



UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ASIA


GRADUATE SCHOOL OF DEVELOPMENT
Civil Society Initiative

WORKING PAPER #6

How Has Kyrgyzstan's Civil Society Been Studied? Systematic Literature Review

Medet Tiulegenov

August 2024



The Civil Society Initiative (CSI) was established in 2017 to foster an enabling policy and administrative environment for civil society in Central Asia and assist the development of a broad spectrum of civil society actors. CSI promotes the building of domestic institutional and leadership capacity, under three over-arching pillars of skills, knowledge and resources.

The Civil Society Initiative is part of the Graduate School of Development of the University of Central Asia. The University of Central Asia (UCA) was founded in 2000. The Presidents of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, and Tajikistan, and His Highness the Aga Khan signed the International Treaty and Charter establishing this secular and private university, ratified by the respective parliaments, and registered with the United Nations.

The Civil Society Working Papers series is intended as a dynamic avenue for authors to share ideas with audiences concerned with current and emerging issues facing civil society development in Central Asia.

CSI Working Paper Series Editor: Dr Aizharkyn Kozhobekova, Director of CSI, UCA.

Comments on papers should be sent to aidana.ernestova@ucentralasia.org.
'Working Papers' may be cited without seeking prior permission.

Design: Aida Tostokova.

Copyright © 2024

University of Central Asia

125/1 Toktogul Street, 720001, Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic

Tel.: +996 (312) 621 979

E-mail: csi@ucentralasia.org



Working Paper No. 6

How Has Kyrgyzstan's Civil Society Been Studied? Systematic Literature Review

Medet Tiulegenov

Senior Research Fellow

Civil Society Initiative, Graduate School of Development, University of Central Asia

Abstract

This paper reviews how the international scholarly community studied during more than two decades civil society in Kyrgyzstan. It used a systematic literature review attempting to cover comprehensively academic literature. After filtering results from a variety of databases 66 texts in English and Russian languages were analysed. A few themes emerged in this set of texts which appeared following the prominence of social and political developments in the country during the post-Soviet period. Some themes were dominant describing generally what is civil society, or its relations with the state, or in the context of development, others were rarer. Some themes emerged earlier such as the context of democratization, others, such as security context came much later. Among the findings of the review are definitional and conceptual fuzziness as well as insufficient contextualization of the notion of civil society. Also, there is a thematic and methodological gap between papers in English and Russian languages.

The findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the author and do not necessary represent the views of the University of Central Asia. The text and sources of the article should be referenced in this format: Tiulegenov, M. (2024). How Has Kyrgyzstan's Civil Society Been Studied? Systematic Literature Review. The Civil Society Initiative of UCA, Working Paper #6, 16 p.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	3
2. Methodology	3
3. Results.....	4
4. Discussion	7
4.1. An Academic Landscape	7
4.1.1. Defining Civil Society	7
4.1.2. Conceptual Adjacency	7
4.1.3. Methodological Approaches	7
4.1.4. Any Void Left?.....	8
4.2. A Thematic Landscape	8
4.2.1. Relations with a State	8
4.2.2. External Actors.....	8
4.2.3. Performance of CSOs	9
4.2.4. Indigenusness of Civil Society	9
5. Conclusions.....	10
References and the List of Texts	12

1. Introduction

Civil society has attracted the attention of scholars for many decades if not centuries. If one searches in Google Books the number of times there were publications which were using the term “civil society”, one will see that publications were peaking in times of philosophers like Hegel, and very significantly increased after the collapse of the socialist system. Obviously publishing efforts were accompanied by efforts of democratization which massively came since the late 1980s. Many of these studies and publications were done by scholars who were trying to understand the role of civil society in democratization efforts throughout the post-soviet space.

Civil society in post-Soviet Central Asia, and in Kyrgyzstan in particular, was studied by scholars through different perspectives. Kyrgyzstan, once labeled as an “island of democracy”, particularly drew the significant attention of scholars due to its comparatively more vibrant civil society. After three decades of efforts with varied success to transition in building more democratic institutions, it is time to take stock of the literature on civil society to see its development.

The purpose of this study is to analyze academic literature on civil society in Kyrgyzstan developed during the last three decades by applying a systematic literature review to identify patterns of research on this subject. A research agenda related to civil society is at times discussed as being politically constructed (Frickel et al, 2010), and this study also engages in understanding whether there are gaps in the studies, something akin to undone science (Frickel et al, 2010) with a systematic non-production of knowledge.

This study limits itself to looking only at academic literature. By no means does this paper intend to come to definitive conclusions due to limitations sketched out in the next section. Mainly it aims to show the dynamics of scholarly attention to the subject and see how it was approached by various scholars.

2. Methodology

One of the central tenets of studies of civil society is to define this phenomenon. There are different definitions of civil society that can inform this particular study. Most of them converge on understanding that it is about non-coercive or voluntary collective actions which are not aiming to generate profit. On the former part civil society is different from the state (as a coercive institution), and on the latter – is different from the market. Some definitions emphasize actions made by organizations, others do not emphasize organizations, but note that it is about a space filled by such actions. In some definitions there is an emphasis on collective actions, some others do not emphasize this.

