

At the same time, as some respondents rightly point out, it would be a mistake to underestimate the conflict potential of other non-religious factors that could also pose a terrorist threat. It should be kept in mind that extremism and terrorism, as their extreme form, can arise on the basis of political, economic, social, inter-ethnic contradictions, as well as conflicts of interest of criminal clans going into power.

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OLGA BIBIKOVA. POLYGAMY IN THE POST-SOVIET SPACE // *The article was written for the bulletin "Russia and the Moslem World."*

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Abstract. After the collapse of the USSR, the Moslem regions of the CIS and the Russian Federation returned to ancient traditions. Among them is polygamy, which in different countries exists due to various social reasons.

Following the declaration of independence by Central Asian countries, secular legislation was revised. In some countries, an article prohibiting polygamy has disappeared from the Constitution. The fact is that in the countries where the majority of the population is Moslem, Sharia law is still respected. Polygamy in the East has deep roots.¹ And not only in the East. Numerous historical

documents, and especially the Bible, indicate that polygamy has always existed. Peoples fought, men perished, and to replenish the population, it was necessary to give birth to as many children as possible. Especially boys, who, having matured, would become warriors. By the way, even in antiquity, the principle of infanticide developed: killing of frail infants (sometimes they were sacrificed to the gods). Girls were killed the most.²

Naturally, noble people could afford to feed several women. There was a practice of choosing the most beautiful captives, which were intended for leaders or for sale. Later, representatives of the less affluent classes began to acquire a second and a third wife. And, if for the rich polygamy was a symbol of prestige, for the poor each wife was regarded as a new member of the labor cell.

It should be noted that Islam, rejecting hypocrisy and prejudice, gently refers to sexual needs of men. In the Shiite branch of Islam, a man who is separated from his family can arrange a temporary marriage (*siga* or *muta*).³ In fact, many male migrant workers from the Central Asian republics, having gone for work abroad, acquire temporary wives, most of whom also come from Central Asia. Their behavior is dictated by the tradition formed by Islam many centuries ago.

The Quran testifies that polygamy (*Ta'addud az-zavjat*) existed among the Arabs at an early stage in the development of Islam. (Ayat 3, sura An Nisa – “Women”) says that a man can marry other women that he likes: two, three, four. The reasons why a man can have more than one wife are listed by the Islamologist A. Karimov, explaining that if the wife does not protect her husband’s chastity or is seriously ill, infertile, and so on, and the husband wants a child, then it’s advisable (*mustahabb*) to marry another one. If a man wants to marry another woman unnecessarily or to raise his prestige in society, then polygamy is undesirable for him (*makruh*). If a man is poor, weak or confident that he cannot show justice between wives, then polygamy is a sinful deed for him.⁴

The ethics of marital relations in Islam is different from similar relationships among other nations. The Syrian theologian Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (1292–1350) in his works “The Way of Two Migrations and the Gate of Two Blessings” and “The Garden of Lovers and the Rest of the Passionate” noted that intimate communication is designed to preserve health, bring joy and pleasure to the body, preserve the human resource. Russian orientalist L. Syukiyaynen notes that in Islam the rigor of morals is combined with the tradition of openly discussing the details of intimate relationships.⁵ It is characteristic that this tradition originated in the Middle Ages. This is evidenced by the work of the Tunisian sheikh Sidi Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Nafzavi, “The Fragrant Garden” or “Garden of the Delight of Souls,” created between 1394 and 1433. In this collection of love affairs of Arab rulers, the author demonstrated knowledge of the eroticism of the East. Acquaintance with these works indicates that people in the Moslem East knew how to enjoy themselves in many various ways, feeling free and avoiding any hypocrisy.⁶ It can also be noted that the French writer Guy de Maupassant made this book known Europe, translating it into French.

L. Sukiyaynen notes, that from the point of view of Islam, polygamy is humane and moral, since it helps to solve the problems of female loneliness, fatherlessness and prostitution.⁷ Islamic theologians believe that polygamy protects men from adultery, the possibility of getting sexually transmitted diseases, and gives women status, protection and motherhood. In addition, polygamy contributes to an increase in offspring, which in Islam is regarded as divine grace.

