



BAROMETER OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES

Report (nation-wide research)

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Methodology

PHASE 1

During 4 days (23/04 - 26/04) M-Vector Consulting Agency was conducting anonymous online survey on the topic: "The barometer of social attitudes, to the events and their consequences, occurred in April 2010 in Kyrgyzstan".

- ✓ The poll was aimed only to get a certain slice of public opinion online. Of course, this is only a small part of sample, particular in their psychological and demographic characteristics. For example, it should be noted that the most part of respondents of on-line public opinion poll was group of young people aged under 35. Also it is necessary to note that the situation in Kyrgyzstan worries not only people living in Kyrgyzstan – there were representatives of the CIS countries, the USA, Europe, etc. who participated in the online survey. Therefore we can not expand any of the online survey results on the entire population of the Kyrgyz Republic. However these results are quite interesting, and reflect the beliefs of the given population.

There were different social groups participated in the poll: owners and managers of private businesses, jobholders and NGO staff, students, pensioners, and many others.

In total, there were 1,051 people participated. Survey participants expressed their views on the events of April 2010, as well as their hopes and expectations about the future of Kyrgyzstan.

You may find more information about on-line survey on M-Vector corporate site by following the link <http://www.m-vector.com/ru/news/?id=214>.

PHASE 2

The next step was the conducting of nation-wide representative survey on a similar subject. There were 900 respondents (residents of Kyrgyzstan) at the age of 18 to 75 years interviewed according to demographic characteristics (gender, age). The study was conducted in all seven regions of Kyrgyzstan as well as in Bishkek city. The sample included representatives of both urban and rural areas in each region of the country. Data obtained during the nationwide study can be extrapolated (extended) for the entire population of the Kyrgyz Republic.

In this report we offer you the results of the second phase of the study (nationwide).

Survey Results

In early April 2010 Kyrgyz Republic was shaken by a second revolution, which caused a change of power. There were a lot of discussions on the topic of what was the precondition for these events. In general, all experts concurred with one thing: it was caused by extremely aggravated situation inside the country, both political and social.

According to political analyst Valery Vyzhutovich, "the cause of the people's rebellion in Kyrgyzstan – underlies in the power system. And it's not the fact that this system is far from the Western democratic standards (its implosion to Asian country with its specific traditions would be foolish, and dangerous). The case is that the regime prevailing in the Kyrgyz Republic did not provide people with tolerable living conditions. Neither the intrigues of enemies, nor the nature of political extremism explains the nature of Kyrgyz rebellion. In many ways, mass poverty explains everything. And so the fact that the protests in Kyrgyzstan did not have a free choice. The opposition has not been represented in government, but also it was subjected to pursuit. Its leaders (among them are formers of high-ranking officials) were languishing in prisons or stayed in exile. Underground opposition - is one of the good explanation why the disaffection in Kyrgyzstan has taken the extreme, even murderous forms"¹. Also, by this time a split of the ruling elite and the rise of authoritarian tendencies under President Kurmanbek Bakiev were outlined. The events which followed April 6-7, 2010, have shocked not only Kyrgyz people, but the whole world.

Someone admired picture of "burned Kyrgyz Rublevka", someone anticipated similar events in Russia. Others tried to figure out whether Russia, China or the U.S. will benefit from it. Anyway, the question about what was the "trigger" to the bloody events is not so important; it is important that the consequences are tragic for the current Kyrgyz government and Kyrgyz people as a whole.

People were frozen in anticipation. One often hears the same question: "What will happen next?", and in response – we hear silence. Ordinary people are afraid of any conclusions and guessing. And there is no desire to do it anymore. This is the second revolution during the five years - not every optimist will keep his/her bright visions of the future.

But, as we know, human nature is inclined to hope for the best. In such hard times, hope – is the only ring-buoy for the majority of the republic.

In April 2010, M-Vector Consulting Agency conducted nation-wide social survey through the telephone interviews on the topic of: "The barometer of social attitudes" regarding the events and their consequences, occurred in April 2010 in Kyrgyzstan.

