

Czech University of Life Sciences Prague
Faculty of Economics and Management
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Bachelor Thesis

**Workplace Gender Discrimination in Kyrgyzstan: Law,
Understandings and Attitudes**

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CZECH UNIVERSITY OF LIFE SCIENCES PRAGUE

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BACHELOR THESIS ASSIGNMENT

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Business Administration

Thesis title

Workplace Gender Discrimination in Kyrgyzstan: Laws, Understandings and Attitudes

Objectives of thesis

The aim of the thesis is to investigate understandings of and attitudes towards gender discrimination in the workplace in Kyrgyzstan. It will consider ethical, legal and policy debates about the precise meaning of discrimination and its relevance to business ethics, through concrete examples of discrimination, including the gender pay gap, the 'glass ceiling' and workplace sexual harassment. These debates will inform qualitative research into attitudes towards these concepts (and connected questions of gender roles and equality) among people in Kyrgyzstan using interviews. The thesis will also critically consider existing laws concerning discrimination in Kyrgyzstan, comparing them with other legal systems and frameworks.

Methodology

The thesis will develop a literature review covering ethical, legal and policy debates about gender discrimination in the workplace. It will present and analyze the existing laws concerning discrimination in Kyrgyzstan through critical comparative analysis of publicly available documents. It will carry out exploratory, qualitative research into attitudes towards these issues using semi-structured interviews.

The proposed extent of the thesis

40-50 pages

Keywords

Sexism, Discrimination, Workplace, Business Ethics, Kyrgyzstan

Recommended information sources

- ALTMAN, Andrew. (2020). 'Discrimination.' The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2020 Edition). Edward N. Zalta (ed.). URL = <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2020/entries/discrimination/>>.
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- UKUEVA, Nurgul. (2018). Women's Economic Empowerment: Kyrgyz Republic. UN Women Kyrgyzstan Office.

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Declaration

I declare that I have worked on my bachelor thesis titled " **Workplace Gender Discrimination in Kyrgyzstan: Law, Understandings and Attitudes**" by myself and I have used only the sources mentioned at the end of the thesis. As the author of the bachelor thesis, I declare that the thesis does not break any copyrights.

In Prague on date of submission

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Workplace Gender Discrimination in Kyrgyzstan: Law, Understandings and Attitudes

Abstract

This bachelor thesis is focused on a problem of discrimination of genders within a workplace in Kyrgyzstan. Both gender, males and females experience gender discrimination daily. Special focus is given to various forms of gender inequalities which create a massive barrier for both, men, and women. The purpose of this thesis is to identify how women and men perceive the gender discrimination in their workplace. With the help of semi-structured interview which was run among 3 men and 3 women the author managed to understand the phenomena and analyze the different perceptions of gender from both perspectives, males and females. Also, the experience of people who went through the “Gender discrimination” will be analyzed. Moreover, the author wants to highlight that this issue should be solved on a global scale, but not only in some part of the globe.

Keywords: Sexism, Discrimination, Workplace, Business Ethics, Kyrgyzstan.

Genderová diskriminace na pracovišti v Kyrgyzstánu: právo, porozumění a postoje

Abstrakt

Tato bakalářská práce je zaměřena na problém diskriminace pohlaví na pracovišti v Kyrgyzstánu. Jak pohlaví, muži i ženy zažívají genderovou diskriminaci denně. Zvláštní pozornost je věnována různým formám genderových nerovností, které vytvářejí obrovskou bariéru pro muže i ženy. Cílem této práce je zjistit, jak ženy a muži vnímají genderovou diskriminaci na svém pracovišti. Pomocí polostrukturovaného rozhovoru, který byl veden mezi 3 muži a 3 ženami, se autorce podařilo porozumět jevu a analyzovat rozdílné vnímání pohlaví z obou perspektiv, mužů i žen. Rovněž budou analyzovány zkušenosti lidí, kteří prošli „genderovou diskriminací“. Autor chce navíc zdůraznit, že tato problematika by měla být řešena v globálním měřítku, nikoli však pouze v některé části zeměkoule.

Klíčová slova: Sexismus, diskriminace, pracoviště, obchodní etika, Kyrgyzstán.

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1 Introduction

Discrimination on a workplace happens when two people of the same gender are treated differently in such aspects as: training, access to work, reward recognition and payouts of salaries.

The society reached the point where it doesn't observe the gender inequality as an issue as it was in the past. With the development of new laws over the years, women managed to get various rights and support and thus very happy how the world runs nowadays. However, some countries still lag behind or simply ignores the rules and laws, which eventually creates many problems for a certain gender.

In this paper, the author goes deep to analyze the main roots of gender inequality in the workplace. The gap between males and females has been existing for over 100 years, however, in some countries, women surpassed men in educational achievements and many other fields. Certain programs like, business, medicine and law have experienced waves of gender inequalities and thus ,women were not able to build a reliable human capital O'Connor (2019).

Nevertheless, the existence of a gap between man and women is mostly seen in the top-management positions and even today the rate of the gap remains significantly large. On top of it, women are faced with more of a sexual harassment on their workplace and subtle sexism and its prevalence mostly concerns women, rather than men (Blau and Winkler, 2018). Whereas the chapter of The European Institute for Gender Equality's (EIGE) reported that men doesn't feel the problem of discrimination is relevant to them, hence, they do not present this in forums or dialogues.

Men from a history background seemed to have a stereotypical view of how men would be a main breadwinner for a family and women is the one who cooks the haunted fowl. This stereotypes drastically influence the perception of men in the society but fortunately or unfortunately, this still an unresolved question.

2 Objectives and Methodology

2.1 Objectives

The objective of the thesis is to analyze the gender perception about gender discrimination in Kyrgyzstan Republic. The author describes the theoretical part with the relevant research paper which concerned , gender discrimination, sexism, glass – ceiling, stereotypes and how country specific factors might impact the gender discrimination at a workplace. The author also analyzes the Law of Kyrgyzstan and its background in terms of discrimination from a constitutional point of view.

2.2 Methodology

The main methodological tool that is used in the practical part of this thesis was an interview among two genders. Online interview has helped the author to collect the data and make notes. The research was mainly based on qualitative research. The author asked 20 questions in general. The author used an active and passive role of asking questions.

The research approach is fully based on the qualitative research with a deductive approach. The deductive approach will help to explore how both genders perceive the gender discrimination in their workplace, how do they perceive the “Law on gender-discrimination” and mainly their “Attitude” towards gender discrimination.

