

GENDER IN CENTRAL ASIA**Ayşegül Gökcalp***

The position of women within a society is the most obvious indicator of the nature of a regime, as Leon Trotsky has mentioned in 1930s in his critique of the Stalinist policies on women.⁹¹⁰ However, in addition to reflecting the nature of a regime, gender studies have also another aspect in the International Relations discipline: The experiences of the Central Asian women show, both in the Soviet period and after 1991, that women can be used as the most efficient tool for nation-building (or empire building) by producing children, as a political device to promote the goals of a regime, creating an identity, and even promoting a society that could be shown as a role model for Third-World development.⁹¹¹

The concept of “gender” refers to a universal pattern of asymmetrical relations between men and women, in which women are subordinated to man within the household, economy and in the polity. These relationships are often also codified in law.⁹¹²

The position of women in a certain society are determined by their legal status and access to economic resources and power. The structural factors that shape women’s specific position in a society can be summerized as⁹¹³:

- Class, which is the main determinant of women’s life options, access to economic and political power;
- The nature of the state and the orientation of the leadership, which determines the legal framework and opportunities for women
- The system of production, which determines the job types available to women
- Cultural understandings of men’s and women’s roles

The concept of class and the concept of gender are closely related. Just as class refers to asymmetrical and unequal relations between human groups, gender refers to asymmetrical relations between men and women “based on differential access and ownership of the means of production, specifically on women’s child bearing and child-rearing capacities, and is expressed in the sexual division of labour.”⁹¹⁴ Class shapes the opportunities and options for people, so does gender.

* Lecturer, Kocaeli University, International Relations Department

⁹¹⁰ Leon Trotsky, *Women and the Family* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973), pp.10-12

⁹¹¹ See Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, “Whose Security? State Building and the ‘Emancipation’ of Women in Central Asia”, *International Relations*, 2004, Vol.18(1): 91-107

⁹¹² Valentine Moghadam, “Women in Societies”, *International Social Science Journal* 139: 95-116

⁹¹³ This analysis is taken from Valentine Moghadam, “Gender and Economic Reforms: A Framework for Analysis and Evidence From Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey” in Feride Acar and Ayşe Güneş Ayata (eds.), *Gender and Identity Construction: Wome of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey*, (Koninklijke Brill NV, Netherlands, 2000),pp. 23-43, p.34

⁹¹⁴ Moghadam, *Ibid.*

The class structure, the nature of the state, economic system, economic policies of a state and economic conditions in a society shape the prevailing gender ideology; therefore different kinds of gender relations have existed in agrarian, developing, advanced societies, and in the transition structures of Central Asia.⁹¹⁵

Many aspects of the transition from planned economy to the free market economy have been studied by several disciplines of social sciences; with main concerns being usually on the economic transition, nation-building or secure transfer of energy supplies to western markets. Less have focused on the effects of this transition on women of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and even less on the redefined gender roles in Central Asia. Theoretically, free market competition and privatization of the previously state-owned businesses should have provided women “more” equality in the labour market; however, in practice they have resulted in economic exploitation of women and rising numbers of female unemployment. Indeed, positive predictions have been naïve from the very beginning. If the social structure of the region is examined closely, as this article will do, one can see the obvious reasons for the backlash in women’s conditions. In fact, the effect of the transition period on Central Asian women is not only economic, but also cultural and political.

The transition period in Central Asia was relatively quiet in the Western observers point of view since they were mainly concerned with the stability of the region. However, the very same transition period has not only created many new independent states, but it is also significant due to the processes of redefinition of national identities, creation of national allegiances, remembering of the past, re-creation and revival of history. All members of the ex-Soviet Union faced similar problems; however the case in Central Asia was quite different because of the region’s geographical and economic peculiarities. The communication and transportation networks, barter economy, poverty and the growing population forced these countries to be dependent on Russia even after independence.

Shirin Akiner notes that the nation building in Central Asia rests on three factors:⁹¹⁶ Revival of Islamic values in guiding the society, rewriting the history by sympathizing the pre-colonial past and linking it to the post-Soviet period, and the return to patriarchal authority and symbols as can be seen in the example of calling the state president as the “father of the nation”. All of them have effected gender relations and the status of women in the region. Therefore, before evaluating the current problems of women in Central Asia, one has to examine the Soviet experience first. After setting the backdrop of gender relations, we can proceed in examining how women are affected by the transition process.

