

**Czech University of Life Sciences Prague**

**Faculty of Economics and Management**

**Department of Humanities**



**Bachelor Thesis**

**Political Economy and Social Movement in Kyrgyzstan**

**Meerim Saparbaeva**

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# CZECH UNIVERSITY OF LIFE SCIENCES PRAGUE

Faculty of Economics and Management

## BACHELOR THESIS ASSIGNMENT

Meerim Saparbaeva

Business Administration

Thesis title

**Political Economy and Social Movements: Kyrgyzstan 2005-2010**

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### **Objectives of thesis**

This thesis will consider the connections between social movements and political economy using the example of Kyrgyzstan from 2005-2010. Alongside traditional political actors like states and parties, social movements are increasingly considered as important drivers of both political and economic change. A political economy approach to social movements raises various significant questions, including what material interests drive people to participate in such movements, what resources are available to movements, what economic models and ideas are implicit and explicit in their goals and demands, and the longer term consequences of such movements for economic policy.

In 2005 and 2010 Kyrgyzstan underwent two 'revolutions', which led to the overthrow of governments and widespread protests and conflict. The thesis will look at the political-economic motivations of the protestors, the economic context in which they arose, and the longer-term consequences of the movement.

### **Methodology**

The thesis will develop a literature review focusing on political economic analysis of social movements, the economic and social history of Kyrgyzstan and post-Soviet Central Asia, and existing secondary literature on the revolutions of 2005 and 2010. It will conduct case study analysis of the movement, through documentary analysis and quantitative survey of participants.

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**The proposed extent of the thesis**

40-50 pages

**Keywords**

Political Economy, Social Movements, Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan

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**Recommended information sources**

- GIUGNI, Marco and GRASSO, Maria T. (2019). 'The Economic Outcomes of Social Movements'. In The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements. London: Wiley Blackwell.
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- TEMIRKULOV, A. (2010). 'Kyrgyz "revolutions" in 2005 and 2010: Comparative analysis of mass mobilization', *Nationalities Papers*, 38(5): 589-600.

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**The Bachelor Thesis Supervisor**

Daniel Rosenhaft Swain, Ph.D., MA

**Supervising department**

Department of Humanities

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**prof. PhDr. Michal Loščák, Ph.D.**

Head of department

Electronic approval: 29. 11. 2022

**doc. Ing. Tomáš Šubrt, Ph.D.**

Dean

Prague on 29. 11. 2022

## **Declaration**

I declare that I have worked on my bachelor thesis titled " Political Economy and Social Movement: Kyrgyzstan 2005 - 2010" by myself and I have used only the sources mentioned at the end of the thesis. As the author of the bachelor thesis, I declare that the thesis does not break any copyrights.

In Prague on date of submission

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I would like to thank Ph.D. Daniel Swain for directing my work and consulting it over and over through the whole summer. Because of his knowledge and given consultancy in regards of my topic, I successfully finished it by my own. I would also thank my parents for supporting me for the past 4 years, while studying at Czech University of Life Sciences.

# **Political Economy and Social Movements: Kyrgyzstan 2005-2010**

## **Abstract:**

Kyrgyzstan has gone through a very turbulent period full of twists and turns since its independence. The two most important men who ruled it were Askar Akayev and Kurmanbek Bakiyev. Both tended towards an authoritarian style of government, and both were eventually overthrown. The Tulip Revolution in 2005 ousted Akayev, and the subsequent counter-revolution in 2010 then Bakiyev. This bachelor's thesis aims to identify the causes of the fall of both autocrats and evaluate their regimes from a political point of view. In the practical part, the author conducts a survey among Kyrgyz nation. There were 140 participants who took part in the survey. The author puts attention to the social movement theories and points – out on the main causes of movements in Kyrgyzstan when it gained independence after the collapse of USSR. The author also describes how Kyrgyz officials perceived democracy and how it was adopted by the nation of Kyrgyzstan.

**Key words:** Political Economy, Social Movements, Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan.

# **Politická ekonomie a sociální hnutí: Kyrgyzstán 2005-2010**

## **Abstrakt**

Kyrgyzstán si od své nezávislosti prošel velmi turbulentním obdobím plným zvrátů. Dva nejdůležitější muži, kteří tomu vládli, byli Askar Akajev a Kurmanbek Bakijev. Oba inklinovali k autoritářskému stylu vlády a oba byli nakonec svrženi. Tulipánová revoluce v roce 2005 svrhla Akajeva a následná kontrarevoluce v roce 2010 pak Bakijeva. Tato bakalářská práce si klade za cíl identifikovat příčiny pádu obou autokratů a zhodnotit jejich režimy z politického hlediska. V praktické části autor provádí průzkum mezi kyrgyzským národem. Průzkumu se zúčastnilo 140 účastníků. Autor věnuje pozornost teoriím sociálního hnutí a poukazuje na hlavní příčiny hnutí v Kyrgyzstánu, když získal nezávislost po rozpadu SSSR. Autor také popisuje, jak kyrgyzští představitelé vnímali demokracii a jak ji přijal národ Kyrgyzstán.

**Klíčová slova:** Politická ekonomie, sociální hnutí, Střední Asie, Kyrgyzstán

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# 1. Introduction

The thesis is aimed at analyzing the social and political movements of Kyrgyzstan. Kyrgyzstan gained its independence right after the collapse of USSR. Like all post-Soviet countries, Kyrgyzstan was labeled as a state in transition. The official declaration of its independence was announced in 1993, the state became democratic.

Even though, the states in Central Asia seemed to have a liberal democratic value, still, the reality has been demonstrated that those states are more prone to authoritarianism values, which contradicts the values of democracy. The theory of transition was created by Asian scholars (including Kyrgyz), especially in the early years of its independence. However, the theory of transitional state came at a perfect time for developing states, because the term transition became the scapegoat for economic, social, and political failures, and unfortunately, no one has learned the fact on how to be fully responsible for what happened in the past 20 years (Putz, C., 2019).

In this thesis, the author is focused on analyzing the concept of political processes that the Kyrgyz government has applied and try to identify the quality of a democratic regime which will help to understand the cause of social movements. It is clearly right to state that the Kyrgyz government hasn't established the right conditions for a stable democratic regime and the end of transition period is not that close.

(Pogosyan, G, 2011) believed that the transition theory was adopted from the West, which proved with centuries of development and achieved a stronghold of democracy. He believed that transition period among Central Asian countries would last for 15-20 years. He also gave Kyrgyzstan an average chance for success. Unfortunately, due to region's mentality, those expectations were failed, because of its Soviet society and its perception of democracy. For the past 20 years, Kyrgyzstan went over 4 different movements, however, the author is interested in the most booming ones such as: "Tulip – Revolution" of 2005 , "Kyrgyz revolution" of 2010. The author wants to research the main roots of those movements and analyze whether after those revolutions, the Kyrgyz nation became more satisfied with the political regime in my homeland.

## **2. Objectives and Methodology**

### **2.2 Objectives**

The main objective of the thesis is to define the main reasons for social movements in Kyrgyzstan in 2005 and 2010. The “Tulip” revolution and “Kyrgyz” revolution. What caused those revolutions and what were their initial consequences? The author plans to describe the political and social aspects of the state, and which of these mostly provoked the population for strikes. In order to do that, the author investigates the economic development of a state and what are the main factors that triggered the movement to happen and why did people choose to protest back then and have those movements fulfilled their expectations and how do they see the change after 12 and 17 years consequently.

### **2.3 Methodology**

As a main methodological tool, the author uses a survey of 16 questions to identify the main reasons why those two movements have happened. The survey consists of multiple-choice answers option. The survey will be conducted online, all participants will be citizens of Kyrgyzstan.

The theoretical part will be based on secondary data which consists of documentaries, literature reviews and interviews, which are related to those revolutions. The author will highlight the main reasons why those revolutions have happened, based on the secondary data, and will analyze whether they relate to the answers of participants. Within the theoretical part, the author analyzes the economic development of a state, because the welfare of people has been dropping with the presidency of Akajev (2000 – 2005) and Bakijev (2005 – 2010).

### 3. Literature Review

The word politics comes from a Greek words “polis” (city/state) and “techné” (science) which together means, the science of governing the state. Hansen, M.H., (2006). Today, politics is understood as combination strategies and activities that are implemented by officials of a certain state, to maintain relations with other states. However, politics, is one of the hardest things to analyze. However, Maitah, I. M., (2013) claims, that politics is a discipline intended to ask questions about power and how correctly the power is used, for whom, and to what extent. If the power is not used properly, a hope is left on civil society. Politics, in this case, consists of several ideologies, economic factors, social factors, interests of civilians, social movements, and many more.

The study of power was born in Greece, and politics is highly related to the study. The Aristotle once said: **”The man is a political animal”** because he/she is a social creature with the power of speech and moral reasons. (Aristotle, 322BC.). The meaning of that phrase is clear, we have control over one another, and the way we do control is only up to us.

The Social contract believed that a government is only legitimate if the people want to be controlled Thomas Hobbes (2012). He argued that government doesn’t have an automatic right to govern, rather than people, have the right to be governed, and only in cases of their own choosing. In a fully democratic state, people give the state the right and power through election processes. However, the post-Soviet states used to being under a dictatorship regime, which uses threats or force on its people, and had full control of its nation.

From a broader perspective, politics and its parties establish the concept of rules and regulations for organizations and social entities to make everyone equal. Generally, political ideology can be classified into two groups, left-wing and right-wing tendencies, where each has got its own values (traditional and innovative) which are considered as the best means of promoting the country’s well-being, hence the well-being of citizens.

The right-wing is more in line with the national and traditional values, more conservative and closer to modern society and keeps maintaining the traditional values. Left-wing is more open to new ideas of development and is based on social justice, recognizing basic values of social equality.

### **3.2 Social Movement Theories**

The below-mentioned theory describes an overall impression about social movements; however, social movements also vary, based on the motives, factors that cause a social movement of participants. The author has considered more theories, which might eventually help to analyze the questionnaire within the practical part.

Mass theory was developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, during processes of urbanization and industrialization. Mass society is a society that shares a mutual cultural heritage and identity. The movement is about people who are socially isolated and might be involved in extremist movements. Mass society theory takes into consideration the fact that those people can be easily manipulated or controlled by a third party. The perfect way to start the movement is through social media Kornhauser (2008).

Turner, R.H & Killian, L.M. (1957) argued the theory of mass social movement, they concluded that socially isolated people are less likely to be involved in any type of movement and vice versa whereas socially involved people are prone to those movements.

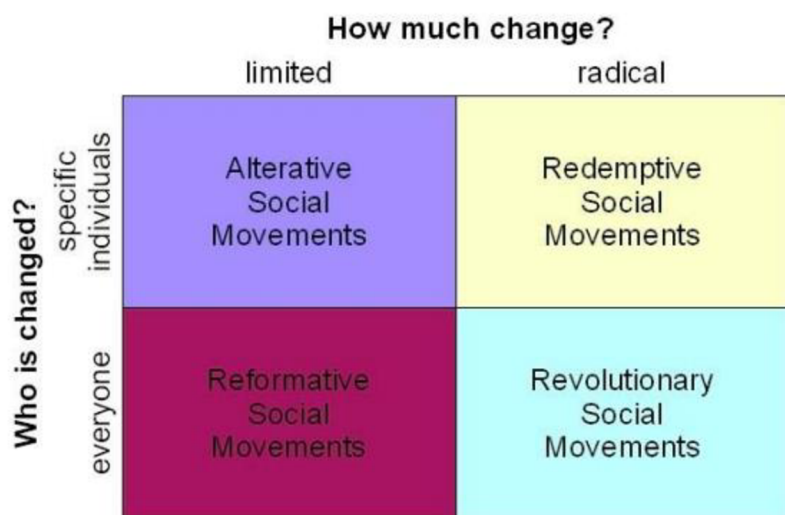
Resource Mobilization theory is the theory that studies the success of a social movement by just looking at how well it is structured. The core of this theory and movement itself is the ability to gain resources. The resources are divided into two groups, materialistic resources, such as capital, organizations, labor, and ways of communication, and on the other hand non-materialistic resources where relationships, public attention, solidarity, and commitment are considered. The theory entails the fact that, individuals join social movements on their free will and for the most part, they are motivated by grievance feeling and there will always be a person who feels dissatisfied and feel that he/she deserve better. Those individuals want to achieve a change, but for the most part, they don't have much motivation and feeling of grievance along is not enough to motivate them. Additionally, the movement needs good organizational skills, political opportunities and monetary resources to achieve the set goals Goodwin (2013).

