		
Total		384	100.0		

Primary Identity

WHOAREG1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Citizen	20	5.2	5.6	5.6
	Profession /Work	62	16.1	17.3	22.9
	Gender	65	16.9	18.2	41.1
	Name	92	24.0	25.7	66.8
	Ethnicity or Region	31	8.1	8.7	75.4
	Positive Adjectives	1	.3	.3	75.7
	Negative Adjectives	5	1.3	1.4	77.1
	Other, None, Don't know, No response, Person	82	21.4	22.9	100.0
	Total	358	93.2	100.0	
Missing	System	26	6.8		
Total		384	100.0		

SELFDES1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Human, Person, Being	66	17.2	17.2	17.2
	Ethnic	21	5.5	5.5	22.7
	Gender	65	16.9	16.9	39.6
	Positive Adjectives	177	46.1	46.1	85.7
	Negative Adjectives	21	5.5	5.5	91.1
	Profession	26	6.8	6.8	97.9
	Don't Know, No response	8	2.1	2.1	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

Ethnic Origin and Teaching for Self and Children

CHILDTA1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	School, Books, history, teacher, ...	43	11.2	11.9	11.9
	Father, Grandfather, male generations	82	21.4	22.7	34.5
	Mother, Grandmother	44	11.5	12.2	46.7
	Parents	56	14.6	15.5	62.2
	Grandparents	15	3.9	4.1	66.3
	Community, relatives, neighbours, family..	6	1.6	1.7	68.0
	No Response, Don't know, No one, Other	116	30.2	32.0	100.0
	Total	362	94.3	100.0	
Missing	System	22	5.7		
Total		384	100.0		

ETHCHIL1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Mixed	5	1.3	1.3	1.3
	Don't know, None, No Response	107	27.9	27.9	29.2
	Kyrgyz	139	36.2	36.3	65.5
	Russian / Slavic, Non-Asian...	37	9.6	9.7	75.2
	Tribal	13	3.4	3.4	78.6
	Other, Korean, Jewish	82	21.4	21.4	100.0
	Total	383	99.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.3		
Total		384	100.0		

CHILDDE1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Blood, Genes, Land	15	3.9	3.9	3.9
	Father, Grandfather, Male Generations	85	22.1	22.1	26.0
	Mother, Grandmother	12	3.1	3.1	29.2
	Parents	80	20.8	20.8	50.0
	Passport, School, Language, Mosque, Family Name, State	17	4.4	4.4	54.4
	Parents & Passport, School, Language,..	19	4.9	4.9	59.4
	Don't Know, None, No response	156	40.6	40.6	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

HKNOWET1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Blood, Genes, Land	37	9.6	9.7	9.7
	Father, Grandfather, Male Generations	117	30.5	30.5	40.2
	Mother, Grandmother	16	4.2	4.2	44.4
	Parents	144	37.5	37.6	82.0
	Passport, School, language, Mosque, Family, Name, State	25	6.5	6.5	88.5
	Parents & Passport, School, Language,...	21	5.5	5.5	94.0
	Don't know, None, No Response	23	6.0	6.0	100.0
	Total	383	99.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.3		
Total		384	100.0		

WHOTAUG1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	School, Books, history, teacher, literature, including	96	25.0	35.6	35.6
	Fatjer. grandfather, male generations, Askal court, Army	53	13.8	19.6	55.2
	Mother, Grandmother	37	9.6	13.7	68.9
	Parents	31	8.1	11.5	80.4
	Grandparents	14	3.6	5.2	85.6
	Community, relatives, neighbours, family, television, radio	13	3.4	4.8	90.4
	No Response, Don't know, None, No One, Other	26	6.8	9.6	100.0
	Total	270	70.3	100.0	
Missing	System	114	29.7		
Total		384	100.0		

Ethnicity of Self & Other: Qualities and Descriptions

ETHQUAG1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Don't Know / None/Lost	40	10.4	10.5	10.5
	Quality of "their" women	3	.8	.8	11.3
	Negative Adjectives	43	11.2	11.3	22.5
	Not Adjectives / Defined by things	27	7.0	7.1	29.6
	Positive Adjectives	248	64.6	64.9	94.5
	Profession / Work	4	1.0	1.0	95.5
	Religion	3	.8	.8	96.3
	Tribal / Ethnic	14	3.6	3.7	100.0
	Total	382	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	2	.5		
Total		384	100.0		

ETHSYMG1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Don't Know/Don't Have / Many	157	40.9	41.0	41.0
	Family Celeb	74	19.3	19.3	60.3
	Religion (incl religious holidays)	28	7.3	7.3	67.6
	Dress, Customs, Jewellery, appearance, food	18	4.7	4.7	72.3
	Phenotypic appearance	1	.3	.3	72.6
	Literature, Songs, Dance, Stories, Folk	33	8.6	8.6	81.2
	National Games	25	6.5	6.5	87.7
	Negative Adjectives including drinking	13	3.4	3.4	91.1
	Positive Adjectives	31	8.1	8.1	99.2
	Land-Mountain-Country-Livestock	3	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	383	99.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.3		
Total		384	100.0		

YOURETH1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Mixed	8	2.1	2.1	2.1
	Don't Know, None, No Response	25	6.5	6.6	8.7
	Kyrgyz	172	44.8	45.1	53.8
	Russian/ Slavic, Non-Asian, German,...	65	16.9	17.1	70.9
	Tribal	14	3.6	3.7	74.5
	Other, Korean, Jewish, Chinese	97	25.3	25.5	100.0
	Total	381	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	.8		
Total		384	100.0		