Women under Soviet Rule

Information on the status of women in the nomadic tribes of pre-Soviet Central Asia is not accurate and usually biased. The general perception is that, they had a social system based on male dominance and a generally hierarchic and authoritarian social structure. There is evidence that the ancient Turkic nomadic societies were matriarchic and women had a higher

⁹¹⁵ Moghadam, *Ibid.*, p.35

⁹¹⁶ Shirin Akiner, “Between Tradition and Modernity: The Dilemma Facing Contemporary Central Asian Women”, in Mary Buckley (ed.) *Post-Soviet Women: From Baltic to Central Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 261-304, p. 284

status given the fact that they had the highest religious posts in the society.⁹¹⁷ However, Central Asian societies acquired a patriarchal structure afterwards with the adoption of Islam; although the status of women was definitely not equal to men's, the authority and prestige of women grew as they aged and assumed greater roles in the family. Despite the inadequacy of the sources on their social structure, the belief on a highly patriarchal and authoritarian social system has helped the construction of two ideologies that effect current perceptions in Central Asia: First of all, the Soviet activists used this negative image as a legitimizing tool for their emancipation and egalitarian rhetoric. Secondly, the post-Soviet nationalists, who regard the Soviet period as a corrupt way of promoting Russification and Russian imperialism, have idealised their previous structures as a model that they have lost and have to re-establish in the nation-building process.⁹¹⁸

The Bolshevik Revolution and the civil war that accompanied in Central Asia recreated the national feelings which were based on the belief in a holy war against the Soviets in defence of religion and religious values.⁹¹⁹ Seeing that the unifying element in Central Asia was religion, and realizing that instead of different nationalities, there was a common *ümmet* (Islamic nation) identity, the Soviets engaged in creating in new administrative units based on linguistic affiliations of the main indigenous peoples.⁹²⁰ Therefore, the priority was given to breaking the unified structure in the region and creating Uzbek, Turkmen, Tajik, Kazakh and Kyrgyz identities were created, based on linguistic differences.

Keeping Central Asia under control required not only physical force, but also ideological support. The Soviet administration has given priority to its policy on women; not only because the ideological base of the USSR required equality in every aspect of the social and economic life and the traditional social structure in the region was clearly not acceptable, but also emancipation of women could help the Bolsheviks to suppress religion, and therefore, could result in the easier control of the region.

In fact, the women in Central Asia at the end of 1910s and the beginning of 1920s were far from being equal to men. The famous book of Gregory Massel, "The Surrogate Proletariat" in which the author examines Soviet policies to use women for promoting social change in Central Asia, states that female literacy at the end of 1910s was about 2%, and patriarchal religious structures prevailed and social exclusion of women could not be prevented due to lack of education of women.⁹²¹ Women had to be freed from this patriarchal structure and the social attitudes that kept women in the house and excluded from the society. Women were responsible for child bearing and child care, however health care was not developed and female and infant mortality were very high. Women had little rights, could not inherit property, were not paid for their labour because their functions were seen as natural for the well functioning of the community - such as working in the fields, tending cattle and producing food, they wore veils to conceal themselves, the age of marriage was very low, physical punishment was common. The Soviets, aiming to abolish this system and create women as equal members of

⁹¹⁷ Ümit Hassan, "Düşünce ve Bilim Tarihi: Osmanlılık Öncesinde Türklerin Kültür Kökenlerine Bir Bakış", in Sina Akşin (ed.) *Türkiye Tarihi: Osmanlı Devleti'ne Kadar Türkler* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 2000) pp. 283-362

⁹¹⁸ Akiner, Ibid., p. 265

⁹¹⁹ The most striking one was the Basmachi revolt. See Kennedy-Pipe, Ibid, p. 93

⁹²⁰ Akiner, Ibid, p.267 and see Kemal Karpat, *Türkiye ve Orta Asya* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2003), p.247-248