Added – Value theory is the theory which is related to the economic matter. In order for it to happen, there are specific combinations of certain conditions that have to occur in order to start a collective behavior. Value added concept comes from economic point of view, especially from the production department where, a product goes through numerous stages until its final. Each stage in this case adds a value to the product and the final product is a mixture of those value which were added within the whole process of production. In the theory of value-added, the concept is pretty much the same where, in society, the collection

of social issues, will start the process until it reaches a certain threshold. However, this theory is divided into sub-stages:

- Structured conduciveness – people are aware of the situation and believe in opportunities to encourage them to collective behavior.
- Structural strains – people feel abundant, inequality of rights and opportunities.
- Growth and Spread of the belief – the solution is going around as a rumor among the people.
- Precipitation factor – the beginning of the social movement.
- Mobilization for action – when an affected group of people come together to act in their favor at any cost, to solve the collective problem. (Editors for Salem Press., 2014).

**Figure 1: Four types of social movements**



Source: (Aberle, D.F , 1966).

The diagram above shows the classification of social movements by their types. Based on Aberle (1966), if a movement has a purpose to achieve a change within an existing regime or constitution, the movement is called Reform, however, when the objective is to change the whole regime, it is a revolution movement. Sometimes, the slight change in regime, can turn into a revolution. However, the direction of such a movement can have different ideologies such as: radical, conservative, liberal and reactionary or moderate.

Social movement and their purposes can be based on strategy and actions. If they want to demonstrate public support, it should be done in line with the law, so it could be considered as a legal protest. Passive resistance is another way of movement. It involves such methods as: stage sit-ins, blockades, hunger strikes or marches. There are no violent

actions at all. However, some of those movements might include riots, armed struggle and direct actions Aberle (1966).

Vonderhaar (2013) there are global movements that are focused on global problems, however the movement strives to partially change individual behavior , such as the green movement and recycling waste. Another goal of the movements could be focused on total change of an individual. For example, religious movements, where tries to change a person totally. Those movements are called, Redemptive, See Figure – 1.

The other types of movements are focused on changing social change are reformative and transformative. Reformative seeks for a partial change in systems, equality is the perfect example of it. Transformative is more focused on the total changing of a certain criterion.

### **3.2.1 The Classic Revolution Theory**

The twenty century was the golden age of revolutions theories, there were many cases to take into consideration, and based on those cases, scholars managed to base their conclusions on many different aspects, which will be described in detail later. Goldstone (1980) presented the heritages of the non-Marxist revolutionary theory along the lines of Goldstone's grouping. Firstly, represented by Gustave Le Bon & George. S. Petee and Cane Brinton. Based on Goldstone. This generation lacked a strong theoretical background and explanations of revolutions, it is tightly linked with the „mob psychology“ or other words “crowd psychology” explanations of French revolution, which was very hard to falsify.

The second generation was represented by James Davies, Charles Tilly and Samuel Huntington, where they explain revolutions in terms of cognitive psychology and frustration – aggression theories popular at the time. People would strike when they are very frustrated and feel themselves uncomfortable with the “political – economic conditions”.

Another scholar saw revolutions as a reason of disequilibrium between the system and its environment or among different parts of the system. Society became disoriented when structural changes let to the changes of individual values and additionally, politicians were the reason of revolutions, because they took advantages of their power and resources, and avoided to solve regional conflicts by regular political procedures. The scholars named a few potential reasons of revolutions such as (war, modernization, technological or value change, new interest groups and etc.)

The second generation was than criticized for assuming that elite actions can actually prevent revolution, that assumptions is a contradiction of an empirical evidence. The

criticism of political science school was due to a failure to distinguish between the instances of civil unrest and classical revolutions. The third generation included the teachings of Goldstone, who claimed that the intellectual foundation of these scholars' rests within Barrington Moore's "Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy". The third generation combined the weakest points of the second generation. They distinguished that the state is not merely an arena for the resolution of pluralist conflicts, however, it is an autonomous entity itself, its program and structure varying across countries. Secondly, they recognized that elites and peasants were not a monolithic class. The third generation of scholars started greater attention to the structure and composition of the two classes. Third, the behavior of the armed forces appeared as an important variable in the analysis. Fourth, the revolution was explained by the international influence which gave a legitimate role.

The revolution in Georgia, of 2003 was explained by Lincoln Mitchel, from the National Democratic Institute, which would become painfully familiar later. In a post-Soviet country, with a pseudo-democratic regime, prominent opposition, free media, advised and co-sponsored by international NGOs, which unites at some point before the actual revolution. The elections are rigged, united opposition stages a protest, joined by the masses. The officials condemn demonstrators and the masses, mobilize their supporters and might attempt with threatening the crowd using the police and the Army to intervene, finally, let the crowd take the power and give in the demand that would lead to the important changes for the government, regime, foreign relations and potential for democracy (Andrew, W., 2005). He concluded that all colored revolutions<sup>[1]</sup> shared four similarities. First, fraudulent elections were a trigger in all cases, second, unlike other revolutions, the aims of contenders were fundamentally new and radical, the color revolutions fought for conditions already formally provided for. Thirdly, the dual sovereignty was observed in all four countries (Ukraine, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's Bulldozer Revolution) with contenders and incumbents claiming authority over the country. Fourth, no violence was used as a powerful source, by either side.

**Picture 1: Color revolution, involmment of different countries**

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<sup>[1]</sup> Color revolutions – is a term used to describe the various anti – regime movements, such as: the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's Bulldozer Revolution (2000), Georgia's Rose Revolution (2003), Ukraine's Orange Revolution (2004), and Kyrgyzstan's Tulip Revolution (2005).





Source: [Google-pictures \(2022\)](#)

### 3.3 Political Economy

Goodwin, J.S., (2013) explains how market distributes the sources among different classes and can help to analyze the variations of those distributions, trajectories, failures and successes. In this sense, it is highly important to understand the political economy from government point of view. Because of such factors as: distribution of resources, elite divisions, control of crisis, and generally, how people are connected, are responsibilities of political economy.

Economic condition of any state, when unsteady, might cause a social movement. For example, a lower labor cost is an advantageous factor of any employer. Because high labor cost negatively impacts the profitability of a firm. On the other hand, the wages of employees have to be increased every year, depending on the level of inflation, thus improve the working conditions of workers. This example demonstrates the contradiction of interests, where eventually, if the interest is one sided, the social movement might begin, where a working-class strike against employee. Moreover, the group with different interests might act collectively, where women of a working-class with elite women group, participated in a movement together, as a unit, protesting about against inequality Goodwin (2013).

Even though Politics and Economics have always been connected with each other, their mutual dependence was slightly changed in 20th century due to the fact that people

started distinguishing political and economic affairs Gilpin (2001). So, intellectual development of the society has led to the thinking that, people can influence the economic processes. Based on those knowledges, it became clear that state is the one who distributes the wealth among population. However, due to macroeconomic factors such as: unemployment, inflation rate, exchange rate etc. are not considered as inevitable fact, because of human actions.

Therefore, people as a unit, demonstrate their interests and play an important role in political economy. Goodwin (2013) also stated that interest might vary depending on a structural position between different groups. Additionally, he explains, that having a structural power means that your decisions might directly impact the development of economy. For example, if one worker is about to make a riot and involve people of the same thinking into such riot. In order to fully understand the main motivation and interest of the society, it is important to understand the theory of relative deprivation. Based on that theory, the deprivation is explained as a comparison between the expectation and existing reality of a human-being.

The development of the theory was developed in 1940s and became an indicator which measures the social movements. The social movement starts at the time when a certain group of people experience the relative deprivation. The measurement of the relative deprivation is based on social and psychological reactions, as social protest, discrimination, unfair feelings, disappointments and so on. Duclos (1999) used inequality income as one of the main variables which defined the theory.

According to Arora. (1971) people who participate in protests and riots have high self-appraisal and expectation of a better future.

Runciman (1966) distinguished the difference between Egoistic Relative Deprivation and Fraternalistic Relative Deprivation, where egoistic is more related to personal feeling, where a person feels he/she is intitled to have more, and the fraternalistic is when a group feels like they are entitled to have more, more of a collective aspirations or other group. In poor societies, the relative deprivation is not a common thing to register. Additionally, when economy grows fast, it might eventually cause the social and political instability, which happened in French, in 1780s. (Olson, 2002) concluded that dissatisfaction was noticeable when the economy has grown, hence, he concluded that, economic growth increases the number of dissatisfied people and poor.

### **3.4 Social Movements in Kyrgyzstan**

In this chapter the author is focused on describing the social movements „Revolutions“ that Kyrgyz Republic has experienced for the past 20 years. Before going into the details, the author would start-off by describing the roots of its problems, which came from the USSR.

After gaining its independence, the Kyrgyzstan has officially declared about itself in 1993, as a democratic state. The Kyrgyz Republic, like all soviet countries was labelled as a state in transition. However, the main mistake of the Kyrgyz Republic was that it was trying to build its liberal democracy, based on the Western expectations and experience. However, it is hard to expect the success of building the liberal democracy for the country who was a part of Soviet Union Urmanbetova (2017). Urmanbetova claims that Western vision of democracy failed because the Soviet society did not fully grasp the idea of democracy and eventually it was not able to realize the processes of democracy due to closed nature, who was not raised by democracy (Pogosyan, G, 2011).

#### **3.4.1 The “real” democracy of Kyrgyzstan**

After gaining its independence, Kyrgyzstan has set off the democratic path. However, the problem which it had faced right away, was the unexperienced government, in the democratic matter. Thus, it is absolutely right to consider the statement of Giddens, A., (2005), who declared that democratic ideas are not always consistent with the reality. The core problem of that are elites and officials, who show their commitment to democracy but do not disclose the governance system. The first president of Kyrgyzstan, Askar Akayev was enthusiastic about the democracy and its potential achievements Akayev (2003) however during his presidency, the internal levers of democracy promotion has failed.

Bakiyev (2010) was a student of so-called, post-Soviet democracy, who eventually created a part and won elections in 2004, where he put a focus on inclusion of various social groups, in order to develop and implement the state policy under the auspices of Kurultai people. Eventually, with all the commitments and promises of the presidents, both ended up leaving the presidency posts and escaping the country.

It is very difficult to obtain a full democracy<sup>[2]</sup> Lipset, S & Lakin, J. (2004). The country that tries to superficially implement the principles of democracy will never reach them. However, the case of Kyrgyz Republic, it might be reachable because it has all the necessary tools to obtain a full democracy (elections, party-systems), however, its society is the key problem of reaching it. Kyrgyzstan has implemented the universal ideas and principles of democracy, it did struggle to ingrain those ideas and principles onto the nation and social groups, leaving behind its political theory. Kyrgyz nation is not identified as a democratic and it didn't have a chance to be recognized as a stable and democratic state. So far, it associated with the country who lost its statehood Urmanbetova, Z., (2017).

At first, Kyrgyz nation misunderstood the democratic world, taking it as an absolute freedom in everything, which eventually created a chaos among officials and public life. Lipset, S & Lakin, J. (2004) stated that democracy and equality are not actually the same. The mistake was done in the beginning of democratic acceptance. It was chosen emotionally, rather than rationally. When the state announced about its independency, the emotions took control and people who were selected, didn't have enough experience with the democracy at all, the rather had democratic slogans but didn't fully understand them Urmanbetova, Z., (2017).

Karabayev (2013) concluded that people got used to live in an emotional democracy for the past 20 years and didn't have any strategy or development program to implement, so society could live better. Instead, Kyrgyzstan still survives on loans, money remittances, donor assistance and aid projects. Because of this mentality the country is known as a permanent revolutionary state<sup>[3]</sup>.

Unfortunately, Kyrgyz revolutions of 2005 and 2010, can be viewed in two different ways. The first is that society followed the democratic path and was against the authoritarianism and the second is that society was not able to harmonize with conflicting ideas about the development of a country and weak decisions of the central government.

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<sup>[2]</sup> Full democracy is understood as nations where civil liberties and fundamental political freedoms are not only respected but also reinforced by a political culture conducive to the thriving of democratic principles. These nations have a valid system of governmental checks and balances, an independent judiciary whose decisions are enforced, governments that function adequately, and diverse and independent media.

<sup>[3]</sup> Permanent revolution- is the strategy of a revolutionary class pursuing its own interests independently and without compromise or alliance with opposing sections of society

The first way reflects the level of democratic development, where people have the right to demand the democratic values, freedom, and realization of these values. As stated by Lenin (1969) people should be convinced by the idea that, if the government does not implement the stated principles of democracy, people will have a chance to overthrow the existing government. During the first and the second revolution, one can only wonder, how brave the nation should be to fight against the authoritarianist regime.

