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**“Peculiarities and results of elections in 2005 in Kyrgyzstan”**

In 90s of the XX century as a result of disintegration of Soviet Union the Kyrgyz Republic assumed the independence and gained the status of sovereign constitutional secular state. For the purpose of creating truly democratic and jurial civil society the state power was divided into three branches: legislative power, executive power and judicial power. General presidential and parliamentary elections as an attribute, sign and core of democracy are held regularly every 5 years. Since 2004 the heads of territorial local governments are also to be elected.

Presidential and parliamentary elections held at the former half of 2005 have a special place in history of democratic development of Kyrgyzstan.

**I. Kyrgyzstan on the eve of elections**

The independence years (1990 - 2004) were a period not of progressive development but active regressive changes that were caused by inefficient and ignorant management of the President and Government.

From the moment of assuming its independence the republic have been conforming to the programmes and development strategies dictated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Market reformations were initiated from systematic destruction of the whole of economic system. Before declaration of its independence Kyrgyzstan had a quite developed industry that included establishments of mechanical engineering, instrument-making, building material production, light and processing industries. Privatization system that was given the folk name as “grabbing” stimulated the destruction of many budget-forming agrarian-industrial systems.

Rash and fundamental reforms disregarding the real economic situation in the country, national mentality, historical and cultural traditions took place in rural economy. It led to impoverishment of rural population, rise of internal and external migration upsetting the balance of population and intensified social tension.

Moreover, during several years the reforms destroying education, healthcare, culture and other systems have been carried out. All these “reforms” were financed at the expense of foreign credits and today the national debt of Kyrgyzstan totals 4,2 milliard USD what means 400 USD of debt per inhabitant of our republic.

Volume of output in industry as well as in agriculture was sharply reduced, gross domestic product was decreased, social and cultural condition of urban and rural settlements deteriorated.

One of the main reasons for existing crisis economic situation is a shadow economy. Its prevalence is conditioned by shortcoming of legal base, high level of corruption in governmental structures, crippling taxes, weakness of executive power. In this regard, vast funds have not fallen into the national budget and

have enriched certain persons who as a rule had authorities and strong power in the country. Besides, the shadow economy was always connected with violations of rights of people working at the concealed enterprises. They are irregular working hours, low salary, lack of social protection, full dependence on employer etc.

Disruptive activity of the government was conducive to unhappy statistics: according to the Human Development Index in 2004 Kyrgyzstan took 103<sup>rd</sup> place among 111 states. Owing to decline in living standards the impairment of social system is to be observed in the republic. In 1992 the amount of convicted defendants was 376 people per 100 000 people and in 2004 this figure was 575 people. The number of crimes connected with drugs is rising where women are involved in increasing frequency: in 1992 their number was 1901 women, in 2004 – 3106 women. 78 % of the convicted defendants are able-bodied citizens without fixed occupation (2004). Family institutions are irreversibly destroyed, illegitimate children became everyday occurrence. In 1992 they composed 13 % of total amount of children and in 2004 – 35%. In this connection, homeless and uncared-for children become the national distress indeed.

The period since 1991 is characterized by decline of incomes for the most part of population and rapid accumulation of capital in the same range of owners. It resulted in sharp social and property stratification of the society. According to the official statistics as of January 1, 2005 the consumption per day for 1 400 000 people amounts 0,3 USD and for 1 800 000 people – 0,5 USD. In all 3 200 000 people out of more than 5 000 000 population of the republic live in extreme poverty.

By 2005 the country became agrarian, hundred thousands of hectares of irrigating fields were rushy and saline, irrigation systems fell out. Cotton, sugar-beet and grain-crops are not recompensed for themselves. The actual nutrition of population does not correspond with their physiologic needs, in this regard the health of population is worsening, birth rate decrease, mortality rate increases and there is increase of social diseases (tuberculosis, drugs, alcohol addicted, etc.), increase of iron-deficit anemia, deficit of iodine, vitamin deficit, and shortage of proteins and energetic value of foodstuff and meals.