3 Literature Review

3.1 Sexism towards women in the workplace

In the modern world the “sexism” or gender inequality is still an unpleasant factor. Based on the report of World Economic Forum (2020) it will take the next 257 years till the point when women will have the same chances and opportunities to reach success in the economy to the same extent as men. The social change has been only noticed for the past 100 years, when women started to experience the right of voting and decide over economic participation Geddes& Lueck (2002) can be found until 1970s. The discrimination that women faced within a workplace was called „Glass ceiling“ which was given by Hyomowitz and Timothy Schellhardt. It firstly came out in the Wall Street Magazine, where title emphasizes current position on the market.

With the time, women gained more rights, more suffrage, and participations in certain professions. The growing participating of women in different educational fields have helped women to develop in different sectors, for example in 1960s, have registered an increasing number of typists and secretaries. With the development of hormonal contraception’s and technological development, it enabled women to be more effective with the housework and some means led to a higher share of women at workplaces Blau and Winkler (2018). Twenge, J. M., (2001) claimed that women have achieved such results due to achievements in education which led to a professional career growth.

Today, women are irreplaceable labor group on the market. The working group of women has increased drastically, from 17.9 million in 1949 up to 78.4 million in 2017, which points on the fact that, the global share of workforce occupied by women is 46.8 percent and it is yet predicted to expand to 77.5 million labor force by 2024 Toossi & Morisi (2017). However, according to his report, women are still under evaluated for managerial positions. However, Eurostat (2020) has ascertained the data, which demonstrate that every third position among European Union (EU) is occupied by women. Additionally, another data shows the percentage of women who run the managerial positions in Australia, in 2018, which is equal to the data of EU’s share of 37 percent in 2019 (Eurostat, 2020).

3.1.1 Subtle Sexism towards both genders

A small aggression whether intentional or unintentional that include insult, indifference or demean or any other type of behavior which expresses hostility towards someone because of its gender, usually called as “Microaggression”. It is a common thing which occurs daily Basford (2014). Modern sexism and neo - sexism are considered hidden sights against women, both types of belief that discrimination against women is rare.

Everyday sexism is based on minor incidents which happen around any gender with the microaggression activities. Additionally, the gender role expectations, stereotypical comments expression add more fire to such activities (Vescio, Gervais, Snyder & Hoover, 2005).

Event ought, both men and women can detect the level of sexism to some extent, women are able to detect it quicker, especially on a subtle level. In the study of Glick (2000) illustrates research which was performed on 150 000 men and women from 19 different states. Based on his research, women were better to detect the sexism than men. This research brought a significant conclusion and explained why women constantly claim about sexism and men don't take it seriously.

3.1.2 Stereotypes and characteristics of gender

When women have massively entered the labor force, it is apparent that male dominance have decreased. However, the typical traits of gender stereotypes are still persistent (Knight & Brinton, 2017).

Blau and Winkler (2018) assumed that women who chase the career growth eventually struggle with the obstacles and emotional burden, as they lack a masculinity energy. Unfortunately, gender stereotype's direct opinion of people which are limited, even though if a female manager acts independently and demonstrated behavior which could be described as a typical male behavior, this types of women would probably be criticized for acting inappropriately and appear to behave very untypical, only because of the stereotypes which set the limits for a certain gender behavior (Klettner, Clarke and Boersma, 2016). Et., el. Clarke (2016) discovered that some occupations are run successfully if it is based on occupational stereotypes. Many literature reviews demonstrate that man is more goal-oriented and problem-oriented, ambitions, dominant and responsible, autonomous which is demonstrated by full independence, self-reliance, and fast decision – making processes, objectivity, logic and analytical thinking. Conversely, women are more caring (kind and

thoughtful) collegial and merciful, have empathy and intuition Heilman (2012). Generally, each gender owns its attributes, and those attributes help both genders to be assigned to the right occupation. Nevertheless, women who managed to be competent and acting dominant and decisive, are usually perceived as unemotional, egoistic and harsh. On the contrary, female attributes are considered to be unfavorable for top managerial positions. Still women are not allowed to behave like men, however, with the time, women adopted the agency skill to a high extent, and combination of female attributes with that skill seem to be very effective.

Blau and Winkler (2018) claimed that women are less likely to reach top management level, women should work much harder to be promoted to such levels and then take a leadership position.

Studies of Croson & Gneezy (2009) demonstrate that women have a tendency to tolerate less risk than men. Emotions take over the women, and this is the only explanation for that matter. While men make their decisions based on anger, which leads them to be riskier, women act in the opposite direction and seem more to be anxious and pessimistic. Both parties feel too confident, however, men tend to be optimistic and overconfident in situations which are uncertain and unpredictable, and females are more skeptic and intuitive to such cases. Another conclusion made by Croson and Gneezy (2009) is that, females are more opened to share the rewards with the rest of the team or colleagues, whereas men, are more interested in their own maximization of a share.

3.1.3 Country – specific factors

In this chapter, the author is focused on describing the country factors that influence women's career and their growth in management occupations. The factors are the following: cultural, governmental, and economic structures Sepashvili (2019). The reason to explain this particular issue, is that Kyrgyzstan is an Islamic country, certainly it is important to consider the country's specifications to fully understand its perception about gender discrimination in Kyrgyzstan.

3.1.3.1.1 Cultural factor

The way people perceive different genders at work, home, sports etc. is based on a traditional background of a country and hence differ among countries. The combination of gender stereotypes as well as the cultural perception of genders might influence women and their managerial positions. The cultural aspect also might involve ideas of social norms, customary and religious beliefs. The participation of women on higher position might yet be influenced by cultural context and its past attitude of generation on working group of women.

Toossi & Morisi (2017) have studied the impact of cultural perception on women's role as managers. They also identified how attitudes change the traditional gender role perception by the cultural traditions such as: power distance, masculinity, and avoidance of uncertainty.

Power distance as it is explained by Hofstede, G. (2001) facilitate to inequality among people, because someone might have more power over the others. And thus, the power distance which is set by a certain state, is accepted by all citizens and they behave accordingly. Consequently, the states with a high-power distance orientation, might eventually interfere women's career growth in managing positions. However, people in states with a low distance power, have tendency to reach to against to unfairness, injustice and demand an equal treatment of the nation. Uncertainty avoidance is another cross – cultural phenomena which describes how uncertainties and injustice are tolerated by different cultures and societies. An example is a gender role, which is defined by certain conditions, the women stay at home and takes care of a family, and man is a wageworker of the family. An on the other hand, countries with a low uncertainty avoidance have registered that gender roles might be more fluid, which results in a higher occurrence of women being in management positions Caligiuri & Tung (1999).