Indeed, in the current situation polygamy solves a number of social problems. Daghestan imam Magomedrasul Saaduev believes that men who consciously take such a step can be considered patriots, since they take two and, sometimes three or four families under guardianship, and should be provided with privileges.⁸

UZBEKISTAN

Polygamy in Uzbekistan has always existed, despite attempts of the authorities to ban it. According to surveys conducted in Uzbekistan, the republic's public, despite the legislative prohibition of polygamy, considers this form of marriage possible, because it allows solving the problem of single women. Participants in the discussion on Tashkent's Azatyk radio noted that the long stay of labor migrants in Russia and creation of second families there put Uzbek women in a difficult position. In Uzbekistan, now, as in times of war, whole mahallas have been left without men. Men have gone to work to Russia, South Korea and Czechia. Men who should be near their children are abroad. Many women who could not get married are left on the shelf.⁹ Only in Russia, as of February 1, 2017, there stayed 1,5 million citizens of Uzbekistan.¹⁰ Over the three quarters of 2018, 3.55 million people left for Russia. Most of them are men of fertile age, some of whom left their families at home. However, even before the start of mass migrations, polygamy was popular, especially in rural areas. In the summer of 2017, President Mirziyoyev blamed the mullahs who performed "nikah," which contributed to the spread of polygamy in the republic. The president promised to punish the mullahs who performed this rite.

Polygamy is prohibited in Uzbekistan; there is an article on this subject in the country's criminal code. Article 126 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan reads as follows: "Polygamy, that is, cohabitation with two or more women on the basis of common household, is punishable by a fine of fifty to one hundred minimum wages or by correctional labor for up to three years, or imprisonment for up to three years." However, the growing labor migration of men leads to the fact that outside the homeland, Uzbeks are acquiring new families. According to the Russian media, the number of citizens of Uzbekistan in the Russian Federation is about 1.5 million people. (as of February 1, 2017).

Sociologists explain the spread of such marriages among migrant workers as an element of adaptation to the conditions of migration and a return to the historical practice characteristic of Moslem society.

TAJIKISTAN

In the fall of 2013, at the initiative of women's organizations, a letter was sent to the government in which Tajik women asked their husbands who had left to work to Russia to return to their homeland. There were even wishes to demand from Russia to deport them. By the way, a few years earlier, women of Azerbaijan addressed their president with a similar request.

In the spring of 2015, under the influence of an economic crisis and as a result of the adoption of new migration rules in Russia, Tajik men began to return, but the situation did not stabilize. In 2018, according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, the number of Tajik citizens who came to Russia and were registered with the migration register amounted to 482,897 people only in the first quarter of 2018.

According to economists, the remittances of labor migrants to their homeland amount to more than \$ 3 billion a year, which corresponds to 40% of Tajikistan's GDP. For many Tajik families, transfers from Russia are the only means of subsistence. Moreover, Dushanbe is interested in Russia conducting a migration amnesty for 200,000 Tajik migrant workers who are waiting for a visa to re-enter Russia.¹¹ The Government of the Republic of Tajikistan connects this issue with the agreement on the presence of a Russian military base in Tajikistan.¹²

The absence of a significant number of Tajik men at home negatively affects the marital and family situation in the republic. As in other republics, the Tajik Criminal Code prohibits polygamy (Article 170). In case of violation of the law, a fine in the form of a fine of 2000 minimum wages, or in the form of

correctional labor for a term of up to 2 years is imposed. In some cases, a restriction of liberty of up to 5 years is provided.

However, more and more members of the public speak in favor of legalizing polygamy in the republic, which fact, in their opinion, will improve the demographic situation and overcome the gender imbalance that arose as a result of the civil war (1992–1997). Proponents of the legalization of polygamy argue their position by comparing illegal polygamy in the republic with the practice of “civil” marriages in European countries.

Thus, the informal recognition of parallel marriages that have arisen in the country of employment is gradually emerging. Naturally, the Tajik society condemns temporary cohabitation. However, in the history of the peoples of Central Asia polygamy has not been completely eliminated anywhere. This circumstance contributes to the formation of a different social and marriage ethics. In the event a man has entered into a marriage according to Islamic rules in his homeland, he can contract a civil marriage in the country of employment, for example, in Russia, since his passport does not contain an entry confirming registration marriage. Some of them send home an SMS with the text: “talok, talok, talok,” which means “divorce.” S. Olimova, a sociologist, head of the ShARK research center in Tajikistan, notes that about 90% of the migrants surveyed were married, but only 5% took their wives to Russia.¹³

