

Forum:	General Assembly Third Committee
Issue:	The Question of Rising inequality in North and Central Asia
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Introduction

Inequality has severe implications. When people feel that the society is shaped against their favor and see limited prospect in the future, they are less likely to invest in the education of future generations and more likely to resort to extremist and radical means of expressing frustration. Therefore, it is one of the UN's objectives, Sustainable Development Goal #10, to reduce inequalities.

Inequality is on the rise in the region of North and Central Asia, which constitutes Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Asian Russia (the part of Russia to the east of the Ural Mountains). With the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, newly-found nations each embarked on unique journeys transitioning from centrally-planned economies to market-driven economies, with varying degrees of progress. Modernization and increasing openness bring both promises and challenges. On one hand, as the region becomes more connected, trade is made easier and employment options are expanded. On the other hand, due to the uneven availability of physical and social infrastructure, some groups of people benefit from modernization more than others. Furthermore, market reforms without complementary institutions capable of ensuring that the market is free and fair exacerbate a corrupt environment in which opportunities are denied to the poor.

As new problems emerge, many old problems remain unsolved. Discrimination based on religion, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality is rooted in culture. Because these disadvantaged groups are not adequately represented in parliaments, the inequalities they experience have become institutionalized. Although rights are generally guaranteed to all segments of the population on paper, the government and law enforcement are often reluctant to address the grievances of discriminated groups.

Definition of Key Terms

Inequality

Inequality refers to the unequal distribution of resources among individuals in a group, among groups in a population, or among countries. Inequality also refers to unequal political power and rights before law.¹

Inequality of outcome

Inequality of outcomes exists when individuals do not possess the same level of material wealth or living condition. It is usually measured by monetary values of income, expenditure, and wealth. The GINI index is the widely-used indicator to measure such dimensions of inequality in each country.

Inequality of opportunities

Inequality of opportunities concerns unequal access to fundamental services and rights required for individuals to sustain and improve their livelihood. Granting all individuals equal access to opportunities levels the playing field for competition and results in economic outcomes determined solely by their efforts and choices. These opportunities may include, education; good health and nutrition; access to utilities such as water, sanitation, electricity, and heating; access to information and communications technology; access to social protection such as pension and unemployment insurance; access to financial services; and ability to participate in the life of the community.² The dissimilarity index captures the unequal access to such opportunities in each country.

Explanation of the Question

Corruption

Equality in North and Central Asia is hindered by corruption, especially in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan. All six countries are ranked bottom 60 in the Corruption Perception Index³. Corruption facilitates inequality in many ways.

For one, corruption creates an unfriendly environment for small businesses. When entrepreneurs register startup businesses and obtain various documents, they are often implicitly or explicitly demanded bribes. In Tajikistan, the World Bank/IFC Enterprise Survey 2008 indicates that more than 44% of respondents claimed they were expected to make gifts to civil servants to “get things done” or

¹ "Concepts of Inequality." October 21, 2015. Accessed November 18, 2018.

http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wess/wess_dev_issues/dsp_policy_01.pdf.

² Ibid.

³ E.V., Transparency International. "Corruption Perceptions Index 2017." Wwww.transparency.org. Accessed December 17, 2018. https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017#regional.

“grease the wheel”.⁴ In contrast with the difficulties small businesses experience, big companies with established connections are benefitted by corruption. They could be granted large projects by the government without much real competition.

Corruption also has a negative impact on the quality and quantity of public services, on which the poorest are most dependent. “When citizens are forced to pay bribes in order to access public services that should be free of charge, the poor and marginalized often suffer the most,” says inequality.org.⁵ For example, in Tajikistan, sectors and areas that benefit political elites are given more attention, such as state-owned, lucrative aluminum industry; whereas social services and other sectors are severely underfunded. A report by Transparency International says that the government is unable to provide sufficient heat and electricity in the winter.⁶ In Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, students often need to bribe their way into good universities. As students with difficult financial backgrounds find it hard to complete higher education in these countries, they often lack the training to perform high-salary jobs. In turn, they cannot afford quality education for their children, thus the practice of bribery perpetuates the inequality traps that generations of poor people cannot escape. In addition, inadequate anti-corruption measures mean that funds allocated towards public services are prone to embezzlement.