Masculinity is another effective essence that has a fostering impact on traditional role of gender and attitudes like the above stated mentioned dimensions. However, after the analysis of Connell (1987), masculinity reflects both gender, and women as well gain the masculine characteristics and its traits.

3.1.3.1.2 Education

Education is an important factor for the economy state and hence it has changed the attitude and how people perceive it. Bergh (2006) argues that the demand for education from females have dramatically increased, and an increase in tertiary education of women resulted in female independence, higher participation in workforce. It also contributed to the beliefs of people's liberalization and accepting and treating gender equally. If the state has a well-developed educational system, which is implemented in the modern and doesn't follow traditional patterns, might eventually contribute to the biggest acceptance scope and promotion of female managers.

3.1.3.1.3 Religion

Religion is the most sensitive yet important factor that influence people believes and their judgments of what is "right and wrong". States with a higher support of religion might neglect the career development for women in managerial positions. Hence the gender inequality might arise due to common religion Parboteeah and Hoegl & Cullen (2008).

3.1.3.1.4 Economy

Parboteeah and Hoegl & Cullen (2008) a country's economy is highly dependent on a labor supply and as a result increases a women's entry into the workplace. In high – income economies (GDP per capita), the participation of women is higher than in lower – income economies. However, the participation rate in underdeveloped economies is equal to the rate of developed economies. Due to technological development, the developing and developed countries raised the demand for the high-skilled workers, thus women started careers in high-skilled occupations which positively affected their wages and equalized the adjusted gender pay gap. Concluding the facts which overlaps, such as employment opportunities should be equal for women and a high share of women will most likely participate in such employments, especially if women are equipped with a high level of education, it reduces the income differences between man and women and eventually leads to an increased supply of qualified women for managerial positions.

3.1.4 Discrimination

Sexism is a set of assumptions and prejudices around women and men, and that manifests into gender stereotypes, which has showed to be harmful in many ways and on different levels, because it basically ranks one group of people superior to another. It is a system of discrimination based on patriarchy that creates a framework that limits both women and men. Even though this system causes inconveniences, to say the least, to both sexes, women have been subjected to systematic oppression throughout the history and, in some societies, to this day. Discrimination based on gender in a work environment, in other words occupational sexism, had been around since the time women got the rights to do so. In the 1948 at the Seneca Falls Convention, originally known as Women's Rights Convention, feminists declared that "He [man] has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments and from those she [woman] is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration" (Lindgren and Taub 1988: 109). As recently as 1950s and 1960s American women entered paid labor force. While women of other minorities had been already working at factories or in service industries for survival purposes, privileged women, i.e., white, middle class, heterosexual women got interested in paid labor as a source of satisfaction and fulfillment, under the influence of books such as *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan (1974) and *The Second Sex* by Simone de Beauvoir (1974) and other (Rosemarie Tong). Women started massively working after the World War 2, especially those who were aged of 24 – 54. In 1960's, the labor market has experienced a massive flow of childbearing age women and hence it was a decrease in the birth rate, more job opportunities and changing opinions of roles between work and home.

Research on gender bias in the workplace has repeatedly demonstrated that in situations where performance levels are ambiguous or subject to distortion, women are not considered as competent as men to perform male gendered work. And the reason for this is gender stereotypes. A stereotype is a particular type of implicit theory consisting of the characteristics that raters attribute to a category of persons Dipboye (1985)

Discrimination in employment decisions may result from a perceptual bias and long-standing heuristics to make decision making simpler, rather than evaluate based on all available information. Gender roles are socially constructed norms that generate male-

female distinctions in the division of labor (Cindy Wu, John J. Lawler and Xiang , 2008). In Hofstede's original study (1980) he showed that the masculinity scale was negatively and significantly related to gender segregation in the workplace across the countries he studied.

3.1.5 Glass Ceiling

Glass ceiling is a term created by Marilyn Loden. It is a metaphor, used to describe somewhat invisible obstacles that women are put up against to on their career path. It has been over 40 years since the term was coined and yet the problem stays as relevant, and it continuous to symbolize an ongoing problem to gender equality. Morrison and von Glinow, (1990) describe 'glass ceiling' as "a barrier so subtle that it is transparent, yet so strong that it prevents women and minorities from moving up in management hierarchy." Occupational gender segregation is one of the most frequently discussed issues of economic inequality between men and women. A high level of segregation is a significant factor in disproportions in the level of wages and career opportunities Eckersly (1992). Thus, the analysis of the gender aspects of occupational segregation is important both from the point of view of social justice and from the point of view of increasing the efficiency of the use of labor resources.

Women who managed to break through the "glass ceiling", further are faced with another unfavorable circumstance which is called "glass cliff", that is usually presented when a company performs poorly, and the management promotes women into the higher positions Ryan and Haslam (2007). The authors also highlight the fact that women act more perceptive in critical situations and hence handle top management tasks successfully. However, if not handled successfully, people judge the leader's ability at lower ratings and that's when women face with the term "glass cliff". Even though, they are not the ones who started managing the company from the beginning, the resulting burnout falls on them. The turnover of women on higher positions are faster than men, when the same job position is considered. It is due to the fact that women terminate their career on higher positions to leave the responsibility on someone else, Glass& Cook (2017).

3.1.6 Gender Pay Gap

The gender pay gap is defined as a level of unequal treatment because of gender differences and hence resulted in unequal payouts of wages (International Labour Organization, 2018). Another definition of the term "gender pay gap" is defined by The

Cambridge Dictionary, it is a difference between the amounts of money paid to both genders, however, it is paid for the same type of work. There are other forms of definitions such as: gender earning gap, gender wage gap, male and female income differences, which are used in the modern world. Eckersly (1992, p.16) claimed that the main perception of unequal remunerations between man and women because the money which are earned by men supposed to feed the family, and women in this case, should take care of chores. He also claimed that the money earned by women are perceived insignificant for basic needs and still would cover the whole expenses of the family. However, this is a historical fact which is still present even nowadays. The gender pay gap is measured in percentage, based on the comparison of women's wages and men's earnings (Brynin, 2017). There are two ways of measuring the gender pay gap:

- Unadjusted – measures all types of earnings which are distinguished by gender, and it also considers all types of earnings (part – time, full – time, professions)
- Adjusted – measures the pay gap between groups, based on the same job qualifications, age, hours, years of employment and other aspects. The adjusted indicator is rather used to measure the extent of discrimination between genders (Nicodeme, 2009).