ETHNICM1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No Response, Don't Know	134	34.9	34.9	34.9
	Depends on Person/education, Same	111	28.9	28.9	63.8
	Yes, difference and ethnicity is more important for women	14	3.6	3.6	67.4
	Yes, difference and ethnicity is more important for men	119	31.0	31.0	98.4
	No difference (my ethnicity/region) but others are unequal..	6	1.6	1.6	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

MANETHN1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Man	269	70.1	70.4	70.4
	Ethnic	100	26.0	26.2	96.6
	No response, don't know, other	6	1.6	1.6	98.2
	Depends on person	3	.8	.8	99.0
	Man & Ethnic-Cannot Separate	4	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	382	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	2	.5		
Total		384	100.0		

WOMOREG1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Woman	300	78.1	78.1	78.1
	Ethnic	71	18.5	18.5	96.6
	No Response, Don't Know, Other	10	2.6	2.6	99.2
	Depends on person	3	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

NATIONA1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I love people more, Kyrgyz are better...	56	14.6	14.6	14.6
	No, because, mixed blood, grew up with nations,..	317	82.6	82.6	97.1
	No response, don't know, others	6	1.6	1.6	98.7
	Sometimes, due to Batkan	5	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

Citizenship & Ethnicity of State

CITIZEN1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Everyone, Anyone, Me, All People	103	26.8	27.0	27.0
	Anyone who is born here	23	6.0	6.0	33.0
	Anyone who lives here	130	33.9	34.0	67.0
	Legal Definition	46	12.0	12.0	79.1
	Ethnic Kyrgyz Related	37	9.6	9.7	88.7
	Gender Related answer	3	.8	.8	89.5
	Positive Adjectives	17	4.4	4.5	94.0
	Negative Adjectives	2	.5	.5	94.5
	Don't know, No response	17	4.4	4.5	99.0
	Other	4	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	382	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	2	.5		
Total		384	100.0		

KYRGYNE1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Before USSR, Negative...	15	3.9	4.0	4.0
	No	35	9.1	9.3	13.2
	Yes, constitution, flag, land...	7	1.8	1.9	15.1
	Yes, Kyrgyz blood,..	113	29.4	29.9	45.0
	Yes, Democratic, Free, Independent..	19	4.9	5.0	50.0
	Don't Know, No response, Maybe..	189	49.2	50.0	100.0
	Total	378	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	6	1.6		
Total		384	100.0		

Active in Politics/Community/Nationalism

ACTPOLH

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No, Not Interested,..	281	73.2	73.2	73.2
	Yes, Votes, reads papers,...	68	17.7	17.7	90.9
	Interested, Sometimes, Used to be	29	7.6	7.6	98.4
	No Response, Other	6	1.6	1.6	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

ACTCOMM1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No, Not Interested	273	71.1	71.3	71.3
	Yes, Party Member, NGO worker,...	77	20.1	20.1	91.4
	Interested, Sometimes, Used to be	7	1.8	1.8	93.2
	No Response	26	6.8	6.8	100.0
	Total	383	99.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.3		
Total		384	100.0		

Life Conditions under Independence Versus the USSR

BETTERU1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Better under USSR, jobs, money, education.	198	51.6	52.4	52.4
	Better under USSR, independence, freedom democracy	99	25.8	26.2	78.6
	Better now we can be kyrgyz, muslims, ..etc	32	8.3	8.5	87.0
	No Difference, Same	17	4.4	4.5	91.5
	No response, Don't know, Other	32	8.3	8.5	100.0
	Total	378	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	6	1.6		
Total		384	100.0		

Frequency Table Two

Results from Survey Set A.1 (Second Grouping of Categories Used for Crosstab2 and Level Two Results)

Demographics

EDUCLEV2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Secondary	168	43.8	44.0	44.0
	University, Specilised	214	55.7	56.0	100.0
	Total	382	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	2	.5		
Total		384	100.0		

MARSTAT2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Single, Divorced, Widowed	133	34.6	34.6	34.6
	Married	251	65.4	65.4	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

SPOUSEG2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Don't Know, None, No Response	111	28.9	28.9	28.9
	Kyrgyz, Tribal	148	38.5	38.5	67.4
	Russian, Slavic, Non-Asian, German...	41	10.7	10.7	78.1
	Other	84	21.9	21.9	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

DOMONEY2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Professional	48	12.5	12.5	12.5
	Bazar Worker, Driver	99	25.8	25.8	38.3
	Alternative Economy, Trade, Business	65	16.9	16.9	55.2
	Factory, Cafe, Cashier, Farmer, Shepherd	32	8.3	8.3	63.5
	Unemployed, Pensioner, housewife, student, Missing	86	22.4	22.4	85.9
	Government	54	14.1	14.1	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

Primary Identity

WHOAREG2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Citizen, Positive Adj, Negative Adj	26	6.8	6.8	6.8
	Profession / Work	62	16.1	16.1	22.9
	Gender	65	16.9	16.9	39.8
	Name	92	24.0	24.0	63.8
	Ethnicity or Religion	31	8.1	8.1	71.9
	No response, Person, Missing	108	28.1	28.1	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

SELFDES2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Human, Person, Being	66	17.2	17.6	17.6
	Ethnic	21	5.5	5.6	23.1
	Gender	65	16.9	17.3	40.4
	Positive Adjectives	177	46.1	47.1	87.5
	Negative Adjectives	21	5.5	5.6	93.1
	Profession	26	6.8	6.9	100.0
	Total	376	97.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't Know, No response	8	2.1		
Total		384	100.0		

