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**Master's Thesis of
Graduate School of International Studies**

**THE VIEWS OF GENDER QUOTA AND
WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN THE
KYRGYZ REPUBLIC'S PARLIAMENT**

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Abstract

Gender quotas were adopted in 2007 as a tactic to increase females represent in the Kyrgyz Republic's National Parliament - Jogorku Kenesh and were first applied in the 2007 elections. In spite of extensive study on the impact of gender quotas on female parliamentary nominations, little is known about man and woman opinions acceptance and perception of gender quotas.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate how men and women MPs perceive gender quotas and to understand the causes of female political under-representation. The research, which used a survey with 54 participants (17 men and 37 women), found a significant gender break not just in preconceptions of gender quotas' positive-discrimination legitimacy and effectiveness, but also in interpretations that impede female's electoral achievement and which strategies may very well work superior in conquering the gap. These characteristics are important because they provide insight into the processes that explain why gender quotas do not result in a significant improvement in female's representation in parliament.

Keyword : *Gender, quota, law, women, national parliament, election, political party*

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Abstract

성별 할당제는 키르기스스탄 국민의회(Jogorku Kenesh)에서 여성 대표를 늘리기 위한 전술로 2007 년에 채택되었으며 2007 년 선거에서 처음 적용되었습니다. 여성 국회의원 지명에 대한 성별 할당량이 미치는 영향에 대한 광범위한 연구에도 불구하고 성별 할당량에 대한 남성과 여성의 의견 수용 및 인식에 대해서는 알려진 바가 거의 없습니다.

이 논문의 목적은 남성과 여성 의원이 성별 할당량을 어떻게 인식하는지 조사하고 여성의 정치적 과소 대표성의 원인을 이해하는 것입니다. 54 명의 참가자(남성 17 명, 여성 37 명)를 대상으로 한 설문조사를 사용한 이 연구는 성별 할당량의 긍정적인 차별 정당성과 효율성에 대한 선입견뿐만 아니라 여성의 선거 성취도와 전략 격차를 극복하는 데 탁월한 효과가 있을 수 있습니다. 이러한 특성은 성별 할당량이 의회에서 여성의 대표성을 크게 향상시키지 못하는 이유를 설명하는 프로세스에 대한 통찰력을 제공하기 때문에 중요합니다.

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Abstract in Korean

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Background

This thesis contends that, while gender quotas encourage more females to run for office, they cannot guarantee equitable decision-making. Profoundly ingrained, socially created gender norms, as well as the state's failure to recognize gender discrimination, limit females ability to become change-makers. To seek gender equality in Kyrgyzstan nowadays, the government and society's political awareness must be transformed. Aside from electoral quotas, civil society and the government should contribute their particularized skills, expertise and knowledge to the joint endeavor.

The Kyrgyz Republic's elections in 2007 produced a high number of female legislators (26 percent), owing primarily to law requiring gender quotas. Procedures of constitutional "designing" and political reconstruction in Kyrgyzstan might provide possibilities for concerns about female's participation in politics to be institutionalized through gender quotas legislation.

My interest in this research arose while I was working for the Kyrgyz Republic's Government Office. As a member of the working group, I was assisting organize a conference on the shared agenda for women in the 2020 elections.

The conference took place in 2019. It gathered together females from different political parties to talk about their experiences and difficulties with female's quotas and under-representation. Female parliamentarians from other regions shared their highly valuable information and insight with female aspirants trying to run for seats in the 2020 elections, re-strategizing not just on how to run for the restrained quota system seats of 30percent, and also on how staying competitive in political party lists in a proportional voting process.

The majority of the conversations revolved around cultural and institutional frameworks, with females seeking clarification on political game rules, election processes, and candidacy recruit procedures. The most of candidates were particularly worried regarding quota execution flaws because Election Act of the Kyrgyz Republic (2007) omitted critical components such as review procedures, candidate ranking order, and sanctions for noncompliance.

The Act does not provide for control and monitoring procedures to prevent possible electoral fraud, allowing political parties establish domestic own rules and procedures for the choice of candidates. Female aspirants and MPs from the Kyrgyz Republic's Jogorku Kenesh cited patriarchal system, political elite bias, socioeconomic circumstances, and a lack of understanding of the rules of the game as key barriers to women's equal involvement in the polity.

Nongovernmental organizations and women's groups in Kyrgyzstan think that in a nation where quota discourses are well stated and females achieved significant legal advances in 2007, females are nonetheless worried about the reality of exclusions. However, it is unclear how these variables could hamper female's recruitment, especially given that quotas are legally mandated under the legislative framework and the Elections Act. Civil society and international organizations have made significant investments in civic education programs and door-to-door campaigns to raise knowledge and consciousness of women's involvement in elections as candidates and voters. Kyrgyz feminists and female politicians participating in a female's movements, on the other hand, painted a different pattern. "Today you can come into politics with big ambitions to help the country and especially to women, but tomorrow you can be "squeezed out" and you will find yourself on the sidelines. In other words, Kyrgyz politics is a dirty game" they remarked. This assertion is both potent and challenging since it suggests that there is much more

going on in political recruitment institutions than government reports and current research suggest, raising the question of whether electoral law quotas and inspirations in politics are enough to achieve a greater level of female participation.

My curiosity is also piqued by media arguments over gender quotas. Many pundits and political analysts doubt that 30 percent will be achieved on the 2021 elections, citing female's greater levels of illiteracy, restricted access to knowledge, and perceived lack of leadership abilities. Furthermore, the Kyrgyz domestic media, electronic and print, typically favors men candidates, to the disadvantage of women candidates' exposure. Male hopefuls dominate media conversations, and when confronted with the lack of females, they claim that women candidates are timid to media. There were numerous arguments advocating pro and cons gender quotas, as well as females speaking out. Some people believed the time had come to compensate Kyrgyz females for previous systemic inequality and misery throughout revolutions. Others claimed that Kyrgyz females were granted an unfair number of sitting mandates. Some people said that the policy of gender quotas was part of the President's "Ak Jol" political party's strategy to secure women's votes in 2007 elections. Many male politicians, political party leaders, and regional government officials have suggested that females should not be allowed to run limit their "line" – that is, 30percent gender quotas – unless they can demonstrate that they can affect countries successful variation. Many female candidates, particularly those pursuing mainstream candidacies, continue to be concerned about political deterrence, assault and elimination.

Kyrgyzstan, which survived from the three revolutions, is one of the most first Central Asian countries to have quotas in its constitution and electoral legislation. Kyrgyzstan attained independence in 1991, ushering in a slew of new political prospects, such as the establishment of a decentralized nation with three tiers of administration, the revival of

democracy with political multi-party, and the ratification of international female's rights norms, inclusive gender quotas.

One of the major purposes of the Constitutional Law on Gender Quota (30%) is to abolish gender inequity against women in the national parliament, which is strongly ingrained in history, custom, and convention. The policy of gender quotas policy exclusively applies to females.

Kyrgyzstan's elections in 2007 were won by three political parties (Central Election Commission of Kyrgyzstan 2007). The "Ak-Jol" was the primary President's political party and originator of 30 percent gender quotas. The gender quota was used for the first time in the 2007 Parliamentary elections in Kyrgyzstan, increasing female's numerical representation in the assembly from 0 percent in 2005 to 26 percent following the 2007 elections.

However, although the post-revolutionary context shows political potential for reform in in political recruitment institutions, also it reveals fundamental consistencies in breaking the rules, opposition, and discriminatory practices. Kyrgyz political experts analyzed the election preparations and claimed that post-revolutionary Kyrgyzstan's political procedures are comparable to those of an authoritarian dictatorship.

They anticipated that the 2007 elections would be marred by deceit since the facade of "Kyrgyz top" in both national parliament scheme and office of the government constructed on a network of family and regional origin. As a result, next praxis would be similar to earlier elections in Kyrgyzstan, when practices frequently strayed from the claimed norms owing to political manipulation and the interests of political elites. According to Kyrgyz political experts, actors efforted to fill up the rupture among the fancied condition of organized effectiveness and the actuality of constant maneuver and

deflection from procedure. This implies that informal rules and norms may have impacted or disrupted the execution of gender quota legislation and its results.

The achievement of gender quotas in Northern European and Latin American nations has prompted many international politicians and scholars to claim that gender quotas are the greatest method for boosting females represent in government and thereby improving overall equality between the sexes. Few researchers, however, have investigated how gender quotas impact public opinions of females in Central Asian nations, which have historically been steeped in patriarchal societal beliefs. As a result, there has been a paucity of research on the possibly detrimental or good societal factors to which females elected through quotas are subjected. How proportion of female in society is crucial to attaining females' equality, and which techniques are most suited to increasing females represent without negatively damaging females' opinions of their abilities to hold office. The presence of law that regulates just the process of females entering politics while neglecting external variables impacting female's actual performance in politics might have major unintended effects. The existing gender quota legislation in Kyrgyzstan primarily concentrates on how females engage in politics and has not made substantial progress in boosting females access to elected office, and this requirement does nothing to secure the impact and considerable powers of females' legislators. The opinion that females selected under gender quotas are less competent than their non-quota colleagues stem from the belief that females who are subject to quotas cannot run for office despite government interference.

To beginning, I would examine the existing research on the advantages and consequences of gender quotas in terms of their efficacy in empowering females in society. In what follows, I would examine how the gender quota is viewed and accepted in Kyrgyz society through the eyes of Jogorku Kenesh workers and past female legislators. Based on the

statistics, my findings revealed that females are more supportive of female MPs under the quota system than males.

Research Question

Despite extensive research into the impact of gender quotas on females parliamentary represent, “How Kyrgyz society accepts and percepts gender quotas?” and “How quota law affect female’s representation in the national Parliament in Kyrgyzstan?”

Significance of Research

The research shows a considerable gender break not just in receptions of gender quotas' positive-discrimination legality and effectiveness, but in interpretations that impede female's elective achievement and which strategies may work superior in overpassing the inequality, applying a survey and interview comprising 54 participants (17 men and 37 women). These contrasts are important because they provide insights into the processes that explain why gender quotas do not result in a significant improvement in female's representation in parliament.

Using past research, this study contributes to Kyrgyzstan's research in two manners. For starters, this is the first to chart the discrepancies in gender quotas and female political represent among men and women parliamentarians. While quotas were almost effectively executed in the 2007 election, an examination into the reception of gender quotas disclose a schism between both the sexes. Second, the study confirms that political parties, as doorkeepers, have a significant influence in nominating and selecting females for parliamentary seats.

Research’s objectives

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate how men and women Legislators perceive gender quotas and to explain the causes of female political under-representation.

Research design

Recognizing that no single technique can capture all of the material required for the study, I collected the research data from primary three origins: analysis of documents, survey, interview. Mix of diverse methodologies seems to me to be well fitted to the research objectives since it allows me to catch a continuity and a contextuality (Devine 2002; Bryman 2008) necessary for

my study topic. Following a preliminary literature of the study, I discovered Kyrgyzstan has few documentations and intelligence on the gender quotas implementation and female's participation in politics. Thus, the results of this thesis are founded on an appraisal of the existing facts, and I expect they might serve like starting point for future inquiry.