J. Ralph Lindgren & Nadine Taub (2010) put forward two definitions of why there is a wage gap between women and men. First, as they explain, is that men have been able to get education and work for much longer, and therefore have more experience, which means they [men] are able to influence productivity to a greater extent than women. Thus, it will be fair to have this difference in favor of male workers (Tong, 2005). In addition to that Schouten (2017) displays that woman with a full-time job, on average, work shorter hours than men. And on this basis, it is no surprise that women are not paid equally for less work. She wonders: “How can unequally labor market outcomes between women and men be unjust if they result not from discriminatory practices but from women's own choices to prioritize caregiving and to de-prioritize paid labor?”. She later suggests that the cause of labor market inequality rather comes from labor division at home. The explanation for this is that most household chores and caregiving is mostly women's concern and overall domestic labor division is highly unequal. And this phenomenon occurs in rural as well as urban areas.

Lacey (2005) states that “Equality of opportunity”^[1] represents only one among many of the more programmatic conceptions of equality described and defended in modern political theory.” In the same article she explains that we should “recognize equality of opportunity as a crucial piece of political rhetoric which also provides guiding and limiting principles.” (Hugh, 2003) points out that the problem for justifying the aims of anti-discrimination laws “arises because there is always a tension between the equal treatment principle and substantive conceptions of equality. Because equal treatment determines a procedure rather than an outcome, equal treatment can always be challenged as obstructing the achievement of a particular outcome.” Anti-discrimination does not necessarily mean equal treatment. As a Harvard student (Gina Schouten) writes: “Against a background of gender injustice, gender-differentiated policy may be needed to secure equal access to social, economic, and political goods. If the structure itself is built in discriminatory ways, then we cannot secure justice by equalizing the competition within it.” She takes as an example equipment used by firefighters and explains that the facilities can be used safely by those physical requirements for that, which excludes some men and most women. Therefore, hiring someone based solely on qualifications, in the ability to operate the machinery in question, “will not ensure equal access to the position regardless of gender.”

Insofar as gender inequality in the workplace is attributable to women’s disproportionately large burden of unpaid caregiving work, it seems difficult to understand as a problem of discrimination. The gendered division of labor is sustained by the choices individuals make about how to allocate paid and unpaid work within cooperative domestic relationships. And in many of these cases, women choose to prioritize caregiving and subordinate paid work because specializing in caregiving reflects their genuine preferences. Of course, choices and preferences might themselves be responsive to discrimination. But in a range of important cases, it is more difficult than we might think to diagnose unjust inequality as a problem of discrimination – Schouten (2012) adds that the reason is also the attitude of employers towards employees, which is influenced by gender stereotypes.

^[1] Equality of opportunity – is an idea that people should have an option to compete on equal terms or “fair play”, for advantaged offices and positions.

3.1.7 Sexual Harassment at Work

Sexual harassment can be defined as a physical act of which is based on sexual nature and intended to affect either men's or women dignity within a workplace. Sexual harassment impacts on physical stress and mental health. Sexual harassment leads to major negative effects which concern work performance and the following obstacles that might arise at work such as: lack of responsibility, resignation, illness, absences at work. Collins & Blodgett (2010) made research on a group of people, who at least once, experienced the sexual harassment, he concluded that people felt shame and embarrassed, after some period, some participants felt social anxiety and lowered self-esteem. Sexual harassment on the workplace causes victims in the long run and short run. Some participants felt diminished after incidents and had a post – traumatic stress.

Sexual harassment was coined in Farle (1978). She “breaks the silence and opens the door to solving” the problem New York Times (1980). Sexual harassment is an “unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of relationship of unequal power” MaCkinnon (1979). Strasser and Tsimilli-Michael and Srivastava (2004) defines sexual harassment as “a form of sex discrimination projected through unwelcome sexual advances, request for sexual favors and other verbal or physical conduct with sexual overtones, whether directly or by implication, particularly when submission to or rejection of such conduct by the female employee was capable of being used for effecting the employment of the female employee and unreasonably interfering with her work performance and had the effect of creating an intimidating or hostile working environment for her”. In addition to physical sexual harassment, it is also illegal based on a USA system of law, to create a hostile workplace by making offensive remarks about a person's gender or engaging in verbal sexual behavior. A hostile work environment can be created by jokes, obscene language, offensive or derogatory remarks about a particular gender. Both men and women can be victims of sexual harassment and be harassed. It is also considered sexual harassment if the victim and the harasser are of the same gender.

Sexual harassment can be classified into three different categories such as: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention which isn't prevented and sexual pressure. (Collins & Blodgett (2010).

According to Connell (1987) theory of hegemonic masculinity, where he suggests that society gives preference to a single normative ideal of male behavior, where basically it is located at the top of the cultural hierarchy of the male community and shared by its predominant part.

In this chapter I consider two forms of sexual harassment – a sexually hostile work environment and quid pro quo harassment. Hostile environment harassment is a sexual harassment that has the effect of unreasonably interfering with a victim's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment that affects the victim's psychological well-being. Quid pro quo harassment occurs when an employee's supervisor, manager, or other authority figure offers or suggests that an employee will be given something, such as a raise or promotion, in exchange for some sort of sexual favor. Coreen Farris, Lisa H. Jaycox, Terry L. Schell, Amy E. Street, Dean G. Kilpatrick and Terri Tanielian (2014) provided estimates of the proportion of the active-component force that experienced one of the two earlier mentioned forms of sexual harassment. The results have showed that hostile work environment harassment is much more common than the quid pro quo harassment. For both types of harassments women experience them more frequent than men: 21.48% of women compare to 6.58% of men undergo the hostile workplace harassment, 1.66% of women in comparison with 0.35% of men encounter the quid pro quo harassment (2015). By showing the stereotypically masculine qualities such as dominance, assertiveness, leadership women are more likely to be the subject of harassment (Berdahl, J. L., 2007). She claims that harassers reinforce masculine dominance by relegating women to the “low status of being a means to a man’s sexual ends” (Berdahl, 2007). Sexual harassment is observed in different work spheres, but evidence most commonly occurs in male-dominated work settings Fitzgerald , Drasgow , Hulin, Gelfand, Magley (1997) argue whether “harassment serves to protect masculine identities or men’s privileged access to jobs” and find that both “identity defense and job defense are involved in harassment”. Studies have showed that sexual harassment and gender discrimination has a negative impact on work productivity and these experiences can lead to dismissal or to taking any type of leave as a result of the harassment, which ultimately affects their work evaluations or promotion in a negative way (Andrew, Morral, Kristie, Gore, Terry, Schell, 2014).

Sexual harassment is a serious offence. Responsibility for sexual harassment is established by Article 131 of the Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz Republic - "Coercion to act of a sexual nature.

