

# World Governance Survey

## The Kyrgyz Republic

### 1. Data Collection Assessment

#### 1.1. *Organization of the survey in Kyrgyzstan*

The survey was conducted in Kyrgyzstan between December 2000 - February 2001. It included the following stages:

- Translation of the questionnaire into Russian<sup>1</sup> and its multiplication;
- Determination of the circle of experts to be targeted for the survey;
- Receipt of completed questionnaires;
- Computer processing of the questionnaire data;
- Preliminary analysis of the collected results and preparation of the report.

When determining the number and composition of the experts, the recommendations of the project coordinators were taken into account. A total of 48 questionnaires were sent out and 40 were completed. In most cases the questionnaire was handed in to the expert and then, several days later, the expert returned the filled-out questionnaire. In some cases the questionnaire was filled out following an interview with the country coordinator.

It should be noted that guaranteeing full confidentiality was very important for the survey. In 10 cases, the experts agreed to answer the questions only under the condition of total confidentiality (i.e., without writing their names on the questionnaire). In 8 cases it was impossible to receive the answers even under observation of this condition (this explains the discrepancy between the number of questionnaires distributed and filled out).

The expert group included representatives of the following categories<sup>2</sup>:

- Government – 9 people;
- Parliament – 3 people;
- Public service – 13 people;
- Business – 7 people;
- Lawyers – 4 people;
- Researchers – 6 people;
- NGOs – 5 people;

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<sup>1</sup> Russian has the status of official language. All surveyed experts speak Russian.

<sup>2</sup> When assigning experts to categories, their current position and activity as well as their working experience during the five years prior to the survey was taken into account. Since some of the experts' positions changed during the time considered for the survey, they may be assigned to two (and in two cases – to three) categories at the same time.

- International organizations – 5 people;
- Other<sup>3</sup> – 4 people.

The survey data in the electronic form is presented in the Excel file. The numbers assigned to each of the experts are also introduced into the questionnaires. The “*Data*” sheet contains the information on the evaluation scores given by experts to each of the 30 questions on the questionnaire. The “*Comments*” sheet contains textual commentaries provided by the experts. The “*Analysis*” contains the results of statistical processing of the questionnaire data.

### ***1.2. Comments on the questionnaire***

On the whole, the experts perceived the questionnaire with great interest and appreciation. Among the most significant comments on the questionnaire and survey procedure the following should be noted:

- The questionnaire does not discuss directly the role of international development organizations; in Kyrgyzstan, the role of these organizations is very significant in many aspects;
- There is no direct question on the problem of separation of powers;
- A number of comments point out that the wording of some questions does not differentiate between *de jure* and *de facto* (for example, a law may have been adopted and made compliant with the international standards but in practice it is either not enforced or not fully observed);
- Some experts believe that the questionnaire should have included a direct question on the role and mechanisms of participation of mass media and civil society institutions, as well as on the role of lobbyists.

## **2. Determinants of Governance in Kyrgyzstan**

### ***2.1. Geographical and historical context***

The Kyrgyz Republic is located in Central Asia (see the map) and has borders with Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and China. The country’s population is 4.9 million people. Its main geographical peculiarities are: no entry to a sea (land-locked country) and large distance from the international seaports and countries with developed

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<sup>3</sup> Representatives of the National Bank of the Kyrgyz Republic and one of the universities (by law they have no status of civil servants), media, political parties.

Figure 1. Map of the Kyrgyz Republic



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economy; mountainous terrain (mountains occupy about 90% of the country's territory); difficulty of communications between various parts of the country, in particular the North and the South. All this creates certain problems for the country's economic development and formation of an effective system of governance and public administration.

As an independent state, the Kyrgyz Republic emerged in 1991 as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union. From 1924, Kyrgyzstan had the status of national autonomy, and from 1936 it became a union republic within the Soviet Union. During this time, the autonomy status lost significance; most of the critical decision-making and policy formation was done in Moscow. By the time the country gained independence, it practically had neither the system of unified governance nor experienced specialists in this area.

## **2.2. *Political context***

Kyrgyzstan is a republic headed by President. The Constitution grants the President wide authorities, including formation of the government, appointments to the higher government positions, appointment of heads of local administrations, judges, representation of the country on the international arena, etc. The President's working body that plays an important role in the country's political life is the Presidential Administration. The country has a two-chamber Parliament (Jogorku Kenesh). The upper chamber – the Congress of People's Representatives – is responsible, in particular, for approval of the state budget and approval of the highest-level officials. The lower chamber – the Legislative Assembly – adopts laws of the state and has a number of other functions. Both the President and the Parliament are elected by universal, direct, equal and secret vote. The most recent elections to the Jogorku Kenesh were conducted in February-March, 2000, and the presidential elections in October 2000. The Government of the country is headed by the Prime Minister who is nominated by the President and approved by the Parliament. The Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court and other court bodies represent the court system.

Territorially, the country is divided into seven oblasts and the capital – Bishkek city. Each of these administrative and territorial units has a state administration (executive body) and a representative body elected by the citizens residing in this oblast/city.

Political parties in Kyrgyzstan are numerous, but they are weak; in elections, citizens are more influenced by personal qualities of the candidate than the party affiliation. Recently the parties' activities somewhat livened up, mainly due to the fact that one fourth of all the deputies of the Legislative Assembly is elected from the parties and political movements.

A significant role in the political life of the country is played by mass media. There are both government-owned and private media; most of private media outlets are print periodicals. Mass media in Kyrgyzstan are the most independent and free in the region;

they often publish opinions critical of and radically disagreeing with the position of the country's leadership on the key issues in the public life.

The armed forces do not participate (constitutionally and de facto) in the political life of the country (except for voting at elections on equal conditions with others). An armed conflict based on interethnic relations took place only once, before Kyrgyzstan gained independence, in 1990, and was stopped quickly. At present the political processes in the country follow the path drawn by law and in general are quite calm. In the most recent time thanks to free elections, the degree of political activity in the country has somewhat increased.