Inequality between generations

Old people of North and Central Asia are facing increasing hardship. With lower birth rate and longer life expectancy, the population of the region is rapidly aging. This will put unprecedented pressure on the pension system. Without a reliable pension system, old people, who tend to have less capacity to earn income, may need to find alternative ways to support themselves. To uphold the living standard of old people, reforms need to be carried out to make the pension system more sustainable.

Inequality between geographic regions

In North and Central Asia, an economic disparity exists between urban and rural areas. In recent years, progress has been made to modernize the economy, but new opportunities that are opening up benefit the urban population much more than the rural population. This is due to the lack of physical and social infrastructure in rural areas. For example, some rural areas lack the means of transportation, such as road, railway, and aviation. Local people cannot export their products to the outside world in large quantities. Some areas lack internet coverage, limiting their opportunity to conduct e-commerce. Some areas are too remote to be provided with public education. People from such areas can only perform

⁴ E.V., Transparency International, and Sofia Wickberg. "Overview of Corruption and Anti-corruption in Tajikistan." Wwww.transparency.org. Accessed January 7, 2013. <https://knowledgehub.transparency.org/helpdesk/overview-of-corruption-and-anti-corruption-in-tajikistan>.

⁵ "How Corruption Drives Inequality." Inequality.org. Accessed December 16, 2018. <https://inequality.org/research/corruption-drives-inequality/>.

⁶ E.V., Transparency International, and Sofia Wickberg. "Overview of Corruption and Anti-corruption in Tajikistan." Wwww.transparency.org. Accessed January 7, 2013. <https://knowledgehub.transparency.org/helpdesk/overview-of-corruption-and-anti-corruption-in-tajikistan>.

unskilled labor and receive low wages. Gaps also exist between urban and rural areas in terms of access to basic public services such as clean water and sanitation.

Gender inequality

The political structure and social norms of this region are often disadvantageous for women. In many countries of Central Asia, women theoretically enjoy equal political rights, but, in practice, they are unable to organize independently to voice their political interests. Women are widely underrepresented in leadership positions. The proportion of female representatives in national parliaments in this subregion ranges from 27% in Kazakhstan to 16% in Uzbekistan(2017).⁷ In addition, female workers are less likely to be involved in making decisions at the corporate level: the percentage of firms managed or (partly) owned by women is around or less than 30 percent in the subregion. The percentage is even lower for bigger firms.⁸ Social norms on the role of women in the family, for example, early-age marriages, prevent them from investing more time and effort into their career development and thus limiting the opportunity for women to occupy influential positions.

Central Asia has a deep-rooted culture of women being subordinate to men in families. The practices of arranged marriage, spousal rape, and domestic violence are common, but victims are discouraged to report such crimes. Police departments are reluctant to “intervene in family affairs”. In rural areas, child marriage and sex trafficking have been observed. The governments, in which women are inadequately represented, failed to make significant effort to address the problem. In Russia, since February 2017, domestic violence without long-term physical damage is no longer punishable by law. The decision was met with protests.

Women also face inequality in the labor market. Women in Central Asia are 40% more likely to be unemployed than men.⁹ This is another product of gender roles for women to take care of the family. Women tend to enter lower-skilled occupations and are paid less compared to men. In Uzbekistan, women are barred from certain jobs by law.¹⁰ In Russia, women experience relatively less discrimination. However, a wide pay gap between the genders still exists. In 2017, the average Russian woman received 26% less income than the average man.

Ethnic inequality

The region of North and Central Asia has high ethnic diversity. The boundaries of former Soviet provinces were not drawn along ethnic lines, in consequence, within each Central Asian countries that later gained independence, there was a mixture of ethnicities. In theory, different ethnic groups all enjoy

⁷ "Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%)." Literacy Rate, Adult Female (% of Females Ages 15 and Above) | Data. Accessed December 16, 2018.

<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?locations=KZ-UZ-TM-TJ-KG>

⁸ United Nations ESCAP. "Inequality in the Era of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development: North and Central Asia."

