

“Headayah” project – Mutakalim «Countering radicalization among women in Chui and Jalal-Abad oblasts»

Materials of the training on increasing the leadership potential of Muslim women of Chui and Jalalabad oblasts of the KR



The module of a five-day training on capacity building within the framework of the project "Countering Radicalization among Women in Jalal-Abad and Chui oblasts".

THEME OF THE SESSION: Session # 1. State policy to prevent radicalization and violent extremism ¹.

Exercise "Stages of development of religious policy and practice in the Kyrgyz Republic"

Handout: table "Stages of development of religious policy and practice in the Kyrgyz Republic"

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOMS AND PRACTICES IN THE KR SINCE THE DAY OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE STATE

Date	Event
16 December 1991	Law of Kyrgyz Republic on Freedom of Religious Belief and Religious Organizations is passed in Parliament.
1991	The First Kurultai of Muslims of Kyrgyzstan. Establishment of muftiyat – separation of Kyrgyzstan’s muftiyat from the muftiyat of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (that existed during the Soviet Union based on Tashkent). Kimsanbai Hajji Abdurhamanov Azireti was elected as the country’s mufti.
1992	Opening of Islamic University in Bishkek.
22 September 1992	With the support of the Turkish fund “Dianet” the first Department of Theology in Central Asia opened in the Osh Government University
4 March, 1996	State Commission on Religious Affairs under the President of the Kyrgyz Republic was formed by the Decree of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic of March 4, 1996, No. 45 "On the Structure and Composition of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic" as an administrative department under the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic.
26 December 1996	The Second Kurultai of Muslims of Kyrgyzstan
1999	Progressive Public Association of Women “Mutakalim” started officially working. Founder: Zhamal Frontbek kyzy
2004	The first learning center of Quran “Kiz Kuran” opened
2007	Got official permission to get passport photos in head scarves.

¹ The session is developed and conducted by the representative of the SCRA

31 December, 2008	A new version of the Law on Freedom of Religion and Religious Organizations in the Kyrgyz Republic was adopted on December 31, 2008 No. 282
2009	Minister of Economics, Akylbek Japarov, opened the development sector of the halal industry in the Ministry
August 2013	Women's department opened in Muftiyat
2014	ORDINANCE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC of January 22, 2014 OP No. 11 (On the Establishment of the Foundation for the Development of the Spiritual Culture "Iyman")
14 November, 2014	Kyrgyzstan has adopted the concept of public policy in the religious sphere for 2014-2020
22 June, 2015	DECREE of the Government from 22 June 2015 No. 385 On the approval of the concept of development of the Halal industry in The Kyrgyz Republic
2016	Theology College opened in the Arabaev State University. Co-founders of the college are: State Commission on Religious Affairs, Muftiyat, The Ministry of Education of Kyrgyzstan, and Arabaev Kyrgyz State University
2 January, 2016	First celebration of the Hijab Day in Kyrgyzstan
2017	Islamic University got licensed from the Ministry of Education of Kyrgyzstan

Questions for discussion:

- How much did the list of events and dates that you compiled during the exercise differ from the one presented in the table?
- What is the difference between this table and your work done in this exercise?
- Do the events in the table reflect the realities of religious life that are relevant to you personally and your loved ones?
- Who is the key subject of development of religious policy and practice in the Kyrgyz Republic?

TEST of measuring the effectiveness of the session (in the appendix)

STATE POLICY ON PREVENTION OF RADICALIZATION AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM.

The following documents regulate the government regulation of the religious sphere of the country:

- Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, legislation;
- National Strategy for Sustainable Development of the Kyrgyz Republic for 2013-2017;
- Decisions of the Defense Council of the Kyrgyz Republic on February 3 and November 3, 2014.

- Concepts of government policy in the religious sphere for 2014-2020,

The concept of state policy of the Kyrgyz Republic in the religious sphere for 2014-2020 lays the methodological and conceptual bases, as well as the position and approach of the state in the implementation of religious policy in Kyrgyzstan. The state's approach to the implementation of state policy in the religious sphere is guided by the basic principles:

-The Kyrgyz Republic is a sovereign state, a law-governed state, a secular state and a social state.

-The state recognizes the positive influence and contribution of religion to the cultural, social and educational spheres, can support and cooperate with religious organizations, but must strictly limit the politicization of religion and the destructive activity of religious movements.

-The state directly regulates the sphere of general or external activity of religious organizations and religious employees, but restricts state interference in the confessional activities of such organizations, except for cases provided for by law or in cases of its violation.

The secular state is a state with a device where religion is separated from it and which is regulated on the basis of civic, not religious norms; decisions of state bodies cannot have a religious justification.

The principle of secularity means the separation of religion from the governance process in a state where religious norms and values are not the basis for the activities of state bodies.

In the political and legal sense, the principle of separation of religion and state means that the state refuses to establish any religion for its citizens as mandatory and to monitor their religious beliefs, giving them the right to choose. This right of choice is formulated in the form of freedom of conscience and religion. Which is not limited only to the freedom to choose one's religion, but has a wider scope as freedom to choose one's worldview, a view of life. The state reserves the right to choose for any citizen, ensuring to accept and protect it, regardless of its religious preferences, ethnic or gender identity, but based only on civil law provisions enshrined in the laws of the country. This attitude of the state extends not only to citizens, but also to public (religious) organizations, emphasizing the state's equal attitude to the representatives of any religion and religious organization.

In Kyrgyzstan, the model of secularism is based on the provisions of the Constitution and existing laws of the Kyrgyz Republic, and it is more detailed in the Concept of State Policy in the Religious Sphere of the Kyrgyz Republic, adopted on November 14, 2014,

In accordance with the country's Constitution, "the Kyrgyz Republic is a sovereign, democratic, law-based, secular, unitary, social state". In this document, the principle of secularism is defined as follows: "In the Kyrgyz Republic, no religion can be established as a state religion or compulsory", "religion and all cults are separated from the state", "interference of religious associations and clergymen in government activities is prohibited".

At the same time, the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic guarantees freedom of religion, where everyone has the right to freely choose and have religious and other beliefs, no one can be forced to express or reject their religious and other beliefs (e.g. atheism).

In securing the principle of secularism, the Constitution prohibits the creation of political parties on religious basis and the political activities of religious organizations aimed at violent change of the constitutional order, as well as activities that foment religious hatred, social superiority and discrimination. In another Kyrgyzstan law, representatives of religious organizations are prohibited from campaigning, producing and distributing any propaganda materials in favor of political parties.

In more detail, the right to freedom of religion and the position of the state on interaction with religious organizations are described in the Law of the KR of December 31, 2008, No 282 "On Freedom of Religion and Religious Organizations of the KR".

The secular model of the state laid down in the Concept of the State Policy of the Kyrgyz Republic in the religious sphere is based on the provisions of the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, but is described in more detail, highlighting its characteristics. According to this model, religious organizations and religious ministers cannot interfere in the process of public administration and participate in political activities. For example, every citizen can participate in the political process (elections, etc.), but he cannot use the resources of the religious organization of which he is a member and politicize religion for political support. While the state can and should regulate the religious sphere or the activities of religious organizations through laws and other normative legal acts within the framework of the current legislation, the state ensures freedom of religion and has the same (equal) attitude to all religious organizations in the country until the latter violates the law and poses a threat to personal, public or national security. In such cases, measures (sanctions) are applied to prevent and counter illegal activities in accordance with applicable law. The activities of religious organizations are allowed and recognized insofar as it is the result of the free choice of believing citizens, does not contradict civil law, does not impose on religious organizations the performance of the functions and responsibilities of public authorities and local self-government bodies and ensures the secular nature of public education.

The concept emphasizes the fact that about 85% of the population of Kyrgyzstan consider themselves Muslims. This fact requires more attention to Islam. Therefore, the government contributes to the provision of conditions for the promotion of traditional (for our region) moderate values of Islam in order to prevent and counter the spread of radical Islamist ideologies and extremist activity in Kyrgyzstan.

The state supports the Hanafi madhhab², since it is in the smallest contradiction with local cultural, social and political traditions. It has always served as a unifying factor for numerous peoples in Kyrgyzstan and now has the greatest peacekeeping potential.

Areas with observable common factors:

- Tolerant and respectful attitude to freedom of thought, freedom of speech;
- Friendly attitude to representatives of other madhhabs;
- Refusal of judgments about the inner world of man (Do not doubt the truth of the faith of any person who in his own language proves his faith in Allah);
- Rejection of judgments about the truth of human faith (Abstention from accusation of others' disbelief);
- Philanthropy is the inviolability of the property and dignity of man.
- Flexibility, which makes it easy to adapt to changing conditions;
- Abstention from making any definitive decision, if there is no reliable knowledge / evidence;
- The importance of rational methods in creating legal and ethical norms;
- Ability to make decisions taking into account local customs and specific situation.
- Careful attitude to the traditions of peoples;
- Synthesis of Islamic norms with national values;
- Opportunity to act as the basis for an inter-civilization dialogue;
- Opportunity to act as a tool for strengthening tolerance in a modern

² School of thought within Islamic jurisprudence

multiconfessional society.

The State Commission for Religious Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic (SCRA) is the central body of the Kyrgyz Republic that conducts work on the formation and implementation of state policy in the religious sphere and coordinates the activities of state bodies of the Kyrgyz Republic in the field of religions.

The head of the State Commission of the Kyrgyz Republic is appointed by the President of the Kyrgyz Republic.

The main tasks of the State Commission are:

- 1) development and implementation of state policy in the religious sphere;
- 2) ensuring the rights of citizens to freedom of conscience and religion, coordination of state relations with religious organizations in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, acts of the President and the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, and other regulatory legal acts;
- 3) ensuring legal guarantees of freedom of religion, further improving the legal regulation of the relationship between the state and religious organizations;
- 4) coordination of activities of state bodies of the Kyrgyz Republic on issues of state policy in the religious sphere;
- 5) maintenance of propaganda of values and principles of a secular and polyconfessional society;
- 6) suppression of the activities of religious organizations that damage or threaten health, morality, the rights and legitimate interests of citizens, the foundations of the constitutional order, the security of the state in accordance with applicable law;
- 7) interaction with government agencies to develop preventive measures to prevent religious extremism on the territory of the republic;
- 8) development and implementation of programs aimed at strengthening the spiritual and moral foundations of society, preventing conflicts and establishing mutual tolerance between followers of various religions and confessions;
- 9) making proposals on improving the legislative framework in the field of implementation and observance of human rights to freedom of religion.

The Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Kyrgyzstan (SAMK), *Muftiyat*, is a public organization uniting and regulating all Muslims, Muslim religious organizations, communities, mosques, educational institutions, foundations and other Islamic structures on the territory of the republic. SAMK is the representative of all Muslims in Kyrgyzstan and has an extensive network of kazyats³ located in all regions of the country.

The organization's activity is to satisfy the spiritual needs of the Muslims of the republic; in the preparation of qualified personnel on the Holy Quran, the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad, Akyida and Fiqh, in carrying out communications with foreign religious organizations and their central apparatus, carrying out various activities on religion and peace, building Islamic religious

³ Regional representations of Muftiyat

sites, organizing and conducting holiday prayers: Eid-ul-Fitr and Eid-al-Adha. In addition, the Muftiyat is coordinating the activities of mosques and madrassas, the processes of daavat (proselytizing) and the issues of holding charity events, and the organization of the Hajj (pilgrimage) process to Mecca.

In carrying out its activities, the Muftiyat is based on the values of Islam, such as the orders of the Holy Quran (Kurani Karim), the Sunnah of the Prophet, the Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jamaat faith, and the religious practice (amal-ibadattar) of the Hanafi madhhab.

Financing of SAMK activities: staff salaries and funds necessary for the economic activities of the organization are made up of contributions from regional kaziyats, voluntary contributions of pilgrims and funds received from local and foreign charitable foundations.

Administration of SAMK:

- Kurultai⁴: considers current issues / problems of Islamic development and develops solutions, defines the main goals and activities of the SAMK, approves the charter, evaluates the activities of the Ulema Council, etc. The Kurultai convenes once every three years.
- The Ulama⁵ Council: it monitors the implementation of the decisions of the Kurultai, exercises control over the activities of the Muftiyat and the Mufti⁶, nominates and approves nominees for the mufti, approves the annual report, determines the dates for the celebration of Eid-ul-Fitr and Eid-al-Adha, determines the time for daily prayers, Friday sermon themes. The meeting of the Ulama Council is held once a month.
- Muftiyat. The structure of the muftiyat: muftiyat, oblast and city (Bishkek and Osh) kaziyats, city and district imam Khatibs⁷, rural / local mosques and prayer rooms, Islamic educational institutions (Islamic universities, institutes, madrassas), economic and financial organizations, charitable organizations (funds, homes for the elderly, orphanages, etc.)

THEME OF THE SESSION: Session # 2. Tolerance. Religious diversity of Kyrgyzstan. Religious Tolerance⁸

Exercise "Signs"

Handout 1: Dictionary of Tolerance

DICTIONARY OF TOLERANCE⁹

Aggressive nationalism is the belief that one nation is superior to others and has the right to dispose of them.

Accuracy - observing order in everything, thoroughness of work, diligence.

⁴ Assembly, traditional form of administration in Kyrgyzstan

⁵ Islamic scholars, prominent and who have some authority in the communities

⁶ The highest cleric in SAMK

⁷ Muslim clergyman conducting Friday prayer

⁸ также сессия разработана и проводится представителем ГКДР, я предлагаю только одно упражнение к этой сессии

⁹ borrowed from a textbook developed at the Bratsk State University, look here:

brstu.ru/images/stories/section/facultets/gpf/pip/metod/12.doc

Apartheid (African *apartheid* - separation) is an extreme form of racial discrimination, expressed in extreme restraint, including deprivation, of political, socio-economic and civil rights on racial grounds.

Assimilation is the suppression of differences. Sometimes individuals choose assimilation on their own, but in most cases this process is against their will. Assimilation forces one group to abandon its culture in favor of another. Usually, the minority accepts the culture of the majority.

The safety of the family and the close ones is the safety of the family.

Boycott - (see *Ostracism*).

Politeness is observance of rules of decency and courtesy.

Upbringing - the process of organized and purposeful influence on the personality and behavior of the individual. Upbringing is carried out through interpersonal communication. The goal is the development of a worldview, morality, motivation, personality, the formation of personality traits and humane actions.

Nurturance is good manners.

Arrogance is contemptuous insolence.

Genocide - the extermination of certain groups of the population on racial, national or religious grounds. One of the gravest crimes against humanity.

Democracy is the "rule of people" (other Greek). This term means not only voting for its representatives in elections, but also the possibility of a person to participate in the activities of society and make a decision on an equal basis with other people. Democracy takes into account the opinion of the minority, even if it differs from the opinion of the majority. In other words, democracy means the ability to make compromise decisions for the welfare of every member of society.

Discrimination - depriving individuals, groups, communities of equal social, political or economic rights; persecution because of ethnicity, worldview or other social factors.