Data, Sources and Methods of Research

My research is amenable to merging interpretive and qualitative techniques while stressing the gendered features of institutions in politics. I understood that by combining various techniques and methodologies, I would be able to better relate my political analysis and address the major concerns of quotas and in use restrictions (Vromen 2010). Similar suppositions about what makes up authentic knowledge and proof underpin the multi-methods approach (Devine 2002). I decided to take a qualitative, interpretive, and institutionally-focused approach because my research has raised questions about “institutional and gender modification, as well as causes for affirmative effects in some contexts but slightly or no modification in others” (Lovenduski 2005).

This thesis is based on a one-month survey and interview conducted with the assistance of volunteers from the Bishkek Feminist Initiative (BFI), an organization that works to enhance public-parliamentary relations in the Jogorku Kenesh. Appendix 1 contains the complete set of questions that will be used to lead the survey and interview. The invitations to this research was sent by BFI volunteers in August 2021, with the intention of receiving data from four former female MPs and fifty Jogorku Kenesh staff members with a balanced gender distribution.

Investigating the context of a documentary analysis

Investigating the context of a documentary analysis

I gathered important materials pertaining to an establishment and execution of quotas in Kyrgyzstan, including intelligence and literature found on-line, in e-libraries, in papers from organizations. This is due to the fact that documents are an essential data origin in qualitative study; as a result, having access to the availability of relevant paperwork is critical to doing prosperous outcomes (Bryman 2008). I chose significant papers and the literature founded on how important they are to the initiation and enforcement of gender quota policies. These papers

improved my grasp of the policy institutions, background, study topics, allowing me to experiment with different inquiry approaches while in the field. These papers included:

1. Policy documents: the Kyrgyz Republic's Constitution, the Elections Act (2007), gender laws, and the Referendum Act (2007).
2. The Government's official website: <https://www.gov.kg/ru>
3. Reports, policy statements from government ministries pushing female's participation; initials of important party members; SDPK political party platform; Constitution of Kyrgyz Republic; Government Office and National Elections Commission; political parties meetings supporting female status.
4. Jogorku Kenesh reports and gender quotas discussions; female-led movements; Jogorku Kenesh's data.
5. Female organizations reports, international and domestic organizations, and government representations supporting gender quotas female's rights in politics.
6. Organs of public opinion: pertinent remarks made by the Kyrgyz Republic's Public Television and Radio Broadcasting Corporation, Radio "Azattyk", "Sputnik" and "Maral" broadcastings.
7. Addresses by the former female President of the Kyrgyz Republic, other professionals advocating for female's representation in the Jogorku Kenesh. Reports from international and domestic organizations, temporary work strategies, sessions, capacity-building research.
9. Scientific literature includes publications on females and politics, gender quotas, as well as articles, journals, and academic studies on gender quotas policy, political organizations.

Participants

This survey's sample comprises of 17 males and 33 females from various socio-political backgrounds. The rationale for having a higher number of female respondents than male respondents is that the major goal of this research is to listen to women from within, in order to fully investigate women's perspectives based on their experiences and difficulties that they encountered. The surveys were distributed to participants through e-mail, and they were expected to complete them within two and a half weeks.

Survey

I conducted a survey to determine people's opinions and experiences with the gender quota policy, which was aid in the creation of knowledge. Recognizing that a survey was inadequate to find out gendered movements of political institutions, I integrated survey data using documented proof and interview to recreate a story of the institutional context that supported the initiation and realization quotas. According to Arksey and Knight (1999), using mingled approaches is enabled to acquire material that was previously unavailable in history documentary origins.

I have previously informed my participants that the information would be collected only for academic goals, and their involvement will promote to the lore base of the political gender quotas. I next debated confidentiality with the participants, informing them of their rights to deny to reply some questions and assuring them that I would not ask inquiries about their personal information if they do not want.

A qualitative design was used to investigate the causes of challenges to females represent in parliament of the Kyrgyz Republic.

The sample included 17 male and 33 female public servants from Jogorku Kenesh who have been working for more than three years and several former female MPs of the Jogorku Kenesh.

A snowball sampling approach was used to choose respondents. This technique was used until the amount of information given by the respondents reached a saturation point.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The Impact of Gender Quota Laws on Female's Elections

Gender quota legislation is meant to promote the percentage of females elected to national parliament, but preliminary proof shows that the laws impacted a little. I introduce the analysis of how candidate quota laws affect female's representation in three key ways.

And my hypothesis is that, regardless of seat mandates and enforcement mechanisms, quotas requiring more females on party ballots result in more females being elected, but the rules governing the inclusion of female candidates on the voting ballot and punitive measures for non-compliance strengthen this result. Candidate gender quotas may significantly raise females represent, and their efficiency is dependent on how they are designed.

In the last 30 years, presence of females in national parliaments throughout the world has almost doubled. Nonetheless, the global mean for female parliamentarians in 2020 was 25%, far short of equality, and percentage of parliaments sitting mandates held by females varies much throughout nations (IPU 2020). Female's lack of representation is explained by socioeconomic, cultural, and perhaps the most importantly, institutional discrepancies in political systems. Female's representation has been found to be influenced by electoral rules, particularly those specifying the kind of electoral system and district magnitude, since these regulations govern how votes are converted into sitting placement. In spite of the advantages that definite institutional structures ensure to the rising the percentage of females in parliament, females remain under-represented in the majority of nations. Numerous nations have accepted the gender quotas—"fast track" frameworks for growing female's represent—in an effort to reverse this trend. However, gender quotas are meant to expand females represent, their effectiveness varies greatly throughout nations.

In this chapter, I investigated why several gender quotas types have been above successful than some others in expanding females represent.

I concentrated on national candidate quota regulations implemented by various nations throughout the world. The gender quotas are enshrined in parts of the constitution or state

legislation that mandate every political party contesting in legislative voting's to have females on their ballot papers. To establish effect of laws in gender quotas on the percentage of female in national parliaments, I looked at three particular aspects of quota legislation: the quota size, the presence of mandates of placement, and the presence of robust enforcement mechanisms. This analysis not only explains how different types of quota laws affect female's representation, but it also demonstrates how quotas work in a variety of electoral and socioeconomic situations.

This chapter contributes to on the gender quotas literature and females represent in two ways. Initially, rather than focusing on why gender quotas are introduced in the first place, this chapter explores the considerably less-studied issue of how they are enforced. The majority of existing quota studies concentrates on why states adopted quota system (Krook 2005, Caul 2001, Dahlerup 2006), despite the reality that more voting with gender quotas has occurred, the literature has moved its focus to the execution of quota systems and their efficiency (Htun and Jones 2002). Additionally, most research findings of quota execution have been either (1) specific country analyses that elucidate the nuanced concept of gender quotas and their impacts, or (2) wide, cross-national statistic research that aggregate various quota norms into a solitary dichotomous indicator of the exclusion or inclusion of a gender quota in order to verify the gender quota's impact. Although both groups of study findings have contributed significantly to our knowledge of quota impacts, there remains a gap among them. According to the conclusions of this research, there need be a trade-off among generalizability and particularity. I would like to attempt to fill blank by conducting the verify of how different shades of electoral gender quota impact female's elections, allowing for generalizations across political arenas. As a result, this chapter will promote gain a better understanding of female represent in politics.

Variability of Gender Quotas

In 1991, Argentina passed a nationwide gender quota legislation that required female to make up 30percent of all candidates nominated by parties for election to the House of Representatives. Gender quotas were not a novel idea, neither was its application: quotas had been used by various political parties, most notably in Northern nations, since 1970s (Caul, 2001). However, Argentinian legislation was a first enacted by the democratic country decided to apply to all

legislative parties, providing the supreme possibility to expand female participation in a whole legislature, rather than just one political party's parliament deputation. Scientific proof from Argentina indicates that quota system has been effective. Female managed to win 14.4 percent of the seats in the National Parliament in election of 1993, first after a quota act went into impact, compared to merely 5 percent in 1991 election. Argentina's House of Representatives has 31 percent women by 2001, placing it ninth in the globe for female represent in national legislatures (IPU 2002).

Since 1991, a number of nations throughout the globe have following Argentina's lead and implemented gender quotas, through either national law or provisions of the constitution (or both). Some of these quotas are so new that they have only been applied to a few elections.

Liberia and Mauritania implemented quota systems for the first time in 2006 and 2005, correspondingly, and Mexico's 2002 quotas act was used to Chamber elections held in 2006. These nations have almost identical years, with Kyrgyzstan's first elections with gender quotas occurring in the same year (2007). Quota system have gone through multiple election cycles in other countries. Belgium implemented quota system in 1994, and three elections have been held since then. Quota system for the Argentina's House of Deputies has been in effect for ten elections. Quota laws were enacted in two countries, Italy and Venezuela, but were quickly repealed. Gender quotas' main objective is to expand a number of females elected to parliament. Nonetheless, the proportion of female legislators in nations with quota system varies greatly. Argentina, for instance, saw an almost immediate enlargements in the number of females in political house after enacting a national quota act in 2001. Since the implementation of its quota system in 1997, Brazil has experienced essentially no progress in female's parliamentary representation. Since quota was implemented in 1999, the percentage of female in the Armenian parliament has averaged only 5.6 percent, down from 6.3 percent in a pre-quota 1995 election. Why are some quota acts more effective in electing female than the others?

Candidate quota system laws differ greatly across countries, and they differ along three components. The first one is the size of the quota, which is the proportion of candidates of political parties who must be women.

Everything else being equivalent, providing a higher percentage of females to be embedded on the political party ballot have to result in more sitting of placement in the parliament overcome by female. Present quota system range in size, for instance, from as little as 5percent in Armenia to as much as 50percent in France. The placement of mandates is the second component. A placement of mandates requires that women candidates be placed in winnable constituencies or on political party lists. Argentina is one of the states with a quota that includes a placement of mandates. The power of the quota law's mechanisms of enforcement is the third component. Several states have no mechanism for enforcing the quota, while others have harsh penalties for parties who present nominee lists that do not satisfy the quota system.

According to the present literature, distinctions in size of quota, mandates of placement, and mechanisms of enforcement are significant interpretations for why the number of females elected to parliaments differs so widespread across quota nations (Jones 2004; Matland 2006; Htun and Jones 2002; Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005).

However, because there has been no cross-national statistical research, we do not realize and cannot accurately predict what impact the measurements can have, both autonomously and in mixture, on female election outcomes, how huge impacts can be, or whether or not the impacts will persevere throughout varying political configurations. Is the quota size sufficient in and of itself to increase the number of females in the political office, or are quota system only effective when laws specify placement mandates and enforcement mechanisms? Is it necessary for the quota to be placed and enforced in order to increase female's representation, or is one sufficient? How tightly does the quota size match the number of females elected to the political office? In the following subsections, I go over the three components of quota laws in depth and outline hypotheses about how the measurements may affect female's election.