⁹²¹ Gregory Massel, *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia 1919-1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974)

the society, engaged in a series of reforms. As the ideal of a new “Soviet man” was in creation, Central Asian women also became a key player in the nation building process: the Soviets were trying to replace the perception of women oppressed by traditions by a new concept of “Soviet women”, which would help them eliminate regional identities and establish new social and political norms.⁹²²

Therefore, the main motives behind emancipation of women were, firstly and surely the egalitarian ideology of the state and the archaic social structure in Central Asia, secondly the aim to break the national and religious affiliities in the region, and thirdly, the economic necessity to draw women into the workforce as equal workers.⁹²³

A series of reforms were initiated for this purpose. Legal reforms included codification of women’s rights, elimination of Islamic courts, official registration of marriages, births and deaths, ban on polygamy and marriage without the consent of the bride, right to initiate divorce, right to witness, equal succession and vote. Women’s sections of the Communist Party in Central Asia (*Zhentodel*) were initiated in order to supervise the reform process and socialize women as equal members of the society. Priority was given to education; educational system was Sovietised, primary schooling was made compulsory for both boys and girls, girls were given the opportunity to enter professions such as law, health care, teaching and scientific research fully equal with men. In 1926, veiling was declared as unofficial, and by the end of 1927 the *Zhentodel* declared the victory of emancipation of women in Central Asia, even though the unveiling created unrest in Central Asia. Thousands of women unveiled, some by their own choice, some by administrative means, sometimes as a precondition of employment, sometimes via penalties, but mostly due to an ideological indoctrination through women’s clubs, lectures, house visits and newspaper articles.⁹²⁴ They have also faced with the reaction of the male members of their society, many cases of attacks against and murder of unveiled women were reported, and it is also reported that several Muslim men left the Communist Party because they objected the unveiling of women.⁹²⁵

In political terms, these reforms were accompanied by a positive discrimination and a quota system that would increase women’s visibility in politics. Many women took posts in government and in the administrative organs of the Party. Women were also seen in the agricultural sector, which enabled them to socialize through women’s cooperatives. Women were granted maternity leave and further unpaid maternity leave without loss of job, health system was modernized, female life expectancy increased and infant mortality rate declined. The economic aim of women’s economic emancipation was to liberate women through waged work, and also, “boost the labour force at a time of major industrial and agricultural expansion.”⁹²⁶ New generations of women were brought up by the egalitarian values imposed on them by the Soviets, and in a society that accomplished gender equality through reforms which deemed the previous system as primitive. However, although socialized labour and employment outside home created gender awareness, gender roles in Central Asia did not change at all. Instead, in Caroline Kennedy-Pipes words, it placed a “double burden”⁹²⁷ on the

⁹²² Kennedy-Pipe, Ibid, p. 94-95

⁹²³ Akiner, Ibid., p. 268

⁹²⁴ Akiner, Ibid., p.270

⁹²⁵ Kennedy-Pipe, p.97

⁹²⁶ Akiner, Ibid., p.275

⁹²⁷ Kennedy-Pipe, Ibid., p. 92

shoulders of Central Asian women. It was true that the Soviet administration had tried to redefine the roles of women as equal members of the society. A sound progress was achieved; almost all women were educated, approximately half of the workforce was female labour and they were visible in every aspect of social life. However, Central Asian women still remained as a subordinate class. The general identity of the region was resisting change, as reforms for female emancipation were usually regarded as Russification moves.⁹²⁸ This claim might be true, given the fact that usually Slavic women were employed in higher skilled and higher paid jobs. But on the other hand, early age of marriage and the very high birth rates among Central Asian women might have prevented them to get better jobs. The roles within the family were still unchanged; women were still the main caterers and caregivers, the traditional unequal division between husband and wife were still preserved at home. Despite the notion of equal in labour force, full gender equality was not achieved not only in Central Asia but throughout the USSR; women actually earned less than men and employers were reluctant to employ female labourers due to the long and paid maternity leave and their so-called inefficiency at work. In Central Asia, however, the preservation of traditional structures within the family was also evidence that Central Asian women did not actually assume the leading role of destroying the traditional structure. Religion was banned from sight, however religious practices were shifted to houses instead. Indeed, the religious practices of Central Asian women were perhaps never affected since their prayers and rituals always had taken place at home and kept outside the sight of general public. With the Soviets, it was men, whose religious rituals had seemingly declined because their prayers were made in public. Therefore, the reforms were not allowed to penetrate the households, and they were far from bringing the social change that the Soviets desired. Despite the positive achievements in law, education and economic and social participation, the real outcome was that Central Asian women had to adopt additional social identities, which turned out to create a double identity and a double burden on women.⁹²⁹