### **2.3. *Social context***

The population of Kyrgyzstan is diverse in terms of ethnicity. Most of the population (more than 60%) are Kyrgyz, two largest and approximately equal ethnic groups – Russians and Uzbeks – together comprise about ¼ of the population of the country. The other nationalities comprise together a little over 10% of the population. Since 1991, the ethnic structure of the population has been experiencing significant changes, mainly related to migration of a part of the population (Russians, Germans, and others).

Most of the believers in the country follow Islam; there are many Orthodox Christians. Other religions are practiced freely in the country as well. Although in recent years the role of the religion in society has obviously increased, religion does not play a significant role in the political life of the country. During the last few years, the country's borders have been violated from outside by the representatives of extremist Islamic movements, which try to generate mass support for themselves (especially in the southern regions of the country). However, they face active resistance and counteraction on the part of the state and population.

Kyrgyzstan citizens enjoy quite a high level of education. Literacy among the adult population is 97% and the country has a system of universal free secondary education; there is a developed network of universities. However, in recent years, the educational system in the country has been suffering from a lack of financial resources.

Following national traditions of the peoples living in Kyrgyzstan and as a Soviet legacy, the role of women in public life is high. Women have free and equal access to education and jobs in public administration. At the same time, however, representation of women in the highest bodies of the executive and legislative powers is disproportionately low.

Recent years have produced a significant layering of the population in terms of income. According to the estimates of National Statistics Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic, the Jini coefficient characterizing inequality of income was 0.46 in 1997. The poverty level in 1999 was 55.3%. Poverty, probably, is the most serious social and economic problem of Kyrgyzstan.

## **2.4. *Economic context***

On the World Bank categorization, Kyrgyzstan is in the category of countries with low level of income. The GDP per capita adjusted for PPP in 2000 was about USD 2,300 a year.

The main branches of economy are agriculture (that produces more than one-third of the country's GDP and employs a half of its labor force) and industry (about 20% of the GDP and 6% of employment). The main branches of industry are mining, hydro power generation, machine building, light and food industry. A significant share of the GDP and employment is generated by trade, transportation and non-market services (education, health, etc.). The country's economy is quite open: in 2000 the export of goods and services was about 44% of the GDP, and import 55%.

A serious problem for the economic development of the country is the chronic deficit of the government budget that was inherited from the Soviet Union times. In 2000 it was about 9.5% of the GDP. The deficit is mostly determined by loans from international development organizations (World Bank, Asian Development Bank, IMF, and others). As a result, the external debt of the country has grown very rapidly and currently is about 100% of the GDP. Impossibility of its further growth and the necessity to serve the debt make the issue of restructuring the whole system of government revenues and expenditures very urgent. This has critical consequences for the entire governance system and for public administration.

## **2.5. *International context***

Kyrgyzstan maintains good relations with all states with which it has common political, economic and other interests, and is a member of various international organizations (UN, OSCE, WTO, CIS and others). As it was already mentioned, the country receives great financial and technical assistance from the international community. In 1999 and 2000 Kyrgyzstan was subject to aggression on the part of armed Islamic terrorist groups penetrating the country from the south. Although they have not managed to entrench in the territory of Kyrgyzstan, this posed for the first time a question on the defense capability of the country and strengthening of regional security.

# **3. Expert Assessment of Governance in Kyrgyzstan**

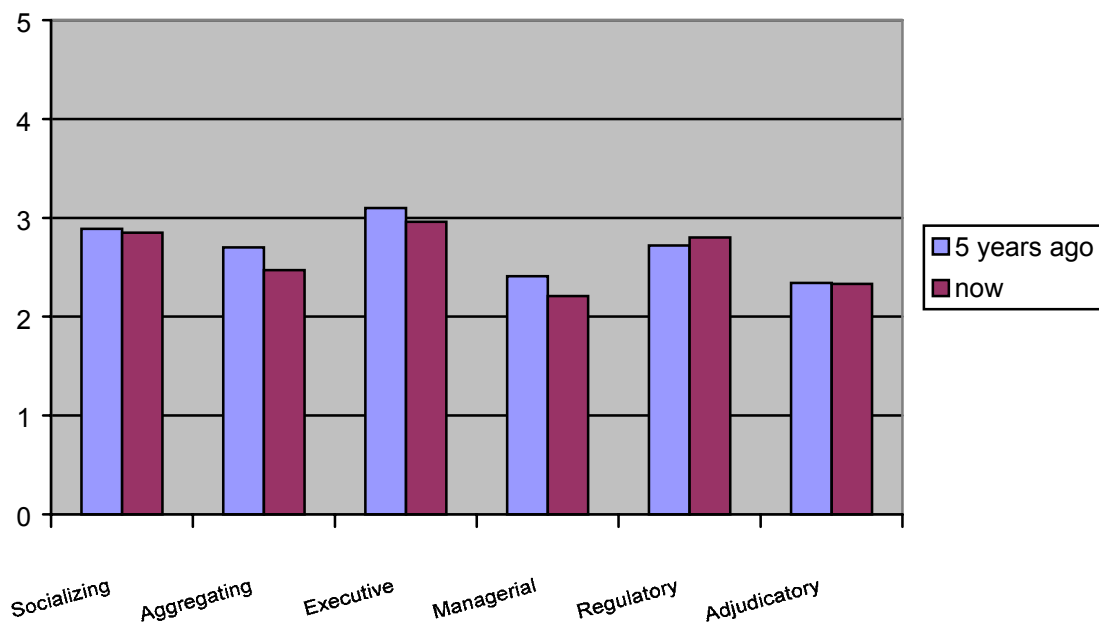
## **3.1. *General assessment of governance***

When analyzing the experts' evaluations, we should take into account the context that currently determines the perception of the state governance and public administration in Kyrgyzstan. Along with the governance determinants described above, it is necessary to

consider the fact that this sphere is still in the process of formation. Obviously, the current system of governance in the country does not fully satisfy international standards, which explains the relatively low evaluation scores given by experts. At present, there is an active discussion in the country on issues related to improvement in the quality of governance and public administration; the government structure has gone through a significant change, the system of civil service is being reformed, the problem of corruption is recognized at high levels, and a plan of action to fight corruption is under development.