In March 1995, Akayev was elected as a president of Kyrgyzstan and already in 1996, he called for a referendum on constitutional amendments to strengthen the power of his presidency. The constitutional court of Kyrgyzstan has accepted the limit to two terms, in 1998. In 2000 he was reelected for the second term; however, his first term was not counted due to the fact that he was elected under old constitution. In March of 2005, the “Tulip Revolution” ousted the Akayev from his presidency. The people started protests when the government alleged to have interfered in the elections. Afterwards, the Bakiev, came to power, as people hoped he would be a more progressive and decisive leader of the state.

Djumanaliyev (2011) claims that the repression of civil and political rights were the main reasons of the crisis in 2010, which resulted in Bakiev’s resolution. It was important to have spontaneous protests to make it look like a popular revolution. The opposition of Bakiyev, played an important role who motivated the masses and coordinated them to protest in regions and capital city. After coming to presidency, Bakiyev, K. quickly placed his family members into main sector of the economy and political system, eventually established a much harsher regime of authoritarianism.

The impression of the Kyrgyz revolution made on the international scope was interpreted as a progress towards a global democracy. However, response of the neighboring states, such as Russia and Kazakhstan were the criticism towards the Kyrgyz authorities, because they were not able to maintain peace. Additionally, those countries became more guarded and feared the export of color revolutions.

It is very important to highlight the idea of Karl and Schmitter(1991) who stated that when at the very beginning of the new era of revolution, people have hopes for the bright future and might give-up its commonwealth to those, who will not take any responsibilities in the future. The revolutionaries were always susceptible to these illusions. They dreamed of a better life, but eventually they handed the power to those of political elites who promised to finish something, but eventually, take advantage of their powerful position. Hence, the results of the revolution were always disappointing.

Karabayev (2013) concluded that, after the Akayev's presidency, the era of democracy in Kyrgyzstan has taken a step back. This has caused the disappointments and economic frustration within a country.

### **3.4.2 Elite of Kyrgyzstan**

The elite of Kyrgyzstan possess a special and historical responsibility to the future generation, due to the changes that happen among the society. The economic, political, social and cultural processes should be led by that elite. But the government has failed the pattern due to constant changes with every election process, self-interest and conflicts in politics. The political culture of Kyrgyz's representative's elite is very low. The political culture in Kyrgyzstan is very unstable because, ideology and values should motivate the elite groups, not interests Lipset & Lakin (2004). In Kyrgyzstan, it is exactly opposite, the interest is the main motivation of the elite.

It is too early to conclude that Kyrgyzstan has formed the national elite which could achieve big results and consider the interests of people. In order to get Kyrgyzstan out of the deep crisis, the elite need to maintain a dialogue with the social cohesion (Lipset & Lakin, 2004)

### **3.4.3 Kyrgyzstan after two consequent revolutions**

Currently, Kyrgyzstan still recovers from two consequent revolutions and its consequences which affected the economic, social, and political development of a state. The state is being in a constant political crisis, and unfortunately, it hasn't been resolved.

A new constitution was written in 2002 and adopted a year later. It covered all the changes and addressed many issues of an economic and socio-political natures. The post-revolutionary version of the constitutional court was approved in 2006, where it went through additional changes which resulted in creating of a new parliament. A judicial system went through changes, and instead of having three courts, there were now two different courts, the Constitutional court and Supreme court. Supreme court is in cooperation with Arbitration court review the economic matters. In 2010, the second revolution led to a change of power and an adoption of parliamentary form of government. Thus, the constant law changes have led the country to the sustained crisis. As a matter of fact, it demonstrates the Kyrgyz understanding of democracy and the Kyrgyz mindset.

Kyrgyzstan is considered as a state of unresolved problems of ethical, political, civil and religious matters. It has a multi-ethnic nature of the state, which accounts around 800 groups, and it was the main reason of “inter-ethnic” conflict which has risen in 2010. The crisis of national development, for the most part is connected with the crisis of identity. The problem of the state is that it tries to maintain the ethnic diversity and at the same time promote the national unity.

Kyrgyzstan needs a national idea to unify the society. The government tried to raise a voice of national idea which aimed at unifying the society, however, those have not proven to be a success. There is a testament of Manas<sup>[4]</sup>, Kyrgyzstan is our common home, and it is the country of human rights. However, none of these ideas possess the feeling of patriotism in Kyrgyz people and civil society keeps being in an undeveloped state. As per research of Marat (2012) the public opinion polls demonstrated that only 55 % of the population consider themselves as citizens of Kyrgyzstan. Which is in fact, an alarming fact and points out the mistakes of the government and their programs.

However, this is not the only problem which should be considered as a priority. The poor economic situation of Kyrgyzstan, started after it gained an independence, which continues till today. Many people in Kyrgyzstan go abroad, to work at constructions, cashiers and etc. There is also a problem with the privatizations. Foreign direct investments raised the perennial questions of how to spend the money, since corruption in Kyrgyzstan prevails and there is no program of full transparency. And additionally, there is an energy crisis. There are some positive signs of improvement, but generally, the economic trend is negative Marat (2012).

Yet, he claims that parliamentarism has created many problems and contradictions, based on its decisions. The relationships between the foreign policies and domestic ones are not clear and create additional problems. According to Omarov (2017), Kyrgyzstan tries to imitate policies of the other states, it is irrational and illogical. Domestic problems should be solved on a first place, otherwise it creates chaos. He points out on the data of the World Bank of 2017, and says **“Look at the data, there are 1,7 million people who live below the poverty line, it is 32 %”** – Omarov (2017). After two decades, the government still

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<sup>[4]</sup> The “Manas” especially emphasizes the heroic qualities of the heroes, assesses their military skill and valor. Participation in military campaigns, protecting one’s people from enemies was, according to the epic, the fulfillment of the duty of every man.

can't solve the problem of unsatisfied nation, there are feelings in those protests, but government either pretend to be blind or just keeps ignoring it.

#### **3.4.4 Privatization**

One of the most important steps for transitional economies to consider. During the Soviet Union, almost all assets belonged to the government. The Kyrgyz government privatized small and medium enterprises in the early 1990s and focused on privatizing the large ones in 1995. By the end of 1996, all sectors, around 95 % such as retail trade, public nutrition and services companies had been privatized.

Privatization was done through different methods, such as selling enterprises to individuals and creating joint stock companies. The shares of those stocks were mainly sold to the internal stakeholders of these enterprises. In agriculture, the privatization started in 1991. The de-collectivization of the “kolhgozes” and “sovkhozes” happened as a result of the land reform. However, after the constitutional referendum of 1998, the people were able to privately own land.

The privatization processes have created many problems because organizational behavior didn't change much in the enterprises and didn't provide many incentives. Kyrgyz nation felt like, most of the businesses would be privatized by Kyrgyz elites. Many claimed that all assets will not be distributed equally, and that those assets will be distributed among clans within the republic Anderson & Pomfret (2003). Another concern of the nation was that privatization could sell its main assets to the Foreign Direct Investors, who would be interested much in the national well-being, but would rather operate in the country because of the capital interest. Eventually, this fear was correct, the national silk factory in Osh, valued in its net of 93 million, was sold less than 2 million som.

Another example of shameless steps of the government was noticed in selling two main electricity distribution companies “Severelectro” and “Vostokelectro” in late 2009, to Chakan GES. The telecommunication operator KyrgyzTelecom was sold to an unknown company.

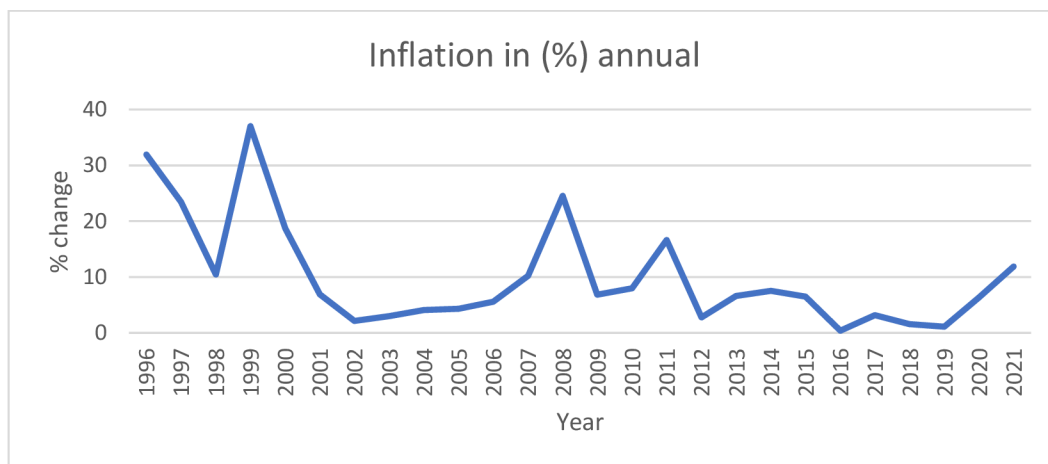


### 3.4.5 Liberalization of the prices and inflation

In soviet economy, all prices were fixed by the state and mainly they contributed to an accounting function. Liberalization of prices was a key procedure, from the planned economy to the free market economy in USSR. The liberalization of prices didn't apply on such products as: fuel, rent, children's food, milk and bread. The price liberalization was followed by hyperinflation. The inflation rate was 200 % in 1991 and reached its peak to 900 % in 1992. That type of inflation was the reason, why Kyrgyzstan adopted its own currency. Many officials had disputes in the president's house, they argued whether the case would worsen the situation of creating an own currency. An indeed, the situation got its consequences as many neighboring states refused to pay in som.

President of Uzbekistan declared an ending of energy relationship with Kyrgyzstan. Trade with the other CIS states became also stagnant. However, in the long-term, the Som currency, contributed to the economy of Kyrgyzstan. After it, the Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan have also created its own currencies in relation to Kyrgyzstan (Olcott, Martha & Brill, 1997).

**Figure 2: Inflation rate of Kyrgyzstan**



Source: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG?locations=KG>

Inflation rate has been developing in a very unstable way for Kyrgyzstan. In early 90's Kyrgyzstan did not have a monetary policy to curb the inflation pressure and was highly dependent on the ruble zone. From 2003, the support from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) helped to keep an inflation at the lowest rate possible than it was elsewhere in the post-soviet countries. However, higher inflation was expected while the crisis of 2008.

In 2008, the inflation pressure was ramping up, mainly caused by non-monetary factors which was super hard to control for the central bank. Central bank had a serious task

ahead, to keep the inflation rate at the lowest possible and prevent serious consequences in the country. The national bank of the Kyrgyzstan kept the monetary policy tight; it has issued notes and was selling treasury bills and bonds. Additionally, the economy was supported by fiscal spending. The measures of the central bank and government of Kyrgyzstan resulted in decreasing the inflation rate at 20 percent by the end of 2008.

In 2009, the inflation rate was diminished. However, the situation of 2010 and its consequences, which were caused by the socio-political movement “Rose – Revolution” has brought an inflation rate back at 16.5 percent. The price shocks were inevitable and have increased in the food market.

In 2011, the central bank kept using the tighten monetary policy. The implementation of monetary policy was not successful due to complicated growth of government spending, high budget deficit and unequal distribution of a budget during the fiscal year. At the end of 2011, the inflation rate was on its lowest level of 5.7 percent.