Distributive justice is justice in the distribution of social benefits.

Discipline is a habit of discipline, a consciousness of duty to society.

Defamation - (Latin *difffamare*-to disclose, deny a good name, defame) - publication in the press of information (real or imaginary), disgracing someone.

Good nature - softness of character, disposition towards people.

Goodwill is the desire of good for people, a willingness to promote their well-being.

Trust is a "mental state, by virtue of which we rely on somebody's opinion that seems authoritative to us, and therefore we refuse an independent study of a question that may be examined by us.

Envy - the propensity to jealous control of someone else's life.

Intimidation is the use of physical, moral or numerical superiority in order to humiliate others, deprive them of their property, status, or to induce specific questionable actions.

Life wisdom - the maturity of judgments and common sense, achieved by life experience.

Identity - a specific set of properties of a person, which certifies him as a member of a certain community and / or carrier of a certain communicative experience.

Exile - an official ban or forcible removal of the right to visit any public places, to join a certain social group, to participate in collective activities or to a profession, i.e. on everything that, in particular, determines or influences on the possibility of survival. Such, for example, are the prohibition of work, housing, etc.

Proactiveness - the desire for new forms of activity.

An asylum seeker is a person who asks for asylum in a country and wants to obtain refugee status. In many countries, asylum-seekers are held under arrest. Some are sent back already at the border. Only a small percentage of people are allowed to stay in a given country.

Interpersonal skills - affability and sociability, the ability to establish and maintain contact.

Xenophobia is the fear of foreigners, representatives of other cultures, hostility to them, the conviction that "strangers" can harm a society (man).

Curiosity is the inquisitiveness of the mind.

A marginal personality is a personality that has lost its professional, social, cultural or religious identity. This is a person who has not managed to join the social role, functions and status set in a given society (community), in other words, a person with an unstable social position.

True friendship is close friends, who support each other.

Derision - drawing attention to specific models of human behavior, to its qualities and characteristics, for the purpose of ridicule or insult.

Violence is physical or moral abuse; expulsion from the place of residence; armed attacks; includes genocide.

Resourcefulness is the ability to quickly find a way out of predicaments.

National security is the protection of my nation from enemies.

Independence is the ability to act independently, resolutely.

Charm is the ability to enchant, attract to yourself.

Education - the breadth of knowledge, a high general culture.

Learning is a process, the goal of which is the development of the individual's abilities.

Learning, realized through theoretical and practical activities, is focused on the intellectual and cognitive development of the child. Upbringing and learning are different, but interrelated, aspects of a single pedagogical activity. They are implemented together: raising a child, we always teach him something, and while training, we also educate.

Public recognition is the respect of others, the team, colleagues at work.

Sociability is the ability to easily enter into communication.

Responsibility is the sense of duty, the ability to keep one's word.

Responsible - reliable, trustworthy.

Responsiveness - willingness to respond to other people's needs.

Candor is openness, accessibility for people.

Openness - openness, accessibility for people;

Alienation is the denial by the person himself of the opportunity to satisfy (or fully satisfy) the need for participation in the life of individual communities and / or society as a whole.

Tidiness is a habit of keeping clean.

Experience is a complex, continuous process ("flow") of subjective experiences of various events in the internal and external world. It is *experience* that reveals the true inner reality of the human. Experience is one of the central concepts in humanistic psychology. The person himself/herself can realize his/her experience, while symbolizing himself/herself, with varying degrees of adequacy.

Desecration or corruption is the deliberate infliction of direct damage or distortion of religious or cultural symbols, objects, buildings, in order to mock and discredit beliefs and identity of those for whom these buildings, objects and symbols are significant.

Ostracism (boycott) is behavior of ignoring the presence or existence of another (*them*). Refusal to talk with other(s), recognize them, their point of view, or their culture (includes *ethnocide*).

A patriot is a person who is proud of his/her belonging to one's own nation. Patriotism comes from an emotional attitude towards nationality, culture and society. It is possible to have friendship with other countries and nations if their rights and interests are respected. Although patriotism differs from (political) nationalism, it can easily serve as an impetus to intolerant nationalism.

The search for a "scapegoat" is the accusation of a particular group or individual in one's own misfortunes or in the existence of social problems.

Suppression is the restriction and deprivation of a person's rights.

Understanding is the ability to see the Other from within, the ability to look at his/her world simultaneously from two perspectives: one's own and others'.

Understanding of yourself is the ability to create accurate, complete, and deep self-image: one's actual state (experiences, desires, thoughts, etc.); potential abilities; to see the authentic self, beyond the layering of masks, roles and defenses.

Understanding the Other - the ability to adequately, differentially and completely perceive other people, as well as the surrounding reality in general. Willingness to enter into interpersonal contact on the basis of deep and subtle understanding, empathy and empathy to the Other.

Decency - honesty, inability to commit antisocial behavior.

Prejudice is the opinion about an unfamiliar person, which is based on the supposed characteristic of the group, to which, in your opinion, this person belongs.

Prejudices are complex ideas that are pre-formed and supposed, and their rightness is unprovable. In the case when they take a permanent form, they are called stereotypes. If a person has prejudices, he is inclined to see only those things that confirm his ideas, thereby reinforcing the prejudices and stereotypes that he believes in.

Prejudices are judgments about an individual or a group based on negative generalizations and stereotypes, rather than specific actions or real facts.

Persecution is a deliberate act aimed at intimidating and humiliating other(s). Often, actions are taken to dislodge a person or a group from a community or organization.

Attractiveness is the ability to attract attention.

Recognition is the ability to see in another precisely the Other as the bearer of other values, another logic of thinking, other forms of behavior.

Accepting oneself (see *Ability to unconditionally accepting oneself*).

Acceptance of the Other (see *Ability to unconditionally accept the Other*).

Acceptance is a positive attitude towards the differences of the Other. Acceptance is a condition for continuing the interaction.

Racism - the denial of human rights on the basis of its race, while proceeding from the premise of the superiority of some races over others.

Rationalism is the ability to think sensibly and logically, to take deliberate, rational decisions.

Religious fanaticism - the planting of a certain faith, religious values, rituals.

Self-control is restraint, self-discipline.

Freedom is autonomy, independence in judgments and actions, in the choice of one's behavior, of one's values, in the choice of oneself. The main obstacle in the choice is the person himself, his desires, instincts, stereotypes in overcoming the circumstances preventing this.

Restraint is the ability to keep oneself from manifesting feelings.

Segregation - the establishment of coercive restrictions for people of a certain group on the basis of race, religion or gender. As a rule, this is done with damage to this group. Segregation includes apartheid.

Sexism is a policy, forms of behavior aimed at excluding women from full participation in society, denying the possibility for women to enjoy all human rights.

Courage is the ability to make and implement decisions without fear.

"Peacebuilding" is a special concept. Indicates practical intra-group processes for peace in a reconciliation process after the conflict. The concept of "peacebuilding" should be distinguished from the concepts of "peace" and "peacekeeping."

Concentration - concentration, smartness.

The ability to unconditionally accept oneself is a psychological neoplasm that is formed through individual analysis and a person's own assessment of the actions, "steps" that he/she has already completed, because every act of every person is his act, and only he himself has the right to somehow evaluate it. Through this analysis, acceptance of oneself as recognition of oneself and unconditional love to oneself "as I am". Attitude towards oneself as to "a person worthy of

respect, capable of independent choice" (K. Rogers), self-confidence and belief in one's abilities, and through this trust towards oneself. (The teacher does not evaluate not only the personality, but also the actions of the child, since every act of every child is his act, and only he himself has the right to somehow evaluate it (the assessment of the act by the teacher is still perceived by the child as an evaluation of his personality and the presentation of the condition: Do what I consider to be a good deed, and you will be good (for me!) ").

The ability to unconditionally accept the Other - is manifested primarily in the dynamics of attitudes toward other people. Personality, the more mature it is, the more capable it is of: accepting Others as "what they are"; respect for their identity and the right to be themselves; to the recognition of their unconditional value and trust in them. And this, in turn, is connected with "fundamental trust in human nature" (K. Rogers) and understanding of commonality between people.

Becoming the "I", the creation of one's "I" - means to choose oneself, to create oneself at every point of one's being, in every new situation. Proceeding from one's freedom, "a man becomes only through himself what he can be, but isn't yet", K. Jaspers.

Stereotypes are a rigid, often simplistic representation of a specific group or category of people, phenomena.

The happiness of others is the well-being, improvement and development of the Other person (people), the whole people, humanity as a whole.

Tactfulness is a sense of proportion, creating the ability to behave in a society, not to hurt the dignity of people.

A firm will is the ability to insist on one's own, not to retreat before difficulties.

Patience is the absence of a negative reaction in a particular situation.

Patience is a characteristic of the individual, as a rule, to show patience, which becomes a feature of his character.

Tolerance - 1) the ability to treat other people's opinions, character, habits without enmity; 2) the social phenomenon (or the state of society), which consists in the fact that a lot of individuals (citizens) tend to show patience, be restrained and non-aggressive. "

Tolerance to the views and opinions of others - 1) the ability to understand the viewpoint of the Other (s), their possible mistakes, delusions; 2) the ability to respect other tastes, customs, habits; 3) the ability to forgive the Other (s) their mistakes, delusions through comprehension, or through self-restraint. Ability to understand someone else's point of view.

Tolerance - (Latin "tolerantia" - "patience"). The dictionary of foreign languages treats it as patience to other people's opinions and beliefs. In Russian, the term "tolerance" (lat.) is used as a synonym for the term "tolerance" (rus.) and is represented by "appropriate" concepts: patience (the absence of a negative reaction in a particular situation), patience (property (trait)), Tolerance (a social phenomenon in which people tend to be patient, restrained, non-aggressive).

Tolerance is an integral characteristic of an individual; determines the ability of the individual: to adapt, to prevent confrontation, to develop positive relationships with oneself and with the world around one on the basis of understanding and accepting the plurality and diversity of being and recognizing the inevitability of coexistence of differences.

Today, tolerance is considered in the context of such concepts as recognition, acceptance, understanding.

Totalitarianism - preventing free, open discussion of political ideas, strategies and tactics; restriction of freedom of information dissemination; punishment of political dissidents, as well as the desire of the state to total control over a person's private life.

Industriousness/diligence is love of work, a socially useful activity that requires some sort of a push.

Self-confidence is inner harmony, freedom from internal contradictions, doubts.

Level-headedness is an even and calm character, behavior.

"*Steady state I*" is a stable attitude towards oneself as a special, unique, personality, possessing not only virtues, but also weaknesses that are of no less value.

Honesty is directness and sincerity in relationships and deeds.

Feeling of belonging is a feeling that others accept me, count with me, take care of me.

Exploitation - 1) use of time and labor of people without a fair reimbursement of their costs;
2) unreasonable, wasteful attitude to natural resources and the environment.

Extremism is a commitment to extreme views and measures (usually in politics).

Escapism (from the French *escapade* - *escapade*, extravagant trick, lunge), behavior characterized by unusual acts, usually not in accordance with generally accepted norms.

Ethnocentrism is the alienation of others because of their belonging to a different culture or because of the use of another language. Alienation is based on the notion that some cultures are more valuable and developed than others.

Ethnocide is the destruction of people on a national basis. Under *ethnocide* is understood the destruction of ethnoculture (i.e., the culture of some people).

Questions for discussion:

- Do you agree with the list of key terms in the dictionary of tolerance or are there terms that from your point of view do not fully correspond to this topic, or, on the contrary, play an important role, but are not included in the dictionary? What are these terms? (What about the inclusion of the terms Power, Intolerance, Diversity? What do you think about the exclusion of such terms as Resourcefulness, True Friendship, Tidiness, Attraction, etc.?)
- Do you agree with definitions of key terms - tolerance, prejudice, discrimination? Why? If not, how would you define it?

Types of tolerance

Gender tolerance - an unbiased attitude to the representatives of the other sex, the inadmissibility of prejudiced attribution to the person of the disadvantages of the other sex, the lack of ideas about the superiority of one sex over another. The extreme form of gender intolerance, being a form of politics, individual or group behavior that discriminate against women in their rights to full participation in professional activities and public life, is based on the assumption that men outperform women by their personal characteristics.

Age tolerance is an open mind to the unproved "shortcomings" of a person associated with his/her age (the inability of the old people to understand youth, the lack of experience and knowledge among young people, etc.). Age tolerance can be combined with the respect in many cultures for the elderly.

Educational tolerance is a tolerant attitude of highly educated people to the statements and behavior of people with lower education. Obviously, this type of tolerance has to do with the domestic sphere and is not connected with the discussion of issues where the level of education is indeed a decisive factor.

Interethnic tolerance - the attitude to representatives of various nations, the ability not to attribute the shortcomings and negative actions of certain representatives of nationality to the whole group, treat any person from the position of "respect for national innocence."

Geographical tolerance is an impartiality towards the inhabitants of small or provincial cities, villages and other regions by the metropolitan residents (and vice versa), and also to the population of different countries and regions.

Physiological tolerance is the attitude towards the sick, the disabled, the physically inferior, the persons with external defects, etc. This type of tolerance is especially important in the study of preschool and school children, low educational layers, etc.

Linguistic tolerance is respectful attitude to the language culture of others, as well as respectful attitude towards people who do not understand your language.

Religious tolerance is the tolerant attitude to the principles of various faiths, religiosity, features of the liturgy, etc. from believers and non-believers, representatives of various confessional groups. In its extremist form, inter-confessional intolerance is a religious fanaticism - the implantation of some kind of faith, its values and traditions. Religious fanaticism is based on the assumption that this belief is the only correct representation of religious or spiritual truth and that all people must follow its principles (dogmas).

Handout 2.: Tolerance as a doctrine, the principle of behavior and as a moral dilemma (an article for additional reading)¹⁰.

TOLERANCE AS A DOKTRINE, PRINCIPAL OF BEHAVIOUR AND AS MORAL DILEMMA

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The article deals with tolerance as an idea and a principal of behavior, as a specific mechanism of support to peaceful co-existence of social groups. It is looking through the origin and historical change of “tolerance” idea including philosophical-ideological basics of its contemporary understanding. Analysis of tolerance principle’s practical realization leads to the conclusion about limited regulatory potential of this principle. Tolerance does not eliminate the conflict of interests and values. For moral values this conflict might be even destructive.

Key words: tolerance, intolerance, religious tolerance, multiculturalism, political correctness, moral values.

Tolerance is one of the conditions for coexistence, cooperation of people belonging to different cultures and beliefs. In the situation of cultural diversity, tolerance makes a conflict-free coexistence of people with different interests, religious and political convictions in a single social space possible. Tolerance in interpersonal relations is defined as restraint, the ability to perceive cultural and religious differences without irritation, without striving to correct or impose their beliefs and values, is the ability to treat cultural and religious-philosophical characteristics with understanding, and representatives of other cultures - with respect. In the Declaration of Principles of Tolerance adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1995, tolerance is defined as respect, acceptance and a correct understanding of the rich diversity of cultures of our world, forms of expression and manifestation of human individuality [2. Article 1]. In the socio-political discourse, the statements of human rights defenders, journalists and the assertion of tolerance as a universal principle of interpersonal communication, hopes are attached to reducing the potential for conflict in social relations, which is especially important for multinational,

¹⁰ <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/v/tolerantnost-kak-doktrina-printsip-povedeniya-i-moralnaya-dilemma>

multi-religious countries.