The average score on the questionnaire given by the survey participants was 2.70 for 5 years ago and 2.61 for the current situation. Although the difference between these two values is not significant statistically<sup>4</sup>, some worsening of the current situation evaluation compared to the situation 5 years ago is consistently found in answers to almost all questions. In part, this fact may be partially explained by a purely psychological factor, since all good memories of the past events are preserved better than bad ones. Another common characteristic of the answers to practically all questions of the questionnaire is an increase of variance of the answers. This proves some increase in disagreements among the experts regarding evaluation of the current situation. On the whole, dispersion of opinions of experts turned out quite high on almost all the questions. It is enough to say that the answers to all questions contain evaluations of governance quality varying from both “very high” and “high” to “very low.”

Figure 2. Averages by governance dimension



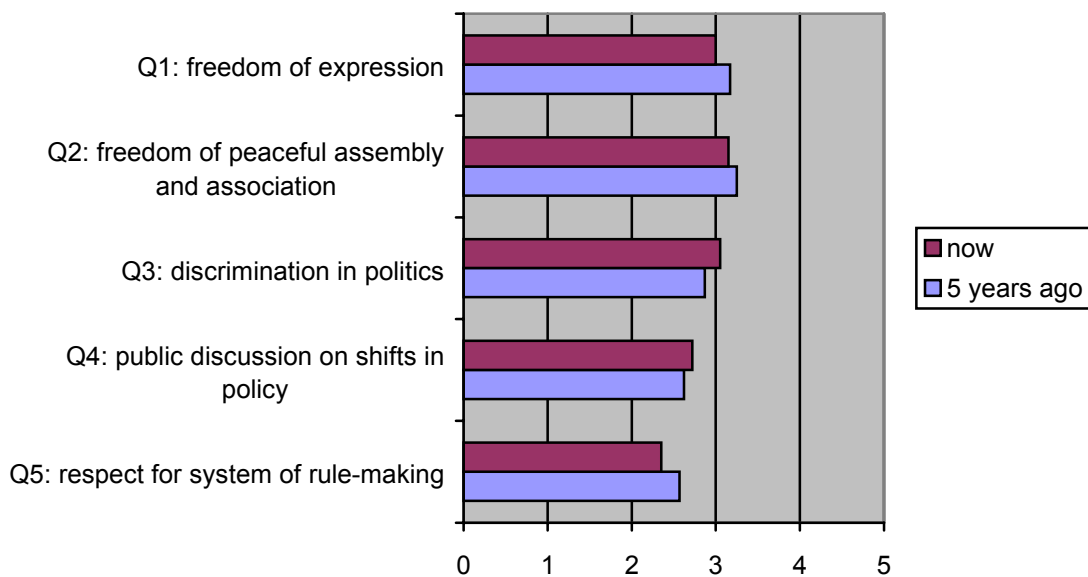
<sup>4</sup> To identify statistically significant differences between the average values in analysis, a usual t-test for dependent samples with 5% level of significance was used. For details on calculations see the «Analysis» sheet in KyrgyzstanResults.xls.

When comparing evaluations of various dimensions of governance, significant differences were discovered between them. The highest scores (and, for the most part, statistically significantly different from the others) were received by such aspects of governance as «*executive*» and «*socializing*». The lowest scores for both periods were given to the «*managerial*» dimension. Along with that, it should be noted that even the highest of the average scores of all dimensions does not go above 3.10, while the lowest score is 2.21.

### 3.2. *The socializing dimension of governance*

There was no significant change in indicators for this dimension noted by experts for the five-year period. The distribution on the questions was unequal. Relatively higher scores were given on the questions relating to the issues of freedom of speech, associations and unions, and much lower were the scores on the issue of citizens' observation of the rules and laws established in the state. Thus, according to the survey results, citizens have a higher opportunity to express their opinions on the state problems (although not at full degree), however they have no intent to fully observe the rules developed during the political process in the country. This may be related both to the fact that regulating acts do not fully take into account the citizens' opinions and to the fact that historically most citizens do not identify themselves with the government and often consider the rules established by the state as alien and not binding for them.

Figure 3. Scores for questions 1-5

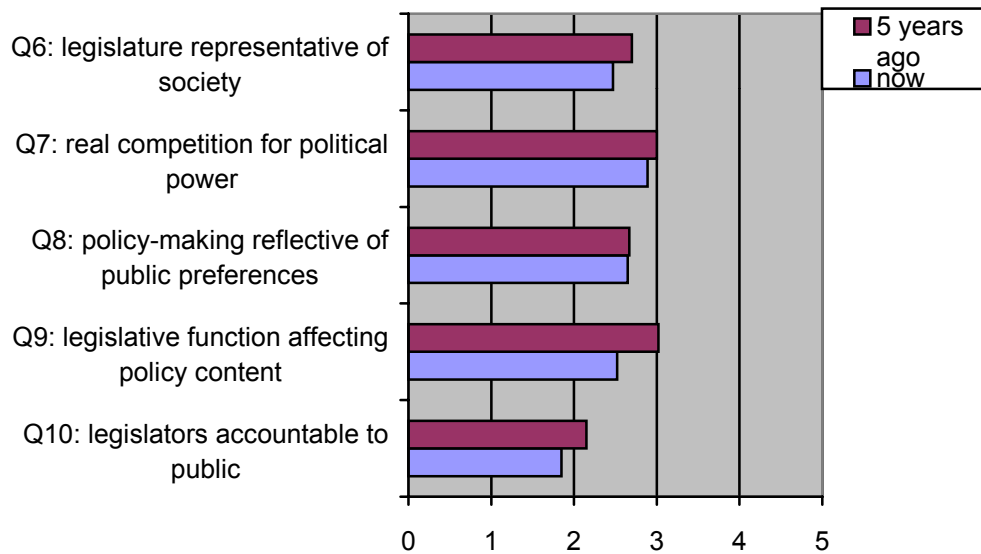


### 3.3. *The aggregating dimension of governance*

When considering the problem of accounting for and coordination of public interests in the political process, the experts gave lower average scores: 2.70 (5 years ago) and 2.47 (now).