When the independence of the republic was established the management was given to those people, who did not realize the deepness of objectives defined by them at that time. These factors determined their further behavior and actions, which were directed only for solution of their own personal well being. That is why the state policy was conducted only for strengthening of position of definite range of people and for provision of guarantees that these people would save their power. Four referendums have been conducted during 14 years (in 1994, 1996, 1998, 2003). All these referendums were directed to strengthen the power of the President. As a result, A. Akaev has got unlimited power, which helped to his surrounding and family to protect their personal interests. Thus, the management system was blocked and it had not any feedback with the society and public institutions. There was tensions towards usurpation of the power. Governments changed almost every year. The policy of managing elite was formed on the base of market relations. Not professionals but only people committed to the President were involved to the managing elite. So, the Regime isolated itself from the people and people had to find problem solution themselves.

The real ideology of the country defined the principle that individualism, it means that everybody had to fight himself and independently. “When the country give up from the law, many directors appear” – these words of Solomon became relevant for Kyrgyzstan: when many different state agencies and departments appeared and it was often that they duplicated each other. It was usual that directors of new agencies started their job from renovations of their offices and involvement of their relatives and friends to their jobs. Immorality reached its apogee; everything could be sold and bought: prestigious job, profitable deals, high rank positions, scientific decrees, awards etc. Namely such kind of approach caused destruction system of corruption and crime in all levels of power. In the management power there was class division (tribes division), which brought more bankruptcy among the population and most part of wealth was concentrated in pockets of limited group of people closed to the family of the President. It was

not a surprise that representatives of criminal groups became deputies of the Parliament. Thus they have got deputy's inviolability – it was one of forms to avoid law and legal responsibility.

In order to get wealth the Akaev's regime succeeded to punish active representatives of opposition. The regime started to institute legal proceedings against mass media representatives: as a result – unfavorable journalists, independent activists have been put to the prison. In compliance with principle as “Every action causes counteraction” the presidential power got feedback instead of fear and obedience as repressive officials supposed. The authorities faced the real and serious threat in the person of mature opposition capable to assert their demands and finding the sympathy and support of people.

Since 1997 the political life of the country have been unstable, in all parts the local disorders appeared. The opposition started to strengthen its positions, promoted its leaders and became the power able to resist the illegal and antihuman actions of authoritarian regime.

The most serious and cruel disorders were conducted in Aksy mountainous region of Djalal-Abad oblast in 2002. The people driven over the edge by impoverishment, unemployment as well as violation of their basic right – right to elect have openly opposed the power. They supported their elected representative – deputy from their electoral district who was arrested by faked-up matter. Instead of constructive dialogue with the authorities used fire-arms. Specially trained servants of law fired at unarmed people – participants of peaceful demonstration, as a result of this 6 people died. From this moment the opposition began to consolidate its forces regardless of nationality, political and religious beliefs, the objectives and directions of national movement, solidarity and unity of people were sharply defined.

The 2001-2005 period is characterized by full dissociation between power and people. In their turn, the citizens of the republic impeached the public credibility for President and ruling clique. It was also verified by the results of our sociological researches. Virtually the nation lived separately, the strong civil society and effective political culture of citizens were not still formed. The person did not believe in his own magnitude and possibility to take part in real state ruling. Along with political rights the basic constitutional rights – right of work, housing and healthcare were violated.

Notwithstanding the sad social-economic and political state of society, early 2005 the presidential power tried to hold the regular legislative elections in such a way as to make this branch of power obedient, resigned and clannish.

## **II. Peculiarities of elections in 2005**

The 2005 elections of deputies for Legislative Chamber of Jogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic were conducted in the framework of vehement strife between presidential power and opposition.

In accordance with the updated 2003 version of the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic the two-chamber parliament consisting of 105 deputies was transformed to one-chamber parliament consisting of 75 representatives. According to the clause 1 of the article 70 of Election Code of the Kyrgyz Republic 75 single member territorial constituencies were established in order to hold parliamentary elections. The electoral districts are to be covered approximately equal amount of voters to make deputies elected by approximately equal amount of voters, hence the votes of all deputies are equiponderant.

Parliamentary elections were held in two rounds: the first one – on February 27, 2005, 31 deputies were elected, and the second one – on March 13, 2005, 43 deputies were elected. In total 73 people were elected as deputies. One of them is a citizen of Russian Federation, another one is a citizen of Uzbekistan. 16 deputies of previous convocation were elected again, one unemployed person became a deputy. The most part of elected deputies have no experience in lawmaking and knowledge in substance of legislation. There are no women and representatives of social sciences and liberal arts.