The methodology for this study is a systematic literature review which, unlike traditional literature review, describes the search and selection processes of texts to be reviewed. The basic premises of the methodology are based on the search strategy within a variety of available databases of keywords which are associated with the notion of civil society.

The following *search words* were used in almost all of the searches in English language databases – “civil society”, “NGO”, “nongovernmental”, “nonprofit”, “third sector”, “association* [life]”, “collective action”, “civic [engagement]”, “commons”, “social capital”. In Russian language databases, there were some additions such as “public organization” (obshchestvennaya organizatsia),

or omissions such as “commons” and “citizenship” which are not relevant in the Russian language context. The search with these words was in some cases lemmatized and was done along with the word “Kyrgyzstan” using the AND operator.

The search was performed in the following databases: in the *English language* – scholar.google.com, Academic Search Premiere, JSTOR, Scopus, Proquest Dissertations and Theses Global; in the *Russian language* – cyberleninka.ru, scholar.google.com.

The search was performed in the titles of papers (in abstracts in the case of the Proquest database). This potentially limits the search results, and this was done due to unmanageably huge number of texts which were coming by searching in texts in these databases. The search was not limited by time, but its results were given almost in all cases publications of the post-soviet period, which was of the primary interest of this study.

As a result of search 282 texts were found (220 in English language and 65 in Russian). Overall 27 texts were duplicates. The remaining texts were screened either by scrutinizing their titles or (when available) in abstracts or, in some cases, entire texts were glanced through. The following inclusion and exclusion criteria were used to move or not to move some of these texts to the final list:

Inclusion criteria

- Direct relevance to the core of civil society
- Relations of civil society with other institutions, such as the state, for example
- The main theme could be not related to civil society, but it is relevant to its transformation.

Exclusion criteria

- Historic pre-1991 studies
- Not directly relevant to civil society
- Civil society is treated in a very instrumental role to explain another issue.

At the end 66 texts remained (53 in English language and 13 in Russian) which were analyzed.

There are several *limitations* of this study that should be considered. They mostly relate to the sampling of texts. It should be noted that only academic databases were searched, and this study does not include the vast spectrum of non-academic studies. Only a limited number of data sources were employed, those which were available through subscription. Also, given that the search is done in electronic texts many papers which were in print perhaps did not end up in the resulting collection of texts. Limitations are also related to the search strategy when only titles (and abstracts in one case) were searched. Also, one of the limitations is the use of a limited number of operationalized concepts related to civil society. These limitations need to be taken into account to interpret the findings of this study.

3. Results

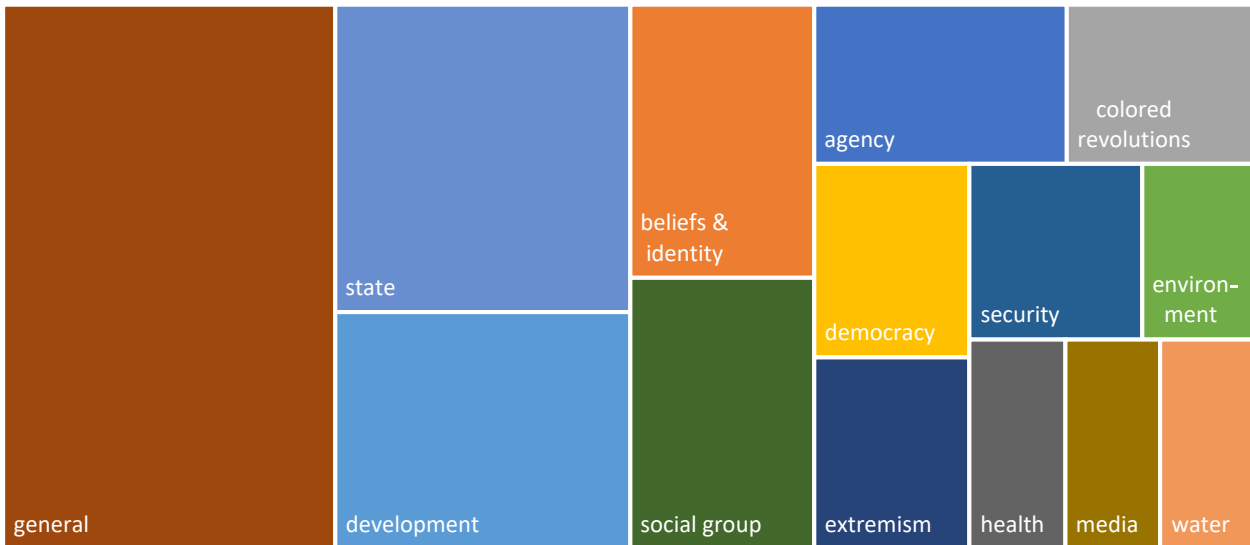
Many texts were identified as having a general discussion of what is civil society (*See Fig.1*). It should be noted that most of the texts in this category are published in the Russian language (10 out of 18) and many of them happen to be of a very descriptive nature as publications. The rest of the texts published in rigorous peer-reviewed journals focus on the context and frameworks of civil society development (Anderson, 2000; Pierobon, 2018), or the roles played by civil society in general and

the context in which it operates (Buxton, 2015; Firdous, 2015). Many texts in the collection edited by Couper (2008) also relate to the general discussion of what is civil society in Kyrgyzstan and how it functions.