Figure 4. Scores for questions 6-10

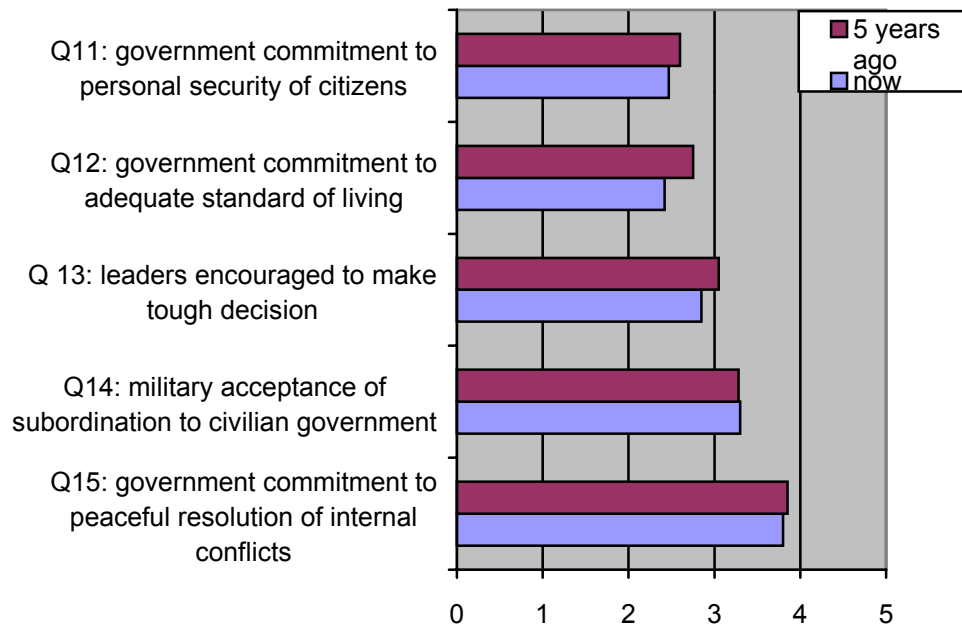


The statistically significant decrease of scores during the five years show some worsening of the situation within this dimension of governance. Particularly significant, the scores decreased on the issues of influence of the legislators on the policy content and their accountability to society. It should be noted that during the considered 5-year period there was a referendum on Constitutional amendments that significantly changed the structure of the legislative power and its authorities.

### 3.4. *The executive dimension of governance*

Evaluation of the government's role in the governance of the country turned out to be relatively the highest: 3.10 (5 years ago) and 2.96 (now). A significant decrease was noted in the government's commitment to providing adequate living standards. Such response of the experts to this question is easily explained if we take into account that in 1998-1999 the country suffered quite a painful economic crisis that hit broad layers of the population, recovery from which started only in 2000. We should also note relatively high scores given by the experts on the question of the government's disposition to peaceful settlement of domestic conflicts (the highest scores among all the questionnaire questions; this is the only question on which the score approached 4) and on the degree of subordination of the armed forces to the government.