Examining the composition of 2005 Parliament allows to establish a fact that Jogorku Kenesh consists mainly of Akaev's deputies (in other words adherents of the former President) who are the members of Akaev's party "Alga Kyrgyzstan" ("Forward, Kyrgyzstan") – 36 people, "Adilet" party (under power control) – 5 deputies, in total 41 deputies. These deputies are mainly rich people made their capital at the expense of wild "grabbing" of national property that was accumulated by honest labour of several generations. Examining the labour activity of these deputies leads onto conclusion that before they were not involved in lawmaking and it is very likely that they even have no notion of it. It is a pity that there is a lack of experienced, skilful and professional in lawmaking deputies in the new Parliament who could rise the authority of the Legislative Chamber to the higher level and become as a truly independent branch of state power. The circle of the former President wanted just weak, incompetent and maneuverable Parliament.

Paying attention to the peculiarities of organizing parliamentary elections allows to mark out several moments.

Examining the process of preparing, organizing and holding 2005 elections shows that in the view of complying with the law and rules specified in the Election Code of the Kyrgyz Republic negative moments were more than positive ones.

Making use of parliamentary elections the President tried to form the Parliament from among members of his family, relatives and people loyal to him in order to reserve the power. For that contrary of current legislation all capabilities of administrative resources were actively and purposely used including expungement of candidates from the registration lists, withdrawing their candidatures via courts under presidential control. The voter's lists were drawn up inaccurately and roughly, the voters underwent a direct pressure: intimidation, threatening, racket, tampering and intervention in mass media activities. Such control over election process and information resembles a totalitarian system. In many electoral districts of rural area the facts of transporting the groups of voters were registered. In the Election Code of the Kyrgyz Republic it is underscored that "candidates, representatives of candidates as well as physical and legal bodies acting at the instance or on the instructions of persons above mentioned are prohibited to undertake measures directing at providing delivery of voters for participating in voting" (article 31).

In addition, 5 former ambassadors-diplomats were deprived of right to register their candidatures in view of local residence requirement though the diplomat appointed by the government for position abroad represents national interests at international level. This also is evidence of restricted applying the Election Code. Presidential power and Central Election Committee conducted a double standard policy, violated the principle of legal neutrality and impartiality, put different obstacles for politicians in opposition and self-promoters disloyal to power, created special free and easy conditions for candidates from parties orienting to the Government and President.

Kyrgyz people have ancient tradition of participating in elections. Before the leaders of tribes, clans, heroes, princes, military leaders were elected by means of secret voting. There is a description of electing military leader and public chieftain in the national encyclopedic epos "Manas". The elections were transparent, fair and honest.

Soviet period has another orders: participation in elections was considered to be obligatory. I kept in my mind the case when one student by accident did not vote in elections of deputies. This case was identified as a "political desertion" and this student was expelled from the university. Under totalitarian system the formal suffrage existed but actually it was impossible to exercise it. Under democratic regime there is a principle for universality of elections which provides for citizens active voting right to participate of their own free will in voting on achieving 18 years age regardless of background, social and property status, occupying position, sex, nationality, race, location, religious beliefs etc. This principle allows everybody to exercise their constitutional right. In 2005 elections the electors were inactive, political indifference of electorate was reflected everywhere: specially in big cities and industrial areas. In comparison with the

previous elections the number of absenteeism adherents increased. For instance, in 11 electoral districts (№№ 2, 4, 5, 8, 11, 45, 46, 58, 62, 63, 72) the number of people evaded the participation in elections amounted from 50 % to 65 % of total amount of voter's lists.

Presidential and executive power of the Kyrgyz Republic have done all possible and impossible by trampling on Constitution, Election Code and all laws of the Kyrgyz Republic. As a result according to opinions of international and national experts, independent observers the 2005 parliamentary elections became the most dirty, unfair and closed in history of the Kyrgyz Republic. As mass media stated such elections do not correspond to democratic principles and free declaration of will.