The object of this study was the population of the Kyrgyz Republic at the age of 18 years and older. There were 900 people interviewed, the sample was established according to the National Statistical Committee of Kyrgyz Republic, in compliance with the percentage of population living in urban and rural areas of the republic, and sex-age characteristics of the population living in each region of the country were taken into account also.

Kyrgyzstan citizens were involved to the nationwide survey: men and women living in different regions of the country, belonging to different social strata.

The participants expressed their opinions on the events of April 2010, as well as their hopes and expectations about the future of Kyrgyzstan.

In early studies, experts of M-Vector Consulting Agency tried to find out how does people of Kyrgyzstan evaluate the events of 7 April, as well as what are their attitudes to the change of power.

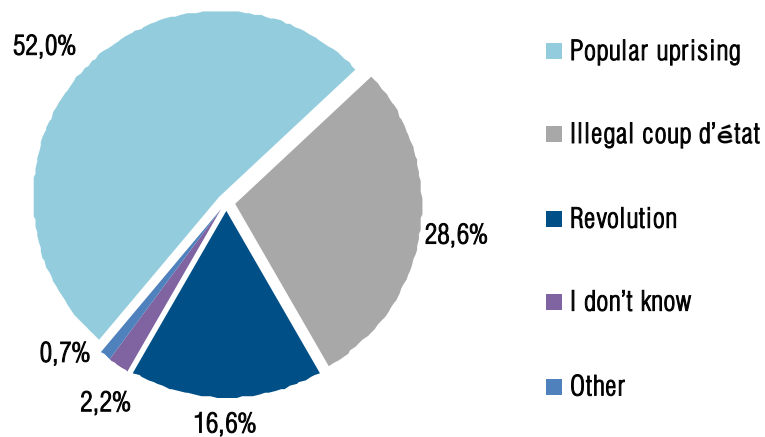
¹ www.rg.ru

- ✓ According to 52% of Republican study participants, the events of 7 April 2010 were nothing more than a popular uprising. Approximately 1 / 3 of the respondents perceive the incident as an illegal coup d'état (28,6%). 16,6% of the respondents considered this event as a revolution.

There were also characteristics of such events as: "legal change of power," historical inevitability ", " People's Revolution, "" The robbery and beating ", " Coup of individuals.

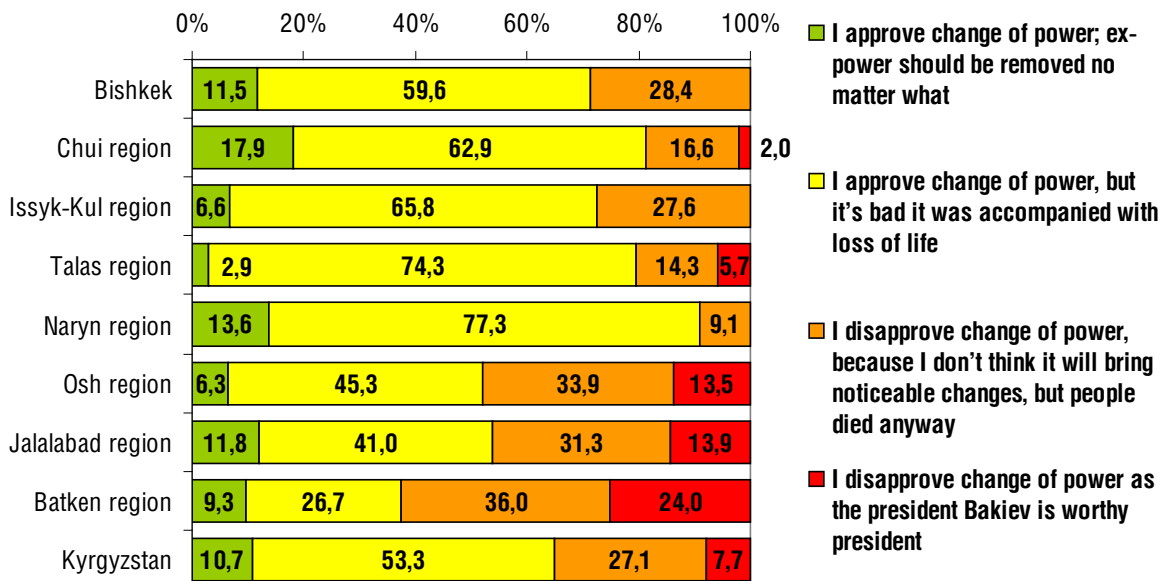
According to the survey findings, the views of the different regions are also different. For example, residents of northern regions of our country are inclined to believe that the events were a popular uprising, and most of the Osh and Jalalabad inhabitants believe the events of April 7 were illegal uprising.