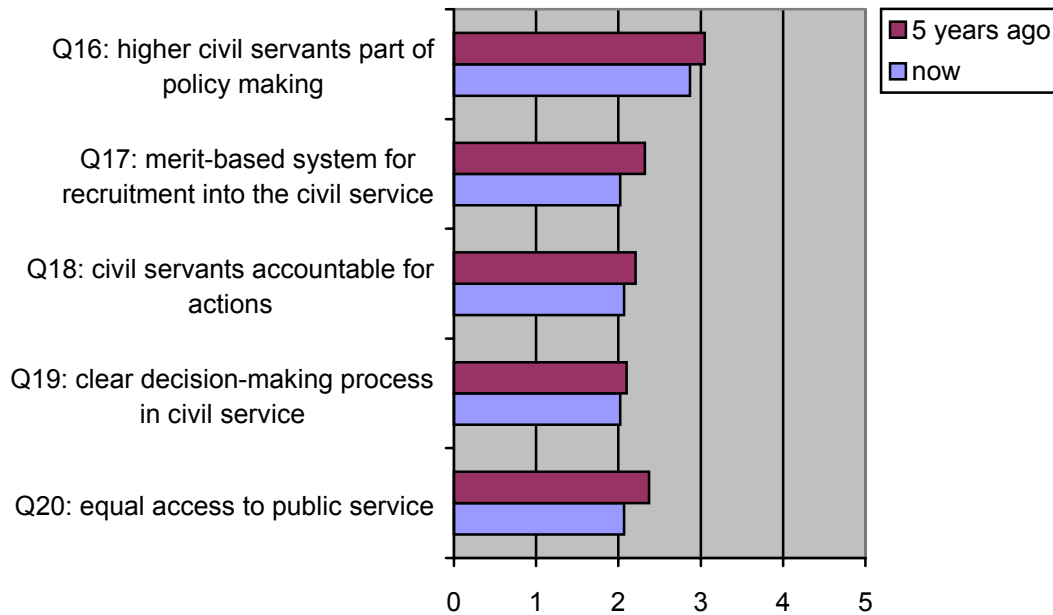
Figure 5. Scores for questions 11-15



### 3.5. *The managerial dimension of governance*

The issues related to the performance of the civil service received the lowest average scores: 2.41 (5 years ago) and 2.21 (now). Decrease of the scores for the five years in this area turned out to be significant. This decrease was mostly due to low scores on the role of qualifications and abilities of the employees in recruitment for the civil service and on equality of access to public services. It should be noted that a less obvious decrease took place in the remaining questions of the section. To a certain degree, worsening of the situation during the last 5 years may be explained by the fact that the feedback mechanisms started to work in the society late – these are the mechanisms that were supposed to signal to the country’s leadership the necessity to correct the state governance system that was not functioning properly. By the present moment it seems that the signal has been received and currently a reform of the civil service system is underway aimed at increasing its transparency and professional competency of the government employees.

Figure 6. Scores for questions 16-20



### 3.6. *The regulatory dimension of governance*

The regulatory dimension also received relatively low scores from the experts: 2.72 (5 years ago) and 2.80 (now). According to the experts' evaluation, areas such as consultation between public and private sectors and taking external globalization processes being taken into account in policy requirements have somewhat improved, while the situation of corruption, for example, worsened.

Figure 7. Scores for questions 21-25

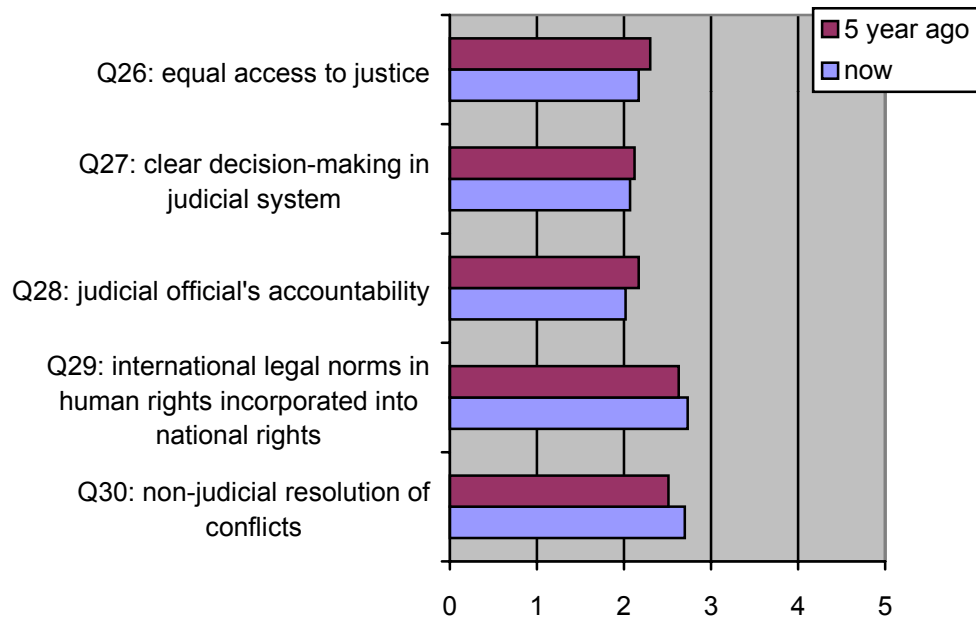


It should be noted that Kyrgyzstan does not have rich natural resources and opportunities for the economic development of the country are mainly related to the maximally effective use of the available human potential, energy and knowledge of its citizens, as well as the overall effective management of the economy. Under these conditions, the evaluation of the regulatory dimension is unacceptably low. When comparing the results obtained for this dimension with the experts' evaluation relating to state service it may be concluded that insufficient competency and transparency of actions of the civil servants result into shortcomings in the state governance of economy.

### 3.7. *The adjudicatory dimension of governance*

The expert evaluation of the court system turned out to be stable low: 2.34 (5 years ago) and 2.33 (now). There were no obvious changes in the evaluation over the five-year period of time, except on non-judicial mechanisms for dispute resolution, where a statistically significant improvement of the situation took place. This fact may be interpreted as growth of distrust to the official court system (which is directly stated in the experts' comments). Assessments and comments also make it clear that one of the most important problems of the court system is its dependency on the political pressure and corruption.

Figure 8. Mean scores for questions 26-30



## Annex 1. Experts' Comments

Respondent	Comments
<i>Question #1</i>	
4	The information sphere becomes more personal
6	Five years ago the national mass media published materials of the opposition; now such cases have become exceptional
7	The dismantling of the democratic reforms in Kyrgyzstan have affected the mass media in the first place
8	An example: the last presidential and parliamentary elections
10	The freedom of expression in mass media has become more restricted (the access has become more restricted)
11	Mass media has been expanding in the republic; each passing year has seen more electronic media and the access to the Internet has been growing
15	Mass media have become more independent
20	The participation of citizens in decision making through mass media has been declining lately even to the point of no participation
21	There are individuals who express their ideas freely; the mentality of the majority of the population prevents them from doing this
22	Some mass media organs have been forced to close because of financial problems
24	The freedom of expression to a great extent depends on how active the population is
25	The first wave of the democratic reforms have opened the lid, and the second wave is a more conscious effort that takes place in the context of mismatch between the government and the civic society
27	The majority of organs of mass media belong to the government and for that reason they provide information suitable for the government (this is not the case in Bishkek though). On the whole, poor citizens have no access to mass media.
<i>Question #2</i>	
3	The current legislation doesn't prohibit the freedom of association and peaceful assembly, but the permission to hold a meeting should be obtained well in advance, and associations should be registered in the Ministry of Justice
4	The power of the government (regime) becomes more absolute
6	The formation of NGOs is indirectly controlled by the state
7	During the last years no permissions have issued to hold peaceful processions, demonstrations, or meetings
15	The formation of NGOs is not controlled by the government (except extremist organizations)
20	The decree of the mayor restricted meetings, pickets (April 2000). There is practically no opportunity for the citizens to exercise their constitutional right of the freedom of assembly. The regulations of the Ministry of Justice have severely curtailed the formation of independent organizations (coalitions, associations of the prisoners of conscience)
21	Lately we've seen more opportunities for peaceful meetings and new association
22	Many people are busy making money to pay for their living expenditures; they have no time for politics
25	All these rights are contained in contained in existing legislation
27	If you are not in opposition, you have no problems to form associations and hold meetings
<i>Question #3</i>	
3	There is no discrimination on a nation wide scale; there are just isolated cases
4	There is a tendency for only one ethnic group to be represented in government