The next biggest category is texts related to relations with the state. A number of texts relate to the state policies towards civil society in regard to service provision (Shapovalova, 2015; Shapovalova, 2016), relations between state and its citizens (Ruget & Usmanalieva 2016; AZH 2018). Some of the texts are focused on the pressure towards civil society because of the war on terror (Stevens & Jailobaeva, 2010), and explain how civil society resists this pressure (Berger-Ken et al, 2021). The same size category is the collection of papers on general development which includes issues of sustainable development (Baerlein et a, 2015; Pierobon, 2019), transplanting the notion of civil society or such concepts as gender and civic engagement (Aksartova, 2005; Jailobaeva & Baialieva, 2020; Hoare, 2021).

Some other categories include issues of social groups such as migrants (Ruget & Usmanalieva, 2008), women (Group, 2009; Kim & Campbel, 2013 and Baialinov, 2016) or the youth (Tumenbaeva, 2014) are embedded in social society, or the issues of beliefs (Connery, 2000; Iгореvitch, 2013; Samakov & Berkes, 2017) and identity (Commeccio, 2009; Bazarkulova, 2021).

Figure 1. The Relative Prominence of Topics



The category of agency includes texts that focus on whether strategies for developing civil society indeed strengthened it (Paasiaro, 2009), on particular strategies of the EU that affect local ownership (Pierobon, 2021), or how the agency is enabled or constrained by structures of society (Rose, 2011). Civil society as a part of democratization efforts was studied from the perspectives of external assistance (Adamson, 2002), civic engagement (Kuchukeeva & O’Loughlin, 2003), and weak citizenship (Ruget & Usmanalieva, 2005). Under the umbrella of “security” topic three publications came approximately at the same time and most are related to the engagement of civil society in security sector reforms – from the perspective of gaps between policies and practices (Altes, 2019) and on the role of civil society as actors in police reform (Lotzholz, 2021). Civil society in colored revolutions was explored from general perspectives by Marat (2005) and by Fuhrmann (2006) who investigated the role of social capital in collective actions.

While the collected texts are not very much representative in terms of the time of their publications (due to late coming of online publications over the past three decades), certain temporal trends could be observed. Also, we need to consider the life cycle of research and publications – it takes time for an issue to attract attention until it goes through the study and then ends up being published). Yet, the data on collected texts may show us the prominence of some topics in certain periods of time (See Fig. 2). For example, democracy, as a concept associated with civil society, was prominent in earlier periods – all three publications were between 2002 and 2005. Security sector reforms, on the other hand, became prominent at the end of the 2010s.

The focus on studying beliefs (or religion), as connected to civil society, was mostly emerging relatively late. Studying the agency of civil society actors seemingly became more prominent in recent periods, while some earlier publications were highlighting a problem of dependency on funders.

There are a couple of observations related to connections between the search word producing a text, and the topic of that text (See Fig. 3). A search for associations mostly results in papers about water and health issues, for civic engagement – democracy and media papers, citizenship – state, social groups and democracy related papers, collective action – media, colored revolution, water, and beliefs. In overall most topics are the result of major search words – civil society, NGO or nonprofit.

Depending on the language there are various distributions of topics. More than half of general topic papers are in the Russian language (10 out of 18 on the topic, or 10 out of 15 in this language). Two papers on the topic of the state and one paper on the environment, colored revolution, and beliefs & identity. In addition to being topically general, the Russian language texts also are not based on the use of primary data whereas many English language publications are the result of interviews, surveys, focus groups, etc.

Figure 2. Topics Over Time (2002–2021).

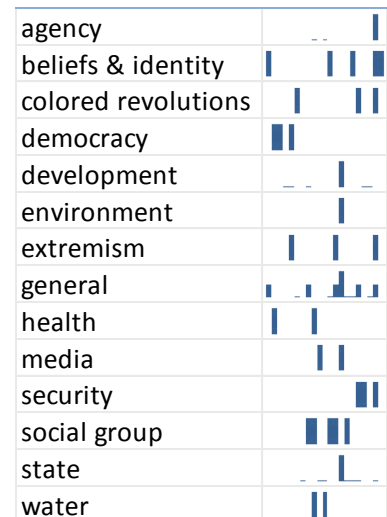
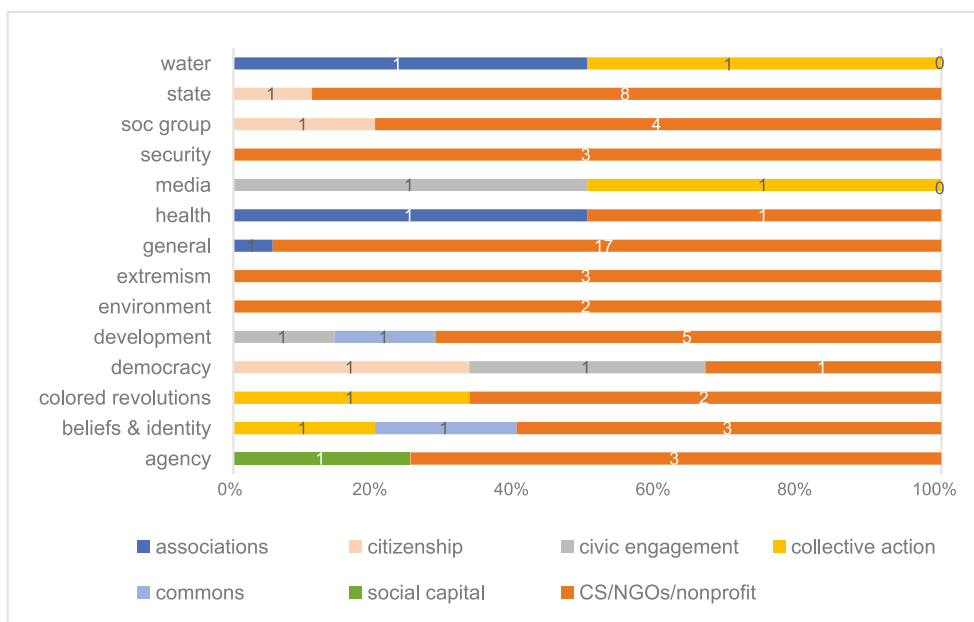