#### **3.4.6 Economic Support**

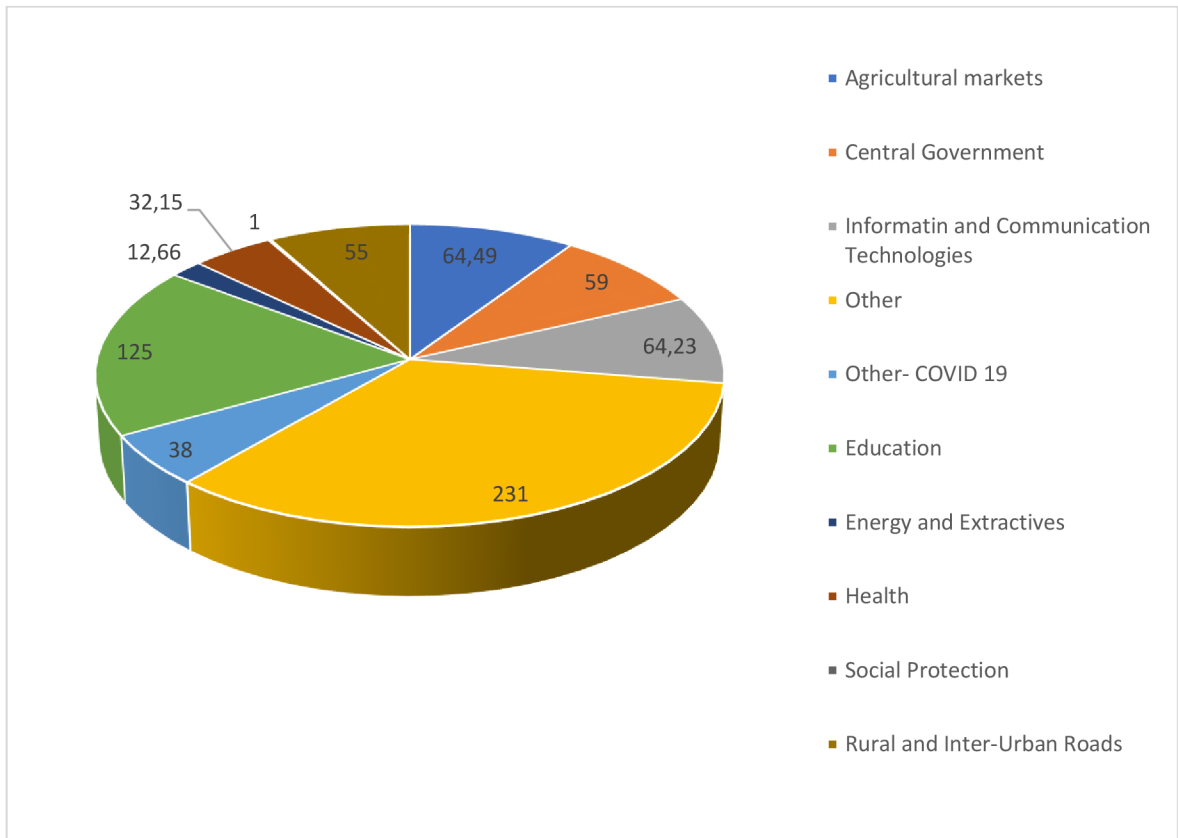
Kyrgyzstan has received substantial assistance from (IMF), the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. These institutions have supported Kyrgyzstan with monetary funds in order to make economy more stable, restructure different economic sectors and help it to find FDIs.

Kyrgyzstan became a member of IMF in May, of 1992. Since then, the IMF has actively supported the Kyrgyzstan’s transitional economy. IMF provided over 70 million of USD, to establish “Som” currency. IMF has also provided with loans to achieve low inflation rate, a stable fiscal position and a good balance of payments, banking system. The institution has also provided with a technical help such as: training courses for politicians and for member of press Ataev (2011).

Another institution which Kyrgyzstan joined is World Bank, it happened in 1992. The world bank assisted the Republic of Kyrgyzstan in different sectors of economy, mainly financial sectors and privatizing matters. The International Development Association (IDA) which is a part of the World Bank, helps countries with the low economic conditions. It assisted Kyrgyzstan with privatization, agricultural sector, fiscal reform, social reforms, business environment, tax system, improving social protection of people and etc. (IDA,

2022). An overall financial assistance from the world bank is accounted for 1,83 billion USD. See, **Figure – 3**.

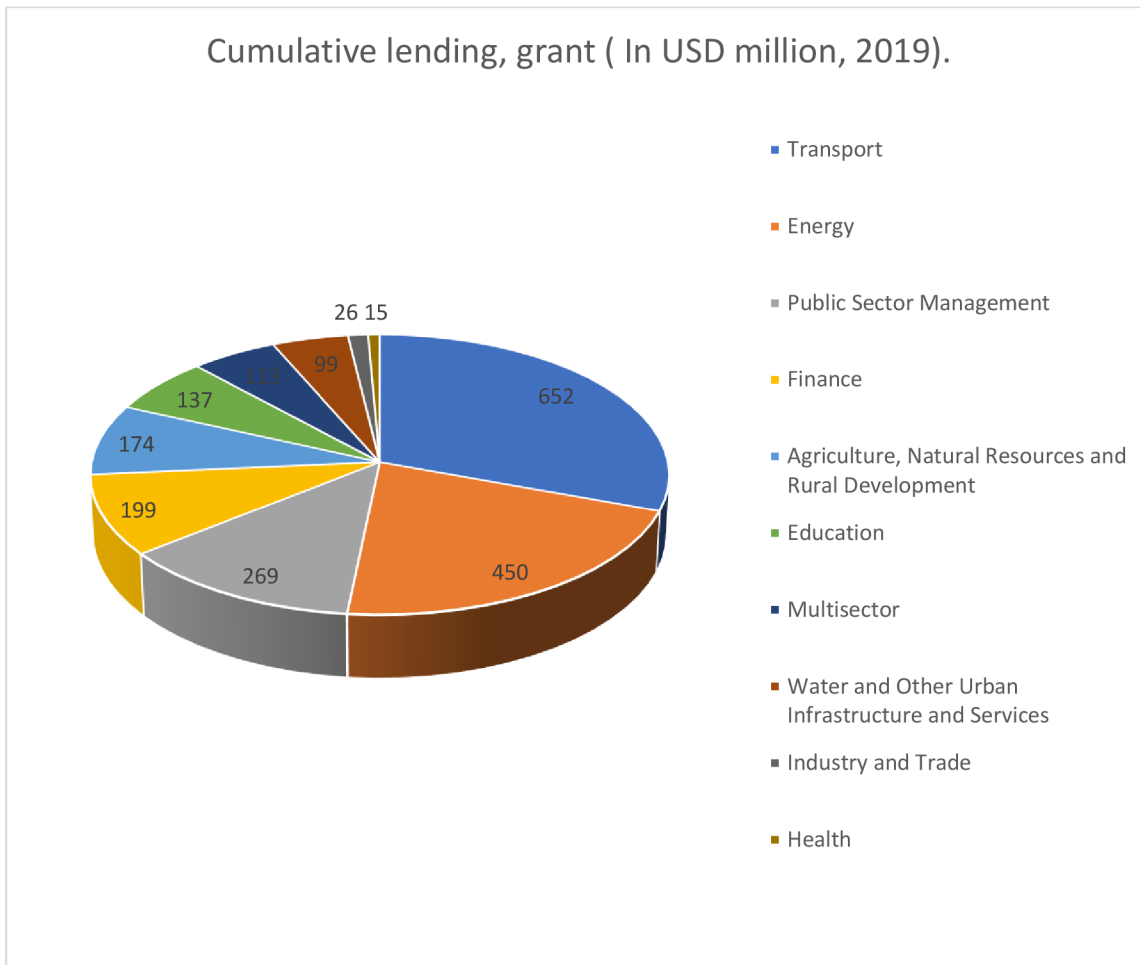
**Figure 3: World Bank commitments by sector (2018-2022)**



Source: [unesco.org](https://unesco.org) (2022).

Kyrgyzstan has joined the Asian Development bank in 1994. The bank has provided with enormous amounts of credits and technical assistance. The support was also focused on agricultural sector, basic public services, energy and infrastructure. The reconstruction of highway of the Bishkek – Osh, was financed by the bank in order to build a main corridor of the transportation. For the year of 2018 to 2022 has provided loans and grants worth USD 641 million, See, **Figure – 4**.

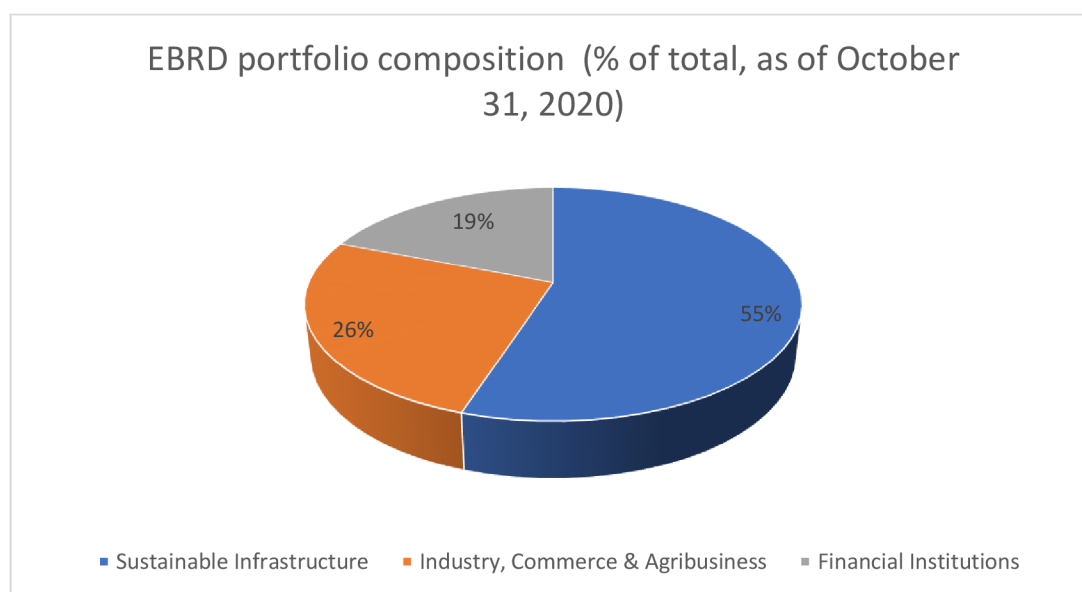
**Figure 4: Cumulative lending, grand (In USD million, 2019)**



Source: [unesco.org](https://unesco.org) (2022).

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has been involved in projects which focused on the private sector, financial sector and infrastructure in Kyrgyzstan. The bank financed the telecommunication services, development of the Kumtor Gold Mine, improving the network of electricity and the businesses promotion of domestic companies. Over two decades the EBRD invested in Kyrgyzstan over 218 million. The whole portfolio consists of investments in sustainable infrastructure, over 55 percent. See, Graph – 5.

**Figure 5: EBRD Financial composition**



Source: [unesco.org](https://unesco.org) (2022).

### 3.4.7 Investment

From its independence, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan has been encouraging the foreign direct investment. It had offered tax alleviation to firms who would operate in a country. Major countries who invested in Kyrgyzstan including Russia, Switzerland, the USA, Germany and China. The first country who established the free economic area but investing in Kyrgyzstan was problematic due to high corruption, bureaucracy, undeveloped legal system and constant political instability Omarov (2017).

Political instability became the major problem for foreign investors. There were lots of businesses who shut-down due to unsteady political regimes of Askar Akayev and Kurmanbek Bakieyv, especially the violence that happened in the southern region of Kyrgyzstan in June 2010, have made investors to re-think about keeping financing the industries which were located in that region (Ataev, 2011).

In general, the Kyrgyzstan has got a very poor investment environment. Interventions of government in markets and arbitrary takeovers are quite common. The government tried to nationalize the largest GSM operator in the country “MegaCom”.

According to Kalikova& Associates (2018) Kyrgyzstan is a member of over 80 organizations, both, regional and international. Most of the agreements and treaties are designed to improve the cooperation between foreign direct investments and the country in

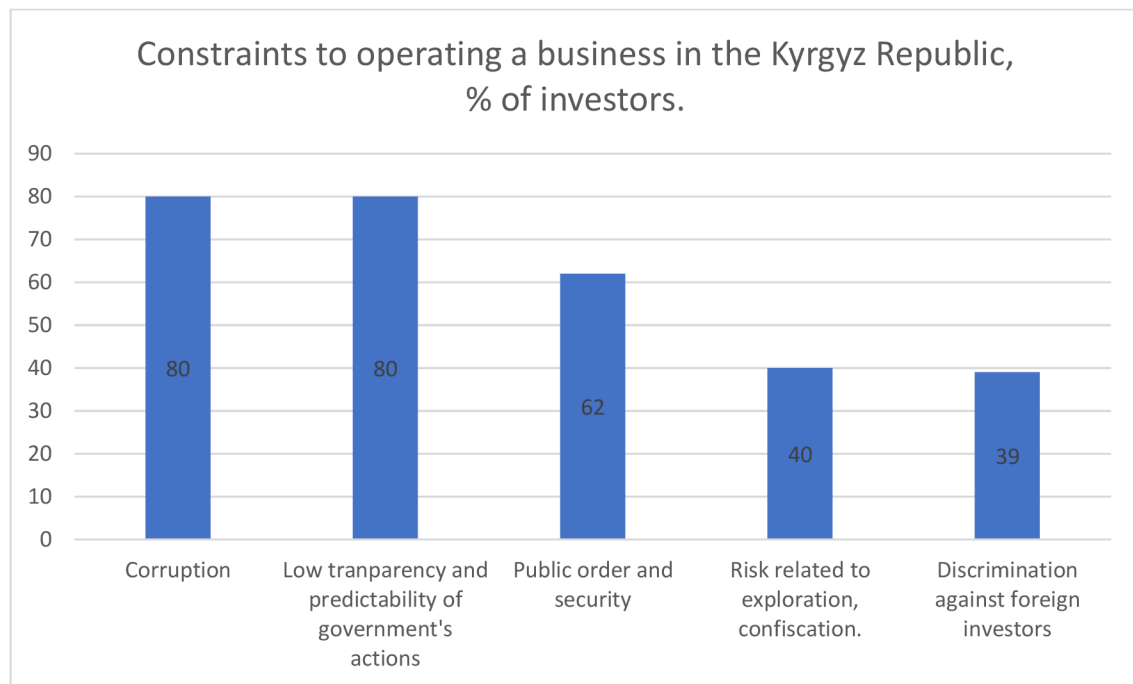
the international arena. Kyrgyzstan has joined the Eurasian Economic Union in 2015, to build more relationships with the other states from the investment point of view.