Diagram 1. 7th of April evaluation, %



- ✓ According to the research, respondents generally approved the change of power in Kyrgyzstan. It turned out that the ex-government did not justify the trust of the people. Nevertheless, the majority of respondents believed that it was necessary to avoid bloodshed. As the saying goes "Any culture begins with the taboo, with the ban. And above all, with the ban on killing person".

Diagram 2. Respondents' attitude to the events of 7th April, %

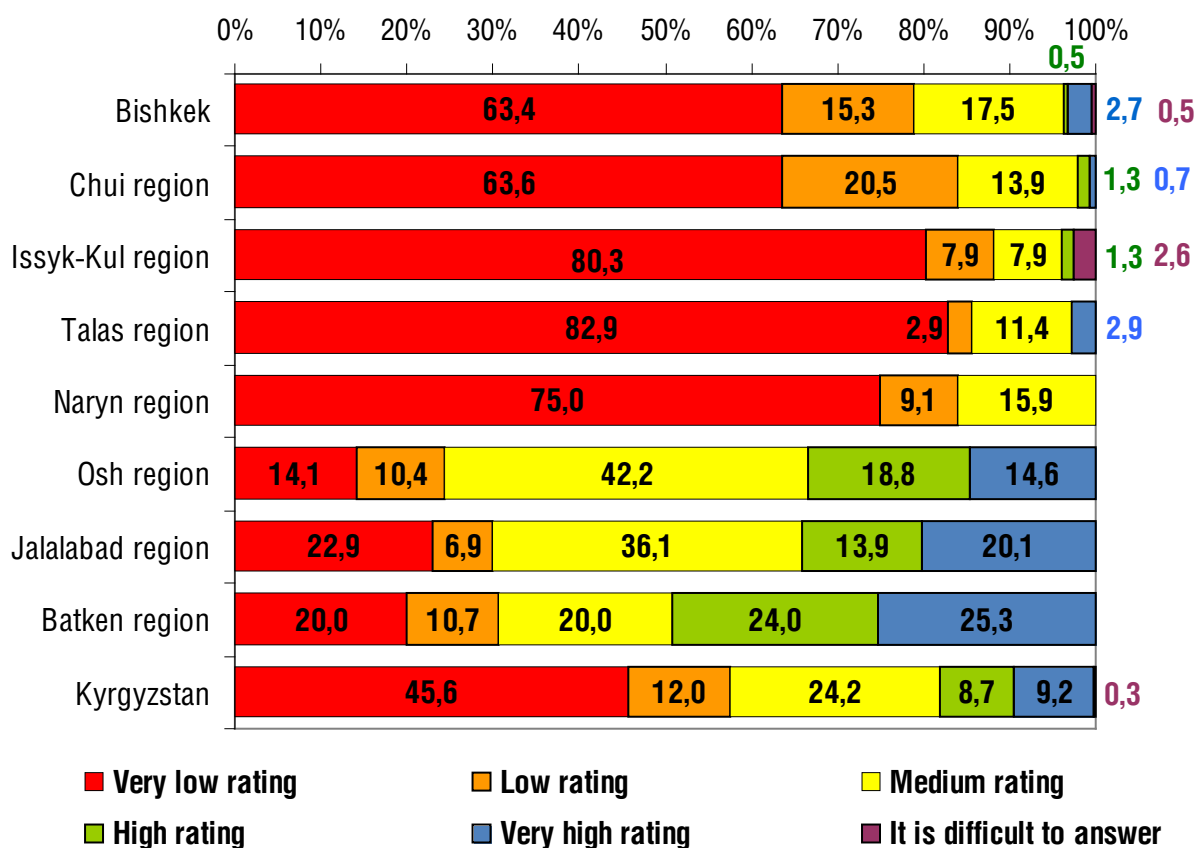


However, despite the fact that the majority of the population supports the change of power, almost a third of the respondents (the population of the southern regions of the country) is ready to accept the fact of old government in power, because do not believe in possible changes for the better. There are also respondents who think Kurmanbek Bakiev to be worthy president. These views can be commented by the words of V. Vyzhutovich, political analyst: "The most inconceivable, but in fact, quite naturally determined by the nature and psychology of poverty – is fear of change. Fear conjures: let it be as it is if only it won't become even worse."¹

- ✓ In this survey, respondents gave their assessment of Bakiev as a president. Respondents were asked to evaluate the activities of Bakiev using 5-point scale, where 1 - very low estimate, 5 - very high.

As it is shown in diagram 3, the views of residents of northern and southern regions are different. Thus, residents of Chui, Talas, Issyk-Kul and Naryn regions of Kyrgyzstan rated activities of Kurmanbek Bakiyev as a whole at 1.5 points, evaluation of residents in southern regions is higher in 2 times, but even with a strong loyalty to President Bakiyev inhabitants of southern regions of the country evaluate his activities in average of 3.1 points. In general, overall score was 2.2 points. Why does the president, who ruled a second term, has such a low score? How could it be? The answer is given by V. Vyzhutovich: "It may be. And it has already been. Here. Five years ago. The crowd, inspired by Bakiyev and his men overthrew the (fortunately, without bloodshed) President Askar Akayev. Now the same crowd overthrew the ringleader. No one is more prone to riots and coups, as ordinary citizens, trusting in the authorities to be disappointed once again".²

Diagram 3. Bakiev rating as a president
(In region's scope, %)