3.2 Background of Kyrgyz Republic Law in regards of genders

3.2.1 Anti-discrimination laws in Kyrgyzstan

The Labor Code of the Kyrgyz Republic has a whole chapter with ten articles dedicated to women and other persons with family responsibilities (Labor Code of the Kyrgyz Republic, chapter 24), which has both pros and cons, depending on how you look at it 9 out of 10 articles are one way or another related to childcare. And only one of them is aimed at anti-discrimination based on gender and/or social status, such as pregnancy and/or the child custody (LC KR, article 305). The rest of the articles restrict women from hard physical work, “work with harmful and (or) dangerous working conditions”, from “underground work, except for non-physical work or work on sanitary and domestic services” (LC KR, article 303).

This Law establishes state guarantees for the provision of equal rights and opportunities to persons of different sexes in the political, social, economic, cultural, and other areas of human life; designed to protect men and women from discrimination based on sex; aims to establish progressive democratic relations between men and women.

3.2.1.1 Purpose and objectives of this Law

The purpose of this Law is to achieve parity between women and men in all spheres of society. The objectives of this Law are to create national mechanisms for ensuring for persons of different sexes:

- equality of rights, duties, and responsibilities in political, social, economic, labor and other activities
- equality of opportunity
- Equal partnerships in all spheres of life
- equality in family relation
- equality of results.

Para 5, of the Law N-184 states the “Prohibition of gender discrimination.

3.2.2 Maternity Leave

According to Article 304 of the Labor Code of the Kyrgyz Republic, pregnant women cannot be involved in overtime work, go on a business trip, etc. without a medical certificate stating that it is not contraindicated for them. The same conditions apply for women with children under 3 years old, but a written agreement is also required. Article 306 specifies favorable conditions for female workers in the event of pregnancy: in accordance with medical indications, at the request of workers, production rates are reduced, or even allowed to be transferred to another job while maintaining their official salary; in that case, before the decision to transfer, a woman employee is subject to release from work with the preservation of the official salary for missed working days as a result of this at the expense of the employer. There is also a whole article on nursing breaks, and it states that working women with children under the age of one and a half years are provided, in addition to a break for rest and food, additional breaks for feeding the child (children) at least every 3 hours of work lasting at least 30 minutes each. The duration of the break is longer in the case of a large number of children under the age of one and a half years (LC KR, article 309). From all this, one can conclude that favorable and even profitable working conditions are created for women in Kyrgyzstan, but is it really so? After all, there is a big risk of prejudice when applying for a job for female representatives. Policies are put in place to protect employers, but often this is not in favor of the legal entity. “Employers are often in a position to know little about prospective employees as individuals; thus, aggregate information can be highly salient in their deliberations” (Schouten, 2017). So, whether it is conscious or unconscious the likelihood of employers to hire or promote women is inferior to men. “Motherhood penalty” Correll and Benard and Paik (2007) “suggests that a larger factor is the difference between women and men in cumulative time spent out of work, or de-prioritizing work, to care for children—a difference that grows over the life course” (Schouten, G., 2012).

3.2.3 Women’s access to health care services

The Law of the Kyrgyz Republic “On public health protection” and also the law of “On reproductive rights and guarantees of their implementation” which were approved by Government Decree 185 on April 25, 2008. These two laws were a part of the reform “Den

Sooluk” for 2012 – 2016, guarantee equal access to equal health care for all citizens, both male and female. The acceptance of the national “Health care reform “Manas Taalimi” for 2006 and 2010, and the above mentioned “Den Sooluk” which were developed due to requests of sectoral approach, made it possible to achieve the improved health status of the population.

3.2.4 Maternity leave for men

Recently, the government of Kyrgyzstan has accepted a new Law on “Men’s paid father leave” which lasts 2 weeks. Kyrgyzstan has followed the steps of Western laws and applied it within its own nation. It has been signed to support women on their maternity leave and so family spend its time together.

4 Practical Part

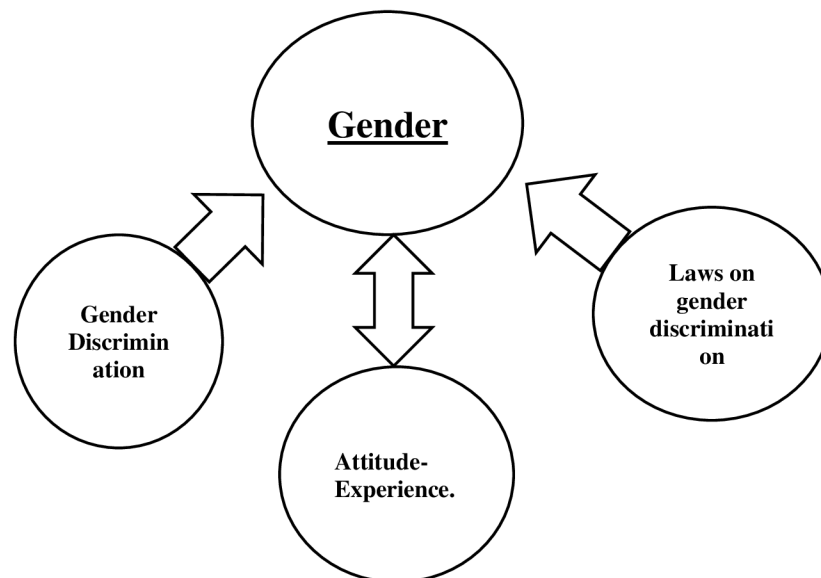
The practical part is fully based on the interview process of 3 men and 3 women who have partly been discriminated within their workplace. The questions are demonstrated in the **Appendix - 1**, the name and surnames of participants will not be disclosed due to their requests.

4.1 Research strategy

Research approach:

The research approach is fully based on the qualitative research with a deductive approach. The deductive approach will help to explore how both genders perceive the gender discrimination in their workplace, how do they perceive the “Law on gender-discrimination” and mainly their “Attitude” towards gender discrimination.

Figure 1: Illustration of practical part



Source: self-generated.

Since the research is more focused on a qualitative characteristic, meaning that this research is rather focused on quality of information rather than the quantity of words spoken. The author tries to analyze the answers of the participants more deeply. The research does not have any expected outcomes; hence, it is ready to have unexpected results and outcomes. Since the research doesn't have any expectations either, the openness is taken as a key driver of the research.

Group compositions:

Participants of each group have had a common experienced with a gender – discrimination on the workplace. So, all the participants from the Female group, have been working

Table 1: Female group

<i>Participant</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Working area</i>	<i>Children</i>
Participant 1	Female	33	Marketing manager	0
Participant 2	Female	41	HR Director	2
Participant 3	Female	43	Nurse - Doctor	2

Source: self-generated.