Ethnic Origin and Teaching for Self and Children

ETHCHIL2

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Don't Know, None, No Response, Missing	108	28.1	28.1	28.1
Kyrgyz , Tribal	152	39.6	39.6	67.7
Russian, Slavic, Non-Asian,...	37	9.6	9.6	77.3
Other	87	22.7	22.7	100.0
Total	384	100.0	100.0	

CHILDE2

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Blood Geners, Father, Grandfather...	85	22.1	23.0	23.0
Mother, Grandmother	12	3.1	3.3	26.3
Parents	80	20.8	21.7	48.0
Passport, School, Language, Mosque, Parents,...	36	9.4	9.8	57.7
Don't Know, None, No response	156	40.6	42.3	100.0
Total	369	96.1	100.0	
Missing System	15	3.9		
Total	384	100.0		

CHILDTA2

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid School, Books, history, teacher,...	43	11.2	11.2	11.2
Father, Grandfather, Community, relatives	88	22.9	22.9	34.1
Mother, Grandmother	44	11.5	11.5	45.6
Parents	56	14.6	14.6	60.2
Grandparents	15	3.9	3.9	64.1
No Response, Don't Know, Other, Missing	138	35.9	35.9	100.0
Total	384	100.0	100.0	

YOURETH2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Kyrgyz	172	44.8	44.8	44.8
	Russian / Slavic, Non-Asian, German,..	65	16.9	16.9	61.7
	Other	147	38.3	38.3	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

HKNOWET2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Blood, Genes, Land, Father, Grandfather	154	40.1	40.1	40.1
	Mother, Grandmother	16	4.2	4.2	44.3
	Parents	144	37.5	37.5	81.8
	Passport, School, Language, Mosque, Parents Passport	46	12.0	12.0	93.8
	Don't Know, none, no reponse, missing	24	6.3	6.3	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

WHOAug2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	School, Books, History, Teacher...	96	25.0	25.0	25.0
	Father, Grandfather, Community, Relatives	110	28.6	28.6	53.6
	Mother, Grandmother	37	9.6	9.6	63.3
	Parents	101	26.3	26.3	89.6
	Grandparents	14	3.6	3.6	93.2
	6.00	26	6.8	6.8	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

Ethnicity of Self & Other: Qualities and Descriptions

ETHQUAG2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Don't Know / None ../ Missing	42	10.9	10.9	10.9
	quality of women / not adjectives, profession, religion,..	51	13.3	13.3	24.2
	Negative Adjectives	43	11.2	11.2	35.4
	Positive Adjectives	248	64.6	64.6	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

ETHSYMG2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Don't Know/ Don't Have / Missing / Many	158	41.1	41.1	41.1
	Family Celeb / Religion	102	26.6	26.6	67.7
	Positive Adjectives, Dress, Customs, Jewellery,	49	12.8	12.8	80.5
	Negative Adjectives / Phenotypic, Land-Mountain..	17	4.4	4.4	84.9
	Literature, Dance, Songs, Stories, Folk	58	15.1	15.1	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

ETHNICM2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No Response, Don't Know	134	34.9	34.9	34.9
	Depends on Person, No difference	117	30.5	30.5	65.4
	Yes, difference and ethnicity is more important for women	14	3.6	3.6	69.0
	Yes, difference and ethnicity more important for men	119	31.0	31.0	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

MANETHN2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Man	269	70.1	70.1	70.1
	Ethnic / Man	104	27.1	27.1	97.1
	Ethnic-Cannot separate	11	2.9	2.9	100.0
	No response, don't know, other, depends on person				
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

WOMOREG2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Woman	300	78.1	78.1	78.1
	Ethnic	71	18.5	18.5	96.6
	No reponse, don't know, depends on person	13	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

Citizenship & Ethnicity of State

CITIZEN2

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Everyone, Anyone, Me, All People	103	26.8	26.8	26.8
Anyone who is born OR Lives here	153	39.8	39.8	66.7
Legal Definition	46	12.0	12.0	78.6
Ethnic Kyrgyz Related	37	9.6	9.6	88.3
Gender, Positive & Negative Adjectives, Don't Know, Other	45	11.7	11.7	100.0
Total	384	100.0	100.0	

KYRGYNE2

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Before USSR, Negative, No	50	13.0	13.0	13.0
Yes, Constitutions, flag, Democratic, Free,...	26	6.8	6.8	19.8
Yes, Kyrgyz Blood,...	113	29.4	29.4	49.2
Don't Know, None, No One, Missing	195	50.8	50.8	100.0
Total	384	100.0	100.0	

Active in Politics/Community/Nationalism

ACTPOLI2

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No, Not interested,...	281	73.2	73.2	73.2
Yes, Votes, reads papers,...	68	17.7	17.7	90.9
Interested, sometimes, used to be, no response	35	9.1	9.1	100.0
Total	384	100.0	100.0	

ACTCOMM2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No, Not interested, Sometimes,	280	72.9	72.9	72.9
	Yes, Party member, NGO worker...	77	20.1	20.1	93.0
	No Response, Missing	27	7.0	7.0	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

NATIONA2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I love people more, Kyrgyz are better...	56	14.6	15.0	15.0
	No, because, mixed blood, grew up with nations,...	317	82.6	85.0	100.0
	Total	373	97.1	100.0	
Missing	No response, don't know, others	6	1.6		
	Sometimes, due to Batkan	5	1.3		
	Total	11	2.9		
Total		384	100.0		

Life Conditions under Independence Versus the USSR

BETTERU2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Better under USSR, jobs, money, education,...	198	51.6	51.6	51.6
	Better under USSR, independence, freedom, democracy	99	25.8	25.8	77.3
	Better now we can be Kyrgyz, muslim,...etc	32	8.3	8.3	85.7
	No difference, No response, missing	55	14.3	14.3	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

Summary of USAID Democracy Programming in Kyrgyzstan

USAID ACTIVITY DATA SHEET 1997

PROGRAM: KYRGYZSTAN

TITLE: Citizens' Participation, 110-S002.1

STATUS: Continuing

PROPOSED OBLIGATION AND FUNDING SOURCE: FY 1997:

\$3,000,000 Freedom Support Act

INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY1993; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION**

DATE: FY 1999

Purpose: Increased citizens' participation in political and economic decision-making.