Respondent	Comments
6	The political structure does not reflect the ethnic composition of society
7	The discrimination against opposition has increased
11	There is no discrimination in the republic in politics. The only violation of rights is that low income citizens could not run for Parliament and could not be elected
20	The discrimination against the opposition parties in terms of participation in politics has been evident during the presidential and parliamentary elections
21	Though it is officially claimed that there is no discrimination in politics, it is common practice in real life
22	There is no discrimination, but there are certain restrictions depending whether one is for the president or against
24	The people in power attempt to control political movements
25	I would emphasize the lack of gender equality in government. We have no discriminatory laws; however, women do not have equal opportunities to be represented in government structures
27	Non-indigenous ethnic groups find it difficult to participate in government and government structures. There is though a rule to practice at least a nominal appointment of representatives of Slavic nationalities to some posts
30	There is discrimination based on gender and political platform
<i>Question #4</i>	
4	The power (regime) becomes absolute
6	The consultations are one-sided; the opinions of opposition groups are as a rule ignored
7	There are occasional meetings with different groups of population, but they are just for show
8	An example: the discussion of CDF and PRSP
17	The discussion of CDF and PRSP, changes in the Tax Code are formal; nevertheless, it's a step forward
20	There is a discrepancy between the government words and deeds—the government continues to use the methods of the totalitarian regime
21	Consultations with non-governmental groups and public forums are not yet in place
22	Before there were just meetings with groups; now there are forums, meetings of the president with parties and movements
24	Slow changes occur mainly thanks to the participation of international donors
25	Such mechanisms are practically absent; the population and the private sector are little involved in government
<i>Question #5</i>	
4	There is no trust in the government structures; practically speaking, there is no true government
7	This is the fault of government officials; they are not examples of good behavior for the population
10	Only common citizens follow the laws and pay taxes. Big businesses, dishonest entrepreneurs, etc. avoid paying taxes. They also violate the laws.
20	The institute of independent observers has been formed; people participate in all elections though there is pressure on voters by the government structures
21	Nothing has changed for the better in this sphere
22	People become more active participants in a civic society and are becoming more aware of the rule of law
25	The attitudes of people are affected, in my opinion, by instability in politics, the crisis of confidence, and corruption

Respondent	Comments
27	Five years ago the population still had some hopes and people were afraid to violate laws
30	This factor is influenced by insufficient knowledge of the rule of law
<i>Part I</i>	
4	The issue of personal and social identification
20	The questionnaire does not contain questions about the influence or the role of international institutions that have agreements with Kyrgyzstan on promoting reforms, democratization and the protection of human rights (does the government implement the documents that the leadership of the country signed?)
21	It is necessary to increase the participation of each citizen in the political process
22	Priorities: 1) to speed up the reform of the judicial system, 2) to step up the campaign against corruption and the government bureaucracy
23	The campaign against corruption and bribery
24	The mechanisms of the citizens' participation in decision making have not been covered and the role of NGOs and mass media have not been fully revealed
27	The government policy should reflect the interests of the majority of the population. This is not the case, unfortunately.
36	Priorities: 1) It is necessary to define what the state is. A) The government and the president, b) The president and his administration, c) The government. 2) The level of confidence of society in the government (state)
<i>Question #6</i>	
4	The executive power dominates the legislative branch; so, the balance of different branches of power has been upset
6	The legislative power does not reflect the ethnic composition of society
20	In the past the participation of women in politics had a declarative character; now the mechanism of their participation has not still been developed and there are few women in government bodies
21	Nothing has changed in this sphere lately
22	There are very few women in parliament and too many representatives of national minorities
23	We have a presidential republic
25	Women have access to the representative bodies just like men and they have to face stiff competition just like men. If we return to a quota system, there'll be no guarantee that worthy women candidates will be elected; this is also the violation of human rights
<i>Question #7</i>	
3	The political parties have been formed, but they are passive. They become active during the election campaigns in the interests of the leaders of the parties
4	There is no competition under the present regime
6	The parties are practically not represented in the representative bodies
20	The political parties are very weak and the competition is very weak too.
21	The political parties direct all their efforts toward the seizure of political power
22	The population is more involved in economics than in politics
23	There is a sharp competition in the market of ministerial portfolios
25	The question is not clear
<i>Question #8</i>	
4	The regime is busy with its own problems
20	The government ignores the proposals by the opposition and independent NGOs
21	The political decisions are often at odds with preferences of the population