Figure 3. Relations of Topics With Search Terms.



4. Discussion

There are, broadly speaking, two main areas of findings have come up from this literature review. One is related to patterns of how academic research on civil society looks like and what we learn from these endeavors. Another one is more practical and summarizes findings within these various and quite diverse studies.

4.1. An Academic Landscape

With all limitations noted in the introductory section regarding the texts' selection, the glimpse into the available literature studied here shows the following patterns. These patterns relate to the definitions, conceptual variety around the notion of civil society, methodological approaches, and the remaining gaps.

4.1.1. Defining Civil Society

The academic literature generally treats the definitional issues from the general standpoint stating, that "civil society is an arena where, through free and civilized interaction and communication, individuals obtain and exercise their freedom, as well as pursue their interests. It is a space where people are given an opportunity to enter into social relations free from state interference (Firdous, 2015). Or that it is "the unofficial, autonomous social movements within a society that are outside the scope of government structure" (Connery, 2000)

Some other researchers engage with understanding how this concept is challenging for those who claim that civil society can perform Western, liberal role, outside of the state (Toogood, 2014). The traditional view of civil society as opposing the state is implicitly present in various texts in our collection, especially the ones researching the state's pressure on civil society. In such cases, the notion of civil society becomes opposing to, rather than being aside of the state.

Some of the studies do not refer to the term civil society at all, even though they refer to social networks (Rose, 2011), collective and political mobilization (Commercio, 2009), social capital (Fuhrman, 2006). There are discussions of the so-called "informal civil society" (Toogood, 2014) which exists alongside formal civil society organizations.

4.1.2. Conceptual Adjacency

Since the dataset emerged through the use of search words using some adjacent concepts, here were interested in the ways how these concepts were incorporated into the broader notion of civil society within Kyrgyzstan's context. Social capital as a concept was incorporated in studies of agency and civil society. New technologies and how they shape activities of civil society are not discussed much in the available literature. There are studies on interconnectedness of online and offline forms of activism (Kurambayev, 2015). As was noted above, agency as a theme was not prominent. In the study by Rose (2011) agency is employed by people and which emerged along with reciprocity.

4.1.3. Methodological Approaches

Civil society is studied primarily through interviews if it is approached by collecting primary data. Some studies employ the use of surveys (Kuchukeeva & O'Loughlin, 2003). There aren't many studies utilizing primary data, and these are mostly doctoral dissertations or some other publications.

Many of those studies which aim to collect primary data are using interviews and use ethnographic approaches.

There are relatively few comparative studies of civil society of the region. With some exceptions (Adamson, 2002; Fuhrmann, 2006; Johnson, 2009; Rose, 2011; Berger-Kern et al, 2021; Childress, 2004) there is usually a single country focus on civil society. Yet, this could be due to the sampling of literature being not focused on the region as a whole, but on Kyrgyzstan only. It should be noted that comparisons were made mostly within the region and only rare texts (Berger-Kern et al, 2021) compared Kyrgyzstan with countries from other regions.

4.1.4. Any Void Left?

Since this study is not comprehensive with all the limitations outlined above, the question of whether something has been left unstudied is worth exploring further. An example of an unstudied subject could be volunteerism, an essential element of broadly understood civil society (and there are no texts in Google Scholar with that concept in titles).

Seemingly one of the obvious gaps is that relatively few publications were aiming to explore the meaning of civil society in the local context. This partially can be explained by the need of more engaged and on the ground presence for such explorations, which is not possible in all research endeavors. Also, there are not so many local scholars authoring papers on civil society in English language publications.

There are some specific themes that emerged within the dataset of texts, and these were mostly related to relations with a state, interactions with external actors, functional performance of civil society organizations, and also the extent to what civil society is an indigenous institution.

4.2. A Thematic Landscape

4.2.1. Relations with a State

A state was looming in many papers even though not so many of them (9 texts) were focused explicitly on it. State capture by the regime was also an important context (Toogood, 2014) when such countries as Kyrgyzstan were studied by scholars. While analyzing successful resistance to restrictions on the civic space by the state Berher-Kern et al (2021) argued that the key elements of facilitating conditions were pre-existing mobilizing structures among CSOs and political opportunity structure. This was complemented by the relative government's vulnerability and susceptibility to "diplomatic pressure".