At the same time the representatives of state power, in particular the heads of Central Election Committee as well as the President of the Kyrgyz Republic hypocritically declared that parliamentary legislative elections were held in the framework of law, the country haven't seen "such honest and fair elections as held ones" before.

All of this – bluff and dissimulation of the rulers, tampering and falsification of elections' results, extreme poverty, unemployment, total corruption in all power structures – exasperated the people. In all regions of the country the people initiated peaceful mass-meetings, demonstrations, pickets, moves of civil disobedience and captures of state institutions as buildings of local government bodies, oblast administrations and law machinery structures. In many southern regions, Talas and Issyk-Kul oblasts the people deposed the representatives of government power and established the rule of people. Thus, in many regions of the republic the dual power appeared.

On March 14, 2005 in Djalal-Abad city the Coordination Board of national movement at the head of the opposition leader Bakiev K.S. held the public meeting Kurultai. As a result of it the following decisions were made: to put the President Akaev A. in resignation, to declare the results of parliamentary elections illegal, to hold pre-term elections of new President and then to hold parliamentary elections again.

On March 24, 2005 the Coordination Board of national movement at the head of the opposition leaders held a peaceful procession in the capital of the republic Bishkek city with participation of several thousands of citizens from different regions of the republic. But presidential power instead of negotiations with people undertook provocative measures pointing at people the so called "white caps" – specially trained sportsmen that were armed by shields, canes and stones. There were fire-arms stocked up in the White House designed to use against the demonstrators.

The people participated in mass-meeting lost their last patience after such attitude of the authorities to the peaceful demonstrators. People started to storm the Government House. People without arms storming the Government House destroyed all things in their way, the burst of their anger was so violent. After half an hour the Government House was captured, but there was no the President of the Kyrgyz Republic Akaev A. The guarantor for Constitution, Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Army left the country and state symbols and performed the anticonstitutional deed defecting abroad as abject coward – the acting Constitution does not stipulate for run of the President from the country. Antinational regime didn't withstand the pressure of people's anger and collapsed as "rotten tree during wind". The national revolution of 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2005 won and established the people's power. Masses of people of all regions took part in this movement. This is not a result of external influences but the evidence with internal substance, a result of support of people. Hence, the social base of March revolution in Kyrgyzstan is people. On July 10, 2005 the people by absolute majority (92%) elected the new President - the leader of the Coordination Board of national movement of Kyrgyzstan Bakiev K.S. The main peculiarity and result of 2005 elections in Kyrgyzstan is defection of grasping President to foreign state, establishing of people's power and beginning of the new rebirth of Kyrgyzstan.

### III. On electoral behavior of the Kyrgyz

It first time when the representative interrogation of electors has been conducted in all regions of the country in order to identify electoral behavior and electoral attitude of the Kyrgyz in the post-election period. It is necessary to underline that people of Kyrgyzstan are not spoiled by sociological interrogations of election campaigns. In conditions of totalitarianism it was impossible even to dream about sociological polls because it was prohibited to study conventional and non-conventional behavior of electorate. In the recent time of authoritarianism polls of electors in elections were not encouraged. Even if they were conducted somewhere, they were influenced by political pressure.

The post-election poll, which was conducted in January – March 2006 to study behavior of electors, political parties and public activists, pretending to the power, is the new event in the socio-political life of the sovereign Kyrgyzstan.

This poll has been conducted within the programme of questionnaire on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Module of Comparative Study of Electoral Systems. The elections held in Kyrgyzstan: Parliamentary elections – 1 tour – 27 February, 2 tour – 13 March 2005; Presidential elections – 10 July 2005. The date of preparation start of study – 15 November 2005. The date of post-election poll – 15 January 2006. The date of study completion of post-election poll – 3 March 2006.

#### Selection

The volume of selection – 2 000 (+200 units as resource for repair) people in the age of 18 years old and elder in the republic. The sociological poll has been conducted in all 7 oblasts and capital of Kyrgyzstan on the base of representative selection. Opinion of respondents corresponds with principles of representativeness and is representative on Kyrgyzstan as a whole. The selection represents the following characteristics: settlement (type of settlement points: urban or rural; and the number of population), regional and demographic (sex and age), employment breakdown, the level of education, nationality and religious belonging.