Over time, the laws for Tajik migrant workers have become tougher. As a result, the volume of remittances decreased by three times. However, illegal immigrants are still there and they are waiting for the promised amnesty. The FMS is preparing a new law, which should reduce the level of crime among immigrants, increase labor safety, increase employer responsibility and create a system of a more transparent presence of foreign workers in Russia. In addition, the new law is aimed at combating corruption and reducing the number of illegal immigrants. It is assumed that Tajik migrants will have worker status and, therefore, will have social security and other rights.¹⁴

Analyzing the current situation, as a result of which the family in the homeland of the migrant is destroyed, the researchers note that this situation had some sad consequences, and among them – female suicide, a phenomenon not characteristic of Moslem culture. The Tajik public organization “Perspective Plus” noted the growth of such cases. An expert at the Center for Social and Economic Research “Strategy” F. Saidov believes that today in Tajikistan there live from 50 to 80 thousand women, whose husbands have gone for labor migration and broke off relations with their families,¹⁵ some of them have been left without the financial support of the breadwinner. Similar cases were recorded to a greater extent in rural areas, where the marriage was not officially registered with the registry office, but only a religious ceremony was held. In such cases, it is extremely difficult for women to prove their rights, confirm paternity, and divorce makes it difficult to divide property and receive alimony. Even with a court decision, it is very difficult to enforce it, because the husband is physically absent from the country.

KYRGYZSTAN

The Republic's criminal code prohibits polygamous marriages. In July 2008, Minister of Justice of the Republic Marat Kayipov proposed to legalize polygamy. According to the minister, the ban on polygamy violates the rights of children born in nikah from second and third wives. We are talking about the fact that in such cases the marriage is contracted in a mosque, and there are no documents defining the rights of children from such a marriage. His proposal had no consequences, since at the household level the public understands the inevitability of polygamy in the current economic conditions.

In 2010, the provision that Kyrgyzstan was a “secular state” was removed from the new edition of the Constitution.¹⁶ According to representatives of women's organizations, in this way the authorities were going to legalize polygamy purposefully.¹⁷

A paradoxical situation is developing in the republic: for example, the head of the Women Leaders movement, G. Nurmatova, finds the phenomenon of polygamy normal provided that all the requirements of the Sharia are met, but at the same time opposes the legalization of polygamy. In her opinion, those who demand that punishment for polygamy be excluded from the legislation do not fully understand the essence of the issue. To her opinion Kyrgyz society is not Moslem, and even many people who consider themselves Moslems do not always understand the essence of certain Sharia norms. G. Nurmatova believes that under such conditions, when society is not ready to understand and fulfill the requirements of Islam, the resolution of polygamy is fraught with negative consequences."¹⁸

Human rights activist A. Abdurasulova believes that this problem should be reviewed in a broader perspective. Indeed, among the reasons that encourage men to take a second wife may be the state of health or infertility of the first wife, lack of hope for the birth of a boy. However, there is a danger that the opportunity to take a new wife will become the realization of the whims of wealthy men, while the need, social insecurity, and the lack of prospects to find a suitable life partner and create a family for love make a woman agree to such a marriage.

In practice, the facts of polygamy take place even at the highest level. And this is characteristic of almost all Central Asian states. We have already noted that men who have gone to work abroad often stop sending money to their remaining families, forcing their wives to seek livelihoods on their own. For some of them, the status of a second wife is a way out of the circumstances. Naturally, if there is no divorce mark in the passport, the registry office will not register a new marriage. In this case, the marriage is concluded in a mosque, but it does not have legal protection (rights to alimony and inheritance).

On the issue of polygamy, the public of Kyrgyzstan has almost split in two. Some consider polygamy not only possible, but also forced, especially since cases of polygamy are known

almost throughout the country. Others strongly oppose: Sh. Khabibullina, the head of the department of the organization Women Can All (Osh city), believes that the punishment for polygamy cannot be excluded from the legislation of the country, since such marriages are concluded without ensuring the rights of women and children who suffer from these marriages in the first place.¹⁹

The population of the republic (estimated as of January 1, 2010) is 6,389 thousand people.²⁰ There is an evident disproportion, since there are significantly more women than men in the population category after 35 years of age.

Almost every fourth citizen of Kyrgyzstan has don off to Russia in search of leaving. The Migration Service under the Government of Kyrgyzstan reports that 640 thousand Kyrgyzstanis were registered in Russia in 2018 with migration registration. According to unofficial data, over 1 million Kyrgyz citizens work in the Russian Federation. It is not known how many of them have created a second family, being outside the homeland, however, in Russia the number of orphans born by migrant women is growing.