Demands upon Soviet women were intensified with Stalin administration. With the end of the Second World War, to compensate the high decrease in the population, the importance that the regime had attached on women's emancipation was eased and the emphasis was put on the family institution. There was a need to increase the country's population, and women were demanded to produce children. Stalinist leadership was preoccupied with the reconstruction of the society and the Cold War, however there was a clear contradiction between high birth rates and women's participation in the society and work force as equal members. Moreover, during 1950s, a relative freedom was granted to Islam in Central Asia as a foreign policy tool towards Middle East. Starting with 1960s, gender policies were also used in foreign policy; the model developed in Central Asia, which was bringing Islam and Communism together, and which was evident in the practices of Central Asian women, was planned to be exported as a successful model of development for Middle Eastern societies.⁹³⁰

With Mihael Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika, controls on religion were lifted, and there was a public reawakening of Islam. The easing of religious controls in 1960s had brought in the country Wahabi and Shiite versions of radical Islamism, especially after the Iranian Revolution and the Afghan War of 1979. With the collapse of the Soviet

⁹²⁸ Kennedy-Pipe, *Ibid.*, p.100

⁹²⁹ Akiner, *Ibid.*, p. 276

⁹³⁰ Kennedy-Pipe, pp. 98-99

Union and with the emergence of new independent states, nation-building had another aspect: Returning to the glorious past which was stolen by the Soviet Russia. Therefore, Central Asian societies witnessed the reassertion of the patriarchal structure, which was never eliminated but disguised in the Soviet period.

Gender relations in the post-Soviet Central Asia⁹³¹

Return to traditionalist patriarchal structure can be evaluated under three headings: The return of religion, neo-liberal policies of the transition economy and the decline in the social visibility of women. These are all connected to each other, and therefore will be examined together, since the countries of Central Asia are not only experiencing the difficulties of a transition from planned economy to free market, but they are also engaging in state building, witnessing the revival of Islamist movements and the backlash of the position of the women in the labour market and in the realm of culture.

To start with, the economic transition has resulted in severe economic problems in the region, such as poverty, falling wages, inflation, and feminization of unemployment. The restructuring of the economies resulted in a deterioration of wages, worsening working conditions and rising unemployment throughout Central Asia.⁹³² Neither of the new republics has implemented discrimination against women legally; they still have the same rights as men. However, as can be seen in Table 1, unemployment has dramatically increased in the region from 1993 to 2007-8. Although there is no evidence of female employment rate in 1993, the ratio that shows the percentage of female unemployment in terms of male rates is quite high.. This can be interpreted by saying that men are more preferred to women as employees.

Table 1: Female unemployment in Central Asia and Turkey

	Unemployed People (thousands)		Total (% of labour force)		Female	
	1993	1996-2005	1995	1996-2005	1993 (%)	1996-2005 (% of male rate)
Kazakhstan	78	659	2.1	8.4	-	140
Kyrgyzstan	3	186	3	8.5	-	116
Tajikistan	-	51	1.8	2.7	-	121
Turkey	-	2.445	-	9.9	-	8.6
Turkmenistan	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uzbekistan	-	-	0.3	-	-	-

Sources: UNDP Human Development Report 1997

UNDP Human Development Report 2007-8

⁹³¹ The tables given in this section are updated and reproduced versions of Moghadam's study "Gender and Economic Refoms".