Gender quota size

The size of gender quota is a minimal level proportion of a candidates of political parties who must be women. In theory, as the size of the quota grows, so has to a proportion of female be elected to the parliaments (Schmidt and Saunders 2004; Jones and Navia 1999). Though, Because of the design of electoral quotas, the ratio between size of quota and number of placements held

by female might not be the one. Electoral quotas merely determine a set percent of a political party's ballot for female candidates, rather than ensuring a specific number of parliamentary seats for female. In other sayings, the 30percent gender quotas does not ensure that 30percent of an assembly will be women. Legislative elections on quota system that claim a greater percent of ballot papers to be women has to result in above female in the political house than elections held under lower percent demands, but the percentage of placements eventually won by females may not fit a size of quota. Other variables that determine the amount of seats gained by females include a proportionality of election laws, the election formula utilized, the size of the voting district, and electorate priorities.

The percentage of female party candidates required in countries with gender quotas varies greatly. Nepal and Armenia, for instance, require 5percent female representation, whereas France and South Korea seek 50percent female representation. The most widely accepted size of quota is 30percent, which is used by the majority of countries. In some nations, the size of quota has modified between election results. For instance, in Belgium, gender quota was gradually executed. Gender quota was set at 25percent in the first post-quota election under the 1994 law, but it was expanded to 33percent in the post-quota election in the second time. Ecuador also executed the quota system, with the quota size gradually increasing. The gender quota was initially set at 20percent in 1997, but a 2000 electoral code reform increased it to 30percent, with a 5percent enlarge in each following election till it reached 50percent.

Mandates of Placement

Political parties must place female candidates in places where they have a realistic possibility of winning under a placement law mandates. Political parties would be required to guarantee that one of the top three or four places on the political party ballot was held by a female. Quota system with mandates of placement avert political parties from placing every women candidate at a lowest part of the political party ballot, where they have little to no opportunity of winning.

An amount of research findings has emphasized the significance of quota mandates of placement in the gender quota acts (Jones 1996, 2004; Gray 2003; Baldez 2004; Htun and Jones 2002), the

finding that quota system merely increases the number of females elected when gender quotas require those females to be situated in electable posts.

Mandates of placement are, by determination, limited to elective systems in which political parties present ballots with rank-ordered lists of nominees, such as multimember-district plurality systems and closed-list or "flexible list" proportional representation systems. Because political parties do not predetermine rankings and candidates are elected purely based on preferences of voters, placement mandates are not conceivable in open-list proportional represent systems.

The language of the mandates of placement varies by country and is often determined by the size of the quota. In Paraguay, where gender quotas are 20percent, law mandates one out of each five aspirants on the political party list be a female. According to Bosnia and Herzegovina's mandates of placement, females have to one of the first two aspirants on the political party list, two females amongst the first five aspirants, three amongst the first eight aspirants, and so forth.

Mechanisms of Enforcement

Mechanisms of enforcement are provisions in election law or constitutional conditions that specify the aftermaths for political parties that fail to follow with the gender quotas. The enforcement mechanisms find things simpler for election authorities to penalize political parties ignore or refuse to use quota system, and have to thus serve as a deterrent to gender quotas avoidance. Because more political parties will conform with the gender quota, which include mechanisms of enforcement in the gender quota law has to issue in more females being elected to the political house (Jones 1996; Baldez 2004; Htun and Jones 2002).

There is no reference of enforcement in certain quota legislation. Others point to lax mechanisms of enforcement punish political parties for noncompliance although do not avert them from running. For instance, France, imposes the monetary punishment on political parties do not conform with the gender quota, reducing the sum of public funding available in next elections. In the 2002 election, many political parties chose to accept the punishment and assistance men establishment candidates rather than adhere to the quota system (Norris 2003). Brazil and Belgium demand political parties that do not match the demanded numbers of females to provide open places that have to be filled by females; in Brazil, those political parties can select to remove

males from nominee lists too, successfully cutting the amount of aspirants that the political party may run. Neither nation needs political parties to seek out more female aspirants in order to meet gender quota. Mechanisms of enforcement in Panama are also lax, permitting political parties that do not match the gender quota to nominate any aspirant they want. This permissiveness effectively reduces gender quota to a recommendation: if a political party does a good-faith exertions but declares to have found paucity well-qualified females, political party can appeal to complementary men aspirants. Those comparatively weakly mechanisms of enforcement contrast with those used in Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Paraguay, Costa Rica and where they are stronger. In these countries, enforcement is carried out by irrespective election authorities who review lists and reject these of political parties that do not meet gender quotas. Political parties have to match gender quotas or they will be unable to run candidates in districts that do not meet the gender quota. These disparities in mechanisms of enforcement—non enforcement, weakly enforcement, strong enforcement—have to result in various levels of females represent.

CHAPTER 3: FEMALE’S ROAD TO THE KYRGYZ REPUBLICS NATIONAL PARLIAMENT. IMPLEMENTATION OF QUOTA LAW AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The Kyrgyz Republic, a land - locked, primarily mountainous country with an estimated of 6.6 million people, is a democratic nation that accepted the presidential system in 2021 which is also one of a few nations with lower-than-average income in Central Asia (GNI per capita of \$1,160 in 2020) (World Bank Data, 2020).

According to the National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic, Kyrgyzstan’s population was estimated to be 6 524 000 at the start of 2020. Women account for around 50.534 percent of Kyrgyzstan’s population; nevertheless, men outnumber women in rural areas (World Bank Data, 2020).

Table 1. Kyrgyz Republic’s population, 2020

Age	Total population			Urban area			Rural area		
	F/M	F	M	F/M	F	M	F/M	F	M
Total population	6 524 000 100%	50.5%	49.5 %	32.7%	52.4%	47.6%	67.3%	49.3%	50.7 %

Kyrgyz Republic is classed as a medium-development nation in the 2020 Human Development Report, with a Human Development Index (HDI) score of 0.697 and a position of 120 out of 189 countries. In spite of this reported growth, Kyrgyzstan’s development has not resulted in a noticeable improvement in the lives of its citizens, both males and females. (Kyrgyz Republic’s National Statistical Committee 2020).

The notions of “parliament” and “democracy” which constituted the foundation of social growth in the Kyrgyz Republic, did not emerge by chance. From ancient times, the societal structure of the Kyrgyz Republic’s people has been marked by evidence of popular parliamentary and democracy. Representative authority has always played an essential part in the political life of the people. National “kurultai” were the highest authorities in charge of making major decisions. In

Kyrgyzstan, a “kurultai” is a citizen’s congregation. It had been making choices that determined the destiny of Kyrgyz statehood at critical junctures in history. Usually, such gatherings were conducted once per year, where major topics affecting citizen’s everyday lives were debated. Forefathers of Kyrgyz people managed to retain and pass on the sacred principles of freedom to future generations over the course of a long and rich history. All of this demonstrates that the “kurultais” in the ancient Kyrgyz people’s lives established the institutions of public democracy. As a result, notions like as “kurultai”, “citizen’s congregation”, and “council of aksakals” have been retained in its traditions as the basis of citizen’s governance to this day.

Parliaments are among the oldest forms of government. They have not, however, attained consummation, since there remain problems in the under-representation of females in parliaments across the world. Even in nations with advanced levels of parliamentary democracy, there are several issues that must be addressed, and gender disparity is one of them.

The National Parliament of the Kyrgyz Republic (Jogorku Kenesh) is termed upon to present the interests of all sectors of the population, to serve as a nationwide basis for synchronizing different viewpoints, and to be a public mouthpiece as a legitimately elected democratic representative body of the Kyrgyz Republic’s citizens. It is intended to support the nation’s long-term growth, react to external and internal issues in a timely manner, satisfy societal expectations, enhance the rule of law, encourage human rights, and contribute to the creation of a society free of remissness. Kyrgyz Republic adopted the Beijing Platform for Action, a female’s empowerment program, in 1995. The platform’s acceptance served as a springboard for the establishment of a national strategy for female’s growth and gender equality in the Kyrgyz Republic. During 1995 to 1998, Kyrgyz Republic joined the international agreements “On the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women” (CEDAW), “On the Political Rights of Women” and “On the Rights of the Child” (UNDP 2010).

The National Activities Plan on Gender Equality was approved by Decree of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic in 2002. The National Council “on the issues of women, family, and gender development, as well as other relevant governmental, public, and international organizations and

institutions” initiated the creation of the plan (National Plan 2004). One of the National Plan's priorities was to include a gender perspective into all aspects of state and community life.

The Kyrgyz Republic’s Constitution guarantees the promotion of gender equality. As a result, according to the Kyrgyz Republic’s Constitution, “all men and women have equal freedoms and rights, equal possibilities for self-fulfillment” (Constitution 2010).

Females have political leadership and representation at all levels of decision-making, which is ensured by specific laws and policies. In 2003, the “On State Guarantees of Gender Equality” law was passed, which establishes particular procedures for gender parity in public service of the Kyrgyz Republic. According to Article 9 of this law declares that country “shall ensure proportional participation of individuals of different sexes in the legislative, executive, and judicial government branches through legal, institutional, and other processes”. Additionally, the National Plan Actions “on achieving gender equality in the Kyrgyz Republic for (NPA) 2007–2010” was adopted. Though, the current system of assurances is insufficient to ensure that these rights are fully implemented.

As shown in the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), there are hardly over than 25.7 percent of females in parliaments across the world. In this ranking, Kyrgyzstan is ranked 118th (IPU, 2020). In the Kyrgyz Republic’s Jogorku Kenesh, 20 of the 120 parliament members are females (16.7 percent) (Official site of the Jogorku Kenesh 2020).

The Kyrgyz Republic faced political and societal turmoil after obtaining independence in 1991. In 2005, 2010 and 2020 the major stress factors that underpinned social and political instability were weak governance and entrenched corruption. (Chotonov 2009)

Kyrgyz Republic is the first state in Central Asia to had a female president. Roza Otunbayeva has become the chairwoman of the Interim Government and later the president during the transition phase after Kyrgyz Republic’s forceful shift of power in April 2010. Rosa Otunbayeva’s presidential legacy was connected with the first peaceful transition of power in Kyrgyzstan throughout the independence period, regardless of how it was assessed.

Since obtaining independence in 1991, democratization procedures have greatly improved female political involvement chances. Nevertheless, the transition era was marked by new obstacles in the societal, economic and cultural realms, limiting female's societal and political participation. It is worth noting that, gratitude to the efforts of female's movements such as the Public League Women's Organization "Alga" substantial progress has been achieved in promoting female's participation in politics and improving gender equality in decision-making processes at the local and national levels during the years since independence. Firstly, a legal foundation for gender equality in all sectors, including politics has been established. The Kyrgyz Republic's Constitution and parliamentary actions on gender equality, as well as international treaties signed by the state and the establishment of gender quotas for female's representation in parliament (since 2007) have all helped to enhance female's representation in authority (OSCE 2010).