#### *Principles of selection formation:*

1. The number of interview is defined for each region.
2. Inside of regions the number of interview is defined on the base of data on allocation of population and settlements in region on population points. The rural and urban points of poll are defined.
3. Sex – age quote is established in each poll unit on the base of statistical data
4. Quote of level of education is established in each poll unit
5. Quotes on employment and distribution on economics branches are established
6. Routes are elaborated in each poll unit (cross of streets and directions of movement of interviewers) on the base of route selection
7. The order on movement on route and rules of respondent selection are defined
8. Only 1 person is interrogated from one family
9. Interrogation is conducted by personal interview (method)

*Socio – demographic data of respondents in post – election study is characterized by the following data:*

Table 1

<b>№</b>	<b>Social-demographic structure</b>	<b>Quantity of respondents</b>	<b>% of respondents' quantity</b>
<i>Age:</i>			
1.	18-29	615	30,8%
2.	30-39	507	25,4%

3.	40-49	400	20,0%
4.	50 and older	478	23,9%
	<i>Total</i>	2000	100%
<b>Occupation:</b>			
1.	Specialists and office-workers	500	25,1%
2.	Businessmen	164	8,1%
3.	Working people and peasants	383	19,1%
4.	Unemployed	520	26,0%
5.	Students	201	10,1%
6.	Pensioners	232	11,6%
	<i>Total</i>	2000	100%
<b>Nationality:</b>			
1.	Kyrgyz	1327	66,4%
2.	Russian	309	15,4%
3.	Uzbek	209	10,4%
4.	Other nationalities	155	7,8%
	<i>Total</i>	2000	100%
<b>Education:</b>			
1.	Secondary incomplete	77	3,8%
2.	Secondary	538	26,9%
3.	Secondary special	527	26,4%
4.	Higher incomplete	252	12,6%
5.	Higher	606	30,3%
	<i>Total</i>	2000	100%
<b>Religion:</b>			
1.	Islam	1636	81,8%
2.	Christian Orthodoxy	304	15,2%
3.	Atheism	50	2,5%
4.	Other religions	10	0,5%
	<i>Total</i>	2000	100%
<b>Sex:</b>			
1.	Men	960	48,0%
2.	Women	1040	52,0%
	<i>Total</i>	2000	100%

Data of poll's results, which was received after SPSS proceeding characterize political activity of electorate differently (please see Table 2)

Table 2

***The indicator of active participation of electorate in pre-election campaigns***

<b>№</b>	<b>Indicators</b>	<b>Respondents from the interviewed</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>1</b>	Persuaded to vote for a certain candidate	377	18,8
<b>2</b>	From the persuaded practiced it often	105	5,3
<b>3</b>	Those supporting a certain candidate participated in	243	12,2

	meetings and gatherings		
4	From those supporting a certain candidate participating in meetings and gatherings often	70	3,5

According to the above Table, only 377 people out of 2 000 respondents, e.g. 18,8% took part in pre-election agitation works for definite candidate, out of them only 105 people expressed their active participation – only 5,3%. From respondents who supported definite candidate 243 respondents (12,2%) took part in agitation meetings. 70 people from respondents (3,5%) often attended these meetings expressing their active participation. It is obvious that during these pre-election campaigns the active participation of population was low and political culture of our citizens did not reach the high level. Regionalism and tribalism played a big role because mainly friends, relatives, fellows, other closed people to some definite candidate to deputy of Parliament or to President participated in pre-election campaigns. Bribes and briberies of electorate were developed during pre – election campaigns.

During conducting sociological poll on above mentioned questionnaire we wanted to study electoral behavior and attitude of electoral process in general because the electoral culture is linked with the general political culture of the society and individuals.

It is known, in the modern democratic society «the culture of political participation» corresponds to such type of political culture, which is characterized by personally motivated deliberated aspiration for participation in political life, wish to influence to functioning of political system (here through mechanism of elections), rationale – pragmatic aspiration for participation in political life as a instrument to express their interests and interests of “such people as I am”. According to results of sociological poll we succeeded to study that 18,8% of respondents could be related to those who were very active in the election process. This process is accompanied by actualization of personally important values. As the democratic elections have tendency to remove or destroy inversely linkage between the public influence and the Government power. Elections make possible existence of public influence and state power together by providing opportunities for citizens to elect and dismiss leaders. For this reason, democratic elections represent themselves as crucial moment in relations between citizens and the state.