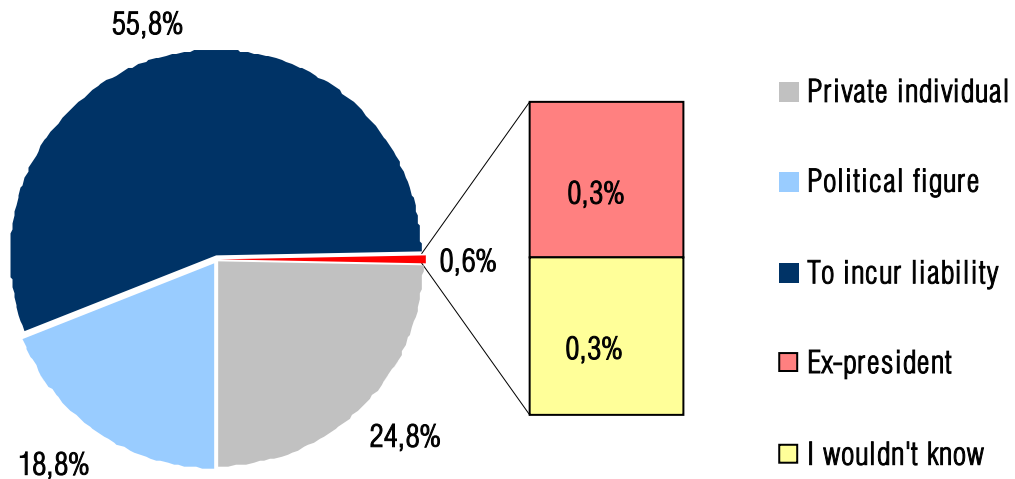


¹ <http://www.rg.ru>

² <http://www.rg.ru>

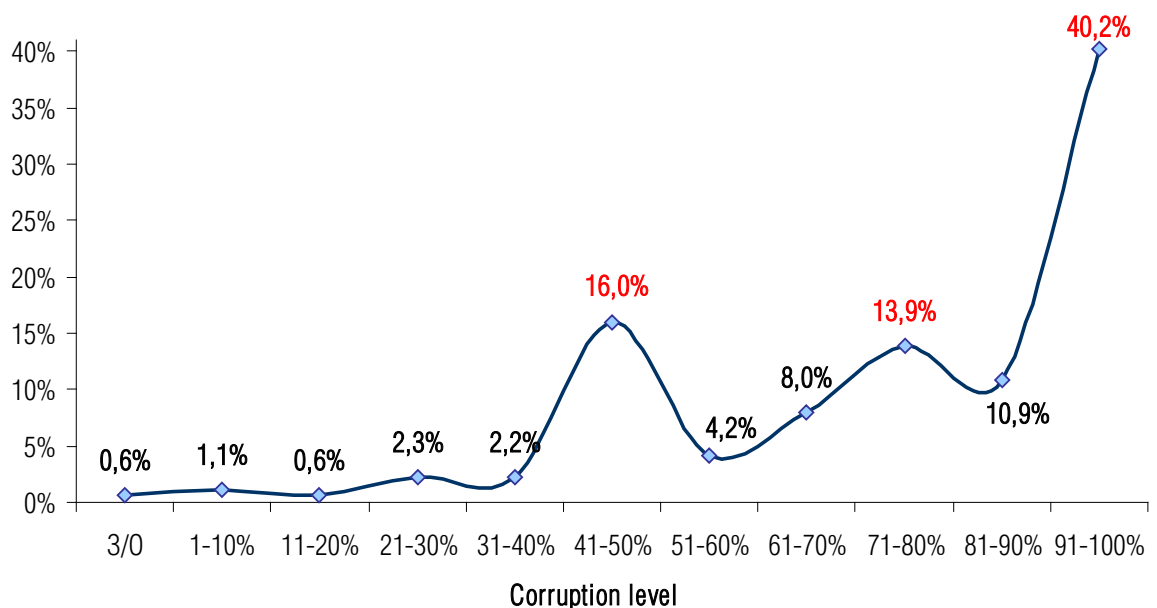
- ✓ There is a heated debate about whether Bakiev should come back in Kyrgyzstan, and, if so, then why? We asked this question to our respondents. The answers turned out to be quite interesting. 36,7% of respondents said that President Bakiev must return to Kyrgyzstan. For the question in what capacity he should return, the respondents also answered ambiguously. More than half of respondents (55,8%), said that Bakiev must return to the country to be answerable for the events.

Diagram 4. In what capacity Bakiev should return to Kyrgyzstan. Among the 330 respondents who reported that Bakiev must return to Kyrgyzstan, (%)



- ✓ It is known that the issue of corruption in our country is very sore and urgent. Survey participants were asked to estimate the level of corruption in Kyrgyzstan by 100% scale, where 1% - not at all corrupt country, 100% - totally corrupt country. The diagram below shows the percentage distribution of the views among the population. The diagram shows that over 40% of all respondents believe that the level of corruption in Kyrgyzstan is 91-100%. In general, more than 77% of Kyrgyzstan population evaluates the level of corruption more than 50%. Moreover, the higher the level of corruption, the greater the number of respondents pointed to this.