However, based on the report, which was made by BMI Risk Report (2017), there are cases where investors who are left in uncertainty of regulations and the assurances which are provided by the government are not quite corresponding. In another words, investors might experience an unfair treatment, unauthorized interventions from local authorities, eventually end-up in a court with the lawsuit problems. Based on the Moran (1998) research, he claimed that the natural resources countries are more exposed to those governmental vulnerabilities than any other sector. Even though, Kyrgyzstan promotes its natural resources sector and promises to foreign investors favorable conditions, it is very likely that those investors would have disagreements with the authorities of Kyrgyzstan at some point.

Kyrgyzstan has entered many institutions and organizations, signed many bilateral treaties with neighboring countries to potentially increase investment appeal. However, it does not dissolve the investment climate and its issues of the country. Despite of a weak rule of law, bribery and corruption, social risks, there is a questionable sector of finance. Its financial sector is still dependent on the outside world actions Ataev (2011).

The security market is still in its early stage of development, which is another step-back in the development of the country. The portfolio investments are big potentials, but it has been ignored for the past 2 decades. The only operational stock in Kyrgyzstan is the Kyrgyz Stock Exchange.

**Figure 6: Constraints to operating a business in Kyrgyzstan, % of investors**



Source: (World Bank, 2015).

Even though, there are existing risks in making business for foreign direct investors, there is still a high opportunity for expanding their business processes. As mentioned earlier, the government tries to increase the investment appeal and hence, the investors might take advantage of it. Officially, Kyrgyzstan tries to make progressive steps in maintaining the political and economic stabilization in the country. Its regulations become more and more transparent and opened towards foreign capital (National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic, 2016).

The location of Kyrgyzstan might be another strategical point because investors should look at the country as a big potential. Its location is considered an important trade crossroad and being a transshipment point, which might eventually become a regional trade in Central Asia, (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2015). Another advantage of the country is that it is a very competitive market which is in the early stage of its development. Investors might even risk and expand their businesses despite the above-mentioned problems, and get the biggest portion of the market, thus making it harder for the other investors to enter the Kyrgyz market. As an example of gold mining company, which operates in the biggest mining site “Kutmor”.

### **3.5 Political Confrontations of Kyrgyzstan**

This chapter is dedicated to concise descriptions of each event which happened in Kyrgyzstan for the past two decades. There are two main events which are remembered as cruel and violent, however some of them went in a peaceful way.

#### **3.5.1 The Aksy event**

All the events which happened in Kyrgyzstan is a confrontation between the opposition and political regimes, so it is relevant to consider those events from both sides. Before the actual Aksy events, the Akaev regime had been using soft repression to get-rid of political opponents. One of the main oppositions against Akayev, was Felix Kulov, who was a policeman. Even though, Kulov held a high governmental position under Akaev, tried to replace him and kept an eye on him and monitored his actions. He even took a position of Security minister of (1997-1998) and Mayor of Bishkek (1998-1999) which he deserved as a result of his loyalty during Akaev regime. However, instead of showing his loyalty, Kulov became a politically active opponent in the end of 1999. He became the main protestor to the regime of Akayev and in 2000, he intentionally run for presidency. Akaev understood it as a threat and imprisoned Kulov for seven years for excessive corruption when Kulov was as a national security minister.

Akaev eliminated another challenger in the same way, Daniar Usenov who also run for parliamentary elections in 2000 Kyrgyzstan (2011).

In 2000, a crowd of demonstrators gathered in the streets of Bishkek, after the parliamentary polls. Bishkek demanded to release the imprisoned leaders, and protestors were convinced that those leaders didn't deserve to be locked. They believed that the main reason was due to political charges, especially the release of Felix Kulov was the priority.

The police were sent on streets to calm people down. Most of the demonstrators were beaten up and even arrested, which even escalated the reaction of protestors in a negative way. The very next year of 2001, a peaceful demonstration around 1000 people was prevented by the police. Government used different repressive tactics employed by the regime and as expected it did not stop the conflict between the regime and opponents.

In February, the about 2500 people with 300 horses gathered captured eight district officials, who meet with protestors. On March 15, over 4000 people gathered in from of



akimat<sup>5]</sup> and insisted on getting an explanation of why Beknazarov was arrested. The governor didn't show up in front of a crowd. The aggression escalated and the crowds divided into two groups of people. One of the groups headed towards Kerben. On the way to Kerben, the crowd has met the state deployed special forces (OMON). The OMON asked the crowd to hand Akunov, who was the main activist of the movement. The crowd declined the request and OMON tried to catch him physically, which led to the chaos and the OMON started the fire, killing 5 people and wounding six of them Azattyk (2016).

The Aksy event, as many argue was the beginning of the repressive regime, people realized the reality of democracy. However, prof. Iragimov argued that the protestors' behavior was uncontrollable under a leadership of Tursunbek Akunov. The crowd broke windows into akimat and destroyed the whole building, and then they set the district police station on fire Osmonakum, (2016).

The witnesses and observers, residents anonymously confirmed that the only person who was active and assiduous among all, was Tursunbek Akun. More than 40 people suffered from physical injuries and thousand people were wounded.

### **3.5.2 The Tulip Revolution**

The next event is linked with the continuation of the previous the Aksy event. Kulov had not been freed from prison in 2004. It was the main reason of demonstrations to release Kulov. On April 15, 2004, the protestors were crushed by police. At that time, opposition has built several blocks and one of the influential blocks was the People's Movement of Kyrgyzstan (NDK), which was created by nine parties. Violations of civil

Violation of civil and political rights were the means to achieve a victory over the opposition and other anti-regime forces. The 2005 elections illustrate from running for a parliamentary seat. The media and social media were restricted just before the February 2005, and its parliamentary elections. The state has cut-off the power supply and the only media which printed news was the Media Support Center. In the same timeframe the state has stopped the broadcast of newscasts of the Kyrgyz-language Radio, Free Europe/Radio Liberty. The state gave orders not to show the March protests on the National Kyrgyz television and Radio Corporation. Those actions have escalated the protest's anger.

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<sup>5</sup> Akimat – administration building

On March 10, over 15 oppositions from the old parliament demanded the president to change the election period which was dated from October to July and prolonged the existing parliament powers until November. Other oppositions joined their call and came to Jalal-Abad and Osh. The state kept ignoring their demands.

By 24 of March, half of Kyrgyzstan supported the opposition and over 10.000 thousand people gathered in Bishkek. Finally, Akaev was losing his support and mainly support of elites. He became weak and lost his power. Some of the elites, in order to secure their interests, joined the opposition side. Finally, Akaev's regime came to an end. The event is now known as the "Tulip Revolution".

Several analytics question, why Akaev did not use violence against protestors Radnitz, (2005) said that his last order was not to shoot people. He already knew that he lost his power and decided not to harshly press the protestors because of international backlash. For the very next day, Akaev left the country to Russia and the White House was taken by opposition, specifically Kurmanbek Bakiev.

### **3.5.3 The Second Revolution**

Before describing the revolution and its consequences, it is highly important to understand the circumstances which led to the resignation of Bakiev. By 2008, the state was occupied by the Bakiev's regime and especially his party which won the election in December of 2007, Ak Zhol<sup>6</sup>.

The regime was highly repressive to the point that 20 oppositional leaders and journalists left the country due to intimidate messages to their families. Bakiev started cutting its opposition right from the beginning of his presidency. In 2006, the scandal of "matreshka gate" was highlighted in all newspapers and concerned the leader of opposition "Omurbek Tekebaev" who was caught in the airport, right after the landing to Kyrgyzstan from Poland. The security of Kyrgyzstan has found the drugs on him; however, the Polish security didn't find anything illegal on Tekebaev. It was clearly the plot which was set-up by Bakiev. The Bakiev's party has eliminated most of the oppositional politicians such as! Medet Sadyrkulov, Alibek Jekshenkulov, Ismail Isakov etc.

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<sup>6</sup> Ak Zhol – Bakiev's Parliamentary Party.

In 2008, Bakiev signed a law where in case of any protests, demonstrators had to inform the government 12 days prior to the protests. The government had to confirm the protest, otherwise the meeting would be illegal, and all protestors would be fined (Urmanbetova, Z., 2017).

In 2009, Bakiev won the second term of presidency election with 75 % of votes. The intensity of opposition grew day-by-day because they didn't see any improvements in his actions. The national Kurultai started its pre-revolutionary mobilization in 2010. The aim of the Kurultai was to unite the forces of opposition. There were 7 demands requested from the government to comply. The requested to remove the Bakiev's relatives from power, return the companies to the state and lower the tariffs. However, the regime didn't react to those demand and kept ignoring them. But Bakiev did the same mistake as Akayev, he didn't estimate the strength of the opposition and its decisiveness. Some of the oppositions like (Ak-Shumkar) and the socialist side (Ata-Meken), SDPK (the Social-democratic Party of Kyrgyzstan) attempted to take power with violence. They started with the Talas oblast on April 6<sup>th</sup>, in 2010. The main activist of the movement was Bolot Sherniazov. He organized the local Kurultai and the police by the order of the regime, came to capture him. The local protestors gathered as a protection shield around Sheniazov. Unfortunately, the confrontation has escalated to the point, where police started using tear gas and rubber bullets Temirkulov (2010). When the protestors decided to storm into the presidential building, the security started shooting people with non-rubber bullets and injured 300 people at least. Harding (2010).

On April 7<sup>th</sup>, the Revolution has ended, the president and his family left the presidential building and moved to Jalal-Abad. On April 15<sup>th</sup>, he flew to Kazakhstan and afterwards, he flew to Belarus. Leaving the country in a chaos onto the governmental elites and opposition who continued with country's unstable life.

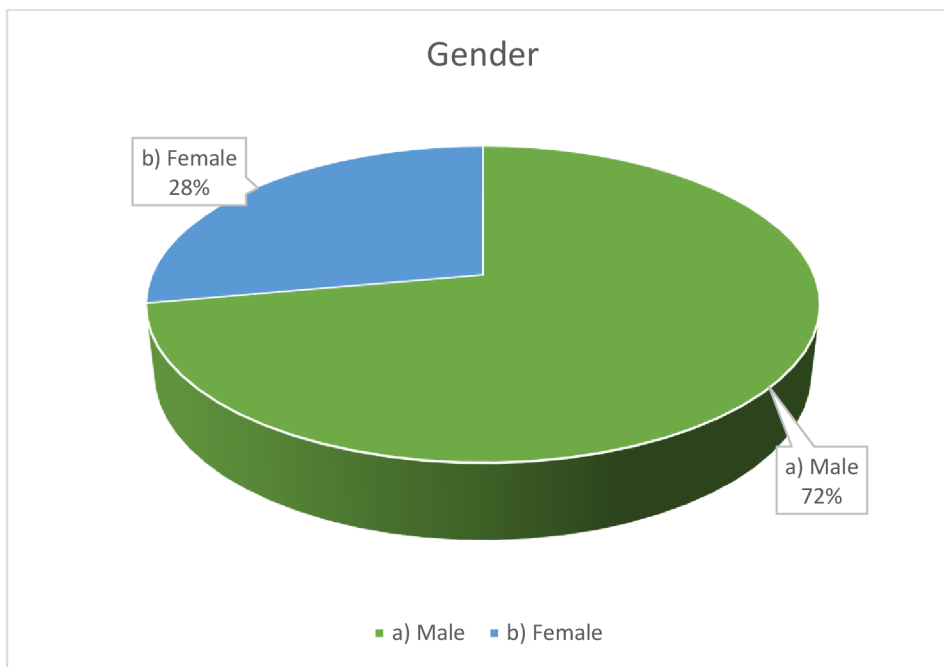
## 4. Practical Part

In this chapter, the author describes the data gained through the survey. There were 16 questions asked. The questions were structured in a way of finding – out the main roots of why revolutions of “2005” and “2010” have happened. Each question will be discussed in depth, after each graph.

### 4.2 Analysis of a survey

There were 140 responses of participants, and the gender rate is divided in the following way. There were 101 males and 39 females who participated. However, it is quite understandable that males participated in a survey more than females, as in reality, man actually took part in those movements more than women, as it follows from the research of (Temirkulov, A., 2010) . See, **Figure – 7**.