Meanwhile, the requirement of tolerance borrowed from the culture of the West does not take root well on our cultural grounds, and with the growth of post-perestroika disappointments and the anti-Western sentiment associated with them, there is a growing suspicion of tolerance that has come from the West. Why did this requirement come to the forefront now? When and in connection with what does the need for tolerance increase? Why is this demand, at first glance, so obvious, presented so aggressively and categorically, literally imposed.

In the imperative of tolerance, upon careful consideration, there is a lot of indiscretion, uncertainty, which is revealed in the practical implementation of this requirement. Not only ethno-cultural and confessional groups, but also people of non-traditional sexual orientation, smokers, drug addicts, prostitutes, etc., are now demanding a tolerant attitude towards themselves.

Is tolerance applicable to evil, can tolerance be understood as a refusal to condemn and punish evil? In Europe, too, lately there have been statements about the failure of the policy of multiculturalism and the need, in connection with this, to more accurately define the limits of tolerance. Should one be tolerant of the non-tolerant? In relation to whom and to what tolerance is applicable, and where does the boundary between tolerance and justified intolerance go? In short, there are more questions in the topic of tolerance than answers.

Considering this phenomenon from different sides: socio-psychological, historical, political, philosophical, and axiological aspects, allows to reveal the phenomenon of tolerance holistically. Tolerance as a norm of communication between representatives of different cultures is only a form, in which this phenomenon presents itself to the ordinary consciousness, and the level of consideration that those, who impose this principle quite often try to keep this topic on: tolerance as a principle of communication among other norms and principles.

The historical consideration of tolerance reveals the contradictions between social groups that put the theme of tolerance on the agenda, whereas consideration of the political aspect focuses on the political methods for resolving these contradictions. The philosophical-historical approach reveals the root causes, the social roots of intolerance, the multilateral mutual alienation, and the essence of tolerance, while the axiological consideration of the phenomenon of tolerance allows us to solve the problem of the boundaries of tolerance, the place of tolerance as a value among others, and above all moral, values of culture.

To disclose the content of tolerance as a principle of intercultural communication, it is necessary to single out various motives for tolerant attitude towards representatives of other groups, understand the social, cultural and psychological roots of the opposite phenomenon - intolerance, xenophobia - and the forms in which they manifest themselves. Tolerance as forbearance, ability to accept another's way of life, opinions, ideas, beliefs without hostility and irritation, is some kind of ideal. The tolerant attitude of a particular person to others is always motivated in one way or another, and the motivation for tolerance of a socially dependent person differs from that of a socially dominant one.

The subject of tolerance as a principle of communication is, first of all, beliefs, life values that differ from one's own or even incompatible with them. The range of motives for a tolerant relationship is based on assessing it as an inevitable or lesser evil (and then the differences are forced to suffer) to the notion of tolerance as a value, a condition for dialogue of cultures and the existence of a cultural diversity of society that is viewed as a 'good' (and then the cultivation of diversity is considered a goal). Although, as M. Walzer noted, the plurality of ethnic groups and religious communities is by no means an indispensable condition for the existence and flourishing of a society, even a liberal one [8. 24]. Culturally homogenous societies are successfully developing and flourishing (as, for example, Japan or South Korea).

One can single out various connotations of forbearance: a) forbearance as the humility of the weak, dependent, whose non-resistance serves as a guarantee of the stability of its position; b) forbearance as a deterrent to hostility, a conscious ousting of hostility and its substitution by a neutral or even positive attitude; c) forbearance as indulgence, based on the conviction of the excellence of one's way of life, of one's values, and also of the certainty that nothing threatens

them; d) forbearance as a civilized compromise, tolerant attitude toward the bearers of other cultural values, based on the idea of the equivalence of cultures, their impenetrability to each other, the fundamental impossibility of understanding a different culture; e) forbearance as a recognition and respect for the right of others to a different way of life and a willingness to cooperate with them; f) forbearance as indifference to differences ("yes do what you want, just do not touch me"). forbearance, therefore, is only one of the types of tolerance. But, since even a positive attitude towards cultural differences, the willingness to live next to representatives of other cultures does not mean a willingness to share their views and beliefs, tolerance is always forbearance.

In Latin *tolerare* (tolerate, tolerated) or *tolerans* (patiently enduring), the object of tolerance is that which brings inconvenience and even suffering. They endure that which hinders, causes discomfort, which is perceived as presenting an actual or potential threat to an individual or a group, but which cannot be changed (or changing which requires too many victims). They are forced to endure: in the content of the attitude of forbearance there are connotations of rejection, inevitability and even doom. This Christian humility, which F. Nietzsche considers the product of the activity of the spiritual complex *ressentiment*, which is perseverance in life trials that cannot be overcome, humility of the weak, dependent. Such - *adaptive* - forbearance borders with unscrupulousness, connivance (permissiveness of) with evil. Within certain limits, it is capable of restraining social tension, but it is fraught, as Nietzsche warned, with a sudden explosion of indignation, resentment, and revenge.

Connotations of indulgence, admission are characteristic for *paternalistic* forbearance, forbearance of a strong, and even of socially dominant. Ideologically paternalistic forbearance, like the adaptive one, is expressed in a strategy of peaceful coexistence, where peaceful coexistence is seen as a fundamental value that is realized in tactics of restraint, non-interference in the affairs of the other, and readiness for compromise. But even in the content of paternalistic forbearance, there is a moment of compulsion (being forced) and inevitability: paternalistic forbearance is conditioned upon the too high social price of other political decisions. "Forbearance towards groups," writes S.G. Ilyinskaya (and M. Walzer is in agreement with her) "is practiced only when the resources of their suppression have been exhausted" [7. 10].

A common value basis for tolerance as a strategy of intercultural communication, taking place at the intergroup and interpersonal levels, is the idea of peaceful coexistence as a blessing.

However, to what extent are groups willing to sacrifice their religious and cultural identity for the sake of peaceful coexistence? Tolerance, skeptics believe, is not a principle that can unite people or heterogeneous social groups, turn them into a cohesive (united) social community. For example, E.L. Dubko believes that tolerance, rather, destroys political motivation and political community, than unites it [3. 661]. One tolerates a stranger with whom one has nothing in common and has little to do with, but with which one has to come into contact periodically for an unpleasant vital need. Tolerance is a tactical technique that allows communication even if there is dislike between partners. At the same time, the deep causes of disagreements are consciously ignored and pushed aside. The conflict of values, therefore, is not eliminated by a tolerant attitude.

The Latin term "tolerantia" (from Latin *tolerans* - patiently enduring) originally meant a voluntary transfer of suffering, passive patience (endurance) [1. S. 590]. The principle of passive patience (endurance) becomes one of the central in Stoic philosophy and Christian ideology. The idea of tolerance turned out to be in demand and got a new life in the Modern Period. S.G. Ilyinskaya and B.G. Kapustin connect the philosophical justification of the political practice of tolerance in European culture with the "invention" in modern times of the concept of "privacy", the division of life into private and public. Conceptually, this division was framed by J. Locke, who proposed to perceive the peculiarities of private life as indifferent things.

Under the influence of negative public reaction to the interreligious intolerance of the religious wars of the 16th-17th centuries, the idea of tolerance acquires a very definite meaning

- tolerance is understood as a rejection of violence in bringing people to faith, tolerance of other people's beliefs and the principle of non-interference of spiritual and secular power in each other's affairs. Tolerance became a moral response to political events - the destructive religious wars of the 16th-17th centuries in Europe. A detached and humble attitude to differences in the name of preserving peace, writes in this connection M. Walzer, comes after the destructive wars as "the salvific stage of exhaustion: we call it tolerance" [8. 25].

The central problem of tolerance was the question of its borders and their justification: on whom and on what the tolerant attitude does not apply, and why. Later, above all, under the influence of the Enlightenment, especially the French, tolerance begins to be understood more broadly: as forbearance for other views and a different way of life.

In articles on religious tolerance, John Locke outlined the main parameters of the liberal concept of tolerance.

In his work "The experience of religious tolerance," he answers the question of what kind of freedom can be tolerated and what criteria should be followed for this; he also indicates the connection between the moral and political aspects of tolerance. Locke separated the private sphere of life from public and he attributed religious faith to private life, to that sphere, the differences in which should be considered insignificant and in which the state and any other authority should not interfere. Opinions and deeds, he believed, can be allowed by the state only if they do not harm the state and society, and be banned if they are capable of inflicting damage on them.

Thus, he wrote, the views of Catholic papists recognizing the supremacy of the Roman See, and not the British Crown, pose a threat to the state, since they open the possibility of interference in state policy from outside, besides, the Pope practiced religious intolerance, which is also unsafe for society [6]. Therefore, the subject of tolerant attitude are alien views and peculiarities of the private life of people. Tolerance consists in refusing to use force to solve those contradictions that do not pose a threat to the state and society.

Tolerance as a mechanism for regulating the interrelationship between the carriers of multidirectional interests is given great importance in liberal ideology. In the utilitarian political tradition, beginning with Locke, the principle of tolerance is justified as a way to avoid a greater evil - social instability.

At the heart of the liberal justification of tolerance lies a specific understanding of society and the individual. Society is a union of equal and free individuals with different perceptions of personal and public good. In a rule-of-law state, the government is obliged to respect the dignity and freedom of its citizens, to protect the citizen not only from fellow citizens, but also from the arbitrariness of the state power itself. With the acquisition of official status, the influence of human rights in international political discourse has only been strengthened, they have been referred to more and more often. Fundamental freedoms and the rights formulated on their basis are of everyday importance for each person, they are the basis for political demands, they take the place of common values in the conditions of diversity of cultures and the crisis of moral values.

As a principle of individuals' action, tolerance proceeds from human rights and prescribes to treat the other as an equally worthy person, to recognize and respect her right to differences. The task of the state is to guarantee to every member of the society freedom of expression without giving preference to any of the opinions. The subjectivism of individual judgments and assessments, according to liberal ideas, must be resisted by the impartiality of not only the state, but also morality. Morality is entrusted with the functions of preventing or mitigating conflicts, reconciling individuals with different attitudes.

Morality as an arbiter should rise above subjective interests and judgments and legitimize everyone's right to their own views and assessments, the right of everyone to live in his own way: some opinions and beliefs are no better and no worse than others, and therefore it is immoral to persecute for beliefs, force them to abandon them or force them to impose an opinion. A person

insisting on their right to their own opinion should reserve the same right and for any other.

Within the framework of the liberal universalist ideology, various arguments are being developed in favor of certain positions, including those opposing each other, for example, both in favor of religious beliefs, and in defense of ideas and values incompatible with religious beliefs. Practically, Dubko expresses his suspicions that appeals for tolerance camouflage the desire of the authorities to paralyze all the indignant presenting political differences as no more than someone's subjective opinions, while individualistic orientations that separate people are maintained at the state level.

The core value of liberal ideology is human rights. The pretext for violating human rights is often used by states dominating the political arena, even for interference in the internal affairs of other, weaker states, up to hostilities (1), which in particular indicates a high value-normative status of human rights.

Human rights today are an analogue of universal morality, on behalf of which demands can be brought against any moral subject - man, group, state. And what about the criterion of human rights with respect to ethno-confessional groups in the state, within which the rights of members of these groups are violated in the private sphere, or with those groups in whose system of representations there is no clear division between private and public life? Kukatas, for example, offers his answer to this question, which adequately expresses the essence of classical liberalism [5].

He leaves aside the question of the value bases for decision-making (justice, etc.) and as the main regulative principle proposes a formal principle - the principle of freedom of association in combination with the freedom to withdraw from associations. And it is precisely the freedom of secession from associations that he calls the fundamental right of everyone, because, he believes, all other rights either flow out of him or are bestowed on the individual by the community. If the individual feels oneself restrained by the traditions that are supported in the group - one has the right to leave the group, if not - remains in it.

But isn't this formal right - the right to break off relations with close people in cohesive ethnic communities - not a right, but a threat of punishment for self-will? How much does the nature of the legal state correspond to the abolition of universal rights for members of an ethno-cultural group? And how do we treat a group within which human rights are violated? If Kukatas justifies these traditions by the right of parents in one's ethnic group to choose a future husband for one's daughter, and we, guided by human rights, uphold the right of everyone to self-realization, the right of everyone to build his own life in his own way, in accordance with their representations, feelings, predilections?

In a political approach, tolerance is seen as a principle of relationship between religious and cultural groups. Relations between these groups are relations between those who forbear (endure) and those who are forbearred (endured), which, M. Walzer writes, resemble the relations of domination and submission in their Aristotelian understanding (although, in fact, are a different relationship): lord and slaves are a kind of unity, for the mutual preservation of which it is necessary to cultivate forbearance (endurance) for each other.

The ideology of tolerance, according to Habermas, Zizek, etc., is one of the methods of preserving the status quo for the authorities. The essence of this method is that the subject of public attention is changing: it switches to subjective forms of violence, whereas forms of systemic violence are removed from the field of vision. The tactic of tolerance is embodied, specifically, in political correctness, which Zizek calls the policy of fear, the erection of symbolic courtesy walls that support social distance, alienation. He quotes in this connection the comment of the philosopher Alain Finkelkraut to the unrest in the French suburbs: "If an Arab sets fire to a school, this is an uprising. If white does this, then this is fascism" [4. 91]. To say that crimes are committed by ethnic groups is politically incorrect. Political correctness paralyzes "the desire not to hurt another, no matter how cruel and superstitious the other is" [4. P. 102], however, it only seems like a restraining force, according to Zizek, in fact secretly promotes the incitement

of violence.

In order to understand why the issue of private cultural and religious differences is frequently on the periphery of public attention, but then it can suddenly turn into a political stage, and the accumulating social irritation suddenly blows up the social order, it is necessary to find out the social roots of intolerance.

The gap between the declaration of human rights as the values of official ideological doctrine and the lack of an effective system of protecting rights in large numbers give rise to feelings of social impotence, humiliation, anger. Social violence in any of its forms - whether it is institutionalized hypocrisy, arbitrary restriction of rights, discrimination or through overuse, oppression, infringement of economic interests, etc., are the underlying causes that lead to social exclusion and intolerance. So, under the intolerant attitude towards labor migrants, first of all, lies the fear for the deterioration of the quality of the labor market for the local population, the threat to security and other fundamental values of the habitual way of life, and not at all the rejection of another's culture or belief.

The concrete form, the motives of tolerant attitude are conditioned, on the one hand, by the attitude towards the values of one's own culture, self-reflection, self-identification, and, on the other hand, by the evaluation of the value systems of other cultures.