Background: Kyrgyzstan remains the most open Central Asian country, but there have been a number of recent setbacks on the road to democracy. Examples include the muzzling of some newspapers, constitutional changes that limit the power of the legislature, and the disqualification of several candidates in recent presidential elections. In this environment, the importance of building and sustaining a vibrant non-government sector with active citizen participation and a free media becomes even more important.

USAID Role and Achievements to Date: Active support of local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) remains a central part of the USAID program in Kyrgyzstan. Through December 1995, 64 grants had been provided to local groups active in such areas as the environment, human rights, agricultural development, women's rights, media, civic education, and election law reform. An effective USAID presence supported the presence of foreign observers at various Kyrgyz elections, ensuring that problems brought to the attention of both private groups and governmental institutions in order to improve electoral practices in future. USAID grantees have also been influential in establishing a voluntary lawyer's union for Kyrgyzstan, encouraging the development of local bar associations, and promoting public discussion on pending legislation.

Description: USAID-funded program activities largely involve technical assistance, training, and grants to local NGOs. The local NGO sector receives special attention, in terms of the legal and regulatory environment, in terms of introducing greater professionalism and new management skills to NGOs, and in terms of effecting social change and providing needed social services. Under a competitive small grants programs, a number of local organisations are eligible to receive direct programming support. A new initiative will provide training to private television stations to improve programming quality and enhance their financial viability.

Host Country and Other Donors: The United States is the major foreign donor working in the area of democratisation in Kyrgyzstan. Programs supported by the various USG agencies, including those of USAID and USIA, are closely co-ordinated.

Beneficiaries: Immediate beneficiaries include individuals directly associated with Kyrgyzstan NGO sector. Many more will benefit as various NGOs increase their public interest presence and expand their social service programs. Tens of thousands should also benefit from improved programming

and management skills at the country's independent television stations. More broadly, all citizens stand to gain from strengthened civil society and the opportunity to help shape the future economic, political, and social life of the country.

Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies: Several USAID-funded American NGOs such as the American Bar Association/CEELI, National Democratic Institute (NDI), Internees, International Republican Institute (IRI) and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) have played important roles in promoting democracy in Kyrgyzstan. Familiar American groups such as Goodwill Industries, Aid to Artisans, and the Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs, which together form The Counterpart Consortium, also participate in local NGO development.

Major Results Indicators*: Number of changes made to government policy as a result of citizen participation. Number of new federations, organisations, coalitions, etc. formed to promote/oppose specific policies/legislation-Number and types of fora in which NGOs engage state institutions in policy debate.

* These are illustrative indicators. ENI Missions are in the midst of the complex process of developing measurable country-specific indicators and targets, which will be completed by June 1996.

ACTIVITY DATA SHEET KYRGYZSTAN 1998

TITLE: Citizens' Participation, 110-S002.1

STATUS: Continuing

PROPOSED OBLIGATION & FUNDING SOURCE: FY 1998

\$4,000,000 FREEDOM Support Act

INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY 1993; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION**

DATE: FY 1999

Purpose: Increased citizens' participation in political and economic decision-making.

Background: Despite occasional setbacks along the way, Kyrgyzstan remains the most open Central Asian country. In particular, there have been many recent examples of steps to expand information flows and promote greater transparency in the government decision-making process. For example, with USAID support a Consultative Council on Legal Reform provides a new mechanism for the executive, parliament, donors, NGOs and private citizens to gain access to information and participate in planning and discussing the ongoing reform program.

USAID Role and Achievements to Date: Active support of local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) remains a central part of the USAID program in Kyrgyzstan. By one estimate, some 420 NGOs were active in a variety of areas, including environment, human rights, agricultural development, women's rights, media, civic education, and election law reform. This number represents an increase of 157 NGOs over the previous year. Civic education programs are being developed, based partly on the results of a USAID-funded survey tracking voter opinions and attitudes. USAID grantees have also been influential in establishing a voluntary lawyer's union for Kyrgyzstan, encouraging the development of local bar associations, providing comments on draft legislation, and promoting public discussion on pending legislation.

Description: USAID-funded NGO activities largely involve technical assistance, training, and grants to local NGOs. The local NGO sector receives special attention, in terms of the legal and regulatory environment, in terms of introducing greater professionalism and new management skills to NGOs, and in terms of effecting social change and providing needed social services. Under a competitive small grants programs, a number of local organisations are eligible to receive direct programming support. A new initiative will provide training to private television stations to improve programming quality and enhance their financial viability.

Host Country and Other Donors: The United States is the major foreign donor working in the area of democratisation in Kyrgyzstan. Programs supported by the various U.S. Government agencies, including those of USAID and USIA, are closely co-ordinated. **Beneficiaries:** Beneficiaries include members of Kyrgyzstan's NGOs, independent television stations,

lawyers, members of the judiciary, members of parliament and the public at large.

Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies: Several USAID-funded American NGOs such as the American Bar Association/CEELI, National Democratic Institute (NDI), Internews, and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) have played important roles in promoting democracy in Kyrgyzstan. Familiar American groups such as Goodwill Industries, Aid to Artisans, and the Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs, which together form The Counterpart Consortium, also participate in local NGO development.

Major Results Indicators:	Baseline	Target
No. of Advocacy NGOs	0 (1992)	400 (1999)
No. of draft laws and policies with NGO input	0 (1992)	16 (1999)
No. of independent stations	0 (1994)	7 (1999)

ACTIVITY DATA SHEET KYRGYZSTAN 1998

TITLE: More effective, responsible, and accountable local government 110-S002.3

STATUS: New

PROPOSED OBLIGATION & FUNDING SOURCE: FY 1998 \$2,000,000

FREEDOM Support Act

INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY 1998 ESTIMATED COMPLETION

DATE: FY 2001

Purpose: Demonstrate more effective, responsible, and accountable local government

Background: Kyrgyzstan, with limited arable land and a lack of readily accessible natural resources, has embraced the ideals of market reform as its only path forward. However, economic hardship continues and economic difficulties affecting large numbers of the population threatens the economic transition process as a whole. One approach toward dealing with these problems is decentralisation, providing local authorities with greater responsibility for both raising revenue and determining how that revenue is spent.

At this point, Kyrgyzstan is far ahead of its neighbours in terms of delegating decision-making authority to local authorities. The range of legislation related to this area over just the past year is impressive. For example, progressive changes in the tax law allows designation of certain taxes to different levels of government. The October 1996 Presidential decree encourages formation of municipal associations as well as the development of municipal charters as the primary documents of local government.

USAID training and technical assistance have helped to demonstrate the benefits associated with effective, responsible, and accountable local government in one pilot test site. Using this model, USAID demonstrated how activity in health and housing can usefully be carried out at a local level for maximum effectiveness. Similarly, USAID's activity in intergovernmental finance supports the critical element of creating a resource base for social sector reform. The time is opportune in Kyrgyzstan to address the generic issues relative to financing and administration of social benefits and services in addition to the more sector specific issues covered under Strategic Objective 3.2 (Improved sustainability of social services and benefits).

USAID Role and Achievements to Date: USAID implemented the Municipal Finance and Management (MFM) Project in Central Asia as part of the Democratic Pluralism Initiatives (DPI) program from 1994 through 1996. Karakol, Kyrgyzstan was chosen as one of two municipalities in Central Asia (the other being Atyrau, Kazakstan) in which to implement the project. An external evaluation, marking the completion of the project, was conducted in October 1996, with a view toward providing further information about possible future directions. The evaluation concluded that significant strides towards democracy building were made, especially in view of the short life

cycle of the project. Key events highlighted included preparation and use of a city budget; a significant increase in the % of taxes received and retained in Karakol; the introduction and use of computer systems and software in the tax and finance departments; and the preparation of a draft city charter for Karakol that is now under consideration. The establishment of an information office and increased media exposure also increases transparency and makes local citizens more aware of developments related to local government. In addition, USAID is now implementing a pilot land registration process for use by municipalities. This project, which will be expanded with World Bank resources, is critical for ensuring that local governments have the revenue base needed to effectively carry out their responsibilities. In addition, this project will support USAID-assisted efforts at providing privatisation of land at the local level through land auctions and encouragement of private sector real estate development.

Description: USAID believes the time is appropriate to expand the initiative begun in Karakol to other oblasts and municipalities in Kyrgyzstan. The inability of the central government to meet subsidy requirements at the local level is motivating policy makers to devolve key financial and other authorities to the local level. USAID would build on lessons learned from the MFM and housing reform projects and from other donors to ensure efficiency and effectiveness. USAID funded training and technical assistance would be directed to the national as well as selected local levels to facilitate decentralisation reforms.

The October 24, 1996 decree by the President of Kyrgyzstan 'On the Measures for On-Going Improvement of Local Self-Governments in the Kyrgyz Republic' sets the stage for continued assistance. As one recent EU-TACIS activity concluded, there are very few additional resources available to local governments in the near term--and the only hope for providing municipal services is through increased efficiency. In keeping with this view, USAID plans to support administrative development at the local government level. Activities will be closely co-ordinated with ongoing assistance in the development of local resource bases to guarantee a degree of fiscal independence to local government, in the development of indigenous nongovernmental organisations, and in the development of sustainable social services.

Host Country and Other Donors: USAID will work closely with the various governmental entities involved in local government issues, including ministries, the presidential apparatus, parliament, local level officials and government employees. A number of other donors also support activities with a local government dimension, including the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and EU-TACIS.

Beneficiaries: Elected officials and government employees at the oblast and municipal level will benefit directly. Also, private citizens of Kyrgyzstan, especially those classified as part of the 'vulnerable group' (i.e., elderly

pensioners, women, and children) will benefit from improvements in the social safety net and more targeted and effective social services.

Principle Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies: To be determined. Mission plans to 'buy in' to existing assistance mechanisms or to competitively procure services depending on which will provide the best benefit to the U.S. Government, cost and other factors considered.

Major Results Indicators:*

*This is a new strategic objective, indicators and targets will be finalised during the next planning period.