⁹³² See ILO 1996

Table 2: Health and Education (recent)

	Life expectancy at birth (years) 2005		Adult literacy rate (% aged 15 and older) 1995–2005		Combined gross enrolment ratio for primary, secondary and tertiary education (%)		Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births) 2005 data
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Kazakhstan	71.5	60.5	99.3	99.8	97	91	140
Kyrgyzstan	69.6	61.7	98.1	99.3	80	76	150
Tajikistan	69.0	63.8	99.2	99.7	64	77	170
Turkey	73.9	69.0	79.6	95.3	64	73	44
Turkmenistan	67.0	58.5	98.3	99.3	130
Uzbekistan	70.0	63.6	99.6	99.6	72	75	24

Source: UNDP Human Development Report, 2007-8

Table 3: Health and Life Expectancy (1990s data)

	Life expectancy at birth (years) 1994		Adult literacy rate (% aged 15 and older) 1994		Combined gross enrolment ratio for primary, secondary and tertiary education (%)		Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births) 1990 data
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Kazakhstan	72.3	62.6	97.5	97.5	75.0	71.0	80
Kyrgyzstan	72.1	63.3	97.0	97.0	74.0	71.0	110
Tajikistan	70.0	63.7	96.7	96.7	67.0	70.0	130
Turkey	70.6	65.9	71.1	91.7	55.0	70.0	180
Turkmenistan	68.1	61.3	97.7	97.7	90.0	90.0	55
Uzbekistan	70.7	64.2	97.2	97.2	71.0	75.0	55

Source: UNDP Human Development Report 1997.

Tables 2 and 3 indicate the health and educational statistics of the region. Obviously, there is a high rate of life expectancy, and very high adult literacy rate due to the Soviet education (Turkey was given as an example of a country which has been modernizing its traditional social structure since 1920s but could not achieve such rates). This is where the Western approach to Central Asia fails. The schemes proposed for the development of Central Asia are usually prepared for underdeveloped countries with a high rate of illiteracy. When these programmes are adapted to Central Asia, these schemes usually fail to take into account the high levels of literacy and indigenous professional experience.⁹³³ Enrolment to schools has risen in every Central Asian country except Tajikistan, which has experienced a civil war for a long while. However, the high enrolment rates must be evaluated together with the high birth rates, and enrolment to higher education institutions shall also be examined. It is reported that in Tajikistan, girls face discrimination in schooling and higher education is getting unattainable for Tajik girls.⁹³⁴ Rising maternal mortality ratio is also striking.

Although there is not enough data to interpret the political participation of women, it is obvious that Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have a higher percentage of female deputies in their representative bodies than Turkey has. The rates are still low, and several aspects of gender based corruption in politics have been reported. As one Central Asian author states, these reports of corruption towards women link specific events to psychological consequences:

“[...] humiliation, intimidation and insults have a significant effect on the extent to which women participate in government elections. Negotiating a way through the corruption and rude treatment with some sort of under-thinking about women who wish to participate in the activity of state bodies involved in politics, leaves women feeling powerless, voiceless and excluded.”⁹³⁵

⁹³³ Akiner, *Ibid.*, p.291

⁹³⁴ “Central Asia: Girls Face Discrimination in Schooling”, www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/pp110903.shtml, Retrieved on 15.02.2009

⁹³⁵ Ismagilova Nuria Rifkatovna, “Women in Politics and Gender Based Corruption in Central Asia: Realities and Responses”. www.10iacc.org/download/t1-05.pdf retrieved on 03.03.2009

Table 4: Political Participation of Women

	Women in government at ministerial level (% of total)	Seats in parliament held by women (% of total)		
		Lower or single house	Upper house or senate	
	2005	1990	2007	2007
Kazakhstan	17.6	...	10.4	5.1
Kyrgyzstan	12.5	...	0.0	-
Tajikistan	3.1	...	17.5	23.5
Turkey	4.3	1.3	4.4	-
Turkmenistan	9.5	26.0	16.0	-
Uzbekistan	3.6	...	17.5	15

Source: UNDP Human Development Report, 2007-8

In short, it is obvious from the data above that the market reforms prescribed by neoliberal institutions have not proved to improve the gender perspective of the region. Clearly, the social costs of the transition have produced another burden for the women of Central Asia. Valentine Moghadam explains this by saying that there are two major reasons for women to be more vulnerable to economic transition and market reforms than men: persistence of traditional gender ideology regarding men's and women's roles and assumptions in neoliberal economic thought.⁹³⁶

Traditional gender ideology sees women as second class labourers, since it positions women's production capacity as subordinate and ties women to family roles. This ideology has its reflections in both the belief that lower-paid or lower-skilled jobs are more suitable for women, and during economic crises women are laid off first. This explains why, during the transition period, women in Central Asia were more vulnerable.