In some studies (Johnson, 2009) a state views societal actors as competitors and deals with them amicably or otherwise, and depending on their economic situation they provide social welfare to get the loyalty of their constituencies. This study claims that even in authoritarian contexts societies matter for governments.

4.2.2. External Actors

External actors, especially those which were working on democratization, were obvious elephants in the room which should have been studied by scholars. Engagement of external actors in shaping and developing civil society in the region was not a specific focus in this study. Some of the texts

In a comparative study of Kenya and Kyrgyzstan (Berher-Kern et al, 2021) of successful resistance to the NGO laws the role of coalitions of civil society organizations was found to be crucial. According to this study external actors were playing a significant role in Kyrgyzstan, but not in Kenya. At that time (in 2013-2016) there were more opportunities for external successful engagement. There is a dearth of a spectrum of approaches to studying civil society in the region by applying variety of concepts. Concerns with the sustainability of civil society were raised in the texts as early as the end of the 1990s (Connery, 2000) which was related to the role of external actors.

4.2.3. Performance of CSOs

Many texts engage with studying civil society from the functional perspective. Construction of the meaning of certain subjects CSOs are dealing with affects their performance. One study on that was done by Toogood (2014) on construction of meaning of peace by CSOs in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan and how it affects their peacebuilding activities. Particularly it looks into how the choice of strategies (combative or collaborative) exemplifies limitations on CSOs' ability to broker peace in the context of competitive authoritarian regimes.

A study of water users with the use of field experiment (Baerlein, 2015) shows that distribution efficiency and equity, compliance with rules is better in self-governance settings. How identity may matter, and the sense of collective belonging may inform civic agency. The performance of CSOs in terms of their inclusivity is studied in the works related to women's participation in Water User Associations (Nixon & Owusu, 2017).

4.2.4. Indigenusness of Civil Society

Cautionary notes about the sustainability of the NGO sector were made quite early (Connery, 2000) and since then it has been reiterated multiple times in various publications. Alongside with that increasing attention was paid to what has been perceived as indigenous civil society, as something which needs further development. There are two takes on the indigenous roots of a wider notion of civil society. It is either depicted as pre-modern alternate versions of collective actions adversarial or as informal actions of citizens performed beyond formally registered organizations. There have been also references to anti-modern and unsecular parts of society (Connery, 2000)

The 2005 revolt increased attention to popular mobilization and observed little presence of CSOs in that upheaval. A particular focus on interaction and complementarity between traditional CSOs and informal civil society shows how this produces cumulative effects for example when there is a need to develop a shared normative understanding of how to build peace (Toogood, 2014).

Fuhrmann (2006) suggests that success of popular mobilization rested on blending of two sources of social capitals – “imported” CSO membership based associational activity and indigenous informal associations. Along this line is also important to mention narratives about civil society which affect its situation. In the study by Berher-Kern et al (2021) in Kenya local NGOs, withstanding the governments pressure, successfully framed the issue not based on the rights guaranteed by international laws (as was promoted by external actors), but on the need to empower citizens to develop a country. Appeal to the international norms was promoted in the case of Kyrgyzstan which in that specific context was successful.

5. Conclusions

With all the limitations related to sampling, noted above, some preliminary conclusions could be made regarding the body of literature which has been developed on civil society in Kyrgyzstan. The study of civil society has been driven by the extant at different times considerations of importance of specific themes. These themes were evolving along with the political developments in the country and accumulated experience of various forms of collective actions in the post-soviet period.

There are not so many publications that aim to explore the meanings of civil society in the local context. Contextualization of civil society was rarely seen as a specific research objective, and at times happened mostly through the development of explanatory frameworks where the presence, for example, of informal institutions could explain a topic.

Publications in English and Russian languages differ in their focus, methods, and overall quality. This speaks not only to the quality of academic publications in two languages but also about the overall local discourse about civil society which is being shaped partially by Russian speaking and writing academics and experts.

One of the latest comprehensive publications on the subject (Biekart & Fowler, 2022) aimed to develop a research agenda on studying civil society and came up with the following four major points:

- 1) resolving conceptual issues studying this field;
- 2) finding approaches to locate and interpret civil society in national contexts;
- 3) how self-mobilization is informed by contending norms and values;
- 4) understanding forms and forces of associational life.

Based on this literature review it seems that the agenda for researching civil society in Kyrgyzstan could continue along the same lines. Some earlier attempts to define civil society in the local context and contextualize its activities need to be continued. The literature studied almost does not discuss contending values which in times of normative pressure on civil society become of utmost academic and practical importance. This literature review suggests that more studies on a variety of forms of collective action are needed as well.

There could be some *general recommendations* made based on this literature review.

For academia and experts:

- ◆ Enhanced engagement with scholars who do research in Russian and the national languages of the region to shape a more shared space for conceptualizing civil society.
- ◆ Studying civil society from a comparative perspective may provide additional insights.
- ◆ Conducting a more comprehensive systematic literature review aiming to cover non-academic texts as well.
- ◆ Conducting research on civil society which generates primary data.
- ◆ Exploring how contending norms and values are shaping the discourse on civil society.