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ "Freedom in the World 2018." Freedom House.

equal rights, but in reality, some minority groups are discriminated and marginalized. They receive fewer opportunities and are more vulnerable to persecution.

In Kyrgyzstan, there were documented instances of violence directed towards the ethnic Uzbek minority in the country, allegedly sanctioned by the government. Uzbek homes were destroyed and businesses were seized. Uzbek interests are not voiced in the government. A politician, Omurbek Babanov, was accused of “incitement to interethnic violence” for rallying with ethnic Uzbeks. Babanov was forced to flee the country and resign as a member of parliament. “Minority populations remain underrepresented in elected offices, even in areas where they form a demographic majority” according to Freedom House. Similarly, in Tajikistan, activists who bring attention to minority rights are persecuted. In Turkmenistan, ethnic Turkmen receive more education and employment opportunities than minority groups, due to the government’s effort to “Turkmenify” the society by favoring ethnic Turkmen. “In Uzbekistan, “although racial and ethnic discrimination is prohibited by law, the belief that senior positions in government and business are reserved for ethnic Uzbeks is widespread”, says Freedom House.¹¹

In Russia, UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) reported systematic persecution of ethnic Crimean Tatars, including “administrative and criminal prosecutions, disappearances, mass raids, interrogations, and other forms of pressure, the closure of media outlets using the Crimean Tatar language, and restrictions on using and studying the Crimean Tatar and Ukrainian languages”¹²The formation of parties based on ethnicity or religion is not permitted by law. In practice, many ethnic minority regions are carefully monitored and controlled by federal authorities¹³.

The theme common across these countries is the mutual reinforcement between economic inequality of opportunity, political underrepresentation, and discrimination.

Discrimination against migrant workers

Migrant workers are a vulnerable group in North and Central Asia. They, predominantly young, male migrants from rural areas of Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, who move to Russia and Kazakhstan in search for jobs. Compared to locals, migrants are generally more competitive and flexible. Employers often hire them without written contracts, as the result, migrants receive inadequate compensation, substandard treatment, and little social benefit. Tajik migrant workers in the Russian manufacturing industry on average receive two-thirds of the wages of their Russian counterparts.¹⁴ Migrants’ jobs are considered “3D” — dirty, difficult, degrading. Because of such perceptions,

¹¹ "Freedom in the World 2018." Freedom House. May 08, 2018. Accessed December 16, 2018. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2018>.

¹² "UN Expresses Concern over Ethnic Discrimination in Russia." Worldwide Movement for Human Rights. September 4, 2017. Accessed December 16, 2018. <https://www.fidh.org/en/region/europe-central-asia/russia/un-expresses-concern-over-ethnic-discrimination-in-russia>.

¹³ "Freedom in the World 2018." Freedom House.

¹⁴ United Nations ESCAP. "Inequality in the Era of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development: North and Central Asia."

sometimes, even though a migrant has received high-level education, he or she must still perform unskilled labor in the country of destination to make a living.

Exploitation of migrant workers is widespread. For example, confiscation of migrants' legal documents such as passports and work permits is prevalent in the construction sectors: nearly one-third of migrant workers in the sector do not have their own passport to hand. This is so that employers can transfer a group of migrant workers from one construction site to another, and even "sell" the group to another company, without asking their employees. This is a form of human trafficking and a violation of basic human rights.¹⁵

In addition, migrant workers are not equally granted social protection as are domestic workers. In principle, foreign citizens have the same rights as nationals of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan. Being recognized as a temporary resident, however, they are unlikely to access social protection systems such as pension, social insurance, and benefits that permanent residents do.¹⁶

Discrimination against LGBT minorities

Homosexuality is nominally tolerated under the jurisdiction of all countries of North and Central Asia, however, in Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, gay sex is punishable by jail time of up to 3 years. Laws offer LGBT groups in the region little protection from discrimination, harassment, violence. In some cases, such acts are perpetrated by the police and even under government orders.¹⁷ In Kazakhstan, "When LGBT people report abuse, they can face indifference and hostility from authorities", says Freedom House.¹⁸ In Russia, police allegedly detained and tortured men suspected of homosexual activities.¹⁹

Key Member States and NGOs Involved and Their Views

Russia

Russia is among the nations with the highest level of income inequality in the world. According to Credit Suisse's annual global wealth report, "there's one billionaire for every \$11 billion in household

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "Human Rights Watch Country Profiles: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity." Human Rights Watch. August 11, 2018. Accessed December 16, 2018. <https://www.hrw.org/video-photos/interactive/2018/04/16/sexual-orientation-gender-identity-country-profiles>.