Despite current regulations, however, female's presence in the Jogorku Kenesh falls short of the 30percent limit established. Women are frequently included on party lists based on their pragmatic goals of mobilizing financial resources, formal compliance with laws, and creating a certain image of the party. Even after receiving a mandate as a member of parliament, however, there are several official and unofficial means of "squeezing" women out of parliament.

There has been a general tendency in the last two decades to pay more note to female's participation in politics. It is shown not just on a declarative level, but also via the establishment of a unique mechanism for female's progression in decision-making institutions. The gender quota system, which is used as a temporary special measure, is a very successful weapon for these parties and governments. "Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between women and men does not, as described in this Convention, constitute discrimination, but it in no way should imply the retention of imbalanced or differentiated standards; these measures should be abolished when the targets of equal opportunities and equal treatment are attained", states Article 4 (part one) of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (UNDP 2010).

At the same time, despite the development of gender laws, practical equality leaves much to be desired. Indicators of female's political engagement, such as female representation at decision-

making levels, are an instance of this. Table 2 demonstrates how Kyrgyz females were increasingly “washed out” of governance throughout the time of independence. As a result, by 2005, the parliamentary membership was entirely made up of same-sex individuals (men). It was only via the use of the gender quota mechanism that the situation could be reversed. At the same time, it should be emphasized that, as a outcome of the gender quota mechanism’s inadequacy, the level of female representation in Parliament tends to decline.

Table 2. Kyrgyz females’ representation in decision-making positions from 1995 to 2020

National Parliamentary elections	Total number of members of Jogorku Kenesh	Number of female members of Jogorku Kenesh	
		number	%
1995	105	5	4.7%
2000	105	7	6.8%
2005	75	0	0%
2007	90	23	26%
2010	120	28	22.3%
2015	120	25	20.5%
2020	120	20	16.7%

Source: National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic

According to the statistics, the implementation of gender quotas in Kyrgyzstan’s political arena increased the percentage of women at decision-making levels, however this proved difficult to translate into meaningful improvements. Despite institutional improvements undertaken by many international organizations, women's representation today is more formal/symbolic and susceptible to manipulation. One of the most notable cases of this is the practice of parliament elections, in which females who receive seats on candidate lists based on the quota principle leave off the list as soon as parties win an election, relinquishing seats, generally for males among the party’s members. New procedural and legislative measures are again required to improve the represent of females in the national parliament of the Kyrgyz Republic (UNDP 2010).

According to the Kyrgyz Republic's Constitutional Law on the Election of Parliament members, no more than 70% of candidates in party lists shall be of the same gender (Constitution 2010). Parties prefer to comply with this rule throughout the election process, but once elected, the initial list of candidates is changeable to exclude women candidates.

The parliamentary elections in Kyrgyzstan in 2015 became one of the most significant events in the political history of the country, since the deputies who are to be elected for a term of five years are in session until today, since the parliamentary elections of 2020 were officially declared invalid by the Central Election Commission of the Kyrgyz Republic. After the parliamentary elections, when the former president of the Kyrgyz Republic decided to lobby the interests of his political party and bought votes from rural citizens, a wave of dissatisfaction from other political parties erupted and thousands of citizens rallied in support of the cancellation of the elections and the appointment of new transparent parliamentary elections. After this unrest, the former president resigned, the parliamentary elections were postponed until 2021, and the current convocation of the Jogorku Kenesh is still working. If you look at Table 2, you can observe how over five years, five women deputies surrendered their mandates and were squeezed out of the current convocation. Approximately 14 political parties were contesting the election, and the number of seats in parliament were to 120 in 2015. (kenesh.kg). As a result, at the sixth convocation of legislators, 1 million 630 thousand Kyrgyz residents (59 percent) elected 6 political parties (stat.kg).

If we examine at the party lists before to the elections, we can see that the majority of parties adhered to the rule that every fourth woman be a woman. Nevertheless, when looking at the reality of mandate allocation, it is clear that women's representation in political parties has fallen substantially.

Table 3. Jogorku Kenesh faction gender composition in 2017

Political Party	Total number of members of Jogorku Kenesh	Female number
“SDPK”	27	11
“Republic-Ata Jurt”	24	4
“Kyrgyzstan”	17	1
“Onuguu-Progress”	12	1
“Bir Bol”	12	0
“Ata Meken”	11	3

Source: Official website of the Jogorku Kenesh

Table 3 shows that none of the political parties in the current convocation achieve the 30percent gender quota requirement. There are more or less a big number of females in the political party “SDPK” with a total of 11 women, but there are no women in the political party “Bir Bol” just males. Three to four women are found in each of other political parties (Official website of the Jogorku Kenesh). In Kyrgyzstan, the gender quota system appears to be only partially effective. The Tien- Shan Research Institute of the American University of Central Asia conducted a preliminary study of the seventh convocation of parliament, which revealed that women made up fewer than 30percent of the legislature. According to analysts, this fact demonstrates that the 30percent suggested norm for women's representation in the Jogorku Kenesh was not met again. As a consequence, we can observe that current efforts to promote women in politics are not backed up by effective methods of motivation, particularly for political parties, to adhere to gender quotas, as well as systems for monitoring their implementation, as described above.

However, I would also want to highlight not just Kyrgyz Republic’s institutional issue of gender quotas, but also somewhat distinct issue areas that affect Kyrgyz females in the Jogorku Kenesh. Another concern is the “quality” of Kyrgyz females who are elected to the legislature. The electorate, while receptive to the concept of females in leadership, has extremely limited options

for supporting females since party leaders select particular women for party lists or management appointments at their discretion. Regrettably, weaknesses in Kyrgyz political and administrative systems allow to gain power without regard for meritocratic ideals. This is true not only for females, but also for management employees in general. It is fairly unusual for nominees to prominent posts to be appointed not on the basis of their intellectual, professional, or qualifications, but on nepotism and clannishness, personal allegiance to the party leader or higher leadership. This arrangement not only undermines female's positions in decision-making, and also undermines the concept of gender equality in politics (Bagdasarova, Gorborkova, and Moldosheva 2018).

Nevertheless, there are several additional elements to the issue of female's participation in power. Despite legislative successes, there remain numerous barriers at the level of informal institutions, as well as popular view of female's political leadership.

In general, women politicians are seen negatively by the public. In light of the recent growth of traditional values, religion, and conservative views on the family and the women's role, those who advocate for gender equality, and much more so – female's participation in politics, are in opposition to Kyrgyz culture, spiritual values, and mindset. Among other things, the notion of women's inadequacy in politics or their proclivity to tackle primarily social problems persists.

The demands placed on women leaders by society are far more stringent and severe than those placed on males. For numerous reasons, women are rarely pardoned for missteps and faults, and they are frequently victims of public and hidden sexism. Women are often forced to change in order to justify public opinion about them as politicians, taking on the trait's characteristic of men. Women cannot alter the policy since they are in the minority, therefore they are obliged to "play by the man rules" (Roza Otunbayeva, 2011). During election campaigns, however, the machismo of female politicians sometimes repels potential support groups for females. This is likely one of the reasons behind the female population's lack of support for female leaders. The female electorate's lack of support for female leaders can be explained by existing preconceptions, patriarchal political culture's dominance, and a lack of faith in female politicians' capacity to handle problems that affect children and women. Frustration with the quality of female members

of parliament's legislative activity, the negative image of certain female political officials, and the ascension into power structures of so-called “free riders” i.e., those who lack adequate experience, track records, and professional training, do not help to strengthen support from the woman electorate (Roza Otunbayeva 2016).

How gender quota law works in Kyrgyzstan?

The problem of fair represent of females in the Kyrgyz parliament is a rather hackneyed topic. It is no secret that the parties in Kyrgyzstan do not take the gender balance requirements of the election law very seriously. Article 60 of this law requires the representation of each gender to be no more than 70% on the lists of candidates from each party. But in parliament there are always more than 70% of men.

This circumstance is explained by the fact that the requirement of a "gender quota" applies to the lists of candidates from each party, but not to the distribution of mandates in parliament.

Nevertheless, the apparent imbalance shows that the parties in Kyrgyzstan do not share the idea and values laid down in Article 60 of the electoral law.

The gender quota in Article 60.3 of the Law "On elections of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic and deputies of the Jogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic" does not determine which gender should be represented in a ratio of at least 30%. This column is based on a worst-case scenario for women. But this law can also be interpreted as a requirement to ensure the representation of the male sex at the level of at least 30% of the number of deputies.

It is worth noting that, according to the changes in the election law of 2016, in the event of an early termination of the powers of a deputy, his mandate is transferred to the next registered candidate of the same sex. But this bill does not apply to cases of "refusal" from the mandate of a deputy after the elections. In other words, gender balance is still under threat if “opt-out” applications are written mainly by female candidates.

The National Parliament on July 28, 2021 changed the gender quotas for women who want to get into parliament. Deputies of the Jogorku Kenesh at the meeting voted in the second and third readings for amendments to the law on elections. One of the amendments concerned changes in the gender quota.

Now, according to the law, 30% of the deputies in the parliament and local keneshes must be women. The amendments stipulate that now only every fourth deputy mandate will be given to women.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that according to the new Constitution, there should be 90 deputies in the parliament. They should be elected according to a mixed system: 54 by party lists, and 36 by single-mandate constituencies. This means that quotas will be provided only for party lists.

How did the discussion go?

This initiative to change the gender quota was made by the deputy and member of the Bir Bol faction Amankul Toktomambetov:

"I really respect every woman. [...] If every second deputy is a woman, the parliament will become the ensemble "Kyz-Burak" (female vocal group). Therefore, let's keep the committee's decision in force [every fourth candidate on the party's list has to be a female]," said the deputy from the Bir Bol faction (kloop.kg).

Vice-speaker Aida Kasymalieva noted in response that women deputies demand not that every second mandate be given to a woman, but every third one.

"If more women become deputies, there will be not Kyz-Burak, but an effective parliament. Since independence, we have been ruled only by presidents, so what have we achieved? We cannot come to an agreement, dear men. I respect you, but there is no need to turn the situation into a comedy [...] Women here do not sing, but raise social problems [...] You seem to be offended at something, never say that again. We did not come here to sing, but to work and work every day," said woman deputy Aisuluu Mamashova (kloop.kg).

Amankul Toktomambetov responded by saying that according to the Constitution, men and women are equal and "women have even more rights":

"They have nothing to complain about. If they want, let them go to 36 districts, if they showed themselves well and did a good job. I am sure that the people will support them. In addition, it is necessary to take into account the extent to which young people and ethnic minorities are represented," he said (kloop.kg).

Because of this initiative, deputies Amankul Toktomambetov and Altynbek Sulaimanov quarreled.

Sulaimanov asked Toktomambetov to withdraw his initiative, but he did not agree. Sulaimanov himself wanted to introduce his own initiative so that every third mandate would be allocated to women. He went to the microphone and again began to demand from his colleague to abandon the idea.

As a result, Amankul Toktomambetov did not withdraw his proposal.