There are big differentiations of electoral behavior in the regional aspect (please, see Table 3).

Table 3

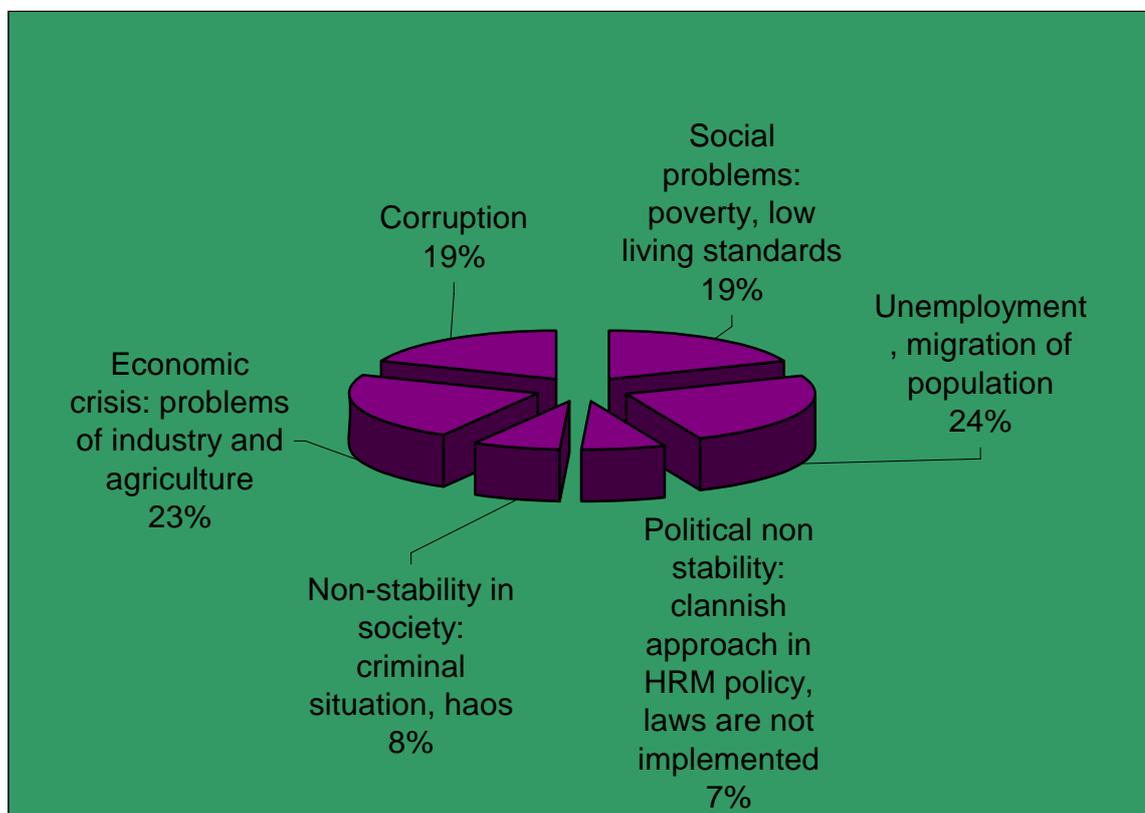
*The Presidential elections took place in 10 July 2005. Please, tell us, during the pre-election campaign did you talk with other people to persuade them to vote foe some concrete candidate?*

№	Oblasts and the capital of Kyrgyzstan	Yes		No		Don't know		Cancel		Total	
		Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
1.	Batken	39	27,9	99	70,7	2	1,4	0	0	140	100
2.	Jalalabad	76	24,1	237	75,0	3	0,9	0	0	316	100
3.	Issykkul	29	17,1	139	81,7	2	1,2	0	0	170	100
4.	Naryn	9	8,5	91	86,7	3	2,9	2	1,9	105	100
5.	Osh	104	23,4	336	75,7	3	0,7	1	0,2	444	100
6.	Talas	17	20,2	67	79,8	0	0	0	0	84	100
7.	Chui	45	13,2	296	86,8	0	0	0	0	341	100
8.	Bishkek	58	14,5	338	84,5	1	0,3	3	0,7	400	100
	<b>Total</b>	<b>377</b>	<b>18,8</b>	<b>1603</b>	<b>80,2</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>0,7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0,3</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>100</b>