¹⁸ "Freedom in the World 2018." Freedom House.

¹⁹ Somper, James. "Chechnya Accused of Detaining and Torturing Dozens of Gay Men." The Telegraph. April 11, 2017. Accessed December 16, 2018. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/04/11/chechnya-accused-detaining-torturing-dozens-gay-men/>.

wealth in Russia; this compares to one billionaire per \$170 billion in the rest of the world".²⁰ To address the rising public discontent over inequality, Vladimir Putin signed a decree this May, outlining ambitious goals to improve the condition of the population. It included aspects such as the accessibility of modernized education, support for older citizens, coverage of healthcare, and the provision of affordable quality housing.²¹

Corruption has long been a problem in Russia. Damage from corruption in Russia from 2014 to 2017 amounted to more than \$2.5bn, Russian Prosecutor-General Yuri Chaika said.²² In July, Putin signed a 2-year anti-corruption plan, under which lawmakers are tasked with devising tighter regulations and more specific laws to punish corrupt officials.²³

Kazakhstan

In Kazakhstan, limited progress has been made to promote gender and ethnic equality. In the Kazakh parliament, parties based on ethnic origin, gender, or religion are prohibited under the 2002 Law on Political Parties, which possibly limit the ability of women and minority groups to organize independently and advocate for their interests through the political system, according to Freedom House.²⁴

To curb corruption among government body employees, Kazakhstan adopted an Anti-Corruption Strategy for 2015-2025, under the Istanbul Anti-Corruption Action Plan. Kazakhstan's Agency for Civil Service Issues and Countering Corruption was founded in 2016. A law was created requiring government officials to disclose their income. However, a report by the OECD suggested that the efficiency of corruption monitoring and clarity of regulations need to be further enhanced.²⁵

Kyrgyzstan

Over the years, Kyrgyzstan has been considered the most democratic country of Central Asia because of its parliamentary democratic system. However, it is not a system in which equal representation is granted to all segments of the population. Kyrgyzstan's use of violence towards the

²⁰ "Gap between Rich & Poor in Russia among World's Biggest." RT International. Accessed December 16, 2018. <https://www.rt.com/business/russia-world-household-wealth-944/>.

²¹ "Президент подписал Указ «О национальных целях и стратегических задачах развития Российской Федерации на период до 2024 года»." Президент России. May 7, 2018. Accessed December 16, 2018. <http://kremlin.ru/acts/news/57425>.

²² "Top Prosecutor Shows Corruption in Russia Caused Losses of \$2.5 Bln over past Three Years." TASS. December 8, 2017. Accessed December 16, 2018. <http://tass.com/politics/979806>.

²³ "Putin Signs Anti-Corruption Plan, With Loopholes." The Moscow Times. July 2, 2018. Accessed December 16, 2018. <https://themoscowtimes.com/news/putin-signs-anti-corruption-plan-with-loopholes-62073>.

²⁴ "Freedom in the World 2018." Freedom House.

²⁵ OECD. "Anti-corruption Reforms in Kazakhstan: 4th round of Monitoring of the Istanbul Anti-Corruption Action Plan." September 13, 2017. <https://www.oecd.org/corruption/acn/OECD-ACN-Kazakhstan-Round-4-Monitoring-Report-ENG.pdf>.

Uzbek minority and failure to address gender-discriminatory practices such as “bride kidnapping” exemplify its inability to combat discrimination.²⁶

In 2015, Kyrgyzstan allocated 114.8 million USD towards various social assistance programs to improve the living conditions of the population. The problem was, it was not efficiently targeted towards the neediest group of people. An individual within the richest 10% received up to two-thirds the amount received by an individual within the poorest 10%.²⁷ The impact of Kyrgyzstan’s assistance program on the reduction of inequality was limited.