MPs and experts agree that the majority system - elections in single-mandate constituencies - is a barrier for women, they rarely manage to win. Therefore, most likely, 36 seats in single-member constituencies will be occupied by men.

“Our previous experience has shown that when elections are held in single-mandate constituencies, wealthy men come to parliament,” said deputy Aisuluu Mamashova (kloop.kg).

Only 54 seats remain - if only every fourth mandate is given to a woman, then only 13 women will be elected to parliament. If the quota remained the same - at 30% - 18 women could get into parliament.

“This is how one should hate half of the population of Kyrgyzstan in order to initiate a decrease in the political participation of women. So, the majority system is a barrier for women in elections, and the reduction of quotas in the proportional part will again lead to the creation of a men's club,” wrote Anara Niyazova, an expert, head of the department of civil law and process of the KRSU, on her Facebook (kloop.kg).

At the same time, often the norm of a 30% quota for women was not observed either by the parliament or in local councils.

In the sixth convocation of the Jogorku Kenesh, there are only 20 deputies, although according to the law there should be at least 36 women in parliament.

Amendments to the election law of the Kyrgyz Republic

On July 28, the deputies adopted amendments to the constitutional law “On elections of the president and deputies of the Jogorku Kenesh”.

According to it, the deputies of parliament will be elected according to a mixed system - there will be party lists and self-nominated candidates. At the same time, parties will be able to send self-nominated candidates to the elections. In addition, the electoral threshold for parties was set at 5%.

Also, the amendments stipulate the maximum number of agitators - parties will be able to hire no more than 10 thousand people, and candidates from single-mandate constituencies no more than 500 agitators.

As regrettable as it may be, the National Parliament of Kyrgyzstan shows the whole essence of the patriarchal system. Women deputies are clearly ousted from the political arena, preventing them from raising national issues and working for the good of the state.

Based on the above, the thought comes to us, maybe we should make amendments to toughen the law and introduce penalties for non-compliance with the law on gender quotas? Earlier, I pointed out in Chapter 2 that the size of the gender quota cannot bring great success and increase the seats of women in Parliament without additional mechanisms. Undoubtedly, there are countries in which the gender quota works successfully on a voluntary basis, but Kyrgyzstan is not yet ready to join these countries. The country needs tough additional mechanisms to increase women in the National Parliament. In the meantime, we can only observe a decrease in the number of women and a rollback of the country back.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND KEY FINDINGS

Gender quotas were established in 2007 as a measure to growth females represent in the Kyrgyz Republic's parliament and were first applied in the 2007 elections. Despite extensive study on the impact of gender quotas on female parliamentary nominations, little is known about male and female politicians' acceptance and perception of gender quotas. This study aims to investigate how male and female MPs perceive gender quotas and to understand the causes of female political under-representation. The study found a significant gender gap not only in perceptions of quotas' positive-discrimination legitimacy and efficiency, but also in interpretations that impede female's electoral victories and which strategies might work best in overcoming the disparity, using a questionnaire involving 50 representatives (17 male and 33 female). These contrasts are important because they provide insights into the processes that explain why gender quotas do not result in a significant increase in female's representation in parliament.

Gender Quotas and Female's Representation in Kyrgyzstan

Because Kyrgyzstan is a democratic country, its experience in boosting female's participation in national parliaments is critical. Females make up slightly more than half of Kyrgyzstan's population, however their representation in the National Parliament (Jogorku Kenesh) is just 16.7percent (see Table 2). By ratifying CEDAW in 1996, a number of gender mainstreaming policy initiatives aimed at boosting female's participation in decision-making were first launched. Many academics are attempting to explain the sluggish development of females represent, with some claiming that political parties, as gatekeepers (Caul, 1999; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995), are not doing enough to nurture and nominate female staff. The fact that only some females run as candidate number one or two, despite the fact that approximately 80percent of elected aspirants are those named on these top positions, emphasizes the issue of political parties' sincerity in encouraging women into politics.

The quick spread of gender quotas has been dubbed the "fast track" to equal represent for females (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005), and also it is fashionable (Dahlerup, 2008) and contagious

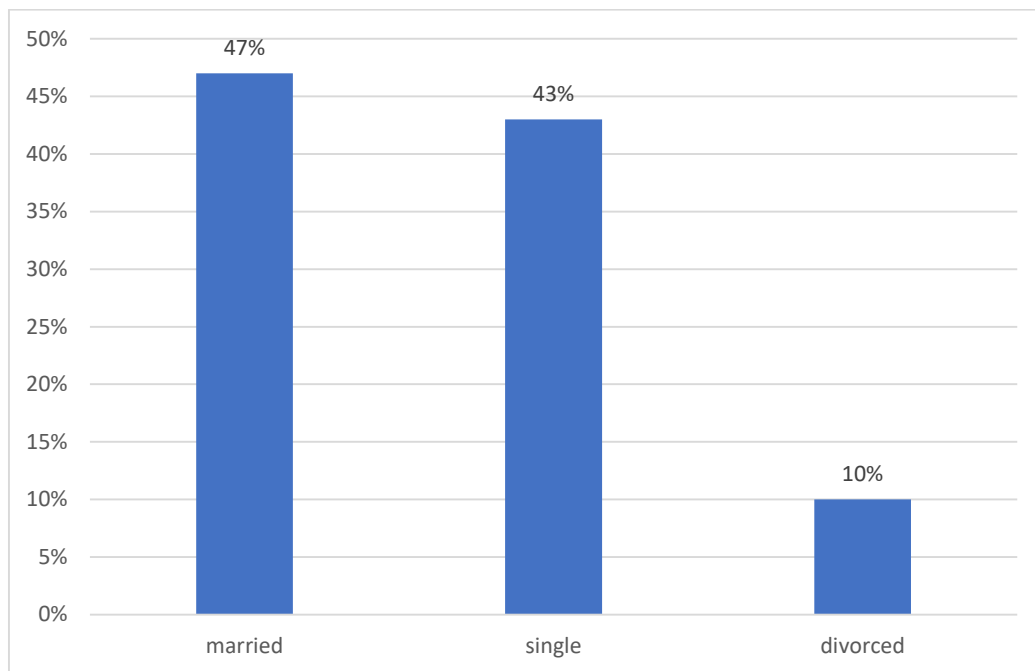
(Meier, 2004). Tripp and Kang (2008) utilized cross-national data to demonstrate that gender quota is the most powerful predictor of the percentage of female in national parliament.

Gender quotas, commonly described as a positive-discrimination strategy, were first implemented in Kyrgyzstan with Law No. 100 of 2007 on Elections in the Kyrgyz Republic. It urges "No more than seventy percent of persons of the same sex, with a maximum difference of three positions in the order of males and females' aspirants nominated by political parties," according to Article 60(3).

However, gender quotas in Kyrgyzstan have not produced the desired results. Some experts say that institutional issues such as the open-list PR system are the major gap, since the cost of agitating has risen over the years, making it difficult for women with limited access to material capital to be nominated. The purpose of this chapter is to broaden the opinion by looking into man and woman MPs' opinions of legal gender quotas, the legality of this positive discrimination, and its effectiveness in increasing female's electability.

Majority of participants were married between the ages of 35 and 45, with the remainder being single or divorced. According to the statistics, single and married participants had about the same proportion distribution, and just 10percent of participants were divorced. Respondents who were single women gave comments that the Kyrgyz Republic's low female representation in Parliament, despite gender quotas, is a poor work of laws and that there is no control over the work of this legislation. The impression was that the unmarried participants feel insecurity from the state and a categorical distrust of the work of the laws at the proper level.

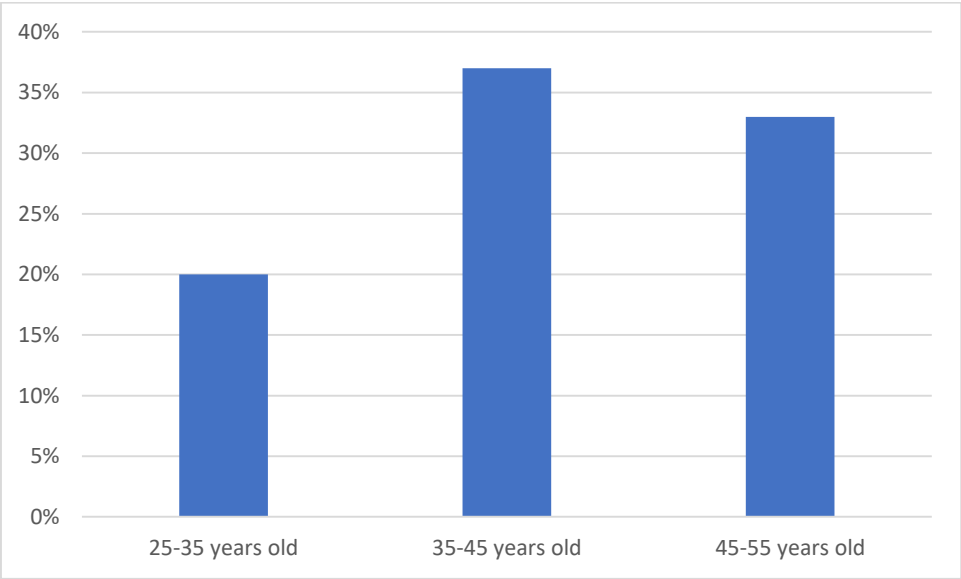
Figure 1. Marital status of participants



As previously stated, the age distribution of responses revealed that the bulk of former MPs and public officials are between the ages of 35 and 45. As a result, they have sufficient work experience in state service to give trustworthy and relevant knowledge about female's engagement in Kyrgyz Republic's Jogorku Kenesh.

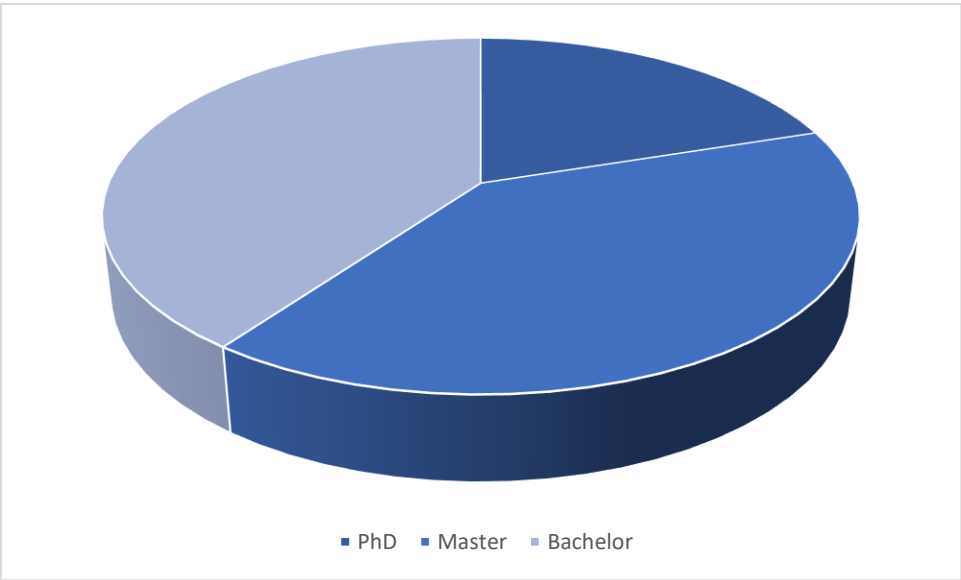
After analyzing the age category, I came to the conclusion that on the part of the young category of participants (25-35 years old) came pessimism and disappointment from the government and the authorities of the country. Most of the participants in this category believe that the gender quota law does not work because the political situation in the country is weak, corruption is at a high level, and there is no strong oversight state body that would control the work of the country's laws. One of the participants suggested introducing large fines if the laws were not enforced. But again, the question arises of who will monitor and carry out checks and find violators of the laws, if there is no strong supervisory state body, as previously indicated.