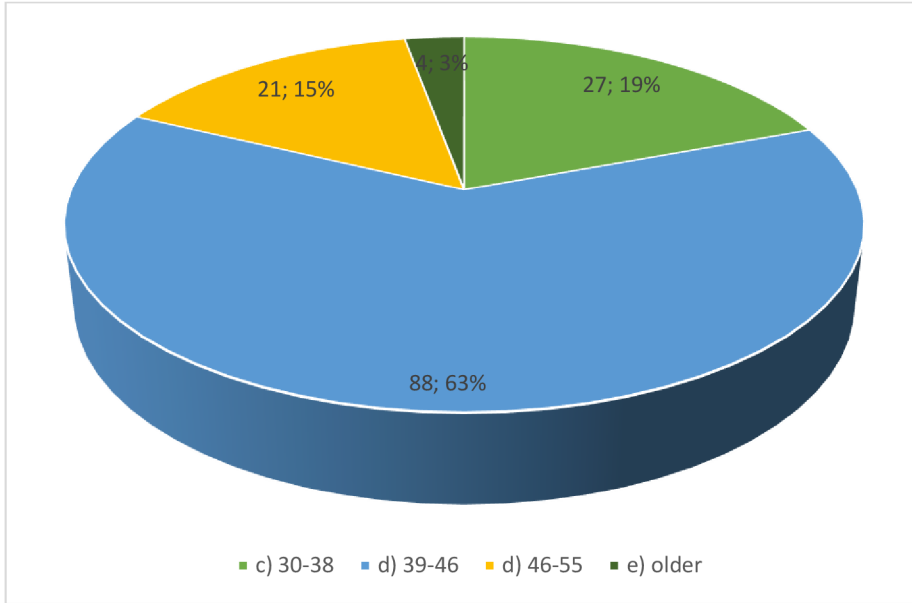
**Figure 7: Gender**



Source: Own processing in Excel.

The next question was related to an age of participants and most of the participants were aged between 39 to 46 years old accounted for 63 %, 30 to 38 years old accounted for 19 , 46 to 55 years old accounted for 15 %, and only 3 % were above 55 years old. Based on the sampling, majority of people who participated in the protests were relatively of a young age, ranging from 21 years old up to 35 years old, See, Figure – 8. However, it doesn't represent the reality.

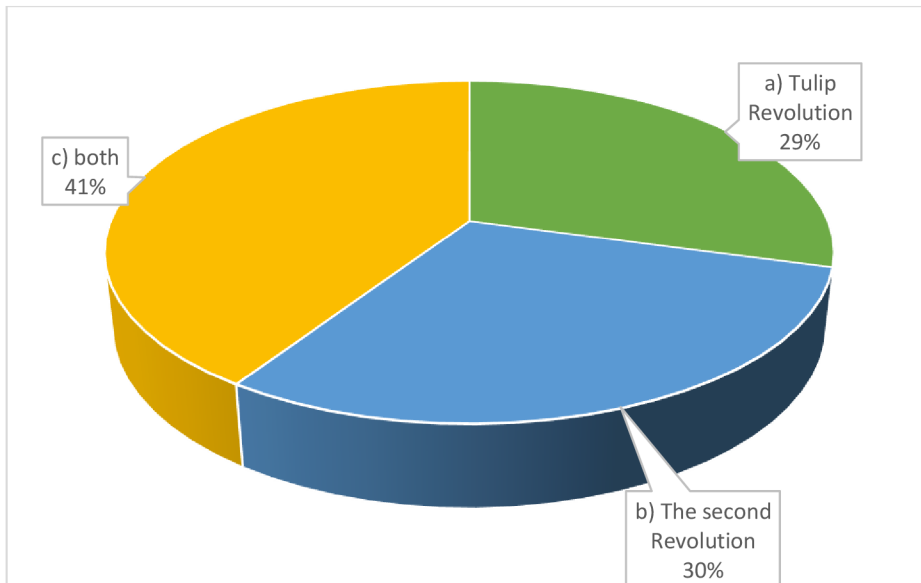
**Figure 8: Age**



Source: Own processing in Excel.

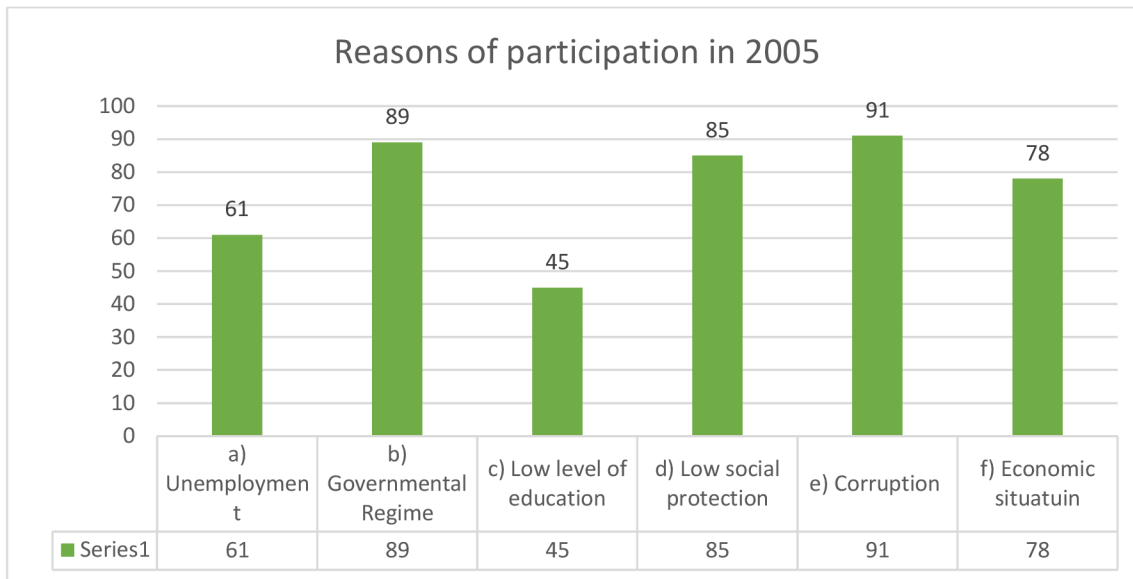
The structure of participation rate in those movements are mentioned below, in **Figure – 9**. Out of 140 participants, there were 41 participants who took part in “Tulip Revolution”, 42 participants were involved in the “The second Revolution” and the rest 57 participants were involved in both revolutions, meaning that 99 participants experienced the “Second Revolution” and 98 have experienced the “Tulip Revolution”.

**Figure 9: Participation**



Source: Own processing in Excel.

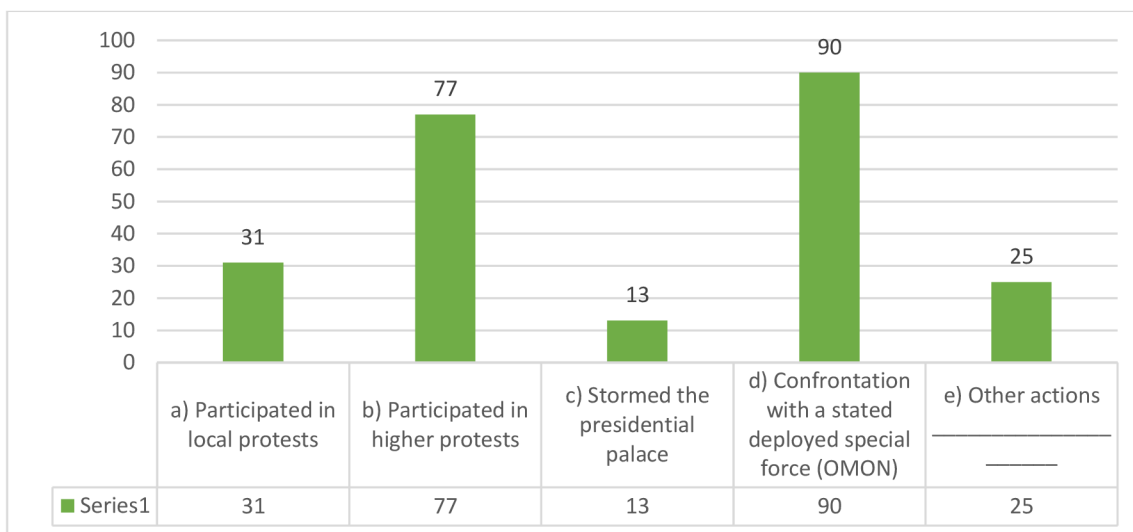
**Figure 10: Reasons for participating in 2005**



Source: Own processing in Excel.

The **Figure – 10**, depicts what were the main reasons of revolution of 2005. Participants had an option to choose several answers, thus help the author to identify the main reasons of those revolutions. The main reason of the revolution of 2005, based on opinions of participants was “Corruption” as listed first, “Governmental regime” – is listed as a second reason, followed by „Low social protection“ and leading to an unfavorable economic condition, which are presented by „Economic situation“, „Employment“ and „Low level of education“.

**Figure 11: Action taken while ongoing protests in 2005**

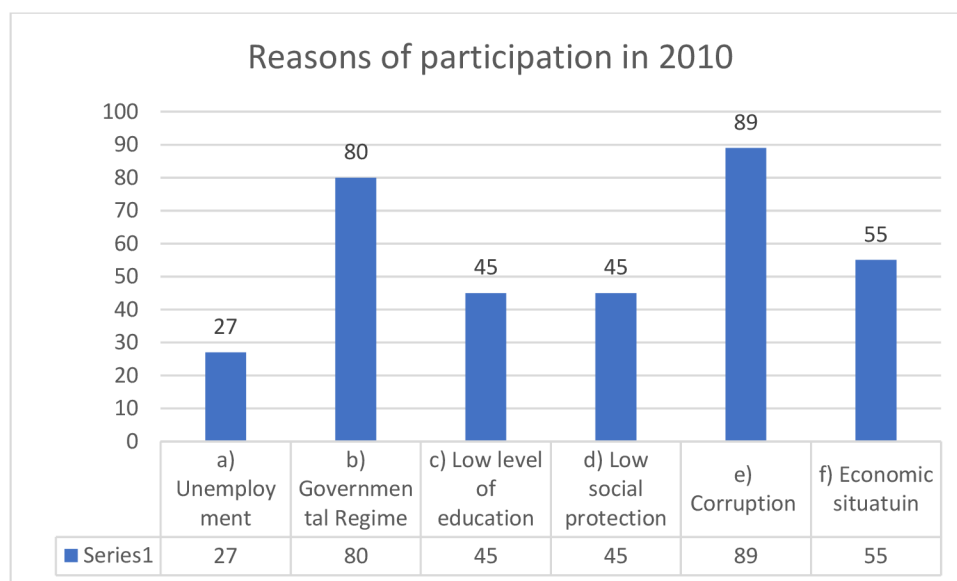


Source: Own processing in Excel.

**Figure – 11**, demonstrates the action which were taken during the protests of 2005, where majority of participants (90 out of 98) responded that the confrontation with forced

police was inevitable. Another action was participating in so-called “Higher protests” meaning that people were staying in front of akimats and demanding the officials to resign. However, people also used to stay overnight and didn’t actually go home and waited for some officials to show-up and hear people out about the whole situation and their reasons of why they rose their voices, however, it was mostly ignored, as it was explained by “Other actions” by 25 participants, See **Figure – 11**. 31 participants started their movements by participating in local protests which eventually led to more of a higher protest and 13 people managed to storm the residential place, to show their resentments.

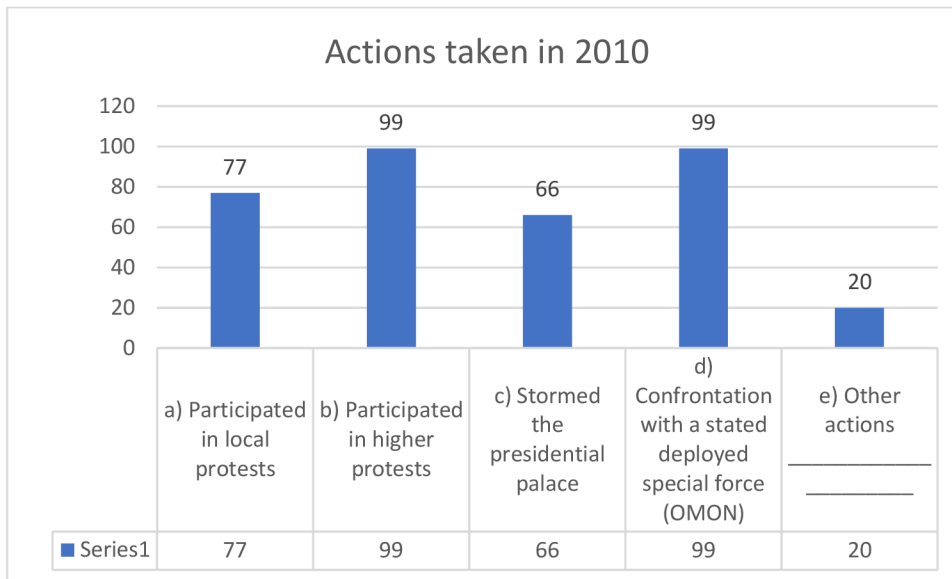
**Figure 12: Reasons for participating in 2010**



Source: Own processing in Excel.