Tolerance as a blessing coexists in consciousness with other vital values and benefits, including those which form the basis of intolerance and those that surpass the value of tolerance by their intensity, such as adherence to principle, fidelity to one's ideals; the value of habitual, comfortable way of life (and, accordingly, intolerance to everything that threatens them), etc. This is due to the fact that tolerant attitudes differ in the degree of stability and intensity, that hypocritical tolerance is easily transformed into its opposite, and deferred negative reaction can be discharged by unrestrained acts of aggression. In persistent calls for tolerance, there is a lot of slyness: in them, in particular, the emphasis from the subject of tolerant attitude (what to endure) is often shifted to the subject of a tolerant attitude (the need to endure). The problem of boundaries, limits, measures of tolerance, the ratio of forbearance, tolerance and lack of principle, tolerance and relativism - arises, first of all, as a practical moral problem.

Moral treatment of another person includes forbearance of his delusions, prejudices, accidental mistakes and other manifestations that are judged as ordinary human weaknesses - something insignificant that can be neglected without damaging the overall assessment of the personality of the other.

Moral attitude to the other involves caring for his welfare, if necessary, support, personal participation in his fate. Thinking about morals, arguing about what is right, determining the relative importance of moral values - this is the living life of morality. Tolerance, on the other hand, blocks thinking about values and thereby preserves indifference, alienation between people. As writes E.L. Dubko, "rather, this is a reluctant, tacit consent, concealing contempt for someone else's opinion, a way to ignore other people's interests and opinions" [3. 661].

Less adamant, but still, Zizek generally agrees with this point of view.

"My duty to be tolerant of another," he writes, "actually means that I should not approach him too closely, invade his space. In other words, I must respect his intolerance of my excessive intimacy. The main right in late-capitalist society is increasingly the right not to be harassed, that is, to keep on a safe distance from others" [4. 37]. In practice, this attitude turns into Buddhist universalized indifference, abstention from too much sympathy.

Tolerance, thus, deforms the morally oriented person. The individual - who is persuaded that tolerance is more than moral, appropriate to the spirit of modernity, a way of treating others - is disoriented, disarmed: Dubko writes that one is forced not to react to amoral phenomena, he hides his position, is deprived of the opportunity to defend it in a dispute. One is being sly, one is insincere, one is pretending and is forced to endless compromises.

The principle of tolerance plays a different role in different spheres of public life. Its role is enhanced whenever there is no "precise criterion for evaluating and proving the preferences of

any views" [1. S. 590], as, for example, in the field of art (the field of tastes) or in the sphere of beliefs. In the scientific community, in the search for truth, tolerance also contributes to the fruitfulness of scientific discussions, mutual understanding of opponents. Until the truth is established, tolerance and respect for other people's opinions serve as a guarantee of its existence. In the fuse of intolerance, it is easy not to notice the rational grain of truth.

However, tolerance is not the only principle regulating relations in the sphere of science. Only in unity with other principles, such as fidelity to truth, intellectual honesty (F. Nietzsche), a critical attitude towards the results not only of others, but also of one's own research (R. Merton) provides the overall goal of the scientific community. Tolerance to frank quackery, when the truth is known and proven, can not be justified.

Similarly, in the moral and political spheres, this principle should not be absolutized. It cannot be dominant and must be balanced and limited by other principles and values that would make it possible to draw conclusions about the boundaries of tolerance, decide where tolerance is appropriate and even necessary, and where it is not. "... Tolerance as such, - writes - Ilinskaya - is not a virtue and is significant only when it contributes to other important goals and aspirations of a person that cannot be achieved other than by reconciliation with the existence of differences "[7. 9].

There are more reasons to see in tolerance as a very dangerous phenomenon for morality. Tolerance undermines, limits morality, corrupts morals.

One of the most important functions of morality is value-oriented. Morality marks all social phenomena affecting people's interests, value signs: "good" and "evil", "humanity", "justice", "decency", etc. Thus, politics can be assessed as humane or inhumane, economic relations - as fair or unjust, people's actions are judged as worthy or unworthy.

Such assessments, in which people's attitudes to different sides of their lives are expressed, serve as the basis for programs for its reorganization. Tolerance, on the other hand, focuses on impartiality, abstinence from evaluations, as a result, for example, heroic self-sacrifice for the sake of others and selfish self-sacrifice at the expense of others are put on one board, if guided by the principle of tolerance, that is private life, personal business of everyone. Tolerance can restrain from unambiguous condemnation of what is morally unacceptable, tie hands of the subject of moral assessment, disorient the individual. This reduces the value status of the morally valuable and, accordingly, increases that of the - morally unacceptable, which ultimately provokes permissiveness, opens the way to arbitrariness and violence. What could be rejected from a moral standpoint is in fact often sanctioned, protected, defended by the doctrine of tolerance.

Absolutization of tolerance turns into connivance of evil, opens the way to arbitrariness. Therefore, this principle should not be absolutized either in the political sphere, or, even more so, in the moral sphere. It cannot be dominant and must be balanced by other principles and values, in the context of which the appropriateness and limits of the application of the principle of tolerance are determined.

NOTES

- (1) When, for the sake of protecting "human rights" wars are launched in peacetime, countries are brought to the knees, people are killed, maimed and are forced to suffer, as E.L. Dubko rightfully suggests, it is impossible to get rid of the suspicion that the rhetoric of human rights "serves in some way to not mention good and evil and see no other evil, except as an evil violation of human rights" [3. 688].

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Questions for discussion:

- Do you agree with S.Zhizhek's point of view that political correctness is a policy of fear and promotes incitement of violence?
- What are the main arguments proposed by the author of the article to substantiate the statement about the limited possibilities of the principle of tolerance in the political and moral spheres? Do you agree with these arguments?
- To what extent should the principle of tolerance be central in the current political situation in the Kyrgyz Republic?

Islam and other religions

The attitude of Islam to religious beliefs is based on the Quranic principle "there is no compulsion in religion". The Quranic principle "*there is no compulsion in religion*" (Quran, 2: 256) defines the status of Jews and Christians as "protected", who are in the position of protected groups according to the Sharia. According to their status, "people of the Book" had to pay a head tax (jizya), from which the Muslims were exempt. The attitude of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), his nobility and respect for people, regardless of their belief, is demonstrated by a case recorded from the words of Jabir ibn Abd Allah in the al-Bukhari collection. Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) respectfully stood before the passing funeral procession. Surprisingly, others said: "*This is a Jew!*", to which the Prophet (PBUH) replied: "*Is it not a soul?*" (Bukhari, 1312).

Article 299-1. Organized activities aimed at incitement of national (interethnic), racial, religious or inter-regional hostility

- [1] Establishment of and implementation of leadership over a public association and religious organization or other organization, activities of which involve incitement of ethnic (ethnic), racial, religious or inter-regional enmity, the humiliation of national dignity, the propaganda of exclusivity, superiority or inferiority of citizens on the basis of their attitude towards religion, - shall be punished by imprisonment from five to seven years with deprivation of the right to hold certain positions or engage in certain activities, the term up to three years.
- [2] The organization of the activities of a public association and religious organization or other organization in respect to which the court has decided to liquidate or prohibit activities in connection with the implementation of extremist activities, as well as involving citizens in their activities - shall be punished by imprisonment for six to eight years with deprivation of the right to hold certain positions or engage in certain activities.
- [3] Participation in the activities of a public association, religious organization or other organization in respect of which the court has adopted a legally effective decision to liquidate or prohibit activities in connection with the implementation of extremist activities

- is punishable by imprisonment for three to five years with deprivation of the right occupy certain positions or engage in certain activities.

- [4] The acts provided for by the first, second and third parts of this article committed by a person using his official position, as well as by a person previously convicted of extremist crimes (extremist activity) - are punishable by imprisonment from seven to ten years with deprivation of liberty occupy certain positions or engage in certain activities.

Note. A person who voluntarily ceased to participate in the activities of a public association and religious organization or other organization in respect of which the court adopted a legally effective decision to liquidate or prohibit activities in connection with the implementation of extremist activities or if the person assisted law enforcement bodies in identifying and the criminal liability of the organizers and members of such associations and organizations is exempted from criminal liability if in one's actions there is no other crime.

TEST of measuring the effectiveness of the session (in the appendix)

THEME OF THE SESSION: Session No. 3 Signs of Radicalism and Radicalization

Radicalism (from the Latin "*radix*" - root) is an extreme, uncompromising commitment to any views, ideas. It is expressed most often in the promotion of ideas, their declarations.

Causes of female radicalization:

- not having enough education, both secular and religious;
- not being informed in the true values of Islam, knowledge of Islam only by hearsay;
- inability to find a job; lack of professional education;
- continuous dependence on other persons: parents, husband, husband's family;
- dissatisfaction with their economic situation;
- unfulfilled dreams of building their lives: early marriage, parents were unable to provide vocational education due to financial shortage, etc.;
- there is no opportunity for self-expression;
- inability to realize their needs;
- isolation from society: due to constant courtship for young children, family worries, religious beliefs;
- subjection to domestic violence;
- no awareness of what is happening outside the home;
- dependence on others for solving their problems;
- illiteracy in women's rights, from the point of view of religion and that of a democratic state;
- lack of "significant others" or close people to discuss problems and get advice;
- lack of faith in one's own future and the future of one's children;
- lack of ability to overcome barriers when applying to state social security agencies (health, social security, unemployment benefits, pension fund).

Areas of work for the prevention of radicalization of women

- providing information on women's rights in Islam and a democratic state;
- providing information on public services;
- providing information on laws that ensure women's rights;
- providing information on organizations that can help with domestic violence;
- providing women with opportunities for self-expression through various activities;
- creating of conditions for dialogue and communication among women, opportunities for joint analysis of their situation, identification of steps to change the situation;
- conducting activities to discuss the role of women in the upbringing of children in the family;
- providing information on tolerance, mutual respect, religious and interethnic tolerance based on Islamic principles and principles of a democratic state;

- providing information on the risks of radicalization, methods of recruitment into prohibited religious movements, and applying preventive approaches;
- contributing to the formation of public opinion aimed at creating an atmosphere of intolerance towards manifestations of extremist ideology;
- providing information on radical movements in Islam, methods of recruitment into prohibited movements, the laws of the Kyrgyz Republic aimed at countering extremism, and so on.

Women from the "risk group"

- single women;
- women in a difficult life situation;
- women who are in material need;
- large families of women whose husbands are migrating;
- women who are second wives;
- women and girls, in the circle of communication have individuals with extremist views;
- women and girls whose relatives or acquaintances suffered from the actions of law enforcement officials;
- girls from disadvantaged families;
- girls who, for family reasons, had to drop out of school;
- young women who married early, subjected to domestic violence, etc.

THEME OF THE SESSION: Session No. 4. Modern threats of extremism, terrorism.

Extremism (from Latin "extremus" - extreme) is commitment to extreme views and methods expressed in violent actions. Extremists prefer to act, and actions can be antisocial, illegal, and violent.

Extremist activities are characterized by the following components:

1. Ideological basis.
2. Good organization
3. Activity / Actions.

If radicalism is just ideas / views, then extremism is an idea that is put into action. Extremists prefer to act, and actions can be antisocial, illegal, and violent.

Terrorism is a psychological tool aimed at spreading the atmosphere of fear in society.

The main object of terrorism is not who perished, but the rest of society, survivors.

The purpose of terrorism is not the murder of a person, but the intimidation of survivors.

In situations of acute social crises, radical-minded people have the maximum potential capable of destroying the existing model of society. This quality of radicals has been used for many centuries in the process of power struggles that claim to be groupings. The infusion of political content to the words and actions of radical groups, regardless of their own interests and needs, turns heterogeneous social entities into an instrument of power struggle.

The transition of radicalism to extremism, and extremism to terrorism (when the borders of "extremes" go from thought to word, from words to deeds, and the case is violent) is an algorithm by which people from the radical environment are first allocated to extremist, and then terrorist groups and organizations.

In its pure form, none of the forms of extremism exists. There is always an intertwining, mixing of political, nationalistic, religious, youth and other extremism. Wherever the masses of the population are involved in action, where the interests of many people are violated, where public order is disturbed, a threat to life and health of people is created, there is always an intertwining of politics with nationalism, with religion and culture. Therefore, the identification of the main forms of extremism is based on the establishment of dominant goals, attitudes among members of a particular extremist organization, the movement.

The main types of extremism:

- Religious extremism
- Political extremism
- Ethnic extremism
- Political and religious extremism

Religious extremism is a commitment to the ideas, methods and views of religious organizations.

Features of religious extremism

- Excessiveness in some religious views and actions.
- Denial of religious ideas and belief systems of other religions.
- Commitment to radical methods and misinterpretation of religious sources.
- Actions aimed at inciting religious hatred and enmity.

Law on Countering Extremism.

Radicalism and extremism are dangerous manifestations. They reject the second opinion, the other point of view. Extremist activity is prohibited in the Kyrgyz Republic, and the relevant law enforcement agencies are working to prevent it.

What does the term "extremist activity" mean?

The Law of the Kyrgyz Republic "On Counteracting Extremist Activity" from 2005 states the following:

Extremist activities include:

- 1) The activity of public associations, religious organizations, other enterprises, mass media or individuals on the commission of the following actions:
 - forcible change of the foundations of the constitutional system and violation of the integrity of the Kyrgyz Republic;
 - undermining the security of the Kyrgyz Republic;
 - seizure and appropriation of power;
 - creation of illegal armed formations;
 - carrying out terrorist activities;
 - inciting racial, national, social or religious hatred;
 - humiliation of national dignity;

- implementation of mass riots, hooliganism, acts of vandalism (damage or destruction of public or state property);
 - propaganda of exclusivity or superiority or inferiority of citizens, a person on the basis of their attitude to religion and social, racial, nationality, or linguistic identity;
- 2) Propaganda and public demonstration of Nazi attributes, symbols;
 - 3) Financing of the specified activity or other assistance in its implementation.

According to the legislation of the Kyrgyz Republic, all of the above actions fall under criminal activities. For example, for fomenting national, religious hatred, hooliganism, acts of vandalism, etc., the relevant article of the Criminal Code applies. It is impossible to insult, humiliate and infringe human rights with impunity. We live in a country where the values of human rights, the diversity of different people, cultures, religions are recognized, and all this is guaranteed by law.

THEME OF THE SESSION: Session # 5. Islam and Gender

Gender – is acquired, socially committed behavior of persons of different sexes; the social aspect of relations between men and women, which manifests itself in all spheres of life, including politics, economics, law, ideology and culture, education and science.

Gender equality is the equal legal status of women and men and equal opportunities for its realization, allowing individuals regardless of gender to freely use their abilities to participate in the political, economic, labor, social, public and cultural spheres of life.

Gender Equality in Social and Economic Life:

- Men and women have the same right to acquire, own and dispose of any kind of property.
- Men and women have equal opportunities for owning land, their right to land is protected equally.

National and international documents ensuring the rights and freedoms of women.