Figure 2. Age of participants



Participants held diverse positions in various government entities as former members of parliament, councilors of members of parliament, and experts in various parliamentary committees. The majority of participants stated that they had 5 to 7 years of job experience. They were chosen for the survey because they had diverse experiences that may aid in obtaining accurate and informative knowledge.

Figure 3. Participant’s level of education



According to the graph, 40percent of participants had a bachelor's degree, 40percent had a master's degree, and 20percent had a doctoral degree, the latter of which has been repeatedly

emphasized due to the belief that education and knowledge in politics are of primary importance and a necessary requirement for women to participate in Kyrgyzstan's national politics.

The survey contains both open-ended and closed-ended questions. The open questions are intended to elicit participants' own perspectives on subjects such as the establishment of aspirant gender quotas, reasons that lead to female's underrepresentation in politics, and ideas for overcoming the existing situation. And interview questions were open ended. The questions included mapped background information about the responder, such as sex, age, and degree of education, as I previously indicated. Conversely, the closed-list questions, which are presented here as a list of assertions, are intended to quantify the replies of participants. The data indicate that support for gender quotas is not universal among respondents in Kyrgyzstan, and that gender was the most influential element at the beginning of its adoption in creating the answer pattern. Throughout the analyses presented in the rest of this study, it is clear that the gender gap exists in a variety of ways. The remainder of this study delves into exactly where and how females and males differ in their perceptions of quotas and female's present in politics.

The great majority of females, 74percent, disagree with the notion that legally mandated gender quotas are no longer necessary since they merely exacerbate the gender gap. Females, on average, support the retention of quotas more than males, with 63percent of males supporting the retention of quotas. Surprisingly, 22percent of males favor the concept of eliminating this positive-discrimination strategy, while just 10percent of female participants do. As seen in Table 4, If we look at the following affirmation, quotas have high legitimacy, since they are based on the principle of equality enshrined in the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, then we can observe a large divergence of opinions between men and women. Women disagree with this affirmation, reinforcing comments that the gender quota law is not working properly and the state is not strengthening the gender quota law to increase the number of women. But men believe quotas to be very acceptable since they adhered to the concept of equality and fairness included in the Kyrgyz Republic's Constitution.

One of the respondents made a remark:

"Before, I was too busy with everyday life, children, household. My children grew up, and one day I felt that it was time to work and prove myself for the people. I went to the 2010 parliament elections with the help of a quota. Therefore, I think that gender quotas are really necessary for our country, to make this law work properly. "

Another former female MPs added that:

"People think that women are incapable of doing big things. But I believe that women are more resilient and persistent. Women are more sensitive to important issues related not only to the social block and problems related to children and women. Quotas open doors for the future of the nation".

The fact that gender quotas are increasingly being considered in elections, which increases the likelihood of women's victory, has turned out to be controversial. It is still a mystery to me why 30% of women chose to remain neutral with this affirmation. But the fact that more than 46% of men disagree with this statement suggests that the gender quota according to the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic does not have such a high legitimacy.

The impression of legitimacy is consistent with the pattern of responses to a statement stating that quotas are a helpful instrument for strengthening the quality of democracy in Kyrgyzstan. This statement earned the highest acceptance rating from females of any statement in this topic, with nearly all female participants believing that quotas are beneficial to Kyrgyz Republic's democracy. Men, too, see quotas as a method of improving democracy (63percent), although almost 20percent believe the approach's influence on building a stronger democracy in Kyrgyzstan may be limited. In connection with the accelerated growth of religious Islamization in Kyrgyzstan, there is a decent number of the population and even deputies who believe to change secular Kyrgyzstan to an Islamic state. In this regard, I raised this question about democracy. And as I have already mentioned, women support democracy in Kyrgyzstan, since these deputies have already several times stated from the tribunes in the reduction of women deputies and the uselessness of gender quotas, since according to the Islamic Sharia a woman must sit at home, be an agreeable wife, raise children and do household.

Table 4. The validity and effectiveness of candidate gender quotas in Kyrgyz parliamentary elections

Affirmation	Disagree		Neutral		Agree	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Quotas are no longer necessary since they simply serve to highlight the gender gap.	62.96	74	4.81	16	22.22	10
Quotas have high legitimacy since they are based on the principle of equality enshrined in the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic.	11.11	2	11.11	26	77.78	72
Following the implementation of quotas, women candidates are increasingly considered seriously in elections, making females more likely to win.	20.37	4	33.33	30	46.29	66
Quota system are mechanisms that may be used to enhance the quality of Kyrgyz Republics democracy.	18.52	4	18.52	20	62.96	76
Women candidates are nominated by political parties only to be entitled to run in elections.	53.7	34	20.37	30	25.93	36

Most pronounced gender disparity occurs in statements about the effectiveness of quotas in influencing female political nomination prospects. The majority of women in this study believe that gender quotas are helping female candidates acquire momentum, doing them more likely to win a place in Jogorku Kenesh (66percent). With more females standing for office, the chances of being elected are increasing. Moreover, most females feel that political parties nominate woman aspirants just to ensure their eligibility to run in elections. As many as 36percent of women participants believe that political parties are not sincere in their efforts to promote females.

Males, on the other hand, believe gender quotas assist females improve their electability in legislative elections (46percent), however the majority of male respondents are unsure how quotas impact female's electoral success. In terms of how sincere political parties are in promoting female's parliamentary participation, the majority of males do not agree with their female colleagues. Nearly 54percent of males believe that parties are being sincere in nominating females, while just 26percent believe the opposite.

Even while males and females agree on the necessity for gender quotas and the true validity of such action, opinions between man participants are more split than those of females. The percentage of males who believe that gender quotas should be abolished is larger than the percentage of females who disagree with the prevailing female viewpoint. A similar route is being followed in all arguments about the legitimacy and efficacy of quotas, where more males than females disagree that quotas are consistent with the ideal of equality. Males also outweighed females in their dissatisfaction with the effect of quotas on female's electoral success and democracy, as well as how parties are not being sincere in nominating female aspirants. Females are clearly more in support of quotas since they believe quotas are beneficial for the country's democracy and effective in increasing their electability. In the meantime, males keep to support gender quotas since the intervention is justified by the Constitution's idea of equality.

One of the former women MPs shared her vision of how the gender quota law works not on paper, but in reality:

"In 2015, I participated in the parliamentary elections together with the political party Mekenim Kyrgyzstan. The party submitted to the Central Election Commission of the Kyrgyz Republic (CEC) a list of 200 candidates, where 140 are men, 60 are women. In percentage terms, this corresponded to the required law 70% and 30%, respectively. Since the start of the election campaign, ten people have left the party, eight of whom are women. As a result, only 27.4% of women have been included in the list. Nobody comments on why they decided not to continue the political struggle. I did not give out the candidates who had left the candidates. To my question whether we are violating the law on the gender quota and whether we will be able to continue to participate in the political struggle, I received an answer from the deputy chairman of the party: "Yes, out of 200 candidates from our party, 8 women came out, but we do not violate the gender norm, since this quota is taken into account only when parties submit lists to the CEC. After that, changes in the lists in connection with the withdrawal of candidates are quite natural. The main thing is that all the requirements are met when submitting the list to the CEC." This suggests that in reality women are needed only to pass this requirement, the quota works only up to this level.

Then women are simply excluded from the lists. And in the future, the percentage of women decreases upon receipt of mandates. "

Participants in the study were also exposed to remarks on probable factors for female's lack of represent in politics (Table 5). The minority of either sexes believe that few females are actively participated in politics since they prioritize their homes (children and husband) over political lives. It is essential to note, though, that the proportion of females who prefer a neutral opinion is considerable, and the difference among the neutral and agreeing groups is just 6percent. Several women participants in this research distinguish themselves from the great majority of Kyrgyz females by claiming that their kids are all grown-ups, allowing them more time to participate in politics.

In this survey, the majority of men (42.6percent) and females (52percent) believe that women in politics are scarce owing to a lack of social capital, political training, and campaign financial assistance in winning their political candidacy. Whereas the majority of males agree with this explanation, 37percent disagree and 20percent are undecided. This disparity in men's perceptions suggests that males are more split than women when it comes to external variables pertaining to three forms of capital, societal, political, and economic, which are necessary for either man or woman legislators to succeed.

Table 5. Possible causes for female political lack of representation

Affirmation	Disagree		Neutral		Agree	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Kyrgyz females prioritize their families over political careers.	18.52	18	24.07	38	57.41	44
Kyrgyz females have less societal and financial fund for agitation, and they are poorly educated in the political sphere.	37.04	34	20.37	14	42.59	52
Kyrgyz females perceive politics whereby the realm of males and masculinity, the “filthy game” rife with venal practices.	38.89	38	27.78	22	33.33	40
Kyrgyz females are impeded by cultural, religious, and customary barriers that favor males as leaders.	29.63	24	12.96	22	57.41	54
Kyrgyz female candidates with the potential to win legislative elections are tough to come by for political parties.	16.67	20	24.07	36	59.26	44
There aren’t enough Kyrgyz female politicians to serve as role models or motivation.	40.74	44	20.37	32	38.89	24

Males and females, on the other hand, believe that the latter's low political participation is not due to a lack of women politicians to serve as role models. Despite the fact that this viewpoint dominates both categories, a sizable percentage of males (39 percent) argue that females require more excellent female politicians as party leaders or lawmakers. In Kyrgyzstan currently, no political party is led by a female.

The primary difference in perspective between males and females is that the latter believe women perceive politics as a man's realm, which is typically linked with corruption and full of "dirty intrigues" (40percent). Males, on the other hand, do not feel this is the case (39percent). Females disagree with this explanation at the same proportion as males (38percent), leaving the difference among two opposing cases narrow between female respondents. This data shows that males and females are separated internally on this topic, since support for either agreeing or rejecting an interpretation does not surpass the 50percent threshold.