Respondent	Comments
22	The decisions taken are primarily in the interests of the dominant groups
23	The interests of the political elite are the priority as a rule
<i>Question #9</i>	
4	The executive power dominates the legislative power and the latter is at the back and call of the regime
7	The powers of the legislative body, Jogorku Kenesh, have been significantly reduced after the national referendum of 1996
15	Too many protectionist and populist decisions are taken
20	The Parliament is dependent on the government
21	The impact of the legislative power on the current politics has been reduced after the referendum of 1998
22	The Parliament has been becoming more and more pro government
24	The legislative power is practically controlled by the executive power, and the parliamentarians often prefer to take posts in the executive power
25	The government conducts a very strong lobbyist policy
<i>Question #10</i>	
20	There is no mechanism of legislators' accountability to the voters
21	The legislators are not accountable to society except arranging meetings with some of their voters
22	Parliamentarians are unable to solve all local problems as it used to be in the past
23	The legislators are more accountable to people than the president and the executive power. In our country the prime minister leaves his post without any report
24	The mechanism of accountability of legislators is very unclear
25	It is necessary to create the mechanisms of a dialog between the legislators and the civic society, including the private sector
32	There are no forms of accountability
<i>Part II</i>	
3	The effectiveness of the election system is very low; there are no clear-cut criteria in the election system
20	It does not include questions about the process of decision making, about the institute of lobbying
21	It is necessary to introduce an effective system of coordination of interests of all participants of the political process
22	These should be the priorities: 1) coordination of activities of all branches of power, 2) the political parties should be more active, 3) the mechanism of taking into account the interests of the population and the government
<i>Question #11</i>	
6	Lately the number of arbitrary arrests have increased
20	The state continues to dominate individuals
21	Though the leadership continues to speak about ensuring the security of citizens, nothing is being done in practice
22	The state does not present danger for the private life of citizens. It's all very liberal
24	The level of crime, particularly organized crime, is very high
27	The country becomes poorer and the crime rate goes up
<i>Question #12</i>	
6	In spite of many declarations the situation has not changed
8	More than 50% of the state budget is directed into the social sphere

Respondent	Comments
20	The state with such huge external debt cannot take care of its citizens
21	There are attempts to ensure decent living standards for the population, this is particularly true about the rights to social protection
22	Conditions have been created for the economic freedom of citizens
23	Unfortunately, the people's earnings are more like social security payments
24	The alleviation of poverty campaign is reduced to nothing by the government officials
25	The social policies are very rudimentary
27	The economic growth is proclaimed as the target; however, the living standards decline all the time
32	The government bodies have no idea about the concept of living standards
<i>Question #13</i>	
6	The reforms are never implemented fully, and there's no determination to carry out the market reforms
20	The reforms have no results. The long-term programs are just on paper.
21	Lately some decisions have been taken in this direction, particularly on the eve of the presidential elections
22	The leaders of the country are capable of taking the most radical measures
24	The leaders often take decisions that run counter to the national interests. For example, the settlement of the border issues with Uzbekistan
32	Tough decisions have to be taken when defending one's position. In our situation there is no position and consequently no problems. The answer is that they are not encouraged to do it.
<i>Question #14</i>	
7	The army has never played any role in society because it is small, ineffective, and poorly equipped
20	It is directly accountable to the government, but the army is very unprofessional
21	One gets an impression that the army is not quite accountable to the civil government
22	The army is aware of its responsibilities before the population
23	We have no concept of civil control over the army
<i>Question #15</i>	
4	There is no conceptual framework in this sphere, and the mutual fear dominates
20	This sphere is dominated by the judicial system, the Ministry of National Security, and the prosecutors' offices
21	The government seeks peaceful resolution of internal conflicts, but it is not always successful
22	The government resolves conflicts in a peaceful manner
<i>Part III</i>	
21	The main question of governance is internal and external security of the country and its citizens
22	It is important to explore the internal reserves for the development of economy
27	The governance should ensure the interests of living people, and not the achievements of good statistical figures
<i>Question #16</i>	
20	The executive branch dominates
21	The government officials are actively involved in the process of making political decisions, but this does not mean that they take correct decisions

Respondent	Comments
23	This depends. In our country the position may be separated from powers. The prime-minister may not have opportunities to make political decisions
25	The imperfection of governance shows that people have no political will
<i>Question #17</i>	
6	The recruitment into the civil service is mainly based on connections
20	There is no agreed policy how to recruit for civil service
21	During the last years qualification and abilities play no role in hiring civil servants (it's mainly connections, kinship, etc.)
22	The examination system has no effect
23	Testing is formal, and there's no system. Connections and kinship are more important. Qualification of a candidate is seldom taken into consideration
24	The cadre policy is ineffective
25	The corruption and clanship thrive
26	The connections determine everything
27	The only exceptions are the commercial organizations and the National Bank of the Kyrgyz republic
<i>Question #18</i>	
10	They are not accountable
20	There is no mechanism of monitoring and control of the executive power by citizens
21	The government officials are accountable only to their bosses
22	There is no institute of ombudsmen. The audit system has been politicized
24	The public has no levers of control over appointments
25	Everything depends on how close you are to your supervisor, and not on your abilities
<i>Question #19</i>	
20	The information on the process of making decisions is scanty
21	The process of making decisions is not transparent
22	The process of making decisions is closed for the public
23	It is believed that people should not know about the government service
24	Strategic decisions are taken behind the scenes
25	The government service is not transparent
32	The hirelings do not have their own opinions
<i>Question #20</i>	
21	In the past the leadership talked about the problems of remote areas and unprivileged groups of population; now after the presidential election, it keeps a low profile about these issues
24	The public services are at odds with the demands of the population
25	There is no information about inexpensive public services
27	Tribalism will continue to hamper the formation and functioning of professional public service
<i>Part IV</i>	
21	It is necessary to raise the responsibility of government officials for the implementation of decisions
22	Openness. Competence. The work experience and specialization are not taken into account
<i>Question #21</i>	
7	Large-scale corruption of officials have caused the outflow of specialists and entrepreneurs
21	In our country government officials in no way contribute to creating the atmosphere of respect toward private property