National Documents

- The provisions of the Constitution are permeated with the rule prohibiting the creation of discriminatory conditions that infringe, oppress or violate human rights on the basis of sex. Men and women have the same rights and freedoms, equal opportunities for the realization of their rights (Article 16, paragraph 4). However, practice shows that women are frequently more vulnerable categories, in relation to whom violence is more often committed, for example, domestic violence, coercion to marriage, victims of conflict, etc. In order to protect women's rights from discrimination, violence and negative impacts of conflict, Kyrgyzstan has adopted a number of legislative measures.
- The Law of the Kyrgyz Republic "On the Social and Legal Protection Against Domestic Violence" of December 31, 2003, which places responsibility on the government bodies (court, prosecutor's office, police, social protection bodies, local authorities) for the prevention, suppression of domestic violence and work with the consequences of violence.

- Amendments to the Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz Republic on the responsibility for "bride kidnapping", according to which forcing girls to enter into marriage is punishable by imprisonment up to 10 years.
- National Action Plan for the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on the role of women in ensuring peace and security. The plan is aimed at forming a system for the protection of the rights of women and girls in conflict prevention work, strengthening the role of women in the security sector, in decision-making, and creating and maintaining a safe environment for women and girls. Implementation of the plan is entrusted to state bodies (executive, judicial, legislative), and international and local non-governmental organizations are invited to assist the state in implementing the plan. Women at the local and national levels should be invited and actively involved in the creation of mechanisms to protect women from conflict and violence.
- National strategy of the Kyrgyz Republic on achieving gender equality until 2020.
- A separate normative legal act on ensuring gender equality is the Law of the Kyrgyz Republic "On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Equal Opportunities for Men and Women" of July 14, 2011. The law defines the concept of "gender", "discrimination", enshrines equality of men and women.

International documents.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of December 18, 1979, was ratified by Kyrgyzstan in 1997. The preamble to the Convention gives the following understanding of discrimination against women: "... discrimination against women violates the causes of equality and respect for human dignity, prevents women from participating on an equal basis with man in the political, social, economic and cultural life of his or her country, hinders the growth of the well-being of society and the family, further complicates the full disclosure of women's opportunities for the benefit of their countries and humanity".

The Convention calls on participating States to:

- Article 5: Modify the social and cultural patterns of behavior of men and women in order to achieve the eradication of prejudice and the abolition of customs and all other practices that are based on the idea of the inferiority or superiority of one gender or the stereotyped role of men and women.
- Paragraph (b) of article 11: Ensure the right to equal opportunities in hiring, including the application of the same selection criteria for employment.
- Article 16: Ensure that all appropriate measures are taken to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and, in particular, on the basis of equality of men and women:
 - a) The same right to marry;
 - b) The same rights to freely choose a spouse and to marry only with their free and full consent;
 - c) The same rights and obligations during the marriage and at its dissolution;
 - d) The same rights and duties of men and women as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters concerning their children; in all cases, the interests of children are predominant;
 - e) The same right to decide freely and responsibly the number of children and the intervals between their births and to have access to information, education, and the means that enable them to exercise this right;
 - f) The same rights and obligations as guardians, trustees, trustees and adoptive parents of children or perform similar functions when provided for in national legislation; in all cases, the interests of children are predominant;

- g) The same personal rights of husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, profession and occupation;
- h) The same rights of spouses in respect of possession, acquisition, management, use and disposal of property, both free of charge and for payment.

THEME OF THE SESSION: Session # 6. Women's Rights - Human Rights

Exercise "Ranking of concepts"

Handout 1: Definition of a contract for a working mother, article Gender contracts of the post-Soviet period

The contract of the "working mother" = In Soviet society, the type of gender contract dominated, which can be called the contract of a "working mother". The state-defined gender contract "working mother" was manifested in the models of the upbringing of children, reproduced by the system of social division of labor, supported by the social policy of the party-state and its ideological structures. Such a gender contract implies the obligation of "socially useful" labor of Soviet women and the compulsory fulfillment of the mission of the mother "as a woman's natural destiny" and civic duty.

GENDER CONTRACTS OF THE POST-SOVIET PERIOD¹¹

Since the end of the 1980s, the official, everyday and illegitimate rules of the Soviet era have been reconfigured. Despite the structural changes and the emergence of new practices, the rules of organization of life, which go back to Soviet gender contracts, are more stable. Those roles that were previously "hidden" in everyday and illegitimate contracts pretend to symbolically dominate. Values and styles of life of the Western type are perceived to a greater extent if they correspond to the ideals of the late Soviet era. In particular, a woman of the civilized (western) world appears as a (bourgeois) housewife, provided by her husband. This image correlates with the Soviet values of the family-home, consumer patterns, stability and with nostalgia for real men. On the contrary, the contract of gender equality and the image of a feminist receives mostly negative connotations with the consequences of the emancipation of the Soviet era.

The official contract of the working mother became the basis for the formation of contracts for a working mother, career-oriented (professional) woman and (mother-) housewife. The rules of the daily (shadow) contract, covering informal social networks and consumption, are articulated in all new contracts. Sexuality, previously confined to closed communities, is becoming an important component of the emerging contracts.

The duty to participate in social production was replaced by the economic need to provide for a family that required a woman to activate the role of the worker in the case of single motherhood and in the case of a family consisting of two breadwinners. The contract includes maternity, but the emphasis is on work (earnings). The weakening of state support for maternity (including children's institutions) led to the mobilization of social networks and relatives serving the household and caring for children at a time when a woman is looking for a variety of sources of earnings to support the family. The contract of the working mother remains a contract concluded within the extended family and social networks. A man in such contracts is often marginalized (as shown, for example, by Yaroshenko in a study of poor families).

Another option for transforming the role of an employee is the contract of a professional woman, in which case the responsibility of the woman for servicing the family does not interfere with the career. The organization of the household and the upbringing of children becomes the subject of negotiations with relatives and employees (mainly women), and also includes the use of paid institutions for health and education. At the same time, responsibility for the organization of the household remains a woman's responsibility.

The third option for reconfiguring a contract for a working mother is to turn it into a housewife contract provided by the husband who acts as the breadwinner. Service, motherhood and care form the core of female identity. In addition, this core includes sexual attraction, which was previously largely in the spheres of shadow and illegitimate contracts. Former illegitimate contracts become legitimate, although morally not approved. Prostitution, pornography and homosexuality are represented in public discourse. Market mechanisms have turned sexuality and consumption into a subject of bargaining and exchange, which is expressed in a sponsorship contract. Previous and this last contract suggests that the man becomes the dominant agent, having the power and material resources to support maternity / female sexual attraction. In the first two contracts, the main agents are women mothers, relatives, social networks and employees, and only occasionally men (table).

Table. Soviet gender contracts and their transformation in the 1990s

Soviet contracts	Official	Daily	Alternative
Gender roles	Working mother	Mother	
	Equal participation in social production; female role - the exercise of maternity as a civil duty	Use of traditional gender resources by men and women. A woman's role is motherhood, care	Sexual roles not related to reproduction

¹¹ <http://texts.news/gendernaya-sotsiologiya-analiza/sluchay-kontrakt-domohozyayka-33589.html>

New contracts	Working mother	Woman-professional	Housewife-breadwinner	Sponsor contract
Gender roles	Duty to provide for family	Responsibility for service does not prevent a career	Women's role - service maternity, care The male role is the breadwinner	Women's role-sexual attractiveness Men's role material support

Analysis of these trends makes it possible to trace the main changes in the Soviet contract to a working mother, as well as the emergence of new prototype contracts typical for middle and upper class families. At the same time, a working mother who earns money for the family remains the dominant post-Soviet contract. In some cases, this contract is transformed into a professional woman, in other cases (in deprived groups by age, the presence of a large number of children, health status, place of residence, etc.) passive strategies of adaptation to market conditions remain. With a working husband, an unemployed woman is forced to become a housewife. The second and third cases represent the options for transforming the working mother into professional woman and housewife contracts, respectively. Finally, we describe another case - a sponsorship contract, in which the ideals of the shadow and alternative contracts are articulated. The woman is on the maintenance of the man ("sponsored"), performs only a sexual role, has a sexual image and is guided by the value of consumption. This image is in many respects the opposite of the Soviet ideal: for women's identity, neither work nor maternity is significant here.

Thus, modern changes in gender relations are not the result of a purposeful gender policy of the state and political debate, on the contrary, they are the result of spontaneous adaptation to changing economic conditions and development of strategies by different groups. In the dominant contract, the main gender roles remain, but their ratio is changing towards the working mother. On the basis of pre-existing, but non-articulated, or partially articulated rules and behavior patterns, new prototypes of contracts appeared: career-oriented women, mother-housewives and women on the maintenance. Shadow patterns of consumption and liberal sexuality have shaped the ideology of the housewife, as well as her more modern version of the sponsored woman. The gender contracts described by us are not rigidly fixed or exclusive of each other. It can be assumed that the contract working mother stabilizes in families with low income, in such families, marginalization of men unable to provide for the family occurs. In higher classes, the contract of the wife - the housewife and the husband - the breadwinner is more often met, although it is also common in some working environments, in this case the contract is redefined as a working mother or a housewife. Successful woman in the profession from the perspective of a working mother can move to the position of a career-oriented woman, for whom the interests of professional self-realization are in the forefront.

Questions for discussion:

- Which contracts and gender roles formulate statements for discussion?
- Which of the presented contracts seems to be the most suitable for a modern society? Why?

Work with cases

Handout 2.: Case texts

Contract "housewife-breadwinner"

Victoria is about 35 years old, married to a businessman, the mother of a four-year-old son, a housewife. She has a diploma in mathematics, worked as an engineer in a research institute. When the baby was born, she stayed at home with him.

In the same year in the place of her work there were personnel cuts. At about the same time, the husband took up business in the sales sector, which quickly became profitable, and Victoria quit her job altogether. At first she worked in the firm of her husband, her mother helped to look after the child. Then, six months later, she left work, her mother returned home, to another city. Currently, Victoria is busy with housekeeping and childcare: "I feel fine about house economy: I love cooking, baking cakes, knitting ... Since I do not work, I'm even ashamed not to - I do not seem to have such problems ... My husband is almost always absent from home, he does not help at home; it's a sin to help me-I do not work. "

Victoria compares her current position with the time when they worked together with her husband as engineers and did all the housework together. When she stayed home with the child, she began to do all the housework on her own. Victoria talks about the changes in her life and her attitude towards them: "My husband and I worked together before - we had common money, we decided together where to spend what ... Now I do not know how much he earns, I in this matter, am not the boss ... It was terrible to go through. He himself disposes of his time, says: I need to, I have business. All this is thrown at me, that is, I cannot dispose of myself at all, I have to be with the child, that is, I do not own myself. And at the same time, I immediately fell into such a situation - I should, as a normal woman, create conditions for him to work, move forward ... I had to break so much in myself, a very difficult process ... I became jealous of my husband: he goes everywhere, concludes contracts, conducts some kind of activity, and I have nothing of this. ... And then I reshaped myself ».

This case demonstrates the break of a new contract with the previous one, the transition from egalitarian family roles to their polarization. The woman radically changed her role, identity and status; from a working mother she turned into a housewife, whose competence area includes only housework and childcare. As Victoria tells us, this change was psychologically difficult, demanding a reflexive reevaluation of values, but she estimates it as inevitable. The family lifestyle has also changed, which is focused on prestigious consumption, including "eurostandard", the presence of an expensive car, travel abroad and fashionable expensive clothes.

Contract "working mother"

Natasha is a divorced woman of 40 years, with two teenage children, but an engineer by profession, in the mid-1990s continues to work as an engineer at a state enterprise and an accountant in two small private firms.

The ratio of salaries from three jobs is approximately 20, 40 and 40%. She describes her professional activity in the following way: "I work all the time, and I have no time to think about something else. I really do not have time for anything other than work. I go to the bank four times a week, twice to the tax inspectorate and do a lot of accounting work. I have absolutely no time for children and for my lover. Of course, I do not have enough money, my mother believes that it's time to do repairs, children ask for money on the trip – vacation is soon, but I can't cover it. Much more I want to do something for myself, I really need rest. "

Ten years ago Natasha was mainly occupied with her children. Her work did not require much effort, and even without alimony from her ex-husband, she could maintain her way of life through free public services. About the work of the Soviet era, she says: "At work, they knit, read, stood in lines for shortages on local business trips and at lunch. There were parents with the children, and often I was on sick leave - as soon as they sneezed, and indeed they were sick a lot. Then my son went to the kindergarten, but he was sick too. At home there was a lot to do, and the hospital was paid 100%. "

Natasha says that she started to work a lot and seek additional earnings because of the acute economic problems of the early 1990s associated with the reduction of wages received at the state enterprise. For two years, her situation was so heavy that she did not have enough money to buy enough food: "There were some food supplies from the dacha, I sewed and knitted for friends and for money." Now with poverty is over. Natasha pays for extra school lessons and other extracurricular activities for children (some remain free), for private (always familiar) doctors, excursions and trips.

She is happy with her life, her self-esteem has become much higher than before. She does not have enough money to send her children abroad, but she herself traveled through Europe. In her apartment there is a new TV, video, music center, microwave and a new washing machine. Natasha buys children tickets to theaters and museums, and also pays for their lessons in the swimming pool and for language courses.

The time budget has changed: she does not have any spare time for herself, although she used to visit theaters and museums on a regular basis. Now she is more interested in her work: she goes to seminars on raising the qualification, takes part in the development of the company's strategy. She practically does not have time to communicate with children, who are partly under the care of her parents, and partly left to themselves. Her ex-husband, an engineer by profession, pays alimony, but the amount does not constitute a significant part of the family's budget. Natasha's parents - pensioners - do a lot of Natasha's household affairs (although she lives separately from them), which she does not have time for, and sometimes helps her solve some business problems.

So, in this contract, the woman is responsible for the material support of the family (sometimes together with her husband or other relatives). Responsibility for household management is shared between a woman, relatives and social networks. State support is insignificant if incomes even slightly exceed the minimum. This new gender contract can also be called a "contractor" contract. The Soviet contract was supported by the state, now the family can rely mainly on itself. Motherhood loses its symbolic status. The contract "working mother" continues to be characterized by the economic independence of the woman. When the husband becomes the main earner, the woman continues to play the role of a working mother. -Depending on the level of income and other conditions in the future, she can become either a professional woman or a housewife.

Sponsorship contract (woman on maintenance)

Daria is a 30-year-old woman, divorced nine years ago and lives with her mother and 11-year-old son in an expensive suburb of Moscow. Multifaceted, she studied at a prestigious musical school, but dropped out of school, deciding to try other possibilities.

First, Daria studied at one of the new elite universities in the Humanities department. As one of the best female students (from a small number of girls in her course), she wanted to get a teaching post at the end. However, she was offered only administrative work, which she refused. Then she worked as a secretary in several trading companies, now she sometimes writes articles about music for new urban magazines.