According to the Tables, persuasions to vote for concrete candidate prevail in southern oblasts. On Batken oblast persuasions formed 27,9% from total amount of respondents; in Djalal-Abad oblast - 24,1%, in Osh Oblast – 23,4%, at the same time in Naryn oblast – 8,5%, in Chui Oblast – 12,2%, in city of Bishkek – 14,5%. Responds as «No» are less in the South, and more in the North.

Diagram 1

**Which problem is the most important for the last 4 years?**



The diagram shows that in our republic for the last 4 years clannish approach in HRM policy played a definite role, as a result there were political non stability and non stability in the society. As to poverty, economic crisis and corruption played the main role in pre-revolution situation: when the poor wished to live by new style and the rich wished to manage by old methods. Interference of criminal groups into state affairs – that was result of all this. Outputs of all these negative problems continued to exist in the post-revolution period.

At present time the Office of General prosecutor of the Kyrgyz Republic instituted and investigated 79 criminal cases towards A. Akaev, his relatives and surrounding, their real estate, etc. The damage brought by this crime to the state and private sector accounted for USD 40,6 millions.

Table 4

**Assessment of President's Akaev activity**

№	Assessment	Conducted activity of President Akaev for the last 4 years on above mentioned problems		Assessment of actions of President Akaev for the last 4 years in general	
		Amount	%	Amount	%

1	Very good	23	1,2	26	1,3
2	Good	315	15,7	427	21,4
3	Bad	959	48,0	922	46,3
4	Very bad	454	22,7	426	21,3
5	Difficult to reply	215	10,7	174	8,7
6	Refusal	34	1,7	25	1,3
7	Total	2000	100	2000	100

According to the Table, respondents think that actions conducted by ex - President Akaev for the last 4 years on above mentioned problems was bad (48,0%) and very bad (22,7%). Besides, in general assessment of his actions for the last 4 years was bad (46,3%) and very bad (21,3%). These facts prove the lack of actions of ex-Government in problem solution of people, attempts to lead the country out of economic and socio – political crisis. It means that objective and subjective factors of the revolution situation in our society are proved again.

Years of management of President Akaev are well known now in the history as a period of collapse of economics, culture, science of people of Kyrgyzstan, and very big indicators of internal and external migration.

Table 5

*Assessment of demography*

№	Evaluation	Respondents' satisfaction with democracy development in Kyrgyzstan		Evaluation	Respondents' agreement with the following statement: "Democracy is better than any other regime"		Evaluation	Loyalty towards personal rights and freedoms in Kyrgyzstan	
		Quantity	%		Quantity	%		Quantity	%
1	Completely satisfied	67	3,4	Completely satisfied	307	15,4	Completely satisfied	28	1,4
2	Satisfied	655	32,8	Satisfied	1048	52,4	Satisfied	542	27,1
3	Unsatisfied	917	45,9	Unsatisfied	383	19,2	Unsatisfied	1241	62,1
4	Unsatisfied at all	195	9,8	Unsatisfied at all	35	1,8	Unsatisfied at all	179	9,0
5	Don't know	149	7,5	Don't know	207	10,4	Don't know	10	0,5
6	Cancel	17	0,9	Cancel	20	1,0	Total	2000	100
7	Total	2000	100	Total	2000	100			

As to question about satisfaction by real development of democracy, respondents provided replies which did not correspond to principles of democracy – not satisfied 45,9% and completely not satisfied 9,8%. In a result, 2/3 of respondents think that human rights are not followed (62,1%). According to the above data, we have got an objective to strengthen principles of democratic society, adoption of democratic Constitution, which will be not for interests of authoritative management, but for interests of citizens of our country.

In the democratic system the power distribution is conducted by fair and honest elections in accordance with adopted international rules. The main condition of successful elections is mutual understanding between political authorities, represented in the Parliament and outside of the Parliament. This process should be open and it should form stable atmosphere for all candidates in order to provide honest competition between authorities. Democratic elections – is antipode of civil war and force solution of problem on power. Elections are able to provide dynamic balance, stability, integration of public system in conditions of democracy.