Respondent	Comments
22	The government does not do anything in this sphere. Racketeering is growing.
27	There was no private property just 5 years ago
<i>Question #22</i>	
20	Corruption is thriving (through clans, kinship)
21	They are not applied equally. Relatives and friends of those who are in power enjoy privileges.
22	People in power are in a privileged situation
27	Things became worse. The tax code is an example.
<i>Question #23</i>	
20	Bribery everywhere. All posts and positions are bought and sold.
21	One has to overcome many barriers to get a license
22	There are laws, but you cannot get a license without a bribe
23	Too many procedures for licensing and registration
27	I think there was no licensing 5 years ago (except in mining)
<i>Question #24</i>	
20	Even if there a dialog, it proceeds without attention to interests and needs
21	There are no consultations with forms and associations of entrepreneurs
22	The parliamentarians lobby for the interests of their firms
24	Businesses have begun building relationships with the government
<i>Question #25</i>	
6	The entry into WTO demonstrates the desire of the government to become part of the world market
20	The entry into WTO has no significance for simple citizens—what will it give to them?
21	There have been positive changes lately
22	Nobody knows what the effect of globalization will be
<i>Part V</i>	
4	The regime protects its own interests even in the era of globalization
21	The policies should be built based on the market economy, but we still have too many elements of the command economy
22	1) The government should regulate the market; economy cannot be uncontrolled
27	The less government interferes into the affairs of the private sector, the better for the development of the private sector. The government interference allows the officials enrich themselves at the expense of the private sector through bribes and kickbacks
<i>Question #26</i>	
20	The judicial system is an instrument to suppress the initiative of citizens and to punish innocent people
21	Citizens are often dissatisfied with judicial decisions and many judges are corrupted
22	The judicial system needs a radical change
25	1) The fees of lawyers and legal consultations are high; 2) The government legal duties are high too, which prevents citizens from going to court
27	Fair court decision costs too much for the majority of people
<i>Question #27</i>	
20	Judges and lawyers disappoint the citizens who participate in court hearings
21	The decision making in courts is not transparent
22	The accreditation of judges and the judicial process itself have just a formal character
25	The “telephone right” practice remains
27	The judicial system is not independent

Respondent	Comments
<i>Question #28</i>	
7	Because the judicial officials are not independent, the court decisions are not objective. The problem is that authorities do not want courts to really be independent
20	How can one appeal when authorities control the judicial system and there's no institute of ombudsmen.
21	Judicial officials are not accountable to society
22	Judges should be elected by the population and should be materially independent
25	We need rational judicial procedures
27	The corrupted judges have never been convicted. Appeals just lead to additional expenses
<i>Question #29</i>	
3	Only the constitutional court meets the international norms
4	There are a lot of good speeches, but the principle of freedom is constantly violated
20	The conventions on human rights that the country acceded to are ignored by people in power
21	The national judicial practice does not correspond to the international judicial norms as far as human rights are concerned.
22	We have adopted the best laws of the international community
23	They are incorporated, but completely ignored in practice. This is travesty!
25	Though the laws are ratified, their practical implementation is extremely low or zero. The process of ratification is imperfect from the point of view of monitoring its implementation and assessing its consequences
27	International norms were signed and ratified, but this was just a show.
<i>Question #30</i>	
20	According to the estimates of international and domestic experts, the influence of NGOs on government structures is present but is not very effective
21	There have been attempts lately to organize speedy and inexpensive conflict mediation structures, such as arbitration courts
22	There are courts of elders in communities
23	The trust in judges is lacking and it's less expensive to settle out of court
<i>Part VI</i>	
4	The conflicts are mainly resolved inside society by society itself
6	Conflict resolution in our country is carried out with the help of connections in government structures or in the criminal world.
21	It is necessary to set up more alternative structures of out-of-court settlement of conflicts
22	It is important to develop the best national traditions
27	The judicial system is not independent. The majority of judges are appointed and removed by one person
<i>General comments on the questionnaire</i>	
3	The questionnaire is necessary for assessing the reforms currently under way in economic, political and judicial reforms in the country. The grading is difficult to apply to all questions. Some other grading is needed for some questions.
4	The current regime is in a deadlock. In these conditions of utter hopelessness each person has to solve its personal problems alone to the best of his abilities
7	To resolve the urgent problems facing the republic, the political party "Ar-Namys" is preparing a package of documents to be presented at the round table discussion with the participation of President Akaev.

Respondent	Comments
10	Professional should run the government. The political processes should not dismantle the system of management every time.
20	We welcome the World survey of governance, and we would be glad to see follow-up on the results of the survey (the findings of the survey, public discussion). The questionnaire should include the questions on the role of international organizations in the development of the country and their monitoring of the implementation of obligations assumed by the country.
21	In spite of low assessment in the majority of questions of the questionnaire, there have been positive changes, and the search of optimal forms and methods of governance is under way. It would be good if a manual for government officials could be prepared on the basis of this survey. Special attention should be paid to the weak spots in the performance of government officials.
22	1) It would be desirable to have the results of this survey published in newspapers. 2) It would be also useful to learn about the best world experience and the latest data.
23	The monitoring of the effectiveness of governance is needed.
31	1) As a result of policy of openness and following the recipes of international financial organizations, an attempt was made to establish a democratic model of governance without due attention to the national peculiarities. 2) As a result of economic problems and the adaptation of local elites to new conditions, the model has transformed into a more traditional one, of "Asian" type. 3) A new phase is beginning in the model of governance with democratic and professional elements but with strong hierarchy. 4) The global tendencies are replaced with anti-global, and the situation becomes balanced. There can be no "islands" in Asia.
32	Proposals on the questionnaire. Taking into consideration the phase of the project (the pilot phase) and the tasks of systematic collection of information and the global character of the project (more than 40 countries), I propose to place the questionnaire on the Internet web site with some additional information to attract people. This will make it possible to conduct the survey electronically. The data could be processed automatically on the site, and different level of access to the site would allow the participants in the project to access data from any part of the world.