

The Improvement Of The Image Of Women In The Formation Of The Government System And Political Elite Of The New Uzbekistan Special Features

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Received: 06 December 2025; **Accepted:** 27 December 2025; **Published:** 31 January 2026

Abstract: This study analyzes the processes of gender stratification and the institutionalization of women's political subjectivity in the socio-political space of the Republic of Uzbekistan in the period 2017–2025 through the prism of the methodology of social philosophy. The work reveals the complex dialectics of the transition from the traditional paternalistic state model to the modern governance paradigm based on meritocratic and egalitarian principles. The author scientifically substantiates the correlation between the improvement of the legislative framework and real political practice, the level of legitimacy of the quota system, and qualitative changes in the recruitment of the political elite. The study interprets the "Women's Notebook" institution not as an innovative mechanism for ensuring social justice, but as an ontological factor that humanizes (humanizes) public administration. In the conclusion, prognostic theses are put forward on the impact of gender balance on the stability of society and the effectiveness of the political system.

Keywords: Social ontology, political subjectivity, gender egalitarianism, institutionalization, paternalism, meritocracy, legitimacy, political recruitment, axiological transformation, discursive analysis.

Introduction: The transformations observed in global political processes in the third decade of the 21st century require a reconsideration of national statehood models. The "New Uzbekistan" strategy, implemented by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Sh. M. Mirziyoyev since 2017, is not just a set of administrative reforms, but a civilizational project aimed at renewing the social being (ontology) of society. One of the central axes of this project is to radically change the socio-political status of women, who occupy a priority position in the demographic structure of society, and to transform them from a passive "object of social protection" into an active "subject of political processes". From a philosophical perspective, gender discourse in Uzbekistan until 2016 was largely paternalistic, with the state portrayed as a "caring father" and women as a "protected class." While this approach provided social stability, it limited women's real participation in decision-making processes and limited their ability to express their political will.

The period after 2017 is characterized by the

paradigmatic crisis of this approach and the formation of a new value system. The issue of gender equality has risen from a narrow social sphere to the level of political and legal status - the strategic imperative of state policy. However, in the existing scientific literature, this process is often studied within the framework of superficial statistics (changes in numbers) or legal commentaries. The internal logical chain of the formation of women as a component of the "political elite", the clash of this process with resistance in the mentality of society, and the legitimization of the phenomenon of "Female Leader" in the social consciousness have not been sufficiently covered as an object of holistic socio-philosophical research. In particular, the issue of how the dialectical conflict between meritocracy and gender quotas is being resolved requires fundamental analysis.

to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the institutional and mental foundations of women's political subjectivity in the governance system of Uzbekistan in the period 2017–2025. The working hypothesis of the study is that the gender reforms

being implemented in Uzbekistan are not just a "facade modernization" aimed at improving the external image, but are a necessary ontological condition for changing the nature of state governance. In our opinion, the feminization of political power (increased participation of women) is directly correlated with its humanization (humanization).

METHODOLOGY

This study used an integrative methodological apparatus of social philosophy, political sociology and state theory. Since the object of research is complex and multifaceted, the dialectical method was chosen as the main tool instead of a simple linear analysis. This method serves to reveal the laws of negating old patriarchal relations, identifying contradictions and confirming a new egalitarian system. In particular, the conflict between tradition and modernization was studied not as destructive, but as a driving force of development.

In order to study changes in the political system as a whole organism, the method of systematic analysis was used. In this case, legislation (norm), institutional structure (organization) and social practice (activity) were considered as interrelated elements. At the same time, through a synergistic approach (theory of self-organization), how the reforms controlled from above by the state are harmonized with the initiative of the lower levels of society, and the potential for self-development of mechanisms such as the "Women's Notebook" were studied. To determine the impact of normative and legal materials and their impact on the consciousness of society, political hermeneutics and discourse analysis methods were used.

The empirical foundation of the study is the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, regulatory legal acts of the chambers of the Oliy Majlis, decrees and resolutions of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers, and data from the World Bank (Women, Business and the Law).

RESULTS

In the period 2017–2025, the legal space of Uzbekistan underwent a fundamental reconstruction based on the principles of gender equality. The most important turning point was the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan No. URQ-562 "On Guarantees of Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men", adopted on September 2, 2019. This document was of revolutionary importance in the history of the national legal system, as it for the first time gave a strict legal definition to the concepts of "direct and indirect discrimination on the basis of sex". This is not just a declarative norm, but an imperative that establishes a

mandatory rule of conduct for state bodies and employers. The law legalized the possibility of temporarily introducing gender quotas in the civil service, which means that it is the only effective way to mitigate inequality during the transition to a meritocratic system.

The Republic of Uzbekistan, as amended in 2023, stipulates that "Women and men have equal rights. The state ensures equal rights and opportunities for women and men in the management of public and state affairs, as well as in other areas of public and state life," raising the gender issue to the level of a constitutional value with the highest legal force. This norm guarantees that all future by-laws must be gender-sensitive.