Participants of male group is illustrated below in the Table – 2, as mentioned above, both groups had experienced a gender discrimination on their workplace.

Table 2: Male group:

<i>Participant</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Working area</i>	<i>Children</i>
Participant 1	Male	44	Sales Director	2
Participant 2	Male	37	Farmer	1
Participant 3	Male	31	Logistics – Controller	0

Ethic principles:

This research is replica research of Bryman and Bell (2011) where they set certain rules and regulations, while doing research. The questions were structured in a way so participants could answer openly. Confidentiality and anonymity were also considered.

Collection of Material:

Collection of material and the data was considered as a secondary approach, as this type of research was already done by Bryman and Bell (2011). The data, however, was primary because the data collected was primarily by the author. Primary data refers to such type of data when the author collects, observes and analyzes the data of his/her own.

Methodology of questioning:

The author asked the questions directly related to the topic of “Gender discrimination”. Even though, the questions were opened, based on the comments of Bryman and Bell (2011) revealed that if you let participants talk for a longer period of time, the conversation carry –

away, in order to prevent it, the author controlled the conversation and asked additional questions in case of a need.

Size of the groups:

The size of both gender groups were equal, 3 males and 3 females.

The role of the researcher:

Bryman and Bell (2011) describe that there are two different methods of asking questions, active role, and passive role. The active role is determined by the natural flow of the conversation and the author would have to record it. In this research, the author used both methods.

Places of gender groups:

Both gender groups and generally all participants have been in Kyrgyzstan while the interview. The author was in Prague, the author arranged the call with every participant.

Evaluation of the qualitative research:

As mentioned above, the research has got a qualitative intention, meaning that the author had to focus more on a quality of the answers rather than quantity of wording. All participants were open-minded, to speak up about their experiences regarding “Gender discrimination” and how they felt about it. There were three dimensions of questions asked with relate to the **Figure – 1**.

4.2 Interview with females

Gender Discrimination and its perception – Female

Question N-1: Are you aware of a gender discrimination and its importance on a work – place?

“I am absolutely familiar with that matter, it should learn every person in society of Kyrgyzstan, especially at the beginning of your professional career”.

Participant 1.

“Yes, I am aware of it, and this is a common issue in Kyrgyzstan”.

Participant 2.

“Yes, I am aware of its importance”

Participant 3.

Question N -2: Are there any policies in your company focused on promoting gender diversity or proportion of women to the managing positions?

“Our company doesn’t have such a policy in this regard; however, I hope in the future that will be implemented”.

Participant 1.

“Not yet but I hope, soon, it will be introduced, as it could actually solve many genders diversity issues within a workplace ”

Participant 2.

“Well, we are equal despite the gender, our workplace is full of rules and policies which every employee should obey, however, there is not particular policy regarding female side”.

Participant 3.

Question N -3: Could you explain the main obstacles which women might face in being fired or placed in leadership positions?

“There are disparities in the level of income, however, no one raise their voice, neither males nor females. Seems like everyone one is comfortable with the conditions”.

Participant 1.

“Well, I can’t remember any of the major obstacle within my company, however, I think that women indeed receive lower income than men”. Is that unfair? Depends on the position”.

Participant 2.

“Well, within my medical field, we don’t have such issues. The leadership is set from the beginning, and the more experienced doctor is responsible for the whole department”.

Participant 3.

Question N-4: Have you struggled to get a promotion for your whole career?

“There was always a struggle, but just in terms of working issues, not in terms of discrimination”.

Participant 1.

“Yes, many time. However, I always proved what I am worth”

Participant 2.

“Not, in my case, no!”.

Participant 3

Question N-5: Do you think that the male/female percentage in higher leadership positions are lower than male/female percentage? If yes, why do you think it is?

“From the perspective of marketing manager, I can certainly say that female prevalence in my department is bigger, however the head of the marketing is male”.

Participant 1.

“It depends on the field of department; some departments are split in half and some departments are full of females”

Participant 2.

“I don’t think so!”.

Participant 3

Question N-6: Do you think you are being unequally in your workplace, comparing to male/female employees?

“Not personally, however, I know a few examples in my department, I don’t think it is fair towards the other employees”.

Participant 1.

“Not at this point of my career, however, there were times when I was discriminated because of the language spoken, looks and even age”

Participant 2.

“I don’t think so”

Participant 3

Question N-7: Do you think that cultural aspect in Kyrgyzstan influences the decision makers in hiring process as well as application process of both genders?

“I haven’t meet with any of these cases, however, some women don’t prefer working in our engineering department, as its mostly male – oriented field”, however, it was rather from a religious reason”.

Participant 1.

“Well, for the whole my career, I can see the shift of working capital, women tend to apply more and more for male fields of work, I don’t know if it is a cultural thing”.

Participant 2.

“Not within my occupation”

Participant 3

Question N-8: Do you think that international companies offer more opportunities for males/females than the local businesses?

“I used to work for an international company, and they have set the rules and policies, which were absolutely different from the local business policies. So, yes, international companies have got a lot to offer from a career perspective”.

Participant 1.

“International companies offer more opportunities for all genders, hopefully our domestic firms will pick this up”.

Participant 2.

“Not within my occupation”

Participant 3

Attitude and experience

Question N-9: Have you noticed any sexism activities towards you on your workplace? If so, can you explain how did it go and what was your actions?

“Well, I certainly did have a few jokes towards me, about my gender and unskillfulness as a female, however, I have a sense of humor for that, I mean, it wasn’t that offensive”.

Participant 1.

“I was yield a few times by my colleague, because of my driving skills, however, it wouldn’t regard that as a discrimination, however, there is a flavor of sexism in that”.

Participant 2.

“Not at all”.

Participant 3.

Question N-10: Have you ever went through the “Glass – ceiling” at your workplace?

“Well, I am familiar with the term, however, I never insisted on promotion up to the higher level, as most of my supervisors were males and even now” I don’t think I ever went against that intentionally, so, no”.

Participant 1.

“Yes, I went through it a few times, not really a comfortable feeling, but managed to go thru it”.

Participant 2.

“I don’t think so”

Participant 3

Question N-11: In your opinion, what areas of work should males be involved?

“Well, I am not a person of stereotypes, but I do believe that men are good chiefs, engineers, construction, IT”.

Participant 1.

“Engineering, IT. However, any person can be anything, today an individual is exposed to so many things.”

Participant 2.

“Policeman, Surgeon, IT, Pilots”

Participant 3

Question N-12: In your opinion, do you think a male should make higher income than females?