Two years ago, Daria met with Andrei, the director of one of the firms where she worked; since then there are love relations between them. Andrei is married, he has two young children. He pays for Daria's dwelling and expenses, sometimes takes her with him on foreign trips: "He drove me to the Bahamas, Bermuda, Thailand and Saudi Arabia. I help him, for example, to choose leather clothes, he has absolutely no taste. "

Daria likes to dress expensive and extravagant, the material costs of a lover are estimated as completely natural. She tells about her friend: "I could not sit and do nothing, like Marina, who is sitting and waiting for Vasya (a successful businessman) to marry her. But you should have seen what car he gave her a last week, my God! But I would never marry without love. "

In such a gender contract, female sexuality becomes the subject of exchange and consumption. Relationships are essentially dependent on the benefits that can be obtained. This "contract" most clearly demonstrates gender asymmetry, when sexual attraction is a means of obtaining prestigious consumption. This is an example of a liberal approach, that is, from a man's point of view, this type of bond based on sponsorship is justified as normal, natural, it is argued that this is the case in other civilized countries. However, Daria's story shows that at first she tried to find work, but after failure she preferred to master the role of the woman on maintenance.

The symbolic significance of this contract is manifested in the rapid spread of the term "sponsor", which means (apart from the usual value of patronage) a man providing a woman without being married to her. The gender setting "he knows how to make money; she knows how to spend it" puts a lot of pressure on the relationship between the sexes.

In this case, the values of attractive appearance, sexuality and a high standard of living are close to the previously illegitimate image of a prostitute. A man of 60 years (a pensioner, doing business) says: "I have a girlfriend, but she's expensive. There was such an agreement with her that I would sponsor her studies or her life, I will give her material support. When the money runs out, the connection will be interrupted. Maintaining a woman (paying for her expenses) is also a form of prostitution ... It must be normal that a woman takes a man as a man, as her friend, lover, partner, husband, and not as a person - a buyer of the goods. "

Femininity, not related to motherhood, did not match Soviet models; she became an alternative to Soviet gender order, the life style of parents and the contract "working mother".

The position of the sponsored woman is unacceptable for the representatives of middle and older generations, but it is this image in different versions that is currently claiming hegemony.

So, the Soviet gender order is viewed by us as the aggregate and interaction of official (legitimate), everyday (shadow) and illegitimate (alternative) contracts. The official contract "working mother" was formed by a socialist state and defined the duties of a Russian woman as a citizen, a worker and a mother. He acted as a framework to which women and men adapted their daily practices. Illegitimate rules, punishable by law and condemned by morality, were reproduced in closed communities, but some of these rules also spread beyond their limits, for example, in the process of liberalizing sexual behavior in the 1970s.

Reconfiguration of these contracts became the basis for the formation of the post-Soviet gender order. Modern changes in gender relations are not the result of a purposeful gender policy of the state and political debate; on the contrary, they are the result of spontaneous adaptation to changing economic conditions and the development of strategies by different groups. In the dominant contract, the main gender roles remain, but their ratio is changing towards the working mother. On the basis of pre-existing, but not articulated, or partially articulated, rules and patterns of behavior, new prototypes of contracts appeared: "career-oriented woman", "mother-housewife" and "woman on maintenance." Those new patterns of consumption and liberal sexuality formed the ideology of the housewife, as well as her more modern version - the ideology of the sponsored woman.

The gender contracts described by us are not rigidly fixed or excluding each other; on the contrary, they change at different stages of the life cycle, especially during a period of rapid social change. It can be assumed that the contract "working mother" stabilizes in families with low incomes; in such families, there is a marginalization of men who are unable to provide for the family. In higher classes, the contract "wife-housewife and husband-breadwinner" is more common, although in some working environments it is also common; in which case the contract is redefined as "working mother" or "housewife". Successful woman in the profession from the perspective of a working mother can move to the position of a career-oriented woman, for whom the interests of professional self-realization are in the forefront.

Questions for discussion:

- Which of the heroines, from your point of view, has a more privileged lifestyle?
- What discriminatory mechanisms could you distinguish in the life of each woman?

Handout 3. Presentations "Women's rights in the Kyrgyz Republic: legislation and practices" and "Discrimination against women" (*attached*)

Questions for discussion:

- How can you assess the cultural discriminatory practices of other countries?
- Can they be compared with the cultural discriminatory practices of our country?
- If so, with which ones? if not, why?
- How would you assess the legislation of the Kyrgyz Republic for promoting gender equality?
- Why do laws and practices in the Kyrgyz Republic differ in the field of gender equality?

Handout 4. Anar Musabaeva: Gender equality in Kyrgyzstan: the appearance of success

<http://golos.kg/?p=18774>

"The notorious achievement of the state in breaking women into high positions is a very successful success, since the presence of a certain number of women in parliament or in the government does not reflect the real situation with gender inequality in the country, including in terms of women's political participation," An article written specifically for CABAR Anar Musabaeva, an independent analyst (Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek).

Throughout history, women were a social minority in politics, and they had to fight for their political rights. And today, in most countries of the world, men make up a large part of the political elite, although from the second half of the 20th century the world has witnessed a real breakthrough, characterized by the arrival of women in power and a significant increase in the role of women in decision-making at various levels.

In our society, discussions about women in politics evoke a rather negative reaction rather than approval and support. Ideas of gender equality have not yet become a part of public consciousness and, moreover, with increasing religious influence, conservatism and traditionalism in society, these ideas and principles are increasingly being questioned. In conditions of degradation of moral values, decline in education and spiritual culture, it becomes even easier to convince people that gender equality is a foreign concept and contradicts our culture and mentality. From the same perspective, the participation of women in power structures is usually perceived as something unnatural and wrong, as stereotypes prescribe an "ideal" woman to remain in the family and private sphere.

Meanwhile, political power, with significant resources of influence, including a monopoly on the adoption of laws and the use of force, determines and controls the vital activity of the whole society. The political marginalization of women who make up at least half of the population in this sense excludes them from making decisions and leaves out of consideration many of the problems and interests that concern not only the lives of women themselves, but society as a whole.

On the eve of the women's holiday, especially considering that 2015 is the year of parliamentary elections in Kyrgyzstan, it is impossible to avoid the topic of political representation of women, women's participation in power structures and their influence on the situation with the promotion of gender equality in the country.

Is there gender equality in Kyrgyzstan at the decision-making level? Does the presence of women in high state posts contribute to the advancement of women in the country? These issues are more urgent than ever before in the run up to the elections.

GENDER EQUALITY OR "GENDER INSUFFICIENCY" [1]?

The Constitution of Kyrgyzstan (art. 16, para. 4) proclaims the equality of women and men, meaning equality of rights and freedoms, as well as equality of opportunities for their implementation. One of the favorite arguments of our politicians (especially men) is that gender equality in the country exists at an advanced level, since women are present at high posts, 21% of the composition of parliament, 60% of the Supreme Court judges, 50% of the ombudsman's office, 33% of the Central Election Commission and the Accounts Chamber are women. In fact, during the years of independence, important laws were passed in Kyrgyzstan that proclaimed gender equality, quotas for women's representation in the parliament and city representative bodies were introduced, women held high posts. In this sense, Kyrgyzstan does not look so bad. But if we consider the problem of political participation of women deeper, our country has nothing to boast of.

Gender equality is being promoted in the country so far only through the efforts of civil society and with the help of international organizations. The state develops programs and strategies without backing it up with resources. This applies, of course, not only to gender strategies and programs, but gender policy looks particularly lonely, given that the implementation of the national strategy for achieving gender equality until 2020, adopted by the state itself, almost does not allocate resources from the state budget.

The usual way to implement gender projects and programs is to appeal to international donors and organizations, including for financing foreign trips of our officials to hear the country's reports on implementation of international commitments in the field of gender equality. It is puzzling why at the same time officials from time to time complain that the priorities of gender policy are formed under the significant influence of international donors and development agencies.

The commitments on gender equality in general are carried out by government bodies from under the stick, like annoying obligations that must be fulfilled somehow, so that donors do not stop giving money for much more. In terms of international cooperation, the political principle of ownership (ownership) in relation to national strategies and programs in the field of gender equality has not developed in Kyrgyzstan. Of course, international assistance is needed and it must be used effectively, but as long as the state does not take seriously its own problems in ensuring gender equality and does not start allocating resources from the budget, one cannot write any programs or strategies.

And the country has many problems in the field of gender inequality. These include discrimination in the workplace, pandemic violence in the family and society, lack of economic opportunities for women, inequalities in access to resources, etc. And even the notorious success of Kyrgyzstan in the breakthrough of women into high positions is a very relative success, since the presence of a "nite" number of women in parliament or in the government does not reflect the real situation with gender inequality, including in terms of women's political participation.

WOMEN IN POWER

Except for a few people, the majority of women deputies of the Jogorku Kenesh of the current convocation did not stand out either in the legislative initiative or in supporting laws that would improve the status of women.

Sometimes there were cases of initiation on the part of women of far from progressive laws, which, substituting concepts, instead of protecting and promoting women's rights, effectively deprived women of legal personality. Having such an important rostrum as the parliament, many women deputies engaged in anything, but not by improving the status of women. There was no special solidarity with ordinary average women, except for certain populist moments.

Now, against the background of the approaching elections to the national parliament, politicians, including women, have become more active. Some began to appear on television more often, others started grandiose events, someone is preparing the ground for one's own participation in elections as part of the political parties. This became a regularity in our country, when only before the elections the politicians begin to fuss and do something, but this is done primarily for themselves, for building political points, for "processing" their potential electorate.

The question of whether it is possible to ensure that the bigger number of women in power is accompanied by an improvement in the status of women and achieving gender balance is not at all idle. The question arises whether the struggle of the women's movement for improving the position of the women's half of society in politics makes sense if this does not in any way affect the improvement of the position of most women.

Gender activists and gender experts often draw attention to the fact that the representation of women in the highest echelons of power in Kyrgyzstan does not reach 30%, as required by the quota. Referring to the findings of serious research, they argue that societies in which women in power make up at least one third are more stable, and the state - socially-oriented. And in fact, these example countries do exist, take the same Scandinavian countries.

In fact, in Kyrgyzstan women do not get their quota in the parliament, and at the local level, despite the world tendencies to increased representation of women in local government bodies, women's numbers are even less. In local councils, according to the results of the 2012 elections, women made up less than 16%. These facts on the representation of women in power structures require further efforts of all adherents of gender equality. Women politicians appeal to the same facts trying to win over the female electorate.

But the problem of women's participation in politics and the impact of their participation on the advancement of women, equalizing gender differences and promoting gender equality is much more complex.

STEREOTYPES AND CHALLENGES OF GENDER BALANCE IN POWER

The problem of women's participation in decision-making lies not in the fact that the more women politicians, the better. This stereotype is too simplistic, as are the stereotypes that the policy that is being made by women is always constructive, that women have a special spirituality and peacefulness, that they are socially oriented and less inclined to corruption.

As among women, and among men in politics, there are laymen and amateurs, careerists and corrupt officials. The problem is the lack of adequate conditions for women to enter politics, in other words, the inequality of opportunities in politics.

Although quite acceptable number of women deputies work in the current parliament, it is difficult to say that all of them do good and high-quality work, not to mention that they have little influence on reducing gender inequality in the country. Deficiencies of our existing political system create the possibility of getting into power not based on the principles of fair political competition - not on the basis of merits to society, professional, leadership, intellectual and personal qualities. Unfortunately, the absence of a meritocratic approach in nominating women in power (as well as men) does not strengthen the position of women, but, on the contrary, discredits the ideas of gender balance in big politics.

The electorate has a very limited choice for support of women, dictated by leaders of political parties, who are, as a rule, men. And party leaders often have their own pragmatic calculations regarding the inclusion of women in their party lists. In addition, there are many ways to "get rid" of women after the elections and even after obtaining a deputy mandate.

The very opportunities for women to enter power and into big politics are fraught with many difficulties. First of all, these are mental problems of traditional society. This concerns stereotypes about women's disability in politics or their predisposition to exclusively social policies. These are cultural norms that feed sexism in politics and forgive men for behavior that is not forgiven to women politicians. Because of existing stereotypes, the society prefers to support the participation of men, not women in politics, considering women incapable of holding public office, to think strategically and objectively, to solve state security issues and other serious problems.

The problem of mental stereotypes could be addressed, among other things, through the development of gender knowledge, primarily in the academic environment, followed by popularization for the entire population. But there are also many challenges along this path, as there is not a critical mass of gender researchers in the country, including those who study the participation of women in the political process, the role of women politicians, etc. An even more important challenge is the message to ordinary women of the essence of gender equality in a language they understand.

Given that most of the gender experts do their research with the support of international organizations, given the current political situation with the hysteria about Western agents, there is a danger that the already existing achievements in public education on gender issues may be under the onset of growing supporters of conservative traditionalist values.

Another important problem is the problem of growing the managerial and political elite. This, of course, is a common problem, and concerns not only women's cadres, but also men's. A huge factor in this context is the factor of education.

Women in our society are generally more educated than men: in the school and in higher education, female representatives learn better, receive higher marks, including in mathematics, physics, chemistry, drawing and other subjects traditionally considered "male directions". But, paradoxically, all this potential is not realized in the future or is only partially realized. This happens for many reasons, including because of stereotypes, cultural norms that limit the career development of most women.

Important channels for creating managerial personnel in this situation could be non-formal education channels. In the past, there have been attempts to organize various schools of women's leadership. But these efforts were fragmentary and not systematic, as their sustainability was largely dependent on financial support from donors. Another problematic side was the low effectiveness of such informal schools in the absence of synchronous support from the state, which did not create the mechanisms allowing the efforts of civil society to be combined with state programs to train female cadres. In addition, there is always a danger that any good idea in our society can be a victim of corruption.

A meritocratic approach by which women would come to power and become ministers and deputies could serve as a good example for many women, showing that nothing is impossible for women's participation in politics. However, the images of most current women politicians in all branches of power are not so positive, as there are perceptions of the processes of obtaining power positions as biased, corrupt, based on the availability of financial and other resources, on kin-related, regional, social-network and clan connections.

Another important problem related to the entry of women into politics is the lack of effective organizational models in politics that allow women to be formed as active agents of political activity. For example, there are very limited channels for recruiting

female cadres through the institution of political parties. Existing political parties in Kyrgyzstan are quasi-parties, since they do not have clear program and value orientations and a clear social base. Probably, it will not be a mistake to say that more than 95% of existing (including on paper) political parties are headed by men, and the men's monopoly on top positions and positions in parties is almost unshakable.

The experience of creating women's parties in the past was not successful. And in "male" parties, women are involved in formal compliance with legislation, creating the image of a modern political party, for reasons of the need to mobilize financial and other resources to support the election campaign, to provide organizational work that women are doing well. In other words, women are used as a resource, but their political subjectness remains in the last place for party leaders.