In conditions of democratic elections, we conducted post-election sociological poll after one year after Parliamentary elections and after six months after Presidential elections, though in some time after elections we have got information from our respondents and this information objectively reflect process of elections to the parliament and President. For instance, questions on to whom did you give your vote in presidential elections? (please, see Table N 6).

Table 6

*Please, can you tell us for whom did you vote?*

Candidate for Presidency of the Kyrgyz Republic	Yes (1641-82,1 %)	
	Quantity	%
Aitikeev Akbaraly	44	2,7%
Bakiev Kurmanbek	1426	86,9%
Bakir uulu Tursunbai	50	3,0%
Duishebaev Keneshbek	5	,3%
Jeksheev Jypar	10	,6%
Umetalieva Toktaim	17	1,0%
None of the above	37	2,3%
Don't know	21	1,3%
Cancel	31	1,9%
Total	1641	100,0%

The Table proves legitimacy of elections of President Bakiev (86,9%), who got support of electorate (92,2%) and after elections. Mainly electorate links their hopes for better life with the name of the present President Bakiev. Besides, citizens support his step towards tandem with Kulov (please, see Table 7).

Table 7

*Support to tandem and its reasons*

Reasons	Yes (714-35,7 %)	
	Number	%
Together they will improve the situation	170	8,5
For stabilization, peace and order	135	6,8
For union of south and north	142	7,1
For strong team	136	6,8
Improvement of citizens' life	66	3,3
For Kulov F.	25	1,3

Development of economics	13	0,7
For fight against corruption	9	0,5
Don't know	18	0,9
Total	714	64,3

Before presidential elections there were two real candidates: representative of south Bakiev and representative of north Kulov. Here the clannish approach was expressed vividly in joint attempts to promote leader. The society was like on the bomb. In the mass political understanding the victory of “our guy” meant benefit access to distribution and usage of public national resources. Only wise political decision of two leaders – to unite into tandem Bakiev – Kulov - stabilized the internal political situation in the republic. This very important step was initiated in order to avoid conflict and collapse of society. This political step improved the situation and it was one of the achievements of new power. Elections and political security – are closely linked between each other understandings. Bodies of power are formed in the process of elections and together with institutes of civil society provide political security of the state and its citizens.

Table 8

*Role of elections system*

Assessment of role of election system		Number	%	Negative sides of election system	Amount	%
1	Very good	101	5,1	Tribe divisions	293	14,7
2	Good	866	43,3	Regionalism	247	12,4
3	Bad	508	25,4	Bribery	861	43,1
4	Don't know	452	22,6	Pressure from the authorities	103	5,2
5	Refusal	73	3,7	Other	181	9,1
6	Total	2000	100,0	Don't know	314	15,7
				Refusal	1	,1
				Total	2000	100,0

According to the above Table, 48,4% of respondents state that they are happy with the current election system, and 25,4% respondents noticed minuses of this election system. 22,6% respondents did not know how to reply and 3,7% refused to reply to this question and it means that they are far from the understanding of this election system. This proves that that 26,3% respondents are indifferent to political system and political process happening around them.

25,4% respondents are interested in improvement of elections system in order to avoid negative moments in the election process. Electorate is concerned about negative moments of our society, such as bribery (43,1%), tribe division (14,7%), regionalism (12,4%) and pressure from the authorities (5,2%).

We considered some moments of results of post-election problems of electoral behavior. Post-election sociological studies gave us an opportunity to know how our voter made his choice, to what kind of factors did he pay attention, what he knows about candidates and elections and finally what elections do

mean for voter. It means we defined what is the level of voters' culture and what is the content basis of the new political culture.

Results of post-election sociological poll prove the necessity to improve the election system. The new election system should be based on free competitable elections to be able to accumulate social, judicial, cultural resources for future constitutional-democratic political structure of the Kyrgyz society.

We considered only some problems of post-election process. In our opinion, this process needs more detailed analysis and systematic monitoring of electoral behavior – that is all have important practical and theoretical meaning.