“I don’t know how to answer that, I guess it depends, but most of my female surroundings receive less income than males”.

Participant 1.

“I don’t agree with such a statement, however, it depends on the field of work, me as a HR director, know a few examples where women receive more income than men, but generally for the same set of skills, everyone should be equally rewarded”.

Participant 2.

“Well, as long as it makes both happy”

Participant 3.

Question N-14: In your opinion, do you think that men are more goal driven and goal – oriented than women?

“I do think that men are competitive, but women became competitive as well”.

Participant 1.

“Not at all, depends on personality”

Participant 2.

“Men are more into details”

Participant 3.

Question N-15: In your opinion, do you think that women thrive in a collaborative situation, when men connect better through competition?

“I agree with the statement for men, however not for women”.

Participant 1.

“Absolutely agree with such statement”

Participant 2.

“In my occupation, men and women work together, there is no such thing as a competitiveness”

Participant 3.

Question N-16: In your opinion, do you think that the Law of Kyrgyzstan against discrimination is effective?

“I haven’t dealt with the discrimination law so far. All the obstacles were solved between me and workers”.

Participant 1.

“There is always a way to improve!”

Participant 2.

“Not within my scope of work”

Participant 3.

Question N-17: Have you ever been involved in lawsuits of discrimination matters or a subject of a discrimination ? If so, tell the situation?

“No”.

Participant 1.

“Yes, a few times, for the sexual harassment of employees within a workplace, I must say that jurisdiction of Kyrgyzstan works effectively”

Participant 2.

“No”.

Participant 3.

Question N-18: Have you ever used the “Maternity leave”, based on the Law of Kyrgyzstan, how was your experience?

“I haven’t”.

Participant 1.

“Yes, I was, and still working in the current company, thanks to the law”

Participant 2.

“Yes I was, the experience was good, I didn’t lose my income”

Participant 3.

4.3 Interview with male gender

Question N-1: Are you aware of a gender discrimination and its importance on a work – place?

“I am aware of this, it is certainly important”.

Participant 1.

“Not really, I have no clue”

Participant 2.

“Yes, I am aware of it and every employee in your company went thru an internal training”.

Participant 3.

Question N -2: Are there any policies in your company focused on promoting gender diversity or proportion of women to the managing positions?

“We just use common sense for it, however, officially no, we don’t have anything like that”.

Participant 1.

“We don’t have such promotions in regards of females or males, however, my director is a female”.

Participant 2.

“We are an international company; we do have a list of policies and promotional offers based on the performance and other requirements”.

Participant 3.

Question N -3: Could you explain the main obstacles which men might face in being fired or placed in leadership positions?

“I don’t know any, you just should be responsible and make quick decisions. Managerial position always requires a lot of responsibility, probably high expectations is the obstacle as it puts a lot of pressure”.

Participant 1.

“Well, I am responsible for a certain area of farming, so there is to obstacles in terms of my employment, however, farming needs a lot of effort”.

Participant 2.

“I don’t know any obstacles in terms of leadership, because our company provide trainings for leadership, however, my main obstacle is English language, but I guess its personal”.

Participant 3.

Question N-4. Have you struggled to get a promotion for your whole career?

“I would lie if I say -no, so yes, there were always problems that needed to be solved, however, It didn’t directly affect my promotional pattern”.

Participant 1.

“Not really, you just have to work hard I Guess”

Participant 2.

“I did struggle but managed to pass the B-1 level of English, as my position requires a lot of international calls and arrangements in terms of logistics”.

Participant 3

Question N-5: Do you think that the male/female percentage in higher leadership positions are lower than male/female percentage? If yes, why do you think it is?

“I do believe that men are way more concentrated on a work and thus have a managerial position , I don’t know about the percentage rate, so Yes”.

Participant 1.

“I do think so, yes.”

Participant 2.

“I don’t think so!”.

Participant 3

Question N-6: Do you think you are being unequally in your workplace, comparing to male/female employees?

“I certainly had moments of unequal treatment from my bosses, however, managed to prove it with the results”.

Participant 1.

“I don’t have such a feeling”

Participant 2.

“I don’t think so”

Participant 3

Question N-7: Do you think that cultural aspect in Kyrgyzstan influences the decision makers in hiring process as well as application process of both genders?

“I haven’t seen women in my department for the past 5 years”. Not because we didn’t take them, but because of lack of application for sales job, however, I must say, women are good at it”.

Participant 1.

“Don’t know”

Participant 2.

“Yes – to some extent, however, it has changed a lot”

Participant 3

Question N-8: Do you think that international companies offer more opportunities for males/females than the local businesses?

“Yes, I completely agree with that”.

Participant 1.

“I don’t know”.

Participant 2.

“Yes, this is exactly my case”

Participant 3

Attitude and experience

Question N-9: Have you noticed any sexism activities towards you on your workplace? If so, can you explain how did it go and what was your actions?

“Well, there were a few but, fortunately I wear an engagement ring, I usually took at as a complement, but nowadays, it’s called sexual – harassment, I guess”.

Participant 1.

“Not within my occupation”.

Participant 2.

“Well, sexism is prohibited according to the policy of my company, however in my previous occupation I was a witness of sexist jokes”.

Participant 3.

Question N-10: Have you ever went through the “Glass – ceiling” at your workplace?

“No”.

Participant 1.

“No”.

Participant 2.

“No”.

Participant 3

Question N-11: In your opinion, what areas of work should males be involved? Question for males.

“HR/Accounting/Nursing”.

Participant 1.

“Teachers/Nursing/Cooks”.

Participant 2.

“Nurses/ Accountants”

Participant 3

Question N-12: In your opinion, do you think a male should make higher income than females?

“It is kind of a must for men to provide for a family, but You could already see my stereotypes”.

Participant 1.

“It depends, my wife earns more doing nails then I do farming, however, it is a seasonal work”.

Participant 2.

“Don’t know”

Participant 3.

Question N-14: In your opinion, do you think than women are more goal driven and goal – oriented then men?

“Not really, women are more caring, and family focused”.

Participant 1.

“Depends on a person, but I guess minority”.

Participant 2.

“Women are good leaders and actually very competitive, so I would agree”

Participant 3.

Question N-15: In your opinion, do you think that women thrive in a collaborative situation, when men connect better through competition?

“I partly agree”.

Participant 1.

“Well, farming is a collaborative work, so I will not be able to distinguish”

Participant 2.

“Hard to answer”

Participant 3.

Question N-16: In your opinion, do you think that the Law of Kyrgyzstan against discrimination is effective?

“I think it is on a good level”.

Participant 1.

“I actually never read it”.

Participant 2.