Non-profit organizations, including women's NGOs, for some past and present MPs and officials have become a school of leadership. But if we take as a whole, the women's movement in Kyrgyzstan, with all its successes in promoting gender equality, is fragmented and is moving very slowly to consolidation. The ability to grow new women leaders from within the women's movement raises doubts. The women's movement in Kyrgyzstan, represented by NGOs and women's networks, unfortunately, "grows old" and is increasingly marginalized.

On the one hand, this is the problem of the women's movement itself, which failed to provide a large influx of youth supporting the ideas of gender equality. The drop in the level of education of young people, the general degradation of human potential, play a big role in this as well. It is also important to note that the role of religion in the socialization of the younger generation is growing. Thus, women's organizations and groups acting under the auspices of religious and so-called traditional values become more visible.

On the other hand, the weakness of the women's movement is to some extent connected with the state's policy, which does not support women's organizations, even those that perform functions of protecting women's rights and providing social support to women and children. And in the past two years, the negative image of NGOs in the public opinion has been intensively formed as part of the ideas of the West, which, of course, negatively affects women's organizations.

Another problem that prevents the formation of women leaders by a "natural" meritocratic way is gender inequality in the economic sphere, in particular, access to material resources. It is no secret that in Scandinavian countries that are among the most advanced countries in the field of gender equality, success in raising the level of political representation of women has become possible due to the dynamic development of the market economy combined with state regulation of the social sphere by the state.

The experience of the Scandinavian countries shows that the economic development of the country and the resulting significant improvement in the socioeconomic status of women, the emergence of conditions for the economic emancipation of women, facilitated the entry of women into politics and public space. In Kyrgyzstan, the issues of improving economic opportunities for women were mainly targeted at vulnerable groups and for a long time were taken over by international organizations that implemented various microcredit projects, distributed seeds and taught women various types of income-generating activities.

The impact and effectiveness of such projects is arguable. But in this case, it is important to pay attention to the fact that working with vulnerable women is necessary, but it does not create conditions for women's economic emancipation. In order to strengthen the political participation of women and women's entry into the policy and decision-making space, along with the development of mechanisms for women's participation in institutional political and non-political structures (parties, trade unions, municipalities, employers' federations), it is necessary to simultaneously increase the participation of women in the market of quality employment and develop the middle class. It is economic freedom and the economic emancipation of women in critical masses that will enable them to advance in politics at the national and local levels.

All of the above problems are challenges for new women leaders to come to power. If you analyze the current situation, you can see that on the eve of the upcoming parliamentary elections only those women who are already present in the big politics or who previously held high positions in the state became more active. Therefore, with a high probability we can predict that in the elections of 2015 we will not see a large number of new women's names.

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

Summarizing, it can be said that the problems of women's political participation and the increase in the representation of women in higher bodies of government include various aspects: the improvement of legislation, monitoring the implementation of the norms of constitutional laws on gender equality at the level of decision-making primarily by the parliament and the Prosecutor General's Office - this is one of the important directions for changing the situation. This is all the more important because in 2014 changes in the legislation on local self-government and the status of deputies of local councils have been made, specifically it states that it will be illegal to combine the mandate of a local council deputy with a leading position in municipal and state bodies. These changes will negatively affect the representation of active and talented women in decision-making at the local level. Supporting the principles of gender equality at the rhetorical level, the state immediately creates various obstacles for increasing the political participation of women.

Another, not less important aspect, is the training of management personnel, and monitoring the implementation of laws on gender equality in the area of personnel policy. Until real working mechanisms are created for the meritocratic advancement of women in politics, it is difficult to expect serious changes. The background factors, of course, are the improvement of the quality of education in general, including the training of management personnel, at least in the existing institutions for training state and municipal employees.

The implementation of laws in Kyrgyzstan always remains a key problem hampering the development of the country. But in the matter of ensuring a gender balance in the sphere of decision-making, it is even more difficult to resolve the issues of mental attitudes in society, to change the stereotypes of cultural norms that serve as barriers to the full participation of women's half of society in politics.

Taking into account the tendencies of strengthening conservative traditionalist views, it is important to understand that there is a struggle between ways and methods of socializing citizens, especially young people. The outcome of this struggle largely depends on whether Kyrgyzstan will follow the democratic path, declared in laws, one of the principles of which is gender equality, or the supporters of traditionalist values will take up.

Questions for discussion:

- What most important problems in the sphere of gender equality in legislation and in practice could you single out? Why do you think so?
- How can the growth of religiosity in the Kyrgyz Republic affect the status of women and gender equality? Argue it.

TEST of measuring the effectiveness of the session (in the appendix)

THEME OF THE SESSION: Session # 7. Leadership of women in the community and the state

Dictionary entry. <http://www.owl.ru/gender/081.htm>

Women's leadership is the participation of women in decision-making at different levels of state and public management.

Achieving gender balance in decision-making requires the efforts of the state, political parties, and civil society. The state determines gender policy through laws or other mandatory directives, for example, the use of quotas (see [Gender Quotas](#)). Political parties and civil society make a significant contribution to gender policy in those areas where state directives are gender neutral. Forms of women's leadership: political, economic, social.

The representation of women in higher and local legislative and executive bodies of state power, including women heads of state, representation of women in the leadership of political parties and international organizations such as the United Nations, etc. can be included in the political form of leadership. The economic form is the representation of women in decision-making positions in national state bodies dealing with economic issues, including heads of enterprises, institutions and organizations, employees of higher management level international and regional financial institutions, trade union leaders, as well as business and professional associations. The public form of leadership is representation of women in decision-making positions in the civil society sphere: local self-government bodies, grass-roots level of economy (private enterprises, households), social movements, NGOs, mass media.

According to the UN Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1953), "women can be elected, on an equal footing with men, without discrimination, to all institutions established by national law requiring public elections" (Article 2) and on the same conditions "women have the right to hold positions in the public service" (Article 3).

[The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women](#), adopted by the United Nations in 1979, obliges all states to seek the representation of women on an equal footing with men in the formulation and implementation of public policy, to provide women with equal opportunities for recruitment and promotion, and for participation in the work of non-governmental organizations and associations.

[The Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women](#) (1995, Beijing) states that equal participation of women and men in decision-making strengthens democracy and promotes its proper functioning.

The idea and practice of popular government, originated in the ancient Athens policy, initially did not assume the participation of women who were considered non-citizens. The development of religion, the great cultural renaissance, revolutions and the bills of rights focused on men. Democratic appeals for "Freedom, equality, brotherhood!" were not addressed to women. Only from the end of the nineteenth century the process of granting the right to vote to women on a par with men began. New Zealand, and then Australia became the first countries to recognize the status of citizens for women, giving them electoral rights at the national level in 1893. But even in industrialized countries, the right of women to participate in elections has been adopted rather recently. Women won the right to vote in Finland and Norway in 1906-1907, in Denmark in 1915, in Germany, in Sweden and Britain in 1918, in the United States in 1920, in France in 1944, in Italy in 1945, in Switzerland in 1971. In most developing countries, women gained the right to vote simultaneously with independence, as they were participants in the struggle for freedom. By 1998, women had this right everywhere except the five countries in the Middle East (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia) and the Republic of Brunei.

But, irrespective of the time of obtaining suffrage for women, the problem of women's leadership and women's and men's partnership in the policies of most countries remains unresolved. Although women make up half of the electorate, they account for only 10% of seats in parliament and 6% in national governments of states. The following information provides an overview of the participation of women in the work of parliaments in a number of countries at the beginning of 2001:

Country	Representation of women in % of the total number of legislators
Kyrgyzstan	1%
Liechtenstein, Turkey	4%
Greece	6%
Albania, Uzbekistan	7%
Hungary, Russia, Ukraine	8%
Kazakhstan	10%
Bulgaria, Italy, France	11%
Israel, USA, Tajikistan	13%
United Kingdom, Estonia	18%
Switzerland	23%
Turkmenistan	26%
Spain	28%
Germany	31%
Iceland	35%
Netherlands, Norway	36%
Denmark, Finland	37%
Sweden	43%

With regard to ministerial positions, according to mid-1994 figures, women as a whole accounted for 6% of the total number of offices: 5% in developing and 8% in industrialized countries. Finland (39%) takes the first place, Norway (35%) the second, Sweden (34%), the Netherlands and the Seychelles (31% each). However, in early 1995, the palm tree went to Sweden, where for the first time in the world an office was formed with an absolutely equal ratio of representatives of two genders.

Women are outsiders in the socio-political sphere of most countries, not only because they are more engaged in domestic life and family, or do not have sufficient means to conduct political and election campaigns (the levers of power and finance are in the hands of men, or because of the social discrimination of women).

The metaphor of the "[glass ceiling](#)" is very popular: an invisible but real barrier that a female leader encounters when trying to reach the heights of success; for men, such a barrier does not exist. To change this situation, many organizations in the US and Western Europe, under the pressure of public opinion, carry out the so-called equal opportunities policy. However, as it turned out, this policy is more likely to be declared than is being implemented in practice, and meets resistance from the male staff.

Among the objective factors hampering the success of women leaders is deprivation of their access to information.

The obstacles to the socialization of the sexes play a major role in the path of women to leadership: most people do not see social injustice in the low political status of women. Despite the fact that for a number of qualities women leaders do not differ from their male colleagues, the idea of their unfitness for a leadership role is sustainable. It manifests itself in the condemnation by relatives and friends, in the preference of male subordinates in the role of boss and in the skepticism of male administrators in relation to women leaders.

The socialization of women in various countries of the world has been and is taking place in such a way that they have no special ambitions about their career and political aspirations. To involve women in political processes, it is necessary to clarify the concept of *politics as a negotiation process between different interests to ensure access to resources and opportunities*. Politics is carried out at all levels and in all institutions, including the family, local councils, in the workplace, in parliaments.

For women, NGOs became the *schools of leadership*. Membership in NGOs does not have such opposition from opponents, as NGOs are not engaged in political activities. Women are more likely than men to have aspirations not only for leadership, but also a desire to reach agreement on opposing points of view. Perhaps these differences in the motivations of men and women to leadership have distributed their spheres of concentration in public and political life. As for non-governmental organizations, they can become a base for the formation of independent leaders among women who did not want to burden themselves with membership in political parties.

Meanwhile, the dominance of men in decision-making leads to the fact that the interests of women are not taken into account. This weakens their already unequal positions and does not lead to overcoming existing [gender roles](#). Therefore, the advancement of women at all levels of decision-making is a strategic necessity. The implementation of the principle of women's participation in this sphere requires efforts from both women and the state.

Questions for discussion:

- Do you think there is a glass ceiling in the life of women leaders in the Kyrgyz Republic? Have you experienced this phenomenon personally?
- How do you personally feel about the idea of gender quotas in the parliament, in the executive and judicial branches of power? Justify your position.

Article. WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP: FROM IDEA TO THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Author: Anara Niyazova

<http://www.center.kg/article/27>

One of the best business trainers in New York recently, Simon Seneca, said: "What is really lacking in the world is not women leaders, but rather leaders capable of leading like women." Thus, leadership has gender markers and differentiates as feminine and masculine. It is recognized that leadership of women can become one of the models of business management, giving the company its uniqueness.

Until the end of the 20th century, the problem of leadership was studied as not gender differentiated, since the leadership role was considered a priori as a strictly primordially male.

Leadership is understood as a quality, a model of behavior that provides advanced positions. The model, in turn, is a collection of ideas and beliefs. Hence the question: where and by whom are these models born and formed? It is obvious that in our traditional and patriarchal culture, leadership models, including women's, are subject to a strong influence of sociocultural norms and patterns.

A woman leader is automatically seen as a factor in social, political, economic life, introducing a new management model that ensures both survival and prosperity. Therefore, women-leaders are expected to make swift reforms and innovations, they are being subjected to high expectations from the results of their activities. An example is the recent "obstruction" of a deputy of the Jogorku Kenesh arranged for a woman minister on the subject of what serious results the ministry has achieved in the three months that she was in office.

Undoubtedly, leadership, as a management system, should, among other things, stimulate the innovative behavior of employees, which in turn ensures the constant birth and use of new knowledge at all levels.

In the Kyrgyz Republic, the role model of the female leader is being formed, a new understanding of the style of political leadership and political communication is being created. Unfortunately, the innovative behavior of the female leader is in contradiction with the principles of building the majority of institutions / organizations. Therefore, its presence in political structures and institutions is seen as narrow and as incrustation from power structures in conditions of legal requirements for the presence and number of women in institutions of power.

Moreover, the parties today mastered the technology of "squeezing" women out of party lists. So, if at the entrance to the Parliament, in 2016, 26% of women were members of the deputies, now the level of representation is 17%.

The latest local elections this year also show negative trends in women's political leadership. If earlier, in 2013 at the local level there were 12-13% of women in local councils, now there are only 10% of them among deputies of local councils. If earlier in the country there were 70 rural administrations, in which there were no women at all, now the number of such rural administrations is 80.

It is important to emphasize that there are no structural conditions for the cultivation of women leaders in the Kyrgyz Republic. Parties that received carte blanche for the formation and functioning of power in the country, according to the Constitution, do not have structures for mobilizing and educating women leaders. Nevertheless, the evaluation of the last UNDP project showed that among women who had been trained in leadership skills within the framework of the project, more than 20% participated in the election of deputies of local councils.

The formation of women's political leadership in the Kyrgyz Republic is hampered by:

- features of political socialization (society prescribes different roles for women and men, different attitudes to active activities)
- the social structure of society (the uneven distribution of resources that women and men can use in politics)
- specificity of life stages of men and women (women come to politics later, giving reproductive tax).

It should be recognized that for today in the Kyrgyz Republic it is civil activism, NGO sector is the forge of women - political leaders. Although, in accordance with the law and existing management practices, it is the political parties and LSGBs (local self-government bodies) that are the springboard for the entry and promotion of employees to the levels of political decision-making. However, within these institutions there are as yet no normative secured mechanisms that would promote the advancement of gender equality. The state uses a coercive mechanism towards political parties, placing responsibility for gender balance in elected bodies, but systematic work on the development of organizational gender culture in LSGBs, parties, trade unions and other organizations is not carried out.

State control (including both supervision and monitoring) for the implementation of the law in the area of gender balance in the making of political decisions should be implemented by such state bodies of the Kyrgyz Republic as the Jogorku Kenesh, the Government, the State Personnel Service, the General Prosecutor's Office. However, in fact, such control is not carried out in full or on an ongoing basis. The weakness of control over the implementation of laws leads to cases when even the legislature itself does not comply with the norms on special measures to promote gender equality when introducing and approving candidacies for state bodies.

Traditionally, women's political leadership is understood and realized in the form of training women in leadership courses, which are conducted primarily by civil society. However, there is no correlation between the passage of women's leadership training and their real inclusion and promotion in the political sphere. Thus, the mechanisms established by the state itself to expand

equal access to decision-making do not work, due to weak control over them, which in turn reflects the general trend of excluding gender issues from urgent and important problems.