USAID ACTIVITY DATA SHEET 1999

PROGRAM: KYRGYZSTAN

TITLE: Citizens' Participation, 110-S002.1

STATUS: Continuing

PROPOSED OBLIGATION AND FUNDING SOURCE: FY 1999:
\$2,050,000 FREEDOM Support Act

INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY 1993; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION DATE:** FY 2004

Purpose: Increased citizens' participation in political and economic decision-making.

USAID Role and Achievements to Date: Over 450 NGOs have been established. USAID is helping them work with the public, the mass media, and lawmakers to build a constituency that can advocate for reforms. A notable achievement by NGOs was their success in pressuring parliament to hold open hearings to debate proposed legislation affecting farmers. USAID has assisted the National Association of Local Self-Government, in the forms of funding for seminars, publications, and in planning for future decentralisation. Help has been provided in election organisation and procedures as well as in the presentation of the first public broadcast of political candidate debates. USAID advisors were instrumental in achieving the incorporation of international recommendations into the new Kyrgyz Draft Election Code, which will be submitted, to parliament in 1998.

Description: Kyrgyzstan is the most progressive of the five Central Asian Republics in the area of government accountability. Creation of a legal infrastructure to further expand such accountability, as well as to encourage NGO and media development and citizen participation, is one of USAID's principal efforts in Kyrgyzstan [sic]. Assistance to the local NGO community aims especially at increasing its professional and management capabilities, allowing it to advocate policy agendas, influence legal and regulatory processes, effect social change, and provide needed social services. Under a competitive small grants program, a number of local organisations are receiving direct program support. Private television and radio stations are receiving training to improve programming quality and enhance their financial viability.

Host Country and Other Donors: The United States is the major foreign donor working in the area of democratisation in Kyrgyzstan. USAID closely coordinates its programs with those supported by other U.S. Government agencies, including the U.S. Information Agency.

Beneficiaries: Beneficiaries include activists of NGOs, personnel of independent television and radio stations, lawyers, judges, members of parliament, and the public at large.

Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies: Several USAID-funded American NGOs, including the American Bar Association/CEELI, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), Internews, and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), have played important roles in promoting democracy in Kyrgyzstan. Aid to Artisans, the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law, and the Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs, which together form the Counterpart Consortium, also participate in local NGO development.

Major Results Indicators:	Baseline	Target
No. of NGOs engaged in advocacy	0 (1992)	50 (1999)
No. of draft laws and policies with NGO input	0 (1994)	15 (1999)
Average length in minutes of daily independent news broadcasts	10 (1994)	15 (1999)

USAID ACTIVITY DATA SHEET 1999

PROGRAM: KYRGYZSTAN

TITLE: More effective, responsible, and accountable local government
110-S002.3

STATUS: Continuing

PROPOSED OBLIGATION & FUNDING SOURCE: FY 1999:
\$2,000,000 FREEDOM Support Act

INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY 1998; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION
DATE:** FY 2002

Purpose: More effective, responsible, and accountable local government.

To assist Kyrgyzstan democratic and market reform efforts through promoting more effective, responsible, and accountable local government. This will be achieved by increasing citizen participation in local government, increasing the capacity at the local level to address citizen needs, and developing a more favourable national policy and enabling framework for reform at the local level.

USAID Role and Achievements to Date: As Kyrgyzstan struggles with liberalisation and decentralisation of government structures on the path from autocracy to democracy, USAID is promoting these principles by demonstrating the benefits of effective delivery of services through local governments responsible and accountable to their citizenry. The Central Government has increasingly moved responsibility for social programs (notably housing, health and education) and for management of physical assets to local levels. Unfortunately, the authority over fiscal resources, as well as development of qualified personnel at the local level, has not proceeded at the same pace. Although their powers are limited, local councils, composed of residents directly elected from districts in competitive elections, have been created and represent a promising step toward representative democracy and accountability.

The Municipal Finance and Management Project (MFM) and the Housing Sector Reform Project (HSRP) both addressed local government issues in Kyrgyzstan and were completed by the end of FY 1997. Under the MFM project, assistance was provided, on a demonstration pilot basis, to the city of Karakul. As a result, the city upgraded overall management, improved systems and procedures for budget implementation, introduced expenditure controls, converted to an automated information management system, increased transparency and accountability of municipal operations, and established citizen information services. Communication and coordination between oblast, city, and tax collection officials was strengthened, which facilitated revenue forecasting and cash management.

Under the HSRP project, USAID worked closely with several town and city administrations, developing procedures for conducting public auctions of land use rights, and helping residents of apartment buildings form

condominium associations in order to assume responsibility for managing and maintaining formerly state-owned property. Preliminary assistance was also provided to the Government's Office of Local Self-Government and the National Association of Local Self-Government (NALSG). In addition, ongoing work with the NGO sector and in health care reform has impacted substantially on the role and functioning of local government.

Description: USAID has demonstrated by its sector-specific work in the areas of housing and health the need to work at the local level for maximum effectiveness. Work in intergovernmental finance has been initiated. The Central Government has moved rather decisively toward administrative decentralisation. Charters for all 455 villages have been adopted, and town charters are in the process of being adopted. Ownership of many properties and facilities is being transferred to local governments. However, the GOK has hesitated to take bold steps toward fiscal decentralisation. More also remains to be done to improve local government administration. The time is opportune to tackle issues generic to financing and administering municipal social services and benefits, in addition to working on issues specific to the health sector as addressed by Strategic Objective 3.2.