For donors' community:

- ◆ To develop programs aiming to support a variety of forms of civil society and analyzing how they contribute to the development of overall notion of civil society.
- ◆ Support transformation of donor-funded practical research to academic and other types of publications with wider public outreach.
- ◆ Make own data collection on civil society as much transparent and accessible as possible to ensure wider research and avoid duplication of studies.

For CSOs:

- ◆ Embed in their activities researching various forms of social/cultural capital which can be tapped for further development activities.
- ◆ Document systematically own activities and engage with experts and scholars to use it as data to analyze for further publication and dissemination.
- ◆ Finding ways to frame your own activities which would resonate with the wider public.

References and the List of Texts

1. References

1. Biekart, K., & Fowler, A. (2022). 1 A research agenda for civil society: introduction and overview. *A Research Agenda for Civil Society*, 1.
2. Frickel, Gibbon, S., Howard, J., Kempner, J., Ottinger, G., & Hess, D. J. (2010). Undone Science: Charting Social Movement and Civil Society Challenges to Research Agenda Setting. *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, 35(4), 444–473. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0162243909345836>

2. Texts

1. Adamson, F. B. (2002). 7. International Democracy Assistance In Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan: Building Civil Society from the Outside? In *The power and limits of NGOs* (pp. 177–206). Columbia University Press.
2. Aksartova, S. (n.d.). Civil society from abroad: United States donors in the former Soviet Union [Ph.D., Princeton University]. Retrieved January 13, 2023, from <https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/305420148/abstract/1709DB9C4CF344C5PQ/3>
3. Altes, O. K. (2019). Security Sector Reform in Central Asia: Exploring the Policy-Practice Gap of Police Reforms and the Civil Society Factor in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. OSCE Academy.
4. Anderson, J. (2000). Creating a Framework for Civil Society in Kyrgyzstan. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 52(1), 77–93.
5. Baerlein, T., Kasymov, U., & Zikos, D. (2015). Self-governance and sustainable common pool resource management in Kyrgyzstan. *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, 7(1), 496–521. Scopus. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su7010496>
6. Baialinov, A. (2016). Auxiliary role and insertional partnership of civil society organizations in the improvement of life of vulnerable people especially young women in Kyrgyzstan. *Вестник Технологического Университета Таджикистана*, 1, 92–97.
7. Berger-Kern, N., Hetz, F., Wagner, R., & Wolff, J. (2021). Defending civic space: Successful resistance against NGO laws in Kenya and Kyrgyzstan. *Global Policy*, 12, 84–94.
8. Brinkerhoff, D. W. (2002). Government-nonprofit partners for health sector reform in Central Asia: Family group practice associations in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. *Public Administration and Development*, 22(1), 51–61. Scopus. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.206>
9. Buxton, C. (2015). In good times and hard times: Civil society roles in Kyrgyzstan today. In *Civil Society and Politics in Central Asia* (pp. 223–248). Scopus.
10. Childress, M. D. (2004). Agrarian Research Institutes and Civil Society in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. UNRISD.
11. Connery, J. (2000). Caught between a dictatorship and a democracy: Civil society, religion and development in Kyrgyzstan. *Fletcher Journal of Development Studies*, 16, 1–18.
12. Couper, J. (2008). *Kyrgyzstan Today. Policy Briefs on Civil Society, Migration, Islam and Corruption*. Social Research Center (American University of Central Asia).
13. Emotion and Blame in Collective Action: Russian Voice in Kyrgyzstan and Latvia. (n.d.). Retrieved January 12, 2023, from <https://arizona-asu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com>
14. Firdous, T. (2015). Contextualizing civil society: A kyrgyzstan case study. *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, 16(2), 94–106. Scopus.
15. Fouksman, E. (n.d.). Civil society knowledge networks: A geography of ideas in development [Ph.D., University of Oxford (United Kingdom)]. Retrieved January 13, 2023, from <https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/2001174179/1709DB9C4CF344C5PQ/7>
16. Fuhrmann, M. (2006). A tale of two social capitals revolutionary collective action in Kyrgyzstan. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 53(6), 16–29. Scopus. <https://doi.org/10.2753/PPC1075-8216530602>
17. Group, I. C. (2009). Civil Society and the International Community (Women and radicalization in Kyrgyzstan, p. Page 24-Page 25). International Crisis Group. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep38391.11>
18. Herd, G. P., & Ryabkov, M. (2015). State, civil society actors, and political instabilities in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan: The changing international context. In *Civil Society and Politics in Central Asia* (pp. 311–331). Scopus.