Diagram 5. Assessment of corruption level in Kyrgyzstan, %

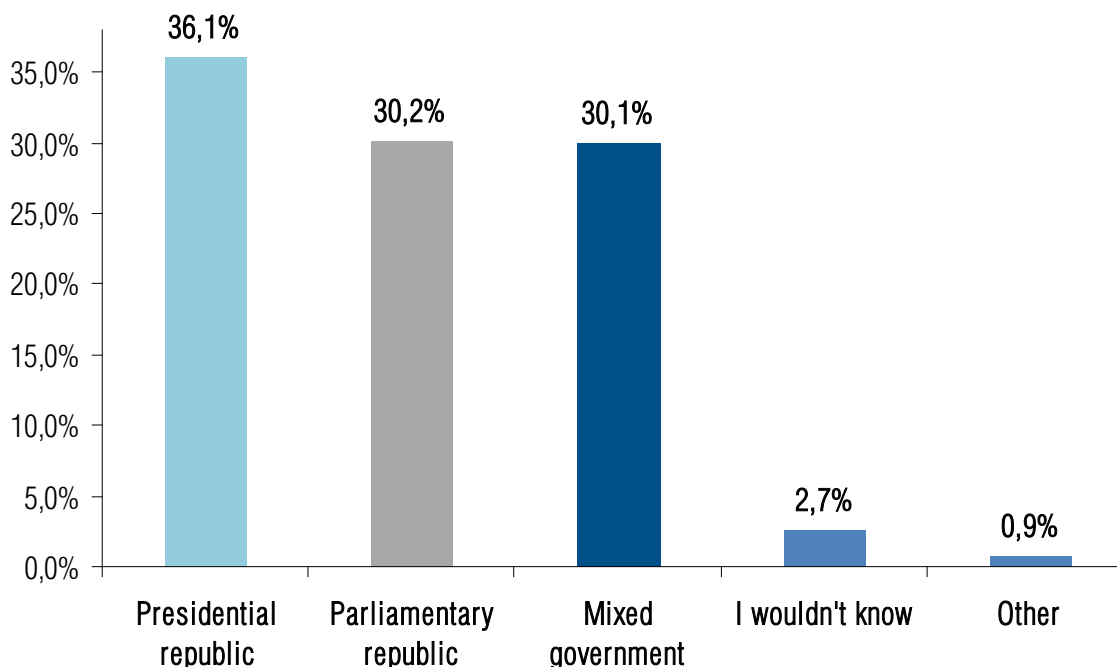


Expert opinion: According to independent international and national experts, now our country was plunged into total corruption in all spheres of life, whether it is education, health, justice or law enforcement, etc. According to the specialized international organizations on the level of corruption, Kyrgyzstan takes one of the last places in the world that is considered to be country with the one of the highest level of corruption. In the ranking of Transparency International Kyrgyzstan took 162 place out of 180 (the higher the level of corruption, the lower the country in the list) in 2009. Forbes magazine has put Kyrgyzstan in 2009 to fourth place after Chad, Zimbabwe and Cambodia from 107 countries in corruption rating.

Expert Opinion of Andrei Grozin about the role of corruption in the events is: "The Power family has swallowed every of any appreciable business. A global crisis, even though it didn't directly affect Kyrgyzstan, led to the fact that the elite have much less money. Competition for the resources has become acute. And at the same time, the president's son picks up under his agency fund of Kyrgyzstan development also, the last pieces of state property to control. This is KyrgyzTeleCom and electricity power, tenders for some unknown offshore company to win, which are associated with the youngest son of the president." ¹

- ✓ «Presidential republic or parliamentary? Or, perhaps, a mixed form of government? - These matters are now in the midst of political debate. Regarding the choice of form of government that will be most effective in current conditions for our state, over a third of respondents (36,1% of) noted presidential republic as the most suitable form of government in Kyrgyzstan. A third of respondents (30,2%) considered form of parliamentary republic as the most suitable for our country. The mixed form of government was also supported by third of all survey participants (30,1%). Slightly more than 2,5% of the respondents found it difficult to answer this question.