It is important to form and broadcast media images of women leaders to support women's leadership. More than 60 percent of the volume of messages in the media is given to men. Female themes are given the last pages of newspapers, often information on women's themes is not accompanied by photographs. The media often show women in the field of show business or culinary recipes, rather than discussing political, economic and even social problems. In this connection, the authorized body has developed an information strategy that will show women, actively participating in public and political life through audio and video clips, documentary films and newspaper publications.

An important step in the expansion of women's political participation in state bodies at the decision-making level was the adoption in 2008 of a new version of the Law "On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Equal Opportunities for Men and Women". Specific mechanisms have been identified to ensure gender equality at decision-making levels in the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government.

A significant achievement in strengthening the political participation of women was the introduction in 2007 of electoral legislation in the electoral legislation for underrepresented groups of the population by party lists forming the country's parliament. The quota principle establishes that the representation of persons of the same sex should not exceed 70 percent, while the difference in order in the lists of candidates should not exceed three positions. This dramatically influenced the fact that after the masculine composition of the Jogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic elected in 2005 by majority principle, women, ethnic groups and youth passed through the party lists to the parliament.

The existing quota mechanism, both at the national and local levels, needs to be improved, since it does not guarantee that women will retain their mandates after the elections. Promotion of women is closely connected with the presence of a gender-balanced staff reserve. National and departmental personnel reserves in reality do not function and are not actually formal "elevators" for the career of civil servants.

In 2016, women hold 25.4% of political and special positions in power structures.

The national strategy of the Kyrgyz Republic to achieve gender equality until 2020, the state has committed to create an enabling environment for the development of women's political leadership in the Kyrgyz Republic. The following changes are expected: the social order mechanism has been launched and is functioning to support women's political activism at all levels and to increase the capacity of women leaders, including in the state and municipal service.

Changes at the representation level will be based on the adoption of a number of special (affirmative) measures to promote women. The zone of special state attention will be women leaders from rural regions, as well as young women, women - representatives of the disabled and ethnic minorities. Ultimately, the measures taken will have an impact on the genderization of practices of government agencies in supporting women's political leadership.

In the field of public communications, a favorable environment for the development of women's political leadership will be formed through the promotion of gender sensitive information policies in traditional and new media, and a dialogue will be formed between the state and civil society institutions, including political parties on supporting and promoting women's political leadership. Today it is clear that leadership is always personal, because the leader has knowledge of the transformation. Leadership determines the presence of followers. This means that there is an extreme deficit of women leaders in the Kyrgyz Republic!

Thus, at present, women's leadership from the idea to the management system requires the development of tools from the management philosophy to the systems of encouraging women to leadership.

Issues for discussion:

- What are the main ideas in the article?
- According to the author of the article, who and what does the presence of women - political leaders depend on? Do you agree with the author's logic and position?
- Are there any arguments in the article that were previously unknown to you? Does getting such information influence your position in relation to women's political leadership?

TEST of measuring the effectiveness of the session (in the appendix)

Session 9. Conflict resolution and mediation methods

Conflicts are part of life. There are many proverbs that reflect the experience of mankind in conflicts: the Russian proverb “The Enemy of My Enemy is My Friend”, Kyrgyz proverbs “Conflict Pushes Out the Happened Happiness” (“Kerish Kelgen Bacty Ketirer”), “Rather Than Desiring Death to the Enemy, Better Desire Life for yourself” (“Dusmanga ɵlym tylegentche ozuno omur tile”), “Enmity does not bring to good” (“Dusmandashkan kishi onboyt”), “There is no stopping in the fight” (Urushta turush jok), the Chinese proverb: “ If you did not fight each other, then, you do not know each other,” as well as an old English poem:

The world multiplies the number of the rich,
From the rich comes greed,
Greed causes anger,
Anger leads to war,
The war leads to poverty,
Poverty is cherished by humanism,
Humanism leads to peace,
The world multiplies ... (and so on)

Until the end of the Second World War, the conflict was usually understood as an armed confrontation between strong sides with pronounced territorial claims.

Today, the conflict is understood more broadly as the relationship between two or more parties (people or groups) who have or think that they have incompatible goals. Disagreements and conflicts are usually settled without violence and often lead to an improvement in the situation of all parties involved.

Conflicts arise from the lack of balance in socioeconomic relations, the distribution of power, for example, because of unequal social status, economic status, access to resources or the distribution of power that lead to issues such as discrimination, unemployment, poverty and crime. These problems are almost always interrelated and lead either to constructive changes or to destructive violence.

We can live *in conflict*, that is, allow the contradiction that has arisen to influence our behavior and become destructive. Or we can live *with conflict*, which implies the recognition of the contradiction and the search for its constructive solution. If this decision is positive, then it leads to a qualitatively new stage in its development.

Analysis of conflict

The analysis of the conflict is the cornerstone on which any work in the conflict region is built.

Before you as a private person or as a representative of an organization do something, whether it is direct work with the conflict or other activities, you definitely need to understand the situation and understand what is happening.

And this is called "analysis".

It is impossible to avoid differences in points of view. When people together study a particular problem, they often think that the same facts will be treated equally. This is not true. Differences are due to a number of parameters: status, access to power, wealth, age, roles attributed to a particular gender, membership of a particular social group, etc. These differences often mean that people see differently the same situation: when their goals diverge or are incompatible, a conflict arises.

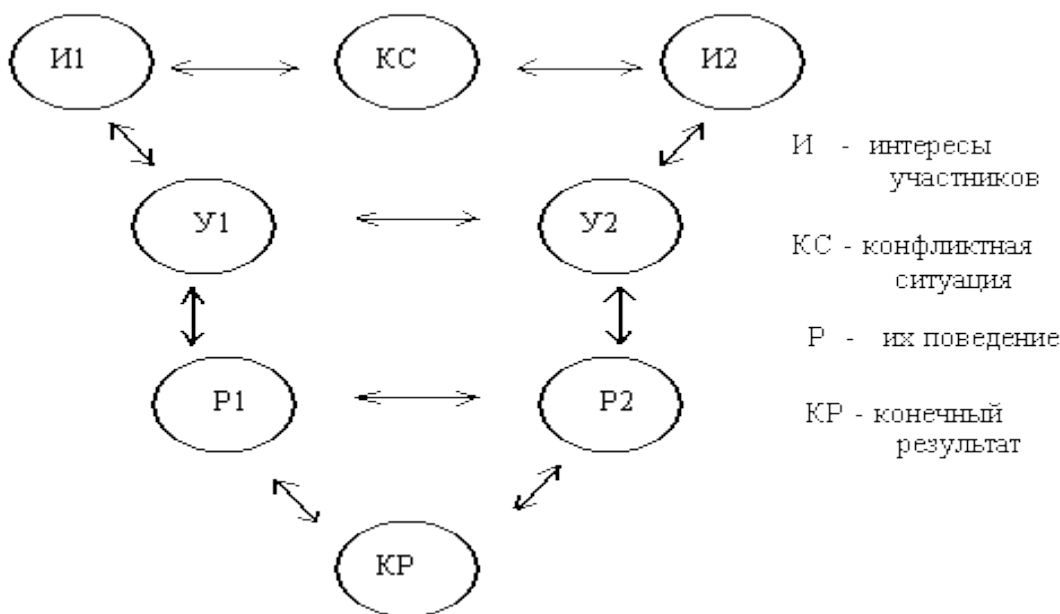
Perception of events is predetermined by our past experience. Differences in views are inevitable, they are mutually enriching people. When people together study a problem, they often think that if everyone knows the same facts, everyone will agree with their common interpretation. However, it is not. It is even

more difficult to reach a consensus if we recall that in addition to natural differences, there are others that are determined by such parameters as status, power, wealth, age, roles attributed to a particular gender, membership of a particular social group, etc. These social indicators of the situation in society mean that in the same situations people may want different things: sometimes their goals are different or incompatible. Then a conflict arises. Differences in vision and goals are often perceived as a problem that can only be solved when we have common intentions, or when one point of view will prevail over another. On the other hand, they can become a resource for a broader understanding of the problem and improving the existing situation.

It is necessary to distinguish the concept of conflict and violence:

- Conflict is a relationship between two or more parties (people or groups) that have, or think they have incompatible goals.
- Violence involves actions, words, attitudes, the presence of structures or systems that cause physical, psychological, social or environmental harm and / or do not allow people to fully realize themselves.

Scheme “Structure of interaction of participants in the conflict”



И – Interests of participants
 КС – Conflict situation
 P – their behavior
 КР – final result
 У – participants' assumptions

The role behavior of the participants in the conflict is quite certain and determined by the following factors:

- own needs and interests;
- the goals and tasks facing them;
- their social functions and role in the conflict;
- a specific situation;
- personal characteristics;
- plans of rivals compelling to certain actions;
- experience of previous conflicts.

The conflict leads to the desire to seize, to recapture a certain "zone" corresponding to its self-determination, to infringe upon the interests of the other party, or to change the balance of forces and the position of the enemy.

The position is a way of expressing one's interest and the way of behavior in a particular situation. Very often, the conflict is not so much because of incompatible interests, but because of the way of expressing one's interests that is unacceptable for the opposite party.

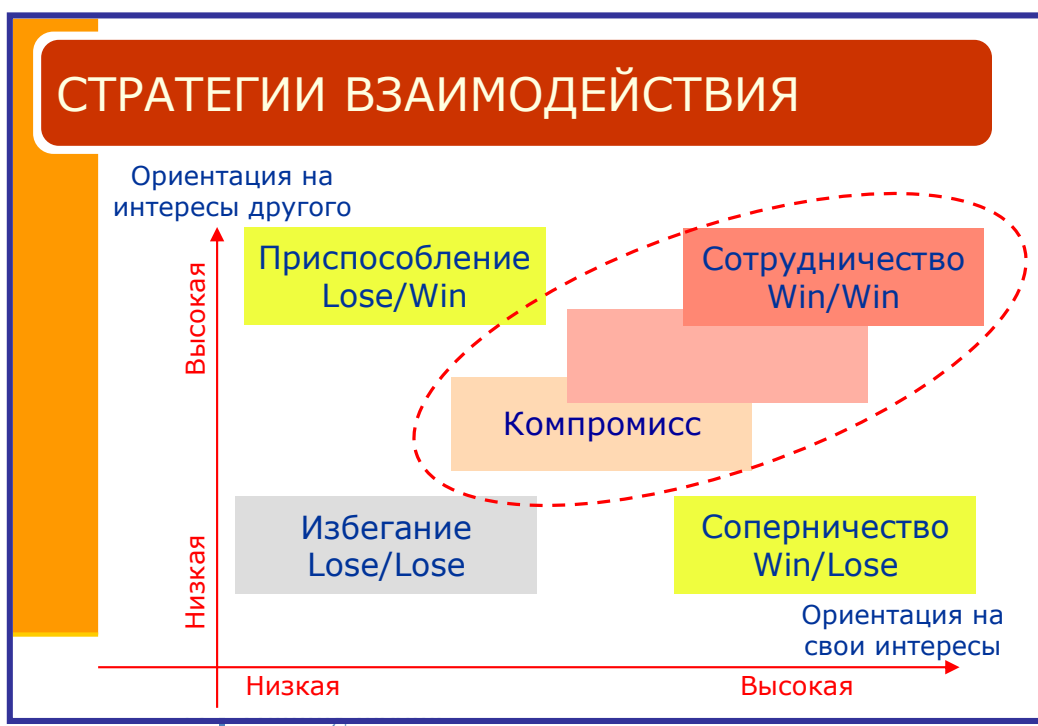
There are situations in which one or more actors mimic activity and aggressiveness in relationships, while actors appear to be part of the irreconcilable side when there is no conflict, or it is already gone. Most often, this condition is due to personal ambitions, emotional or characterological features of the subject, any interests. Such behavior is not harmless, because in itself it is conflictogenic.

When analyzing the needs and interests of the parties to the conflict, it is worth considering the fact that the system of needs and interests of each person is composed of the following set:

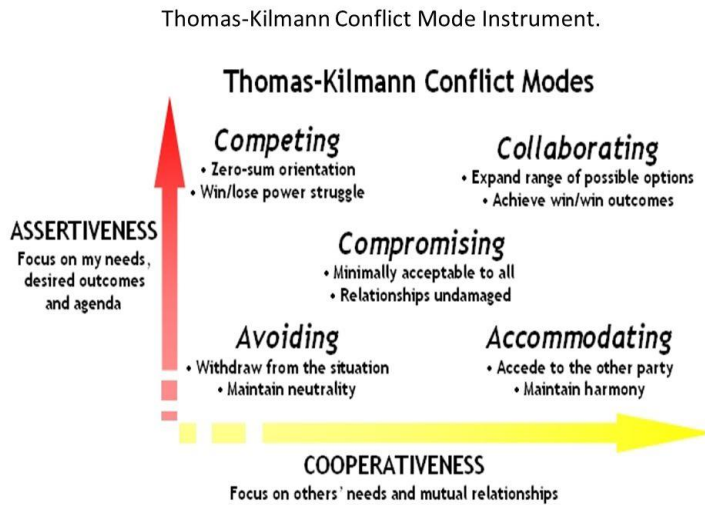
1. The common needs and interests inherent in all people; for their analysis, we can use the above classification of A. Maslow.
2. Special needs and interests inherent in a particular person, as a member of certain social communities - religious, party ethnic, corporate, cultural, demographic and others (for example, a young girl, a Muslim, a resident of the North, a communist, a diabetic patient, etc.).
3. Specific needs and interests specific to a particular person, which reveal its individuality and uniqueness (for example, insulin requirements, interest in Polynesian culture, habitual need for Cuban cigars, etc.).

The difficulty in identifying the needs and interests of the parties to the conflict lies in the fact that they can be both real and justified, and be based on an inadequate understanding of the situation. In this regard, the famous Russian conflictologist A. Zaitsev identifies six groups of interests:

1. Actual interest, actually justified and objectively reflecting the position of the subject in the conflict situation and its possible completion.
2. Value-oriented interest related to understanding how it should be like and disagreements about possible solutions.
3. Interests related to limited resources.
4. Overestimated interests associated with the reassessment of existing forces and inadequate claims against other claims
5. Hypothetical, contrived interest based on a misinterpreted understanding of one's position in a social conflict.
6. Broadcast interest, which is not a real interest of a subject representing someone else's interest. The subject in this case is the object of manipulation.



The strategies of behavior that the researcher of conflicts K. Thomas identified (1951).



TEST of measuring the effectiveness of the session (in annex)

Reasons for an apparent or real contradiction:

- The most common reason - the limitation of any resources (both tangible and intangible).
- The next reason is the difference in purpose.
- Often, contradictions are caused by the interdependence of goals and tasks in a disputed distribution of responsibility and authority.
- Violations of communication.
- Contradictions can be caused by different value orientations

Issues for discussion:

- Would the game change if in each group there were secretly assigned at least two people with a pre-determined and unmatched, contradictory choice? how? Why?
- How do you think the decision-making process takes place in the structures on which our own life depends?
- Would you like to apply the utility criterion to the whole of humanity? Even if it's your close one?

TEST of measuring the effectiveness of the session (in the appendix)