Due to the simplified entry to Russia for the residents of Kyrgyzstan²¹ many women of the republic are seeking here. Many give birth to children here. The Kyrgyzstan Ayaldary (Women of Kyrgyzstan) human rights foundation, founded by B. Tarabekova, a Kyrgyz woman who has been living in Russia for 30 years, helps migrant women with small children who are left without support from a man, as well as without housing and work. According to the Russian law "On Citizenship," a child born to foreign citizens on the territory of the Russian Federation, and the state of his parents does not grant the child citizenship, becomes a citizen of the Russian Federation." For a young mother, this is a chance to stay in Russia forever, but getting all rights is extremely difficult. It's good if the mother is legally on the territory of the Russian Federation. In fact, the number of children abandoned only by Kyrgyz women and only in Moscow

is measured in dozens every year,²² and the number of those sent home – still by units.

According to the World Bank, Kyrgyzstan ranks first in the world in terms of remittances from migrants to their homeland. For 11 months of 2018, the inflow of remittances to the republic amounted to \$ 2.48 billion. Of this money, \$ 2.44 billion was transferred from Russia.²³

TURKMENISTAN

In June 2018, an article prohibiting polygamy was introduced into the family code of the republic. The new version of the regulatory document in article 7 contains the phrase “Polygamy is not allowed in Turkmenistan.” The Criminal Code of the Republic (adopted in 1997) contains article 163, according to which a fine of up to 30 average monthly wages or two years of corrective labor is stipulated for “cohabitation with two or more women in a common household.”

There are thousands of examples of polygamy in Turkmenistan, although back in 1928 polygamy was attributed to “domestic crimes.” A special decree was adopted, according to which polygamy and the payment of *kaly*m were attributed to “remnants.” It is believed that in the years 1930–1940 polygamy was eliminated, although polygamous families survived in remote areas.

Today, in independent Turkmenistan, Islamic traditions are being revived, according to some experts, thanks to European values that have penetrated the country, which made it possible to experiment more boldly with models of family life.²⁴ In fact, the lack of men, including those dying of drugs, was the reason for the preservation of polygamous marriage. The second reason is the desire of parents to arrange the future of their daughters, or divorced women and widows who want to find a breadwinner.

Public polls indicate that many divorced women agree to the role of a second wife, because in this way they gain status and

protection. But in this case, they can only rely on religious marriage (nikah). A Turkmen journalist Esen Aman writes that despite the prohibitions and negative perceptions on the part of society, polygamy exists and is becoming quite common, and therefore, it may be prudent to legalize or, more precisely, legitimize the existing situation. To his opinion this may be an insignificant and not the only step necessary to save the gene pool of the Turkmen nation, but this is the path indicated by nature and there is no sense in abandoning it.²⁵ It has become a tradition to publicly condemn any Turkmen official to mention that he has more than one wife. At the same time, the number of divorces is growing in the republic. In recent years, one of the causes of divorces initiated by women has been the drug addiction among men.

KAZAKHSTAN

A somewhat different situation with polygamy has developed in Kazakhstan: here, the proportion is 8 women for one single man (!).²⁶ Women of the republic are more emancipated compared to residents of neighboring countries, therefore, when discussing the problems of marriage and family, the issue of divorce is highlighted. The increase in their number is due precisely to the fact that the Kazakh women are more independent in nature. In the parliament of the republic, the problem of divorces and polygamy was discussed repeatedly, but the legislators did not come to a consensus. It was noted that the resolution of polygamous marriages would significantly reduce the number of divorces, contribute to a reduction in the number of unmarried women, an increase in the birth rate, and a decrease in the number of abandoned children and abortions, since the creation of such a family usually takes place more deliberately. However, if a law allowing polygamy is passed, it is obvious that international legal organizations will condemn this decision and

the image of Kazakhstan will fall in the eyes of our foreign partners, especially Europe.²⁷

However, in 1998 the criminal liability for polygamy was abolished. In 2001, 2007, 2008 the parliament of the country again raised the issue of legalization of polygamy. In fact, polygamy is present even in the highest echelons of power.²⁸ All attempts by individual deputies to legitimize the presence of Tokal (younger wives) are faced with resistance from the female part of the population, and are blocked at the parliament level.