Diagram 6. The most effective form of government, %



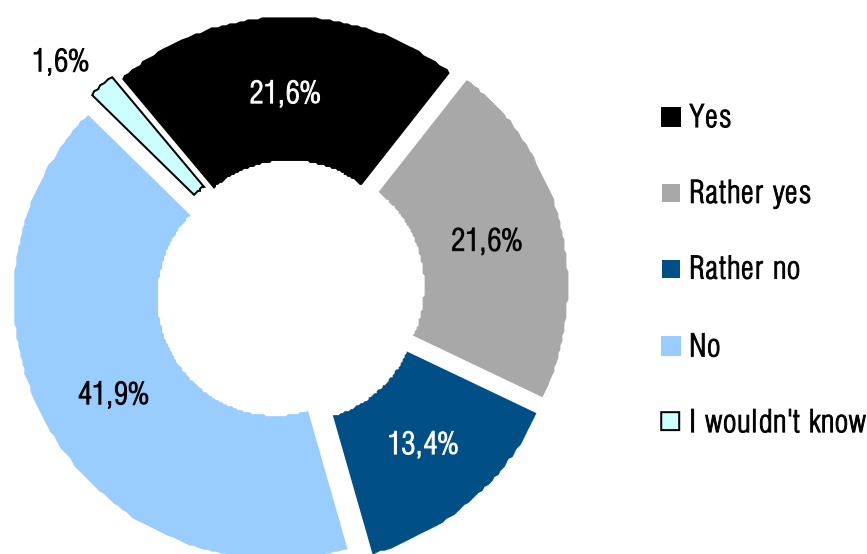
Expert opinion: Choosing a parliamentary, presidential, or mixed (semi-) form of government is not an issue about which system is better, but, the question is what is more suitable for Kyrgyzstan with its cultural, historical, economic, geopolitical and internal political conditions. According to the Russian expert on Central Asia, Leonid Gusev, such

¹ <http://www.vz.ru>

country as Kyrgyzstan with the struggle between the clans should better has a parliamentary republic. However, experts say that there is a danger of internal contradictions between the leaders generated by the election race, what should be avoided at all costs.

Political scientist Marat Kazakbaev expressed his view against non-presidential form of government: "Our parliament, no matter who its members are, has always been a sort of pocket or something puppet ... All the more this regime is atypical for the Kyrgyz people. Presidential republic is needed to save our country; we need someone like Putin to be in power. But we, unfortunately, have not such a strong figure among the politicians there. It is necessary to significantly curtail president's rights and part of them should be delegated to the Parliament, which the president could not dissolve at his discretion. Thus, it would have been a presidential republic, and not the super, as we have in recent years".¹

Diagram 7. Intention to leave Kyrgyzstan to another country after recent events within the next 1-2 years.



If the leaving the country have similar arguments, then the staying have different ones. Here are a few of them: Man, 42 years old: "Why should I leave? I was born here and grew up. My parents and my children were born here as well. My grandfather was buried here. He was a builder. There are many houses in Bishkek that remember his hands. And I'm not lazy. I'm not afraid of unemployment. And as for the ethnic conflict - this is a rumor. A pair of dolts – they are not all. I have many friends among the representatives of the titular nation"; woman, 33 years: "We went to Russia five years ago, after the revolution. We were unable to buy housing in big cities for the money we had got from sold house in Bishkek. In small towns where housing is affordable it is difficult to find a job. In addition, we were told that we came in large numbers. Why do we need this?"; man, 39 years old: "Do not spread panic. No one drives us anywhere. I've been living here for all my life and have never personally faced the manifestation of nationalism. And then how can I go into space to start all over again in my 40 years? Thank you. We like it here. Job, housing, friends – are all here."²

- ✓ Another issue that concerns not only government but also the population of Kyrgyzstan is the presence of Russian and USA military bases. In particular, American base at Manas airport is frequently located in the center of attention. Without going into the political sensitivities, it may be noted that ordinary people do not like the terms Americans are using the base. Representatives from different