In contrast to the revolution of 2005, the main reasons of participation of the selected sampling were the almost the same, however. Considering the fact that based on the selected random sampling, the rate of participants was quite equal (98 in the 2005, and 99 in 2010) the reasons have slightly changed, however, apparently, the main reason of revolution in 2010, have stayed the same and still “Corruption” was the main reason why those movements have started, followed by, governmental regime which again, led to an unfavorable economic situation of a state. The summarization of the answers will be concluded in the **Chapter – 4.2**.

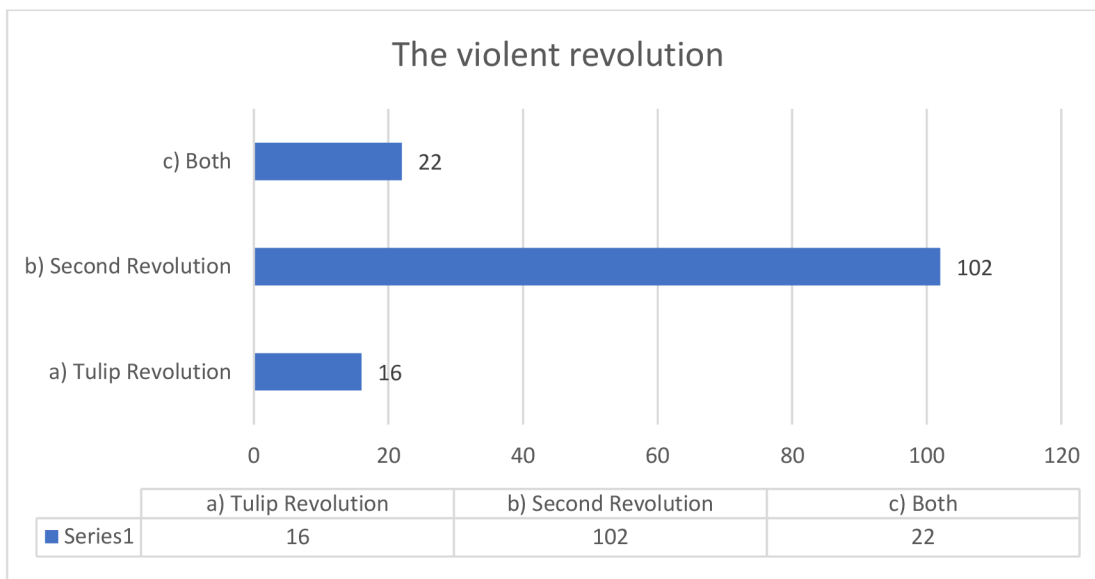
**Figure 13: Action taken while ongoing protests in 2010**



Source: Own processing in Excel.

**Figure – 13**, demonstrates the actions which were taken by respondents in the protests of 2010. Based on the answers of the participants, all of them 100 % confronted with a police and also participated in higher protests, which means more massive gathering of people who protested against the regime and officials. There were more people who actually stormed the presidential palace, See, **Appendix – 1**. Some participants did fight with the police and threw stones and heavy subjects on policemen, as again is seen in **Appendix – 1**.

**Figure 14: Violent revolution**



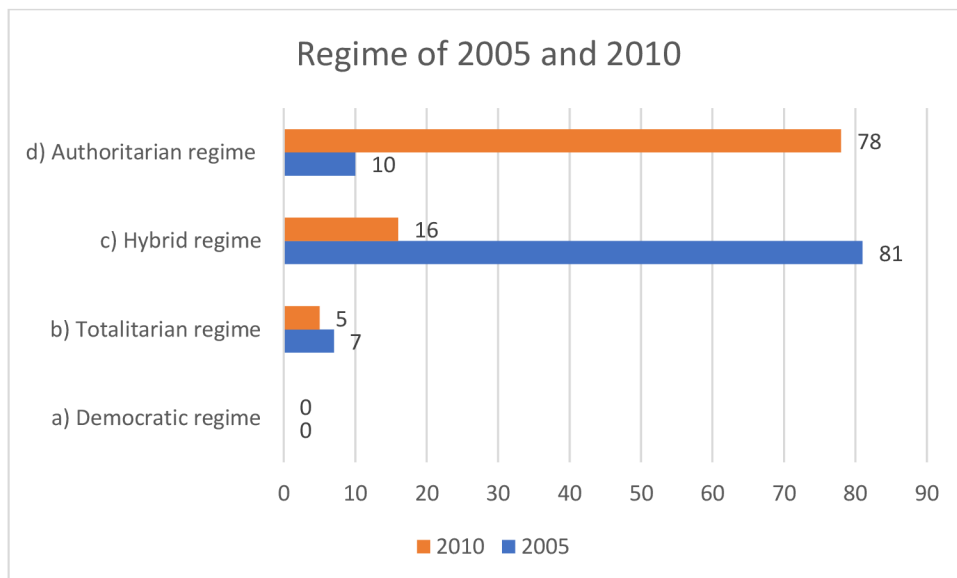
Source: Own processing in Excel.



When comparing those two movements, the author wanted to ask the participants their opinions about the level of violence in regards of those two movements. Participants were able to pick a few options considering the level of violence. Majority of respondents (102 out of 140) choose the second revolution as being more violent than the movements of 2005. This question will also be included in the summary chapter below.

The next question was related to the regime of 2005 and 2010 and how participants perceived these both regimes. As it stated in the research of (Temirkulov, A., 2010) both of these regimes had a hybrid regime, which consists of a combination of both regimes, authoritarian and democratic and the same time, the term was clearly explained within the survey. Eventually, the participants had only one option to choose. Based on the answers of participants, most of their opinions claimed that the regime of 2005 had a hybrid regime (81 people) which is exactly the case mentioned above and the rest thought that the regime had a hybrid character (10 participants) and (7 participants) assumed that it was totalitarian. In terms of the movement of 2010. Most of the participants thought that the regime had an authoritarian character (78 participants) followed by (16 participants) who thought that the regime was hybrid and only (5 participants) assumed that the regime was totalitarian. None of the participants choose the democratic regime, See **Figure – 15**.

**Figure 15: Regimes of 2005 and 2010**

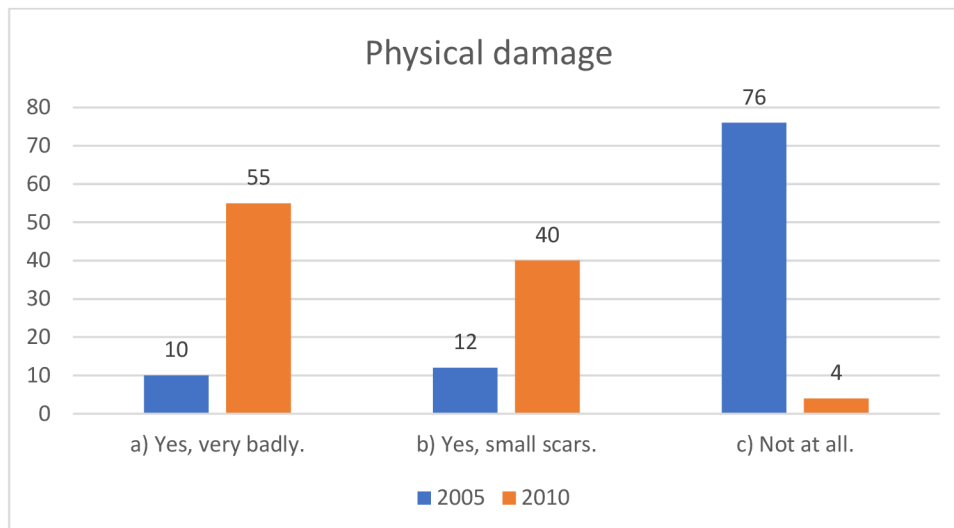


Source: Own processing in Excel.

**The Figure – 16** demonstrates the physical damage received by participants in both movements, 2005 and 2010. The rate of people who were not wounded in the protests of 2005 and 2010, are quite opposite. Based on the sampling, the respondents have confirmed

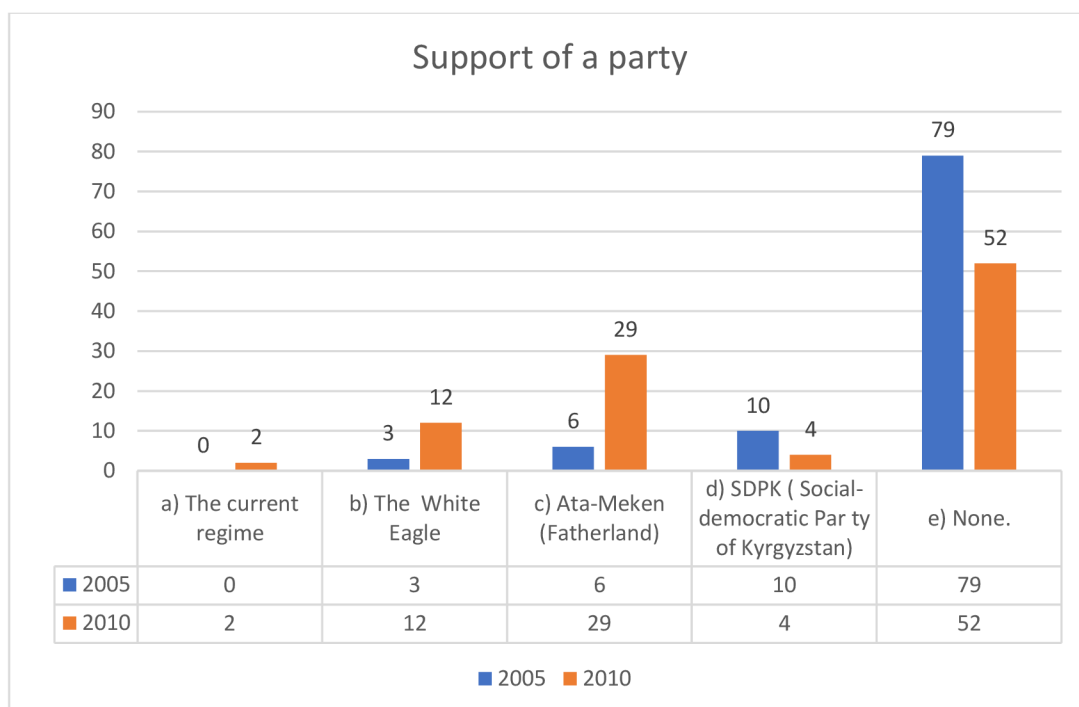
that the level of violence during the second revolution was obviously higher than in the protests of 2005. Participants were badly wounded in the protests of 2010, (55 participants).

**Figure 16: Physical damage**



Source: Own processing in Excel.

**Figure 17: Support of an opposition**

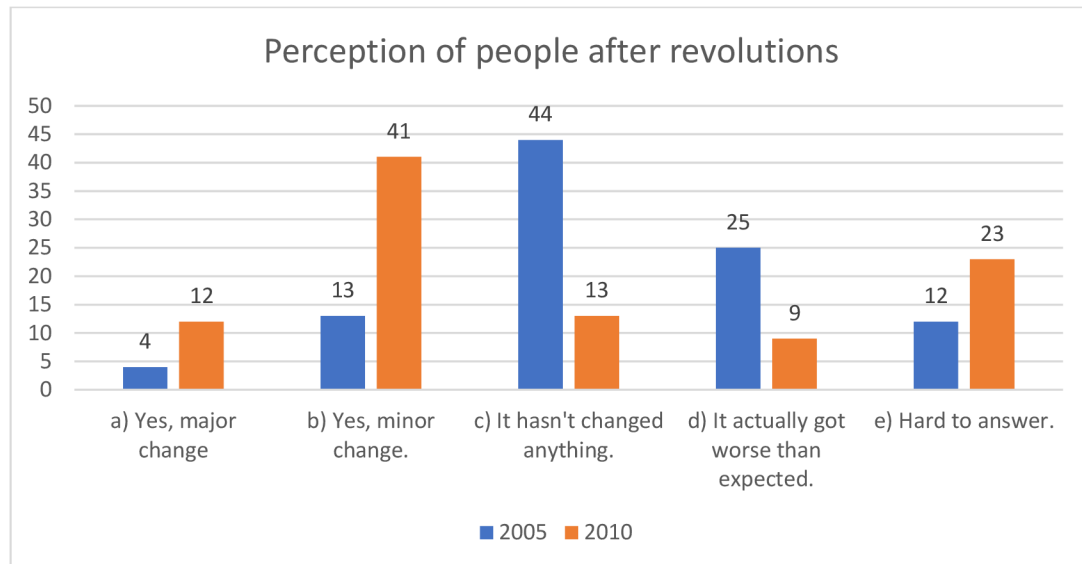


Source: Own processing in Excel.