Another external element noticed here is the impact of culture, religion, and conventions, which frequently disfavor females in comparison to males. Both sides agreed that female political nominations are jeopardized when people believe males are better leaders than females. In fact, women participants agreed with this characteristic the most (54percent), indicating that females lack of represent is more of a cultural problem in which females need essential acceptance from their spouses, parents, and other men figures in their closest circle of influence. Males had a somewhat greater percentage of this stance, suggesting a shared understanding among two studied cases when it comes to how cultural influences shape female's involvement in politics.

Females, as according 59 percent of the males, are merely low-represented owing to a lack of touch with party officials. As a result, political parties are finding it difficult to identify high-quality women candidates to compete in legislative elections. Women share this attitude, although at a lesser percentage (44 percent), since more females than males feel that political parties can readily locate women with strong traits and chances for winning a political contest.

One of the former female deputies shared her vision and the absurdity that it is difficult to find women who could represent a political party:

"The gender quota is not direct democracy. But it is necessary. Women should not just sit at home. If women are leaders, it will be better. For example, albeit temporarily, but the president was Roza Otunbayeva. She worked well, made her contribution. The growth of number of women politicians is good. We have a lot of women who every day contribute to the future of our country, but they are always in the shadow of men. Yes, we have a tradition that a woman should be modest, not complain, in everything support her husband and be behind her husband. But the time has come when women also need to defend women's and children's problems from the tribune of the Jogorku Kenesh."

In the final portion of the survey, participants were asked about potential ways for increasing female's political participation. While 60percent of females questioned believe a more vocal effort to encourage voters to vote for female candidates is necessary, just 37percent of males agree. Nearly 30percent of males believe this tactic is not the solution, citing concerns that it may give an unfair picture of how women and men legislative candidates are treated.

All of the study's groups support boosting women's political representation by strengthening the candidate selection process (Table 6). They believe that the ideal way would be for parties to be more transparent in their processes of inviting and choosing possible women aspirants, both within and outside. As shown in Table 6, the great majority of males (74percent) and females (82percent) believe the selection process is critical to electing more females to parliament. This method is supported by both males and females, with no females opposing it and just 4percent males disagreeing, suggesting that the solution has broad support from both sexes.

These findings are consistent with the earlier mentioned causative factor of female's low represent in politics. Males believe females are underrepresented in politics in part since political parties are having difficulty nominating women aspirants; consequently, the pipeline for electing females must be repaired by making the recruiting process more open and transparent to a larger audience. According to the findings of this study, in order to meet the 30percent gender quota and avoid being disqualified to run, parties are nominating any woman. As a result, the quality and electability of women aspirants are fiercely contested. These practices also raise questions about the obligation of political parties to nurture talented female stuff till they are nominated as aspirants in elections. One approach for addressing the stuff shortage is to require parties to have at least 30percent of its managers be females at all levels, national and local.

Table 6. Possible remedies to female political lack of representation

Affirmation	Disagree		Neutral		Agree	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
	%	%	%	%	%	%
More vocal attempts to persuade voters to vote for more female aspirants.	29.63	14	33.33	26	37.04	60
The voting of Kyrgyz females as parliamentary aspirants should be more public, with political parties conducting an open recruiting process.	3.71	0	22.22	18	74.07	82
Increasing financial assistance to women's political organizations.	37.04	4	33.33	40	29.63	56
Political parties offer specific financial assistance to female aspirants who have an ability to overcome however fail finances.	35.18	6	24.07	40	40.74	54
More often than not, assign serial numbers 1 or 2 to female candidates.	33.33	6	38.89	18	27.78	76

Another method involving political parties is to provide specific financial support for highly winnable women candidates who are still limited in their fundraising. While just 6percent of females oppose this method, more than one-third of males believe it is not a viable option. Males, once again, viewed it as discrimination, despite the fact that more men believe that this is one viable approach to closing the gender gap in political involvement. However, a handful of women and men responders believe that money isn't everything and that parties may express their support in other ways.

One of the former women MPs suggested:

"Why don't political parties give gender quotas to women on the list with material assistance, women who are really professionals and can make a big contribution to the country's prosperity. We know that we have a lot of such women, but they usually have difficulties with financial part. This will be an excellent support for the gender quota law, as well as the attraction of women to the Jogorku Kenesh. My proposal may seem discriminatory, but I think this is a good opportunity for women from the middle stratum of society to prove themselves as politicians. "

Additionally, when it comes to the concept of the government providing financial assistance to female political groups, males believe the opposite of their female counterparts. The latter believe this is a good development (56percent), while the former believe such money would not assist women in general. In general, males are sharply split on this topic, with those who choose neutral and supportive viewpoints each constituting one-third of the group membership. This is also important to note that 40percent of females are indifferent towards this notion. This suggests that increasing funding for women's groups in order to boost females' political engagement is not universally approved by MPs in this research.

Females believe that the position on the list has a significant impact on the election of female legislators. The fact the most of elected legislators are those who were at the top of their party's candidate list makes it extremely reasonable to encourage parties to nominate females as the first choice in more electoral districts. Only 6percent of females do not think this is a promising method, while 18percent are neutral, indicating that females are interested in this option. Men, on the other hand, do not share this viewpoint, since the majority (39percent) prefer a neutral attitude and more than one-third disagree with the solution.

The 2007 elections outcomes in a high percent of female lawmakers in the Jogorku Kenesh (see Table 2). In the Kyrgyz Republic's Jogorku Kenesh, 23 women were elected out of a total of 90 members (26 percent). This was a 26 percent rise over the previous number of females (0 percent) in the 2005 appointed parliament, owing primarily to quota rules. While the objective for female participation was nearly met in the Jogorku Kenesh in 2007, gender quotas continue to be challenged like standard, attracting note to gendered authority relationship and the ways in which informal rules and standards antagonize female's expanded approach to resources and attendance at official decision-making levels. For instance, despite a fact that the concept of quotas is meant to apply at whole of levels of decision making, implementation has been less successful since 2007 (see Table 2), with continuous contestation and opposition. It is a key source of worry since it demonstrates the break betwixt policy and reality and calls note to the complexities of quota changes, potential negative reaction, and norms erosion. On the one side, gender quotas are established in the constitution and election act, and there are ongoing proofs of keen rhetorical

backings, owing in part to the ongoing impact of international standards like UNSCR 1325. On the other side, current government structures and organizations move on to work under covert rules and conventions that keep women out of positions of authority.

The informal standards affect appointment practices and candidates' views of being "qualified and experienced." Thesis contends that under-representation is the product of gender institutions that maintain old standards, practices, and the residue of prior solutions. For example, traditionally, governorships have been awarded to males, but in 2007 voting, a few females applied and contested the posts. On the one side, this implies providing females with knowledge and leadership abilities is critical because it might inspire them to compete with males in historically man dominated organizations, defying gender standards and patriarchy societal connections. On the other side, it indicates a persistence of institutional hurdles, such as resources and standards, that prevent females from participating in a man dominated area, as noted by a former Jogorku Kenesh female MP: *"Majority females were incapable to raise money as aspirants for governor. These are high-paying occupations. Nepotism also plays a significant part in our political arena; political posts are appointed using this system."*

The election of females via party lists reflects structural hurdles as well. Table 2 shows how political parties employ females just to reach the 30percent participation level in a political contest, but after winning, women are instantly eliminated off the list or relegated to the lowest approval ratings on the list. The low number of females elected on party lists indicates that obstacles exist and political parties are hesitant to put forth a large percentage of females. Notwithstanding the appeal of the Kyrgyz Republic's former president, Roza Otunbayeva, the only woman president in Central Asia, none of the parties embraced voluntary quotas in party lists. Mechanisms for increasing females represent, such as parliamentary committees on gender and youth, have failed to result in conversations to challenge institutions of gender rooted in informal norms and rules. The interplay of old and new decisions in a setting of informal norms and a patriarchal society might work to reinforce and reproduce gender patterns of conduct or create norms to legitimize lack of females. For instance, despite ongoing support for female quotas and good political

commitment, as reiterated by Kyrgyz Presidents as indicated below, implementation remains at a rhetorical level:

"As a result, I vowed that throughout my tenure, I would try to increase women's participation in constitutional roles in my administration to 30percent... I request that the office of government guarantee this coefficient is gradually achieved in posts of department undersecretaries and directors-common by the conclusion of my tenure... Moreover, I will not accept anything short than the complete adoption and abidance with all regional and international female's concords."

(Speech of the former president Sooronbay Jeenbekov after 2017 elections in Kyrgyzstan)

This implies that cultural rules of gender norms disagree the actors' attitudes and actions in Kyrgyzstan. In Jogorku Kenesh, the 16.7 percent quota is presently not observed at the national level (see Table 2). There are no women on the President's newly formed Austerity Measures Committee, which comprises 15 members. Women have traditionally served as Ministers of Social Security, Education, and Health. However, the current makeup of the Cabinet of Ministers does not include any females in these posts. There is now just one female minister in charge of natural resources, ecology, and technical oversight. This lopsided representation, as well as the appointment of females to welfare ministries, is a gender bias, demonstrating how current institutions go on to accept old standards and historical heritages of man dominance and female's denigration.

Additionally, as matched to different ministries like as internal affairs, national security, and economy, the Ministry of Labor, Social Security, and Migration, which handles gender equality concerns, is technically and financially under-resourced. It lacks the necessary competence to assist other sectors in mainstreaming gender and to monitor the execution of gender quota. In general, gap between policy and practice weakens gender quotas and strengthens gendered power relations, including how management, authority, and appointments are carried out in tandem with gender aspects. The gap exemplifies how "old rules" and legacy institutions continue to affect new institutions and may act to hinder new organizations from preserving gender equality.

According to one of the former MPs:

"Quotas have been established, but their execution remains elusive, frequently disputed, and restricted by players' interests and outdated regulations."

On the one side, the debates hinder feminist efforts to improve females represent in politics. On the other side, the contestations offer feminists with tools to fight gender institutions during the most recent electoral cycle, in which a woman head of a political party nominated her party and attempted to enter Parliament in 2020 for the first time. However, as you are aware, the Central Election Commission of Kyrgyzstan has declared these parliamentary elections illegal.

The case study findings also demonstrate that gender opposition, negatory opinions of quota females, and disparities across selected groups that arise during campaigns tend to disappear once females are chosen, as seen under:

"There is still a pessimistic mindset... Some males believe it is partiality, a gift given to females. Traditional ideas and masculine culture, as well as gender quota legislation, ignore women's contributions " (one of the former female MPs).

Another of the former female MPs shared her thoughts on the efficiency of Kyrgyzstan's quota system:

"Quotas indicate that politicians are elected based on their gender rather than their qualifications. As a result, quotas cause more eligible applicants to be overlooked. Political parties frequently select fully controlled females with no political background (female stars, sportswomen, TV hosts, etc.) who can be effective during the electoral campaign since they are popular with the general public. At the same time, voters are unconcerned about the utter lack of political plans for such candidates, which are required for the position of competences, expertise, and experience. There are good opportunities for women with significant political experience, but they are few and few between. The remainder of the women's candidates are frequently placed in plainly untenable positions, get fewer resources to assist their campaigns, and set harsher expectations on credentials. This arrangement effectively limits the likelihood of fresh female lawmakers being appointed or elected."