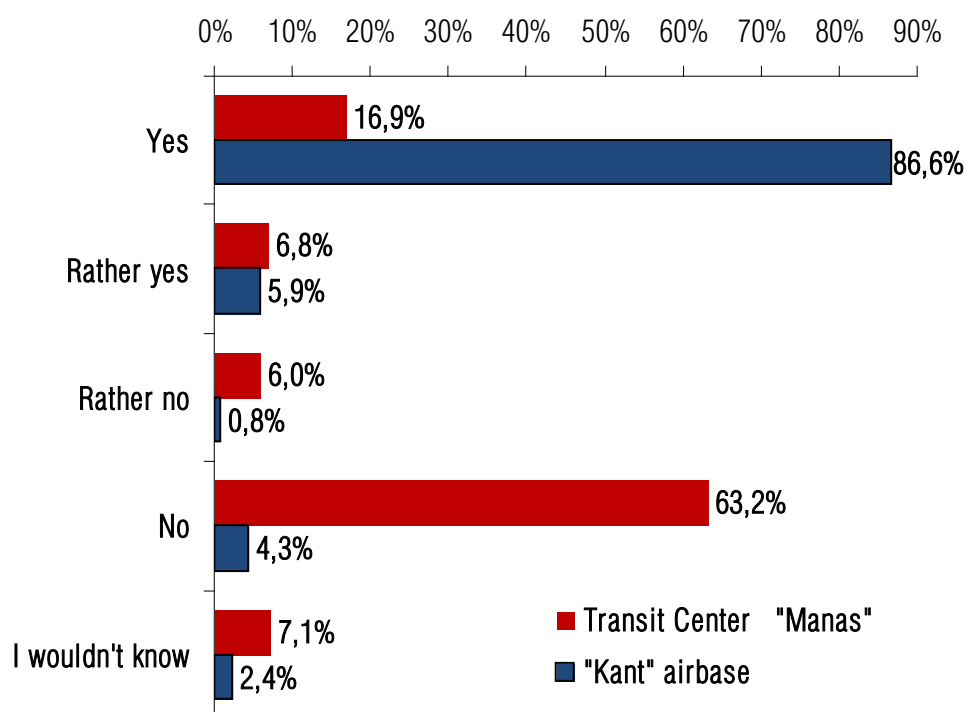
¹ <http://kp.ru>

² <http://www.msn.kg>

political parties and NGOs in Kyrgyzstan have held rallies in front of American Embassy in Bishkek many times. The protesters demanded the terms review of using the base by Americans, located at the Manas international civil airport outside Bishkek, and set a date for its closure. Also there is no unanimity in the ranks of political men. Thus, the authorities of our country are in an extremely awkward position, trying to decide how to balance the interests of the USA and Russia.

Opinion of the population on this issue is fairly similar, regardless of place of residence and political affiliation. 86,6% of respondents felt that the Russian airbase at Kant, "must remain on the territory of our country". 16.9% of respondents were for American base remaining.

Diagram 8. Comparative results of answers to the questions "Should Kyrgyzstan remain the International transit center at "Manas" airport on the country territory?" and "Should Kyrgyzstan remain Russian airbase Kant?"



Expert opinion: Alexander Nikitin (political scientist): "Taking into account the nature of a multi-pronged policy of all states of Central Asia, we understand that the region is important to build relationships not only with Moscow. That is, there should be no expectation that Kyrgyzstan will uniquely select only one of any directions. The modern world is multipolar. Russia is interested in successful operations in Afghanistan." ¹

- ✓ In the end, discussing the further development of international relations, 89% of the respondents believe that Russia should become a priority country for development cooperation. Second place goes to Kazakhstan (4,75%), third place - participants believe that it is necessary to develop relations with all countries - 1,7% of all survey participants. China, USA, Turkey, the EU countries, CIS countries, Saudi Arabia and Japan were also noted.

Table 1. Priority country for cooperation development.

¹ <http://www.24.kg>

<i>Priority country for cooperation development</i>	<i>opinion,%</i>
Russia	89,0%
Kazakhstan	4,7%
All countries	1,7%
China	1,0%
USA	0,8%
Turkey	0,6%
Russia and Kazakhstan	0,4%
Uzbekistan	0,3%
EU	0,3%
CIS countries	0,2%
Saudi Arabia	0,2%
Japan	0,1%
It's difficult to answer	0,7%

Expert opinion: "Kyrgyzstan is building its own international journey in accordance with its capabilities, potential and role in international processes. First of all, the foreign policy seeks to establish mutually beneficial relations with Russia, China, Germany, India, Japan, Turkey and the United States. For example, cooperation with Russia is regarded as one of the conditions for long-term development in social, economic, energy, military and transport – communication spheres. Kyrgyzstan is actively cooperating with the USA in the fight against international terrorism".¹

ATTENTION!

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¹ Lubov Ivasenko, project © AllKyrgyzstan.com