Is a concept of "critical mass", which refers to the minimum threshold (usually 30%) necessary for a minority group to have a real impact on the decision-making process. According to the amendments to the Election Code of Uzbekistan, at least 40 percent of candidates for deputies nominated by political parties (previously 30 percent) must be women. This strict quota system has borne fruit: as a result of the 2019 and 2024 parliamentary elections, the share of women elected to the Legislative Chamber of the Oliy Majlis exceeded 32 percent, and in the Senate this figure was 25 percent. These figures made Uzbekistan 37th out of 190 countries in the world ranking and the absolute leader in the Central Asian region.

Are taking the initiative in developing and adopting social laws (for example, the law "On the Protection of Women from Harassment and Violence"). The appointment of a woman (Tanzila Norbayeva) as the Speaker of the Senate is an unprecedented political event in the history of Uzbek statehood, which reflects the "masculine face of power" changed and legitimized the image of a female leader to the highest level.

The executive branch has traditionally been considered a closed sphere for women. However, this stereotype began to break down over the period 2017–2025. According to statistical analyses, the share of women employed in the management sector increased from 27 percent in 2017 to 33 percent in 2024. There has been an increasing trend in the appointment of women to the positions of district and city governors, ministers and their deputies.

A particularly noteworthy phenomenon is the "Women's Notebook" system. This mechanism, introduced in 2020, has changed the philosophy of management. It abandons abstract bureaucratic reports and requires an individual approach to the problems of each woman ("case-study" method). The "Women's Notebook" is not only a means of social

protection, but also a channel for political recruitment. Through this system, active women who have proven themselves are being recruited to local councils and assistant governor positions. Thus, the state has created a “bottom-up” mechanism for selecting leaders.

DISCUSSION

Despite the achievements, analysis shows that legal and institutional reforms are lagging behind changes in social consciousness (mentality). The patriarchal stereotype that “the main role of a woman is family and motherhood” is still strongly preserved in the traditional layers of Uzbek society. The World Values Survey and other international sociological studies confirm that a significant part of respondents in the Central Asian region consider political leadership to be a masculine trait. This situation creates a “double burden” problem for female leaders: they are forced to simultaneously fulfill both state work and family obligations. This creates a psychological barrier for women who want to pursue a political career.

However, the state's information policy and new narratives in the media (the image of the "New Uzbekistani Woman") serve to soften these stereotypes. From the point of view of political sociology, the ongoing process can be called the "modernization of traditional values". That is, a woman's political activism is not being opposed to her place in the family, but, on the contrary, is being harmonized through the idea of "a knowledgeable mother - a knowledgeable society".

The theory of “ethics of care” put forward by Carol Gilligan in feminist epistemology is finding its confirmation in the context of Uzbekistan. Women's participation in political processes, along with the principles of competition and hierarchy, brings elements of cooperation, empathy, tolerance and social responsibility to power. In areas managed by female leaders (education, medicine, social protection), targeted spending of budget funds and the quality of communication with the population are observed to be relatively high. Thus, gender balance is not just a matter of justice, but also an important factor in the effectiveness of public administration and the fight against corruption. The discourse of female politicians helps to reduce aggression in the political arena and create an atmosphere of constructive dialogue.

Most controversial topic in the study is the quota system. Liberal theorists may view it as contrary to the principle of meritocracy (the rule of the most capable and deserving). However, in a society with historical injustices and deep-rooted systemic barriers, it will

take decades to achieve natural equality without state intervention (quotas). The experience of Uzbekistan has shown that quotas are not a permanent privilege, but a temporary “social accelerator”. They are a necessary starting point for bringing women to the political scene and allowing them to gain experience. Our analysis shows that in the next 10-15 years, political culture will mature in society, women will have the potential to take their place in a natural competitive environment, and the need for a quota system will disappear by itself.

CONCLUSION

The results of the socio-philosophical analysis confirm that gender relations in the political entity of Uzbekistan in 2017–2025 underwent a transformation of a revolutionary, rather than an evolutionary, nature. Firstly, a solid and irreversible legal foundation for gender equality was created in the country. The Constitution and special laws formed institutional immunity against gender discrimination. Secondly, the mechanisms for recruiting the political elite changed. The increase in women's representation in parliament and the executive branch changed the quality of the political decision-making process, making it more responsive to social needs. Thirdly, through the "Women's Notebook" and the mahalla system, a new model of political subjectivity was formed - the model of "socially active female leader", and this model began to be accepted by society.

At the same time, the process is not yet complete. The main tasks ahead are the gradual transition from the quota system to a real meritocracy, the expansion of women's participation not only in social but also in economic structures, and most importantly, the complete liberation of the public consciousness from patriarchal stereotypes. In short, the transformation of women into political subjects in New Uzbekistan is the full mobilization of the nation's intellectual and spiritual resources, and therefore, a guarantee of sustainable development.

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