The electorate has a relatively limited number of options for supporting women, which are imposed by political party leaders, who are almost always males. Furthermore, party leaders

frequently make their own pragmatic calculations when it comes to include females on their party lists. Furthermore, there are several methods for "getting rid" of women after elections and even after gaining a mandate as a parliamentarian.

There are various cases in the Kyrgyz parliament of elected female MPs being replaced by male legislators soon following the elections. Lunara Mamytova, a former deputy of the Kyrgyz Republic's Jogorku Kenesh, described her personal experience in April 2016:

"I willingly drafted a letter of resignation. It is critical for me to maintain my humanity. Despite the fact that I did not serve in parliament for long, I experienced challenges that compelled me to adopt such severe measures, such as pressure from male lawmakers. During my tenure as a legislator, I was dissatisfied with male politicians who just consider their own interests while ignoring global issues." (gezitter.org).

"The issue with female's participation in decision-making is not more females' politicians are better. This assumption is oversimplified, as are the clichés that female's policy is always constructive, that women have a particular spirituality and peace ability, and that they are socially oriented and less prone to corruption" (former MPs Shirin Aitmatova).

There are nonprofessionals and amateurs, careerists and corrupt officials in politics, just as there are among women and men. The issue is a lack of appropriate circumstances for women to enter politics, or, in other words, political opportunity disparity.

One of the former female MPs left remark:

"Although there are female parliamentarians in the present parliament, it is impossible to argue that they all conduct decent and quality job, much alone have much effect in eliminating gender disparity in the country. Our current political system's flaws allow for the potential of gaining power that is not founded on the principles of fair political competition, but rather on merits to society, professional, leadership, intellectual, and personal characteristics. Regrettably, the lack of a meritocratic method to nominating females in authority (together with men) does not improve female's positions, but rather undermines gender balance ideals in large politics."

One of male participant sent his opinion regarding to quota system like a small remark to his survey:

"The most brilliant politicians should be elected to parliament. This talent has nothing to do with sexual orientation. If we merely impose quotas, we risk losing more competent legislators simply because there aren't enough seats for them. Quotas are useful in the beginning to achieve the aim of equality. The best, those for whom the voter ballots, should, nevertheless, cross the finish line first. The public must pick who they wish to see on the political stage. Wants - will only choose females. If you do not want to you will not be able to. In this situation, we witness the imposition of a framework on society that restricts its freedom of expression, since quotation is an artificial intervention in the democratic process."

As we can see, the quota system is ineffective. Women are drawn to political parties because they serve as extras or party decorations. This is important for the party's image, as there are women on the lists throughout the election time; also, females are frequently at the bottom of the list. However, males eventually take over the roles of women. The worst part is that voters do not vote for a new candidate; rather, the party leader appoints him.

To summarize my findings, females are biggest proponents of quotas because they believe that quotas are useful for increasing the quality of Kyrgyz democracy, and their application does not reinforce differences among males and females or discriminate against men. Women also believe that quotas have helped them get elected since the adoption of this law, although men, on the contrary, are not so sure. They offer that there are various barriers to the nomination of women to parliament, and gender quota cannot resolve these problems alone.

The results show that since their adoption more than fourteen years ago, gender quotas stay the preferred approach to overpassing the low representation of women in national parliament of the Kyrgyz Republic. However, the effectiveness of these affirmative actions is influenced by a number of other features, inclusive cultural obstacles, political parties and female's inner preferences.

Males believe that the biggest obstacle to increasing the presence of women in politics is that it is difficult for political parties to attract qualified women to participate in elections. This is due to two factors: women prioritize household over careers in politics, and social, religious, cultural, limits that make females less desired as leaders. Meanwhile, females believe that customs and

social values favored by men leaders are most detrimental to the political advancement of women.

This is followed by a lack of training in politics for women, inadequate societal fund and inadequate capital for campaigning.

It is clear that both sexes agree that the parties should be clearer their methods of recruiting and, where probable, ensure financial support to females who have significant opportunities to win elections to the national parliament.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This thesis has shown that female respondents in the survey are biggest proponents of gender quotas because they believe that quotas are helpful for increasing the quality of Kyrgyz democracy; their application does not increase the differences among females and males. Female respondents in the survey also consider that gender quotas assisted them get elected for 14 years, although male respondents in the survey, on the contrary, are not so sure. Male respondents in the survey are very separated in this regard, as 20percent of them believe that gender quota do not affect women's chances of getting elected house. They offer that there are various barriers to the nomination of women to legislators, and gender quotas cannot resolve these problems alone.

Females and males respondents in the survey distinguish of the essence in their perceptions of the parties' authentic concern in matching quotas. Females believe that quotas are met only as a precondition for party membership; that parties insincerely promote women to parliament or use women candidates only to pass the 30 percent gender threshold when submitting lists to the Central Election Commission of the Kyrgyz Republic. It accounts for why 76 percent of females believe that parties have to nominate more females as candidates' number one or number two to help improve the percentage of females in parliament. And also, to amend the law on gender quota so that the 30 percent quota is respected even after receiving the mandate.

This research also presents the difference among females and males in explaining the reasons for the underrepresentation of women. Men believe that the biggest obstacle to growing the presence of females in politics stems from the fact parties find it difficult to attract qualified women to vote. This is due to two factors: women prioritize household over careers in politics, societal, religious, cultural constraints that make females less desired as leaders. In the mean time, females believe that societal worths and customs favored by man leaders are most detrimental to the political advancement of women. This is followed by a lack of training in politics for women, inadequate societal funds and inadequate capital for campaigning. Neither females nor males consider that the latter necessity to have larger role models to inspire them to pursue political careers.

This case from Kyrgyzstan shows the significance of monitoring the dynamics of the views of females and males on problems linked to gender quotas; the basis of female's underrepresentation; strategies for overcoming these inequalities. It is clear that both genders agree that the parties should be clearer in their methods of recruiting and, where probable, ensure financial support to females who have significant opportunities to win.

The establishment of gender quotas were an essential move taken to promote gender rights and improve females represent in the Kyrgyz Republic politics. On the one side they have almost reached the purpose set and challenged societal- patriarchic relations, unequal approach to opportunities and gender stereotypes. On the other side, though, the general acceptance and realization process included a gender measure, impugment and a series of unofficial norms and rules which cooperated with political members' concerns. The visibility of current amendments to the elections law of MPs to the National Parliament of Kyrgyzstan demonstrates the contradiction between gender norms and gender power relations. The situation is aggravated by the fact that according to the new Constitution, there should be 90 deputies in the national parliament. They should be elected according to a mixed system: 54 by party lists, and 36 by single-mandate constituencies. This means that quotas will be provided only for party lists and only every fourth mandate will be given to a woman.

There were no strong allies - male deputies who could support and stand up for women deputies and the President did not support the gender quota. The opposition to gender quotas transformation emphasizes the special hardships of institutionalizing them, indicates to an opportunity of the norm erosion and violation of following fulfillment of gender quota.

Also, women are convinced that gender quotas have fragile legitimacy, with shortcomings. These results show that since the adoption more than fourteen years ago, gender quotas require amendments and additions, which should include mandates for employment and enforcement mechanisms, that is, the size of the quota of 30percent is insufficient for the efficiency of quota law. Law of gender quota will only start to work effectively when three components come together and work together. However, the effectiveness of these affirmative actions is still

influenced by a number of other features, involving cultural obstacles, political parties, female's inner preferences.

These findings may be useful in future research by broadening study questions about how gender quotas might be executed, not just as a game regulation, but as element of a resolve. One probable test could be whether Kyrgyzstan has to have quotas requiring all political parties to keep 30percent of their female aspirants at whole of levels. Thus, quotas will no longer be taken as a demand for political parties to contest, with parties filling quotas from time to time regardless of the quality of females nominated and the question of how to make parties more effective in educating women staff will become more relevant.

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APPENDIX A: SURVEY AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Survey questions:

1. What are your thoughts on the candidate gender quota regulations used in Kyrgyz parliamentary elections?
2. Share your thoughts in the next comments about an using of gender quotas in Kyrgyz parliamentary voting:

Affirmation	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree
Quotas are no longer necessary since they simply serve to highlight the gender gap.			
Quotas have high legitimacy since they are based on the principle of equality enshrined in the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic.			
Following the implementation of quotas, women candidates are increasingly considered seriously in elections, making females more likely to win.			
Quota system are mechanisms that may be used to enhance the quality of Kyrgyz Republics democracy.			
Women candidates are nominated by political parties only to be entitled to run in elections.			

3. Females in Kyrgyz Republic politics as before stay to be marginalized. Please expand on a potential reason based on your own findings.
4. Share your thoughts on why Kyrgyz women haven't made much of an impact in parliament:

Affirmation	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree
Kyrgyz females prioritize their families over political careers.			
Kyrgyz females have less societal and financial fund for agitation,			

and they are poorly educated in the political sphere.			
Kyrgyz females perceive politics whereby the realm of males and masculinity, the “filthy game” rife with venal practices.			
Kyrgyz females are impeded by cultural, religious, and customary barriers that favor males as leaders.			
Kyrgyz female candidates with the potential to win legislative elections are tough to come by for political parties.			
There aren’t enough Kyrgyz female politicians to serve as role models or motivation.			

5. What tactics do you believe will be successful in boosting women’s representation in the Jogorku Kenesh (National Parliament)?

6. Share your thoughts: do you agree with this plan for increasing women’s participation in the Jogorku Kenesh?

Affirmation	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree
More vocal attempts to persuade voters to vote for more female aspirants.			
The voting of Kyrgyz females as parliamentary aspirants should be more public, with political parties conducting an open recruiting process.			
Increasing financial assistance to women’s political organizations.			
Political parties offer specific financial assistance to female aspirants who have an ability to overcome however fail finances.			
More often than not, assign serial numbers 1 or 2 to female candidates.			

7. In 2021 Parliamentary election tomorrow, I will vote for one of the following political parties:

“I picked a political party based on the head of the party”.

A. Disagree;

B. Neither agree nor disagree;

C. Agree;

8. “A male is more competent than a female to be Head of the party”.

A. Disagree;

B. Neither agree nor disagree;

C. Agree;

9. Are there any challenges in initiating gender quotas in the legislative system?

Describe your opinion.

10. What mechanisms do you believe exist to maintain quota continuity?

Describe your opinion.

11. Could you suggest any additional participants I can include in this study, or publications I can read to learn more about quota system?

12. Is there anything more you would like to contribute that I have still not mentioned?

Interview

The interview was held thanks to the volunteers of the Bishkek feminist initiative. They helped me contact with four former MPs women online. All respondents asked for a confidential interview and not identify personal data. With each interviewed, I spent 30 minutes of conversation. Questions were open. Since the time was limited, I could have time to set only three questions.

Questions Interview:

1. What are your thoughts on why the law of quota does not work in real life?
2. What should be done in order for the law on gender quota to start working?
3. Is there really a large pressure from men MPs?