Uzbekistan

Under the guidance of the Istanbul Action Plan, Uzbekistan ran a series of anti-corruption workshops for public officials in order to raise awareness. Uzbekistan also invested greatly in public service in the past decade. In the aspect of education, 2,195 schools received learning materials. Learning achievements improved by 3% from 2008 to 2013. “157 Regional Medical Units (RMUs) and 15 City Medical Unions have received modern medical equipment. 7,756 doctors and 21,557 nurses have received training under continuous professional education”, says World Bank.²⁸

Turkmenistan

In 2011, a new law allowing independent political parties marked the beginning of Turkmenistan’s transformation from a dictatorship to a parliamentary democracy. In 2013, elections were held. However, in the strictly controlled political environment, citizens had limited options and election results were largely predetermined. Turkmen and ethnic minorities alike lack a channel of expressing their opinion in the government. In recent years, the rights of minorities are increasingly circumscribed due to the government’s effort to “Turkmenify” the society. Turkmenistan has an extensive public education system and the general population has secondary education. Infrastructural development, such as the construction of the transportation system, is challenged by geography, so remote areas remain secluded.²⁹

Tajikistan

Tajikistan is the poorest country in North and Central Asia, due to political instability. However, because it borders Afghanistan and possesses abundant natural resources, the West, Russia, and

²⁶ "Looking for Harmony: Addressing Discrimination and Inequality in Kyrgyzstan." *Human Rights Documents Online*, December 2016. doi:10.1163/2210-7975_hrd-9848-2016003.

²⁷ Savia Hasanova. "Income Inequality in Kyrgyzstan: The Redistributive Effect Of Social Benefits." Central Asia Program. October 30, 2017. Accessed December 16, 2018. <http://centralasiaprogram.org/archives/10559>.

²⁸ "Uzbekistan: On the Path to High-Middle-Income Status by 2030." World Bank. April 13, 2016. Accessed November 17, 2018. <http://www.worldbank.org/en/results/2016/04/13/uzbekistan-on-the-path-to-high-middle-income-status-by-2050>.

²⁹ "BTI 2018 | Turkmenistan Country Report." BTI 2018 : Benin Country Report. December 14, 2016. Accessed December 16, 2018. <https://www.bti-project.org/en/reports/country-reports/detail/itc/tkm/itr/pse/>.

China all place importance on their relations with Tajikistan. Hindrances to equality, such as corruption, extreme poverty of rural areas, and inadequate, remain largely unaddressed.³⁰

Timeline of Events

Date	Description of event
1990 - 1991	The Soviet Union collapsed, Central Asian countries gained independence
May 26, 1995	CIS member states sign the CIS Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
November 21, 1997	OECD adopts Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions
July 15, 2002	Kazakhstan adopts Law on Political Parties
2003	OECD launched the Istanbul Anti-corruption Action Plan
2012	President of Turkmenistan initiated "Turkmenification" campaigns
January 1, 2013	Law on Social Safety Nets and Law on State-funded Pension went into effect in Turkmenistan
August 4, 2015	President of Kazakhstan signs law to modernize pension system
January 18, 2016	Turkmenistan launches Action Plan for Human Rights
October 12, 2016,	Uzbekistan adopts a new law "On Social Services for the Elderly, Disabled and Other Socially Vulnerable Population Categories"
February 7, 2017	Russia amends the law to decriminalize domestic violence without long-term physical damage

³⁰"BTI 2018 | Tajikistan Country Report." BTI 2018 : Benin Country Report. December 14, 2016. Accessed December 16, 2018. <https://www.bti-project.org/en/reports/country-reports/detail/itc/TJK/>.

UN Involvement, Relevant Resolutions, Treaties and Events

The question of rising inequality in North and Central Asia has previously been in the spotlight. There are no existing GA resolutions specifically aimed at reducing inequality in the said region, however, agreements and partnerships have been made to tackle other problems that contribute to inequality and declare international determination to combat inequality in general.

- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 18 December 1979
- Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, 18 December 1990 (**A/RES/45/158**)
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 12 December 1996 (**A/RES/51/80**)
- Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, 15 November 2000
- Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing, April 2002
- UN Convention Against Corruption, 31 October 2003

World Bank

The world bank is an UN-affiliated international organization which extends financial and technical support to assist developing countries around the world. The World Bank conducts research worldwide, including in North and Central Asia. In their report, *Towards a New Social Contract*, World bank made proposals to address the question of rising inequality in European and Central Asian countries, including:

- providing equal protection of all workers, no matter their type of employment;
- seeking universality in the provision of social assistance, social insurance, and basic quality services; and
- supporting progressivity in a broad tax base that complements labor income taxation with the taxation of capital.³¹

³¹ "Labor, Taxation, and Social Policies Must Be Upgraded to Address Rising Inequality in Europe and Central Asia, Says World Bank." World Bank. Accessed December 16, 2018. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2018/09/25/labor-taxation-social-policies-must-be-upgraded-to-address-rising-inequality-in-europe-and-central-asia-says-world-bank>.

UNDP

The United Nations Development Program partners with nations to enhance the transparency, accountability, and efficiency of public administrations. It offers advice on combating corruption and building reliable public institutions. It encourages NGOs and citizens to monitor corruption.

Possible Solutions

Efficient funding of public services

Funding for secondary and tertiary education for the entire population can be expensive and unrealistic for some countries. In such cases, one way to improve equality in education is to prioritize the funding of nationwide preschool education systems. Preschool is an important stage in a child's education. "Investment in preschool education has the highest return in children's later life", says UNESCAP.³² Another approach is providing vocational training—job-specific technical training. Even if an individual has not received public higher education, by participating in vocational training, their employment opportunities are significantly widened. Vocational training should correspond to the types of skills most needed in the market so that recipients of training gain practical skills that will prepare them for employment. It is especially necessary for migrant workers' countries of origin to consider skills needed in the countries of destination when designing vocational training programs, so that migrant workers' potential of success is maximized in their countries of destination.³³

Pension and subsidy programs can be costly as well. When some programs cover a wide segment of the population, the funds are often stretched too thin to actually help the ones receiving them. These programs could be reformed to identify and target a narrower group of people who need help the most.

Inclusive governance

The influence of the Soviet Union on the government structures in North and Central Asia remains strong even today. Decision-making powers are still very much centralized. Citizens have limited influence on policies. Government-recognized labor unions are often controlled by the state. This all means that the voices of the poor and vulnerable are unlikely to be heard in the government.

A possible solution, proposed by UNESCAP, is to empower municipal governments and community groups by providing them with finance, which they will use to identify and address local problems with more targeted, customized solutions. Participatory budgeting is the concept of giving local citizens the opportunity to participate in deciding how a community, such as a county or a city, should

³² Ibid.

³³ United Nations ESCAP. "Inequality in the Era of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development: North and Central Asia."

allocate its budget, through attending meetings and voting. It was first introduced in the Brazilian town of Porto Alegre and produced outstanding results with regards to the improvement of living standard and the efficiency of funds to help the poor.³⁴ Participatory budgeting could be implemented in North and Central Asia, taking into account the characteristics and needs of the region, to reduce inequality.

Another aspect of inclusive governance is consultation with intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) non-government organizations (NGOs). These organizations not only can offer financial and technical aid to public administrations, but they can also serve as watchdogs against corruption and inefficiency. Some organizations directly aid and empower the discriminated population, such as women, ethnic minorities, LGBT, and senior citizen.

However, drastic changes in the government structure and attitude towards international organizations is unrealistic. At best, these governments would only be willing to make small modifications in their policy while maintaining the current status quo. They tend to be suspicious of NGOs, that NGO activists would rally up public discontent and undermine the authority of the current regimes. As member states are not obligated to obey General Assembly resolutions, using resolutions to demand drastic reforms against these countries' position will achieve very little and, at the same time, alienate them from the UN system.

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http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wess/wess_dev_issues/dsp_policy_01.pdf.

³⁴ Deepti Bhatnagar, Animesh Rathore, Magüi Moreno Torres, and Parameeta Kanungo. "Participatory Budgeting in Brazil." Accessed December 16, 2018. https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTEMPowerment/Resources/14657_Participatory-Budgeting-Brazil-web.pdf.

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