In April 2019, the human rights coalition of Kazakhstan made a call to legitimize polygamy. As noted by a number of Kazakhstani experts, the demographic situation in the country also speaks in favor of polygamy. As of January 1, 2019, the population of the amounts to 18,396 thousand people. The number of women exceeds the number of men by almost 600 thousand.²⁹

The information and analytical portal Quorum.kz conducted a survey that showed that the majority of Kazakhstanis (41%) agree with the proposal to legalize the institution of polygamy in Kazakhstan, as this would reduce the number of single women in the country. 11% of respondents do not see the point of this, because such a practice exists de facto. 26% of voters voted against, and 22% had no definite opinion.³⁰

AZERBAIJAN

The legislation of Azerbaijan does not prohibit polygamy. However, on 1.09.2000, the punishment for polygamy was abolished. Media regularly report cases of clandestine polygamy. Here, as in other republics with Moslem population, Kebin Kesmek – another marriage – takes place in a mosque. According to the law, religious marriages do not have legal force and do not create either a property or hereditary obligation between the parties, which in turn is the basis for depriving a woman of her rights in case of divorce. Thus and so, divorced women whose

marriages were not registered with state bodies cannot count on material support from their ex-husband.

The discussion around polygamy revealed different points of view.

The head of the pro-Iranian Islamic Party of Azerbaijan (IPA) G. Nuriev is a supporter of the legitimization of polygamy. Azerbaijani MP Ramiz Ahmadov disagrees with him; in his opinion, the ancient Moslem custom of polygamy is unacceptable today. The same opinion is shared by T. Hasanova, a consultant for the women's crisis center, who believes that legitimizing polygamy will destroy the foundations of the Azerbaijani family. She is sure if a man is allowed to take several wives, this will infringe on the rights of women who already suffer from the pronounced patriarchy of Azerbaijani society.³¹

Mostly polygamy is practiced in the southern regions bordering Iran. Hasanova notes that if before society had a very negative attitude to such cases, now in the regions where young guys emigrate to Russia, Turkey and other countries in search of work, the number of potential "spinsters" is growing. Therefore, women are ready for all humiliation, so as not to lose the family and the breadwinner. Both neighbors and relatives of such people, knowing the general situation, try to "treat them with understanding" and no longer mind. Naturally, under the influence of Iran, religious figures in the south of the country back up such marriages.³² Oddly enough, a survey of the population revealed that men support polygamy, women, in their majority, oppose it.³³

Today Azerbaijan is a self-sufficient state based on national roots, at the same time a secular, multinational, multi-confessional one. The country is developing dynamically. On its territory there are more than 70 different nationalities, preserving their traditions and customs. However, as noted by representatives of the public, some customs should be abandoned, because they do not meet modern challenges.

If earlier the main problem of the family and marriage sphere was early marriage, today we are talking about polygamous marriages. Measures are required to ensure that the rights of children from second and third wives were not infringed. In the past 10 years, the number of children born to unregistered wives has increased 4 times. In rural areas, the level of education has decreased and religious propaganda has intensified, and the worldview of people has changed. If you leave everything as it is and do not pay attention to polygamous marriages, then their number may increase.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

According to Art. 14 of the Russian Family Code, only one woman and only one man can be married at a time. Similar legislative norms are present in the laws of Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova.

Unofficial polygamous unions are not uncommon among Moslems living in the Slavic republics, as well as in the republics of the North Caucasus, where the majority of the population professes Islam. In 1999, the then president of Ingushetia, Ruslan Aushev, tried to legalize this practice by allowing men to enter into up to four marriages, but the Ingushetian Supreme Court repealed this law as unconstitutional. Later, in 2006, the Chechen leader Ramzan Kadyrov raised this issue, referring to the traditions of the Chechen people and the situation of gender imbalance that arose as a result of two wars. Today, polygamy in the republic is unofficially encouraged by the authorities.

Since the middle of the last century in Russia there has been a violation of the marriage pool, i.e. matching the number of grooms and brides, as well as an increase in the number of single women with and without children. Therefore, in a number of regions of Russia, where the number of Moslems is large, an appeal to the sociocultural norms that are characteristic of Moslem society, i.e. to the polygamous family takes place. This is

also facilitated by the fact that in a Moslem environment, an unmarried woman is not a full member of society until she marries and gives birth to a child.