A new SO 2.3 program is being developed in FY 1998 to capitalise on the successes of earlier programs impacting on local government and to address local government issues on a comprehensive and consolidated basis. Emphasis will be placed on the development of local capacity to competently and transparently carry out additional responsibilities. A sustainable, responsive and accountable local government system is expected to be established in Kyrgyzstan over the period of the activity.

The program strategy will build on the significant earlier breakthroughs made in shifting control of major capital assets, such as land and housing, to city authorities and residents, thereby offering real possibilities for personal empowerment and democratisation. It will also set in place training programs for local officials to enhance their skills at problem-solving and increase their receptivity to innovation and change, which will lead to more effective management of local government.

Assistance will broaden residents' participation and self-sufficiency by working with individual owners' associations, thus extending and deepening the reforms achieved when housing management was shifted to residents. Priority will be given to quickly setting in place a comprehensive in-service training program. Human capacity development is an essential first step to making needed changes and adopting new techniques at the local level. The emphasis will be on reaching a broad audience with training in needed skill areas, particularly leadership and financial management.

The training will be followed up with 'extension service'-type consultancies in receptive municipalities, enabling the trained officials to apply their skills and adopt new practices. 'Best practices' demonstrations

of particular municipal management systems (in such areas as budget and finance, and competitive public procurement from the private sector) will be undertaken in receptive localities to showcase the application of reform in the real world. In addition, members of the directly-elected city councils will receive training on their role, and on the functions of city councils in democratic local governance.

A corollary objective of the program will be the expansion of local self-government by empowering it to undertake more responsibilities, which will require greater local authority and resources. This empowerment will reduce the dependence of municipalities on central government and increase their reliance on support from their communities.

Host Country and Other Donors: USAID will work closely with various Kyrgyz entities involved in local government issues, including the Office of Local Government in the Presidential Apparatus, the Academy for Management, and the municipal association NGO, as well as the parliament and local (and national) level officials, both appointed and elected. A number of other donors also support activities with a local government dimension, including the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and EU.

Beneficiaries: Elected officials, and government employees at the oblast and municipal levels, will benefit professionally. The citizens of Kyrgyzstan will benefit from improvements in local government services made possible by successful decentralisation.

Principle Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies: To be determined. USAID plans to 'buy in' to existing assistance mechanisms or to procure services competitively, depending on which will provide the best benefit to the U.S. Government, cost and other factors considered.

Major Results Indicators:*

*This is a new strategic objective in FY 1998. Indicators and targets are now being developed.

USAID ACTIVITY DATA SHEET 2000

PROGRAM: KYRGYZSTAN

TITLE AND NUMBER: Increased Citizens' Participation in Political and Economic Decision-making, 110-SOO2.1

STATUS: Continuing

PROPOSED OBLIGATIONS AND FUNDING SOURCES: FY2000: \$2,750,000 Freedom Support Act

INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY93; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION DATE:** FY 2004

Summary: Kyrgyzstan is the most progressive of the five Central Asian Republics in the area of parliamentary independence. The creation of a legal infrastructure to further expand such government accountability, as well as to encourage NGO and media development and citizen participation, is one of USAID's principal efforts in Kyrgyzstan.

Assistance to the local NGO community aims especially at increasing its professional and management capabilities, allowing it to advocate policy agendas, influence legal and regulatory processes, effect social change, and provide needed social services. USAID's program includes a strong emphasis on building social partnerships between civil society, government and the business sector. Under a competitive small grants program, a number of local organisations are receiving direct program support. Private television and radio stations are receiving training to improve programming quality and enhance their financial viability.

Key Results: Three key intermediate results were concluded to be necessary to achieve the Strategic Objective. NGO participation in civil society must be strengthened, information on domestic economic policies and politics must become more widely available, and the government must become more responsive and accountable to citizens and citizens organisations.

Performance and Prospects: There has been significant progress in all aspects of USAID's democracy assistance in Kyrgyzstan, and USAID expects this progress to continue. Over the past year, ABA/CEELI-supported legal information centres (LCLI) in Kyrgyzstan have been a tremendous asset to the Ministry of Justice, parliamentarians, lawyers, and citizens; impressive statistics include the following: LCLI has served 15,944 clients, librarians have loaned over 63,776 publications to patrons and have responded to informational inquiries from 420 organisations; and the LCLI reports that its 'most active consumer of informational requests is the Ministry of Justice.' ABA/CEELI has also been working closely with the former Deputy Director of Parliament's Legal Department on the first draft of the Legislative Drafting Manual. Over 150 representatives from all five Central Asian Republics and all sectors of society participated in a social partnership conference in Kyrgyzstan organised by the USAID-funded Counterpart Consortium. A highlight of the conference

was a speech by the State Secretary of the Kyrgyz Republic who spoke of the sincere interest of the government to work with the NGO community to develop social partnerships. Several specific projects including the 'Central Asia Mass Media Association for Social Partnerships' and support for 'Democratic Elections in Central Asia' were formed as a result of the conference. The recent National Referendum on Amendments to the Constitution of Kyrgyzstan was probably the year's most significant single event affecting the legal, political, and economic spheres in the country. Though there was controversy with respect to the voting, there was also lively debate leading up to the referendum. A concerted effort among three of the USAID partners helped to widely broadcast information on the referendum on radio and TV stations; in addition, thousands of copies of pertinent information were distributed to the public from USAID-supported legal information centres. The most recent draft of the election law addresses the major concerns USAID voiced regarding the previous draft and appears to be one of the most progressive laws in the region. As a result of USAID assistance, several journalist associations are active in Kyrgyzstan and they have participated in reviewing draft legislation and submitting commentary to parliament.