19. Hoare, J. P. (2021). Development and Civil Society in Kyrgyzstan. In *Gender, Activism, and International Development Intervention in Kyrgyzstan* (pp. 62–92). Brill.
20. Jailobaeva, K. (2008a). All the truth about NGO Funding in Kyrgyzstan: Numbers and facts. Social Research Centre, American University of Central Asia: Bishkek. Available: [Http://Src.Auca.Kg/Index.Php](http://Src.Auca.Kg/Index.Php).
21. Jailobaeva, K. (2008b). The Associational Life: Kyrgyzstan and Scotland. Sociology subject Group of Social & Political Studies, University of Edinburgh.
22. Jailobaeva, K. B. (n.d.). Return of the state to development: The state, donors, and ngos in post-soviet kyrgyzstan [Ph.D., The University of Edinburgh (United Kingdom)]. Retrieved January 13, 2023, from <https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/1123902791/1709DB9C4CF344C5PQ/2>
23. Jailobaeva, K., & Baialieva, M. (2020). Sponsored study abroad and civic engagement in Kyrgyzstan. *Journal of Civil Society*, 16(3), 234–242. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2020.1794169>
24. Johnson, E. J. (n.d.). Authoritarian regimes and nongovernmental organizations: Transitions in health care provision in Central Asia [Ph.D., University of Washington]. Retrieved January 13, 2023, from <https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/305016769/abstract/7BE3DDC847A1430BPQ/4>
25. Kazbekov, J., Abdullaev, I., Manthrithilake, H., Qureshi, A., & Jumaboev, K. (2009). Evaluating planning and delivery performance of Water User Associations (WUAs) in Osh Province, Kyrgyzstan. *Agricultural Water Management*, 96(8), 1259–1267. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.agwat.2009.04.002>
26. Kim, E., & Campbell, M. (2013). *Peacebuilding and violence against women: Tracking the ruling relations of aid in a women's development NGO in Kyrgyzstan. NGOization: Complicity, Contradictions and Prospects*, London: Zed Books, 185–206.
27. Korthals Altes, O. (2018). Security Sector Reform in Central Asia: Exploring the Policy-Practice GAP of Police Reforms and the Civil Society Factor in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.
28. Kuchukeeva, A., & O'Loughlin, J. (2003). Civic Engagement and Democratic Consolidation in Kyrgyzstan. *Eurasian Geography & Economics*, 44(8), 557–587. <https://doi.org/10.2747/1538-7216.44.8.557>
29. Kurambayev, B. (n.d.-a). Analysis of bloggers' usage of web space in Kyrgyzstan to engage civically and politically [Ph.D., The University of Southern Mississippi]. Retrieved January 13, 2023, from <https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/1710813083/abstract/ECAC9DA12808410CPQ/4>
30. Lottholz, P. (2021). The Roles and Practices of Civil Society Actors in Police Reform in Kyrgyzstan: Activism, Expertise, Knowledge Production. *International Peacekeeping*, 28(1), 52–83.
31. Marat, E. (2005). Civil Society in Kyrgyzstan before, during and after the March 24 Revolution. *Helsinki Monitor*, 16, 267.
32. McGee, H. L. (n.d.). Water, International Development and Collective Action: An impact assessment of an irrigation management project in Southern Kyrgyzstan [Ph.D., University of Michigan]. Retrieved January 13, 2023, from <https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/919078322/abstract/C80A6336EA2A4C74PQ/6>
33. Paasiaro, M. (2009). Home-grown strategies for greater agency: Reassessing the outcome of civil society strengthening in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan. *Central Asian Survey*, 28(1), 59–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634930902796422>
34. Pierobon, C. (2018). The development of civil society in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan: An analysis of the national and international context. *Annali Di Ca Foscari Serie Orientale*, 54, 107–133. Scopus. <https://doi.org/10.30687/AnnOr/2385-3042/2018/01/006>
35. Pierobon, C. (2019). Promoting sustainable development through civil society: A case study of the EU's NSA/LA thematic programme in Kyrgyzstan. *Development Policy Review*, 37, O179–O192. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12411>
36. Pierobon, C. (2021a). EU Efforts to Prevent Violent Extremism (PVE) by Engaging Civil Society in Kyrgyzstan. *Central Asian Affairs*, 8(2), 150–174. <https://doi.org/10.30965/22142290-bja10019>
37. Pierobon, C. (2021a). EU, Prevention of Violent Extremism (PVE) and civil society: Some considerations on the IcSP in Kyrgyzstan.
38. Pierobon, C. (2021b). European Union, civil society and local ownership in Kyrgyzstan: Analysing patterns of adaptation, reinterpretation and contestation in the prevention of violent extremism (PVE). *Central Asian Survey*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2021.1905608>