“I don’t know”

Participant 3.

Question N-17: Have you ever been involved in lawsuits of discrimination matters or a subject of a discrimination ? If so, tell the situation?

“No”.

Participant 1.

“I was once judged by my accent at work, and my origins”

Participant 2.

“I was judged by my occupation once”.

Participant 3.

Question N-18: Have you ever used the “Maternity leave”, based on the Law of Kyrgyzstan, how was your experience?

“I haven’t”.

Participant 1.

“I didn’t”

Participant 2.

“Not yet”

Participant 3.

4.4 Summary of the interviews

The author has asked a set of questions of both genders. There were 21 questions asked in total, however, the first three questions identified the gender, age, and occupation of a person, which are seen in the **Table – 1, 2**.

4.4.1 Gender discrimination

Based on the open answers of participants, women are more informed about gender discrimination and related policies to that matter. Women seem to notice more gender inequalities when men don't even consider it as a thing. However, the sampling demonstrates the two higher positions, two middle positions, two positions where people work collectively, still, the opinions about discrimination are different. Both sides have experienced a gender discrimination to some extent. Women highlighted an income inequality when being occupied by a managerial position, whereas men claimed that it requires more responsibility and high expectations, which puts a lot of pressure. Thus, the opinions are different. At least one person from each side confirmed that once she/he felt treated unequally. Both genders agree on the fact the cultural and religious aspects might impact a certain employment, which leads the author to the conclusion, that Kyrgyzstan is indeed driven by its cultural history and religion also plays a significant role. Additionally, both genders also agreed on the fact that, local companies lack the policies related to gender inequality, meaning that some local companies treat its employees unfairly. International companies could offer much more opportunities in this regard.

4.4.2 Attitude – experience

At least one participant experienced a sexist joke or even a sexual harassment on their workplace, in case of male side, Participant – 1 confirmed that he took it as a compliment and didn't feel uncomfortable, whereas one of the participants from the female side had an incident with her colleague when she was yelled at due to her driving skills. Another Participant – 1, claimed that she heard sexist jokes concerning her performance and unskillfulness. None of the participants from the male side dealt with a glass-ceiling, however, one female participant claimed that she did deal with that and fortunately it was successful. However, based on the answers of participants, majority seem to be very stereotypical, and the author could see the correlation between age and stereotypes, however mostly women chose the professions which indeed belong to men and men did the same

towards women and assigned occupations which mostly relate to women, from the stereotypical point of view.

4.4.3 Laws on gender discrimination

The male side seem to be not prepared and some participants don't even know about the existence of such a law, on the other hand, female seem to have more experienced with that and claim that the law works effectively.

One Participant – 2 from male side , was judged because of his accent and origins, the Participant – 3, was a witness of sexist jokes. However, from the female side, the Participant – 2, stated that she was involved in a lawsuit about sexual harassment a few times, and claimed that the jurisdiction system of Kyrgyzstan works well enough to defend a person in that matter.

The maternity father's leave is a new Law, which was accepted recently, that's one of the reasons why males didn't take it, even though it is supposed to last only 2 weeks, so it is very hard to consider it as a leavy, but rather as a vocation.

Female on the other hand, took maternity leave which is given by the Article – 306 of Kyrgyzstan , Para – 7 (Maternity Leave), with saving an occupation for a woman who is pregnant. Two participants claimed that the took advantage of it and kept their salaries and occupation.

5 Conclusion

This chapter is a composition of three sub-chapters that conclude the thesis. The author has covered the theoretical background about gender discrimination from both perspectives, male and female. Cultural - specific factors, sexism, subtle sexism, glass – ceiling and gender pay gap have been analyzed with the help of the secondary sources. The practical part however combined the knowledge gained from the theory and the author conducted a semi-structured interview of 21 opened questions, where participants had a choice no answer freely. Both groups, male and female, had experienced a certain level of employment, hence, the responses of participant could be considered as reliable. Women and men employed at different occupations in different companies (local and international) provided their honest feedbacks about the discrimination and the experience with the discrimination in their workplace. Furthermore, the author aimed to determine the perceptions about the discrimination, experience and what is their opinion on the discrimination law in Kyrgyz Republic.

A result of a study provided a significant value to the women who plans to start working in local company in Kyrgyzstan. The study provided a clear prove of existence of “Glass – ceiling” which prevented women in advancing her career. Also, sexism seem to be common and usually applies for women rather than for men, based on the sampling. Gender pay - gaps are also common problems, which was confirmed by the HR Director of one local firm in Kyrgyzstan. Women are more likely to experience sexual harassment at their workplace. However, males also might face the sexual harassment problem. The stereotypical thoughts about gender occupation are present in both groups. Some occupations lack a certain gender due to religious views or even cultural effects. Both genders also confirmed the fact that men are more goal-oriented and competitive and women are more caring and emphatic, as it has been mentioned in the literature review by (Heilman, M. E., 2012).

However, the sampling size could not represent the whole nation of Kyrgstan.

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7 Appendix

Interview questions

1. What is your gender?
2. How old are you?
3. What role in the organization do you perform?
4. Do you have children? If so, how many?

Gender discrimination

5. Are you aware of a gender discrimination and its importance on a work – place?
6. Are there any policies in your company focused on promoting gender diversity or proportion of women to the managing positions?
7. Could you explain the main obstacles which women might face in being hired or placed in leadership positions?
8. Have you struggled to get a promotion for your whole career?
9. Do you think that the male/female percentage in higher leadership positions are lower than male/female percentage? If yes, why do you think it is?
10. Do you think you are being unequally in your workplace, comparing to male/female employees?
11. Do you think that cultural aspect in Kyrgyzstan influences the decision makers in hiring process as well as application process of both genders?
12. Do you think that international companies offer more opportunities for males/females than the local businesses?

Attitude – Experience

13. Have you noticed any sexism activities towards you on your workplace? If so, can you explain how did it go and what was your actions?
14. Have you ever went through the “Glass – ceiling” at your workplace?
15. In your opinion, what areas of work should females be involved? Question for males.
And the opposite questions for females.
16. In your opinion, do you think a male should make higher income than females?
17. In your opinion, do you think than men are more goal driven and goal – oriented then women?
18. In your opinion, do you think that women thrive in a collaborative situation, when men connect better through competition?

Law of Kyrgyzstan against Discrimination

19. In your opinion, do you think that the Law of Kyrgyzstan against discrimination is effective?
20. Have you ever been involved in Lawsuits in discrimination matters? If so, tell the situation?
21. Have you ever used the “Maternity leave”, based on the Law of Kyrgyzstan, how was your experience?