The next question, See **Figure – 17**, depict the support of an opposition parties when both movements ended. The author wanted to find out, who or rather, what party had a potential to lead the country after those disastrous movements. Most of the participants based on the sampling, didn't trust any of the parties, however, after 2010, participants preferred

Ata-Meken party, as it is a social-democratic political party in Kyrgyzstan which has been running from December 1992. The research Djumanaliyev (2011) has highlighted the distrust level of people towards every party which was in Kyrgyzstan. *“People felt hopeless and pessimistic about the future of Kyrgyzstan”* – Djumanaliyev, T. (2011, p.55).

**Figure 18: Outcomes after revolutions**



Source: Own processing in Excel.

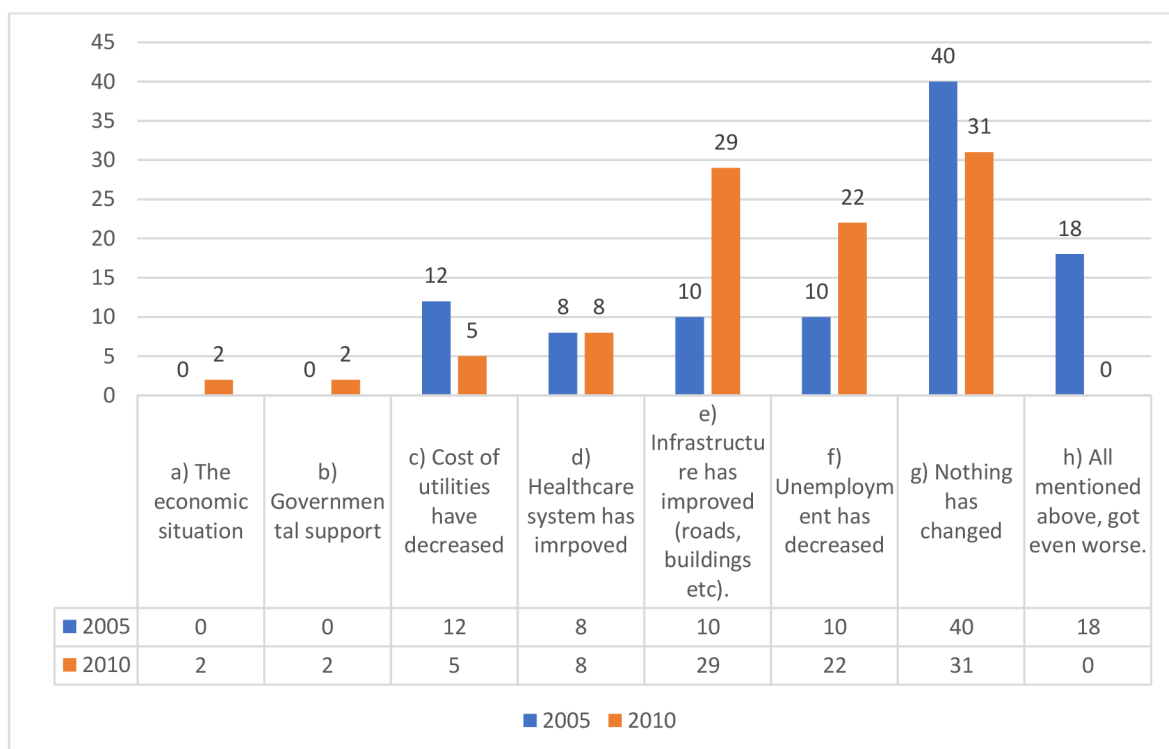
The next question highlighted, See **Figure – 18**, the results of what people fought for, during the protests of 2005 and 2010. Based on the results of gathered data, people didn't feel any difference after revolution of 2005 (44 participants), (25 participants) claimed that it actually got even worse than participants expected, (13 participants) noticed minor changes and only (4 participants) noticed major changes, for (12 participants) the question seemed hard to answer. The perception of participants after the movements of 2010 and the resignation of Bakiyev, were more positive. Only (13 participants) claimed that there were no changes after all, (9 participants) have noticed that the situation got even worse, and in comparison, with 2005, after the 2010 movements, (41 participants) started noticing more minor changes, and (12 participants) noticed major changes. The rest of the (23 participants) were not able to answer the question. The next question was related to both, minor and major changes which happened after both revolutions. The author listed various changes, which participants think have happened after 2005 and 2010, respectively.

The last question was related to the changes which people noticed after both movements. After the revolution of 2005, most of the (41 participants) haven't noticed any changes and (18 participants) claimed that it actually got even worse. However, some (10

participants) noticed a change in unemployment rate, it has slightly decreased, infrastructure has been improved which was noticed by (10 participants), healthcare system improved ( 8 participants) and cost of utilities have decreased (12 participants). The economic situation and governmental support were not chosen by any of the participants. Still, the number of participants who voted that nothing has changed or even got worse is more than those who noticed the above-mentioned changes.

The changes after the revolution of 2010 were more or less optimistic, based on the responses of participants. 31 participants still responded as if there were no changes at all, after the revolution, (29 participants) claimed that the infrastructure has been improved, followed by (22 participants) unemployment rate decrease, (8 participants) claimed the healthcare system improvement, (5 participants) stated the reduction of costs in utilities and 2 participants stated the improvement in governmental support and economic situation, respectively, See, **Figure – 19**.

**Figure 19: Changes after the movements of 2005 and 2010**



Source: Own processing in Excel.

### **4.3 Summary and analysis of survey data**

The author conducted a survey among 140 participants who directly dealt with the revolutions of 2005 and 2010. The author mostly relied on the opinion of the participants. Basically, the sample of 140 participants cannot represent the whole nation, however, partly it can find a mutual opinion of people who fought against the regime in Kyrgyzstan, in 2005 and 2010, respectively.

#### **The revolution of 2005**

Based on the answers of participants, the Tulip Revolution of 2005, has happened due to economic instability which was undermined by many factors, such as “Corruption”, “Governmental regime”, “Low social protection” and etc. Indeed, the research paper of Ataev (2011) has studied the roots of the problems and found that the economy was almost at the edge of bankruptcy. Officials ignored all the red flags and tried to gain as much benefits as possible while having the powerful positions. The regime, based on the gathered data, was more or less hybrid regime, which again is in line with Ataev’s (2011) comments. *“This type of regime will never be successful, and it always has its own time for termination”* – **Ataev, N. (2011)**.

However, the resignation of Akaev in 2005 went smooth, he accepted the movements and feared the consequences. Eventually, people were not damaged or wounded badly as it happened later, in 2010. After the unsuccessful presidency of Akaev, people lost their trust and as it is seen in the Figure – 17, majority of respondents didn’t trust any opposition. Participants also didn’t notice any changes after the revolution of 2005. This happened due to the non-existing opposition parties, and Kyrgyzstan was left without strong politicians who would be able to take a responsibility and motivate the nation and work side-by-side. Instead, the Bakyev’s party “Ak-Jol”, won the next election, and the new president was announced in 14<sup>th</sup> of August 2005. Bakyev has fired most of the officials from their positions and surrounded him-self with his family-members, friends, and relatives (Marat, 2012).

#### **The second revolution of 2010**

After Bakiyev took over the presidency in 2005, his presidency was also limited and terminated in 2010. The detection of the main reason, based on the participants responses were quite similar as it was figured-out in 2005. Corruption, governmental regime and

eventually led to an economic stability, when employment rate has been increases year-to-year, not investments have been made into infrastructures and new facilities and overall, the relatives and family of Bakiyev has occupied main positions of all economic sectors. (Harding, 2010). Harding also states that Kyrgyz officials tried to promote an idea of common society however, it always lacked an idea of patriotic matters. Unfortunately, not all citizens of Kyrgyzstan identified themselves as Kyrgyz and didn't tie themselves to Kyrgyz state. It is a massive reason of why people started waking up. The nation felt the dramatic industrial decline which even is persistent today.

Bakiyev didn't want to give-up the presidency that easily and gave an order to arrest people and close them to jail, if needed, especially oppositions. That is clearly seen on the **Figure – 15**. Most of the participants pointed out on the violence level of second revolution. As a small confirmation of this, see the **Appendix – 1**.

Azattyk (2016) states that the main reason of why people went to streets was the increase of prices on energy, which happened right after the privatization of “Severoelktro” energy station . Secondly, the shooting of people was the peak, which made people went to streets. Even though, Kyrgyzstan is a relatively low-income country, people are used to live in poverty. But these two moves of drastically increasing the prices and shooting protestors were over the limit, which Bakiyev could have prevented and most probably retain his position.

Based on the action taken by participants, many of the people have actually went further and stormed the presidential palace, all of the participants confronted with the police due to above mentioned reason (shooting), it hasn't been among the list of reasons however, it certainly shows the resentment of people and regime which was adopted by Bakiev's presidency, which seemed to have authoritarian roots and was more violent movement than the movement of 2005.

Even though, the social democratic party was supported by 4 participants after 2010, it won most of the parliamentary elections and Almazbek Atambayev, became the new president of Kyrgyzstan. Atambayev actually dedicated his time for 6 years to improve economic conditions and decrease the poverty level and tried to improve the foreign policies for investors Omarov (2017).

## 5. Conclusion

Within this topic, the author describes the social movement theories, types of social movements. As a part of the social movements, the author also puts an attention on political economy. Further, the author is focused on social movements in Kyrgyzstan and its main reasons which eventually led to those movements.

The economic indicators, its historical background as well as the history of formation after the collapse of USSR was also explained by the author. Traditional political parties, its main actors like state, parties and social movements are considered as key drivers of political and economic change. Since its entry into the international arena, Kyrgyzstan has gone through many changes - from Akayev's first timid steps through the strengthening of his regime to his overthrow and the paradoxical installation of a new autocrat, who, however, did not learn from the mistakes of his predecessor and was also eventually overthrown. This has installed a new regime that says it will fight the legacy left by previous autocrats and seek to democratize society.

However, in the practical part, the author conducted a survey of 16 questions with multiple choice answers. The total number of samplings were 140 people, who were citizens of Kyrgyzstan and were directly involved during both protests of 2005 and 2010. It is however, doesn't represent the whole nation of Kyrgyzstan, but the purpose of the survey was to analyze and understand whether the main roots of those movements were indeed what is mentioned in different literatures such as: (Urmanbetova, Z., 2017), (Djumanaliyev, T., 2011), (Ataev, N., 2011), (Harding, L., 2010), (Azattyk, 2016), (Urmanbetova, Z., 2017) and so on.

Based on the gathered data of participants, the author linked the responses with most of the theory and made his own conclusion about both movements. It seemed that the regime was never democratic, and probably will never be.

The question arises as to why both autocrats took the same path. In my opinion, it has a lot to do with the cultural background they both come from. As mentioned, many times above, Kyrgyzstan has a very fragmented society, where even the Kyrgyz themselves do not form a unified ethnicity. There is still significant tribalism in Kyrgyz society, where individual tribes need one firm leader to rule over them. These ancient 32 traditions clash with political reality today to create a system that is similar to traditions and customs. The revolutions that took place here were not caused by an authoritarian government, however it

is claimed that it was, in my opinion it was not the case for neither the first one nor for the second. In the first case, it was a joint effort of local leaders who were denied access to power and corruption, which undermined every economy sector of Kyrgyzstan. In the second case it was the same, about economic frustration compounded by the regime's violence against unarmed protesters, which Kyrgyz nation didn't really want to stand and tolerate.

The economic situation of the country is still very bad, and the political elites are unable to turn it around. However, as they say, hope dies last. So, let's hope that despite the considerable obstacles that Kyrgyzstan faces, it will eventually get on the right track and one day become an example for other countries in the region.



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**Appendix 1.**

Storming the presidential palace on April 10<sup>th</sup>, Bishkek.



Two men arguing over a gun in front of a presidential palace, April 10<sup>th</sup>, Bishkek.



A Kyrgyz opposition member throws a projectile at riot police during an anti-government protest in Bishkek on April 7<sup>th</sup>, 2010.