Economic policies followed during transition periods, or more specifically the neoliberal policies that are planned for the adjustment of a planned economy to free market economy, usually tend to focus on the effective accumulation of capital and functioning of the free market rather than the well-being of the labour or gender equality in the labour force. The burden usually falls on those who are dependent on wages and who received benefits that supplement those low wages.⁹³⁷ The elimination of subsidies, especially in health care, schooling and child care affected working women. Moghadam notes that "the gender bias

⁹³⁶ This analysis is taken from Valentine Moghadam, "Gender and Economic Reforms", p.32-33

⁹³⁷ Moghadam, *Ibid.*, p. 36

reveals itself in the presumption that social and public services are monetized extensions of women's "natural" care giving functions, and during periods of crisis and contradiction, women can be relied upon to utilize their available time to compensate for the loss."⁹³⁸ Therefore, the increasing maternal mortality ratio, female unemployment and decrease in the political participation of women can be explained by the cutbacks in the areas of health, corruption against women in state bodies and the elimination of subsidized childcare that has hit women who were dependent on this service to facilitate their employment.

Conclusion

Gender policies have been and are being used as a device in both domestic and foreign policy; women determine the structure of the society in the next generations. Central Asians today are under a burden of continuous search for their identity, and history. While there is a revival of religion, which obviously has reversed women's social participation achieved during Soviet times, the process of nation-building also introduced new and problematic conditions for women. As Shirin Akiner notes, these societies have always remained "mechanical" in Durkheimian terms. Despite the imperialist policies of Tsarist Russia and Soviet rule, Central Asian societies had kept a high degree of homogeneity and group solidarity. Now, faced with a transition period and a fast change in state and social structures, they are in danger of facing anomie. This has also created an oppressive insistence on the need to stability and resulted in suppression of freedoms.⁹³⁹ Given the fact that neo-liberal reforms are prepared without taking into full consideration of the social structure in Central Asia, the new social conditions that they create are only pushing women in an even worse condition. The increasing rates of female smugglers and prostitution is an obvious proof.

REFERENCES

"Central Asia: Girls Face Discrimination in Schooling",

www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/pp110903.shtml, Retrieved on 15.02.2009

AKINER Shirin, "Between Tradition and Modernity: The Dilemma Facing Contemporary Central Asian Women", in Mary Buckley (ed.) *Post-Soviet Women: From Baltic to Central Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 261-304

HASSAN Ümit, "Düşünce ve Bilim Tarihi: Osmanlılık Öncesinde Türklerin Kültür Kökenlerine Bir Bakış", in Sina Akşin (ed.) *Türkiye Tarihi: Osmanlı Devleti'ne Kadar Türkler* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 2000) pp. 283-362

KARPAT Kemal, *Türkiye ve Orta Asya* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2003)

KENNEDY-PIPE Caroline, "Whose Security? State Building and the 'Emancipation' of Women in Central Asia", *International Relations*, 2004, Vol.18(1): 91-107

⁹³⁸ Moghadam, Ibid.

⁹³⁹ Akiner, Ibid., p. 294

MASSEL Gregory, *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia 1919-1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974)

MOGHADAM Valentine, "Gender and Economic Reforms: A Framework for Analysis and Evidence From Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey" in Feride Acar and Ayşe Güneş Ayata (eds.), *Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey*, (Koninklijke Brill NV, Netherlands, 2000), pp. 23-43

MOGHADAM Valentine, "Women in Societies", *International Social Science Journal* 139: 95-116

RIFKATOVNA Ismagilova Nuria, "Women in Politics and Gender Based Corruption in Central Asia: Realities and Responses". www.10iacc.org/download/t1-05.pdf retrieved on 03.03.2009

TROTSKY Leon, *Women and the Family* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973)