Possible Adjustments to Plans: In FY 2000, USAID is anticipating additional programming in the area of women's legal rights issues and women's participation in political processes.

Other Donor Programs: Civil society development is a multi-donor effort in Kyrgyzstan. UNHCR, OSCE/ODIHR, UNDP and Soros all support local NGOs with small grants. The UNHCR is co-funding NGO resource centres along with USAID. In the area of independent media, the UNDP, OSCE/ODIHR, and Soros support journalist associations and conferences. In the political processes area, UNDP is implementing an 'atomisation' of elections. USAID and the EU co-ordinate with parliamentary assistance.

Principal Contractors, Grantees or Agencies: Several USAID-funded US PVOs such as the American Bar Association/CEELI, Internews, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), are playing a role in promoting democracy in Kyrgyzstan. Counterpart International, Aid to Artisans, and the International Center for Not-for-profit Law, which together form the Counterpart Consortium, also participate in local NGO development. Initiative for Social Action and Renewal in Eurasia (ISAR) will also participate in the development of local environmental NGOs.

Selected Performance Measures:

	<u>Baseline</u>	<u>Target</u>
Number of NGOs involved in advocacy (media/gov)	70/74 (1996)	75/50 (2001)
Average daily minutes of local news programming	1 (1994)	12 (2001)
Number of Parliamentary hearings and committee	2 (1996)	45 (2001)

meetings addressing legislative/policy issues

USAID ACTIVITY DATA SHEET 2000

PROGRAM: KYRGYZSTAN

TITLE AND NUMBER: More Effective, Responsive, and Accountable Local Government, 110-S02.3

STATUS: Continuing

PROPOSED OBLIGATIONS AND FUNDING SOURCES: FY 2000: \$1,250,000 Freedom Support Act

INITIAL OBLIGATIONS: FY 1998; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION DATE:** FY 2004

Summary: The Kyrgyz Republic has taken significant steps in the transition toward more effective, responsible and accountable local governments. While democratic institutions and practices are fragile, a discernible move away from authoritarian rule and towards a sustainable democracy is clear. The central government has created an Office of Local Government with a clear mandate to strengthen local governments. A non-governmental organisation (NGO), the National Association of Local Self-Governments comprised of elected village leaders (Councillors) and the elected mayor of Bishkek has been incorporated into a larger Congress of Communities, which includes NGOs as well as subunits such as block and neighbourhood committees. Elections have been held in the 455 villages for the local council. All of the villages have enacted charters and the country's 19 towns plus Bishkek are in the process of doing so. As a further move to strengthen local government, the national government has begun a process of transferring state-owned assets to local governments. However, limited authority, resources and skills at the local government level are serious constraints to the Government's efforts in creating strong local governments. In order to support more effective, responsive and accountable local government, USAID has initiated efforts to address these constraints. Immediate beneficiaries are public sector officials and service providers. Ultimate beneficiaries are the local people who will benefit from improved public services.

Key Results: The USAID Local Government objective stated above will be achieved through three intermediate results: Practices promoting citizen input and involvement adopted; practices improving delivery of services and management of resources adopted; and powers of local governments increased. Although there were delays in project start-up, steps towards achieving the results are underway. A Memorandum of Understanding has been signed between the Congress of Local Communities and USAID to provide a range of technical assistance. Work has commenced in Tokmok as one of the pilot cities for developing budgeting and financial management systems. Mechanisms are in place to deliver the training courses in financial management, general management and leadership which are being adapted to the Kyrgyz situation.

Performance and Prospects: Activities under the Local Government Initiative were late in starting due to slow recruitment of staff by the contractor. However, over the past few months the pace of implementation has increased and year one targets are close to being achieved. By June 1999, efforts towards strengthening the Congress of Local Communities (National Association of Local Governments) as a nongovernmental organisation (NGO) which can upgrade the skills of local officials and effectively advocate the interests of local government will have commenced. The Office of Local Government under the President has started implementing its agenda to strengthen local government. Assistance to form democratically controlled housing associations to perform functions previously performed by government agencies has started. Leadership Skills Training for Chief Administrators and Local Council members in selected municipalities is continuing. The target city for developing a competitive procurement system as a model of a 'good local practice' to improve management of resources has been selected and training has started. A model budget format, an end of year financial report plan, and a public hearing process in which public comment is made on documents are being developed as a model for citizen input and involvement in a city's administration.

Despite the progress made to date, an enormous agenda remains in the area of local government empowerment. Villages, towns and cities are severely constrained by the Ministry of Finance's control over their budgets. The newly enacted tax law provides for the collection of a number of local taxes and fees, but these sources provide only a fraction of the required local revenues. Despite the reforms being implemented by the President's administration to increase local autonomy, the Ministry of Finance remains a strong opponent of fiscal decentralisation. USAID will continue to address this issue through policy dialogue at the highest levels.

Possible Adjustments to Plans: Year two work plans will complete on-going programs as well as complete the implementation of model 'good practices' in two local governments.

Other Donor Programs: A number of other donors including the World Bank, UNDP, EU, and the Soros Foundation also support activities with a local government dimension that build around the principles of promoting sustainable human development in the country through decentralised management of development.

Principle Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies: International City/County Management Association, ICMA.

Selected Performance Measures:

	<u>Baseline</u>	<u>Target</u>
Adoption of practices promoting citizen input and involvement	0 (1998)	3 (2000)
Adoption of practices improving delivery of services and management of resources	0 (1998)	3 (2000)

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Names and boundary representation are not necessarily authoritative.



Base: R01993 (R00184) 3-92