39. Rose, E. J. (n.d.). Investigating Resource-Constrained Populations: Developing Design Approaches to Support Agency and Reciprocity [Ph.D., University of Washington]. Retrieved January 13, 2023, from <https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/888047814/abstract/C80A6336EA2A4C74PQ/5>
40. Ruget, V., & Usmanalieva, B. (2005). Popularity of Democracy and Weak Citizenship in Kyrgyzstan. Conference Papers -- American Political Science Association, 1–19.
41. Ruget, V., & Usmanalieva, B. (2007). The impact of state weakness on citizenship a case study of Kyrgyzstan. *Communist & Post-Communist Studies*, 40(4), 441–458. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.postcomstud.2007.10.002>
42. Ruget, V., & Usmanalieva, B. (2008). Migration and Citizenship: A Case Study of Kyrgyzstan. Conference Papers -- Northeastern Political Science Association, 1–17.
43. Samakov, A., & Berkes, F. (2017). Spiritual commons: Sacred sites as core of community-conserved areas in Kyrgyzstan. *International Journal of the Commons*, 11(1), 422–444. Scopus. <https://doi.org/10.18352/ijc.713>
44. Shapovalova, Y. (2015). Modernizing State Support of Nonprofit Service Provision: The Case of Kyrgyzstan. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary & Nonprofit Organizations*, 26(6), 2379–2394. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-015-9649-0>
45. Shapovalova, Y. (2016). Erratum to: Modernizing State Support of Nonprofit Service Provision: The Case of Kyrgyzstan. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary & Nonprofit Organizations*, 27(6), 2970–2970. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-016-9796-y>
46. Stevens, D., & Jailobaeva, K. (2010). False choice? The war on terror and its impact on state policy towards civil society in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. *Civil Society under Strain: Counter-Terrorism Policy, Civil Society and Aid Post*, 9(11), 93–108.
47. Sultanalieva, C., & Freedman, E. (2015). Press coverage of environmental news in Kyrgyzstan and the role of eco-nongovernmental organizations. *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, 16(2), 144–160. Scopus.
48. Toogood-Luehrs, K. L. (n.d.). Brokering “Peace” in Competitive Authoritarian Central Asian Regimes: Understanding Peace-Building Functions of Informal and Formal Civil Society in the Republic of Tajikistan and the Kyrgyz Republic [Ph.D., George Mason University]. Retrieved January 13, 2023, from <https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/2469820198/abstract/1709DB9C4CF344C5PQ/1>
49. Tumenbaeva, S. (2014). Discourses on “Youth Political Empowerment” in Kyrgyzstan: State, NGO, political organization and beneficiaries-youth levels [PhD Thesis]. Department of Sociology.
50. Turgaleyeva, A. T. (2014). Socioeconomic factors of civil society institutionalization in Central Asia (Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan case studies). *Actual Problems of Economics*, 154(4), 359–365. Scopus.
51. Williams, N. W. (n.d.). Collective action participants, nonparticipants, and observers: Media use and student involvement on April 7, 2010 in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan [M.A., Indiana University]. Retrieved January 13, 2023, from <https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/1284158498/abstract/E3627056B5C74C13PQ/3>
52. А, Ж. (2018). Роль взаимоотношения государства и гражданина в формировании гражданского общества в Кыргызстане. *Международный журнал гуманитарных и естественных наук*, 2, Article 2.
53. А.х, Б. (2014). Политические и социокультурные особенности формирования гражданского общества в Кыргызстане. *Основы экономики, управления и права*, 6 (18), Article 6 (18).
54. Базаркулова, Т. (2021). Traditionalism as a cultural and civilizational basis for the formation of civil society in Kyrgyzstan. *Известия ВУЗов Кыргызстана*, 1, 197–201.
55. Бакыт, Б. (2006). Специфические местные аспекты “гражданского общества” в Кыргызстане: Взгляд с социальной и географической периферии. *Центральная Азия и Кавказ*, 4 (46), Article 4 (46).
56. Игоревич, Е. А. (2013). Ислам и неправительственные мусульманские организации в Центральной Азии. *Вестник Хакасского государственного университета им. Н. Ф. Катанова*, 6, Article 6.
57. Иманкулович, И. Т., & Молдомусаевич, К. Т. (2021). Формирование развитого гражданского общества как главное направление развития современного кыргызского государства. *Бюллетень Науки и Практики*, 7(3), Article 3.
58. К.а, Ч. (2018). Неправительственные организации Кыргызстана: Особенности определения и учета. *Ученые записки Крымского федерального университета имени В. И. Вернадского. Философия. Политология. Культурология*, 4 (70)(3), Article 3.

59. Карибаевна, Б. А. (2016). Социокультурная трансформация и гражданское общество в Кыргызстане. Манускрипт, 3-1 (65), Article 3-1 (65).
60. О.а, Т., & А, Ж. (2017). Связь гражданского общества и права. Международный журнал гуманитарных и естественных наук, 11, Article 11.
61. О.а, Т., & У.Азамат, Ж. (2017). Социокультурные условия становления гражданского общества в Кыргызстане. Международный журнал гуманитарных и естественных наук, 12, Article 12.
62. Современные подходы к изучению гражданского общества в трудах российских и киргизских специалистов. Retrieved January 12, 2023, from <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/sovremennye-podhody-k-izucheniyu-grazhdanskogo-obschestva-v-trudah-rossiyskih-i-kirgizskih-spetsialistov>
63. У.а, Ж. (2021). Гражданское общество в современном государстве. Международный журнал гуманитарных и естественных наук, 9–2, Article 9–2.
64. Ф.д, Х. (2020). Влияние институтов гражданского общества на процессы традиционной общественной модернизации. Международный журнал гуманитарных и естественных наук, 10–1, Article 10–1.
65. Фирдоус, Д. (2015). Гражданское общество в контексте: Взгляд на примере Кыргызстана. Центральная Азия и Кавказ, 18(2), Article 2.
66. Чинара, С., & Эрик, Ф. (2015). Освещение в прессе Кыргызстана новостей о состоянии окружающей среды и роль экологических неправительственных организаций. Центральная Азия и Кавказ, 18(2), Article 2.