In the mid-1990s Ruslan Aushev, President of Ingushetia, allowed polygamy (then we were speaking about a second wife). But then this decision was cancelled by President B. Yeltsin. In May 2015, the Moscow mufti Ildar Alyautdinov also raised this issue. He noted that the number of Moslem marriage ceremonies in the capital has increased. Religious leaders noted that they cannot condemn such marriages, since the possibility of having 4 wives for a Moslem believer is recorded in the Quran.

The discussion on the legalization of polygamy took place in Tatarstan. Since 2015, the Spiritual Administration of Moslems of Tatarstan has introduced a rule to issue a certificate of religious marriage, as well as record the fact of its occurrence in an electronic database. It is characteristic that a survey of visitors to the kazan.aif website revealed that 85% of respondents were negative about polygamy, 15% said that "it depends on the situation in life." None of the respondents supported the proposal to allow polygamy.³⁴ During a meeting with foreign journalists, Rustam Minnikhanov, the president of the Republic of Tatarstan, when asked about polygamy in Tatarstan admitted that in fact some cases occurred underhandedly.³⁵ This statement indicates a rather tolerant attitude towards polygamous marriages. An understanding of the situation is also demonstrated by the statement of E. Murzin, deputy of the state assembly of Bashkiria who noted that the number of men in the republic is far less than of women and due to this fact the birth rate is low: few women dare to raise a child without a husband.³⁶ Indeed, the attitude of the authorities towards polygamy is directly related to the birth rate in the Russian Federation.

Thus, the population of Tatarstan – 3894284 (2018) compared with 1959 increased by 1 million,³⁷ the birth rate is 2.7 per 1000 people. But the consequences of the low birth rate characteristic of the 1990s begin to have a significant impact on

modern demographic processes.³⁸ A similar situation exists in other regions of the Russian Federation.

The German independent non-governmental organization Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung Foundation conducted a survey in the North Caucasus, which revealed the largest number of monogamous marriages in Ingushetia (95%), Daghestan (94%), and Kabardino-Balkaria (91%), in Chechnya (84%). The survey revealed that the largest percentage of polygamous marriages is present in the age group of women from 17 to 30 years (36%). Typically, these women have a low level of education.³⁹ Researchers have noted the importance of adat (customary law) in Chechnya. By these standards, children belong to the husband's family. If the husband dies or divorces the mother of his children, the children remain in the husband's family. Therefore, many women do not insist on divorce and do not object to the second / third marriage of their spouse, provided that she remains in the family with her children.

One gets the impression that in order to eliminate the "demographic hole," the authorities are turning a blind eye to the numerous facts of polygamy in Moslem regions, in the hope that the birth rate will increase, including through polygamous marriages.

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Considering the prerequisites for the spread of polygamy, it should be noted that today it is, above all, the numerical superiority of women over men.

Despite the fact that in most states polygamy is prohibited, such marriages are recognized in fifty countries. In a number of cases – as a rule in multiethnic and multiconfessional societies – this issue is referred to the jurisdiction of provincial authorities.

There are also about a dozen countries in the world where polygamous marriages are not allowed to be registered, however, the marriages already concluded are recognized and not

prosecuted. In addition, sometimes polygamy is in the position of a legally permissible, but undesirable phenomenon.⁴⁰

In almost all European countries, a paradoxical situation has arisen: with the prohibition of polygamous marriages, their number grows, primarily due to an increase in the number of immigrants who come with wives who have been married in other countries.

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28. In private conversations, Kazakh journalists say that some officials and businessmen who have moved to work in the new capital Astana (now Nursultan. – Auth.), without burdening themselves with family transportation, take in the new place a young wife, which should be more in line with the new official status. Not the least role is played by the hope of the birth of a son. There was a saying: in Alma-Ata, there is a Baibish, in Astana, a there is tokal. In Almaty, the eldest wife, in Astana – the youngest.
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KAMOLIDDIN MIRZAAKHMEDOV. CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO DEMOCRATIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION // *English version of the article was submitted by the author for the bulletin "Russia and the Moslem World."*

Keywords: democratic transit, legitimacy, social system, state power, reform, public organizations, public control.

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Abstract. In this article, the author revealed the structural and institutional factors of democratic governance through a comparative analysis of the fundamentals of democratization system of the public administration.

The movement towards the democratic state is proven to become the case in various states and in different forms. Ethical and semantic analysis of democracy indicates that it has a variety of social areas such as "political democracy," "economic democracy," "democratic values," "democratic state," "democratic society," "democratic governance," and "democratic development" areas of activity are used.