



DOI: 10.22363/2312-8313-2026-13-2-242-253

EDN: AMAGDG

Research article / Научная статья

## The Kyrgyz model of legitimate political order: from the network community to the network revolution

Dilovar M. Salimov 

Saint Petersburg State University, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation

✉ [d.salimov@spbu.ru](mailto:d.salimov@spbu.ru)

**Abstract.** The study examines the process of forming online media, their impact on the legitimate order in Kyrgyzstan. The vectors of the development of the network community are analyzed, the mechanisms of network resources are systematized in the context of ensuring a legitimate political order. The author analyses the network behavior of participants in the “color revolutions”. The conceptual basis of the work is that in the conditions of post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, the network media and the network community turned out to be a factor of stabilization and destabilization. The media, within the framework of the media strategy developed by the Kyrgyz authorities, standardize the cultural and semantic codes around which the image of both the country and the political elite is created. As a result, the media will retain sufficient political space for the authorities to assert modern and traditional forms of political domination. The existing network format of political dialogue in the country is not only a consequence of the government’s media policy, but also the result of the information influence of external players represented by foreign organizations. This hypothesis suggests that a legitimate political order ensures the effective functioning of power, and its basic postulates exclude the presence of elements of a violent nature. The change of power and the circulation of the political elite in Kyrgyzstan through “color and network revolutions” demonstrates the instability of the legitimate order and the influence of external and internal factors on it. Hence the author’s conclusion that the events taking place in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, leading to a change of power due to “color and network revolutions”, are quite consistent with the culture, ideology and standards of Western democracy. This circumstance to a certain extent makes the legitimate order unpredictable in Asian political reality.

**Keywords:** Kyrgyzstan, peace, information security, institution of power, political censorship, nation state, political regime, online political culture

**Conflicts of interest.** The author declares no conflicts of interest.

### Article history:

The article was submitted on 14.01.2026. The article was accepted on 25.02.2026.

### For citation:

Salimov DM. The Kyrgyz model of legitimate political order: from the network community to the network revolution. *RUDN Journal of Public Administration*. 2026;13(2):242–253. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2312-8313-2026-13-2-242-253> EDN: AMAGDG

---

© Salimov D.M., 2026



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License  
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/legalcode>

## Киргизская модель легитимного политического порядка: от сетевого сообщества до сетевой революции

Д.М. Салимов 

Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет, Санкт-Петербург, Российская  
Федерация

✉ d.salimov@spbu.ru

**Аннотация.** Рассмотрен процесс формирования сетевых СМИ и их воздействие на легитимный порядок в Кыргызстане. Проанализированы основные векторы развития сетевого сообщества, систематизирована совокупность механизмов сетевых ресурсов в контексте обеспечения легитимного политического порядка. Данный аспект рассмотрен с учетом анализа сетевого поведения участников «цветных революций». Концептуальная основа исследования заключена в научном представлении о том, что в условиях постсоветского Кыргызстана сетевые СМИ и сетевое сообщество оказались фактором как стабилизации, так и дестабилизации политического режима. Задача СМИ в рамках разработанной киргизской властью медийной стратегии заключается, прежде всего, в систематизации и стандартизации тех культурных и смысловых кодов, вокруг которых создается образ и страны, и политической элиты. Одним из следствий такой стратегии является то, что СМИ будут сохранять за киргизской властью достаточное политическое пространство для утверждения различных современных и традиционных форм политического господства. В этом контексте существующий сетевой формат политического диалога в стране может считаться не только следствием государственной информационной политики в области СМИ, но и результатом информационного влияния внешних игроков в лице зарубежных организаций, стремящихся к формированию западного стиля журналистики. Научным обоснованием этой гипотезы становится тот факт, что легитимный политический порядок, как правило, обеспечивает эффективное функционирование власти, а его основные постулаты исключают наличие всяких элементов насильственного и протестного характера. Следовательно, смена власти и циркуляция политической элиты в Кыргызстане посредством «цветных и сетевых революций» демонстрирует неустойчивость легитимного порядка и влияние на этот институциональный порядок внешних и внутренних факторов. Отсюда и вывод о том, что происходящие события в постсоветском Кыргызстане, приводящие к смене власти вследствие «цветных и сетевых революций», вполне соответствуют культуре, идеологии и стандартам западной демократии. Данное обстоятельство в определенной степени делает легитимный порядок непредсказуемым в азиатской политической реальности.

**Ключевые слова:** Кыргызстан, мир, информационная безопасность, институт власти, политическая цензура, национальное государство, политический режим, сетевая политическая культура

**Заявление о конфликте интересов.** Автор заявляет об отсутствии конфликта интересов.

### История статьи:

Поступила в редакцию 14.01.2026; принята к публикации 25.02.2026.

### Для цитирования:

Салимов Д.М. Киргизская модель легитимного политического порядка: от сетевого сообщества до сетевой революции // Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Государственное и муниципальное управление. 2026. Т. 13. № 2. С. 242–253. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2312-8313-2026-13-2-242-253> EDN: AMAGDG

## Introduction

The vector of development of Kyrgyzstan's political course demonstrates the fact that the stability of the legitimate order is largely determined by political reforms leading to a change of power and the circulation of the political elite according to the “bottom-up” principle. However, the change of power through the prism of “color and network revolutions” demonstrates the instability of the legitimate order in the country and the influence of external and internal forces on this institutional order. A substantive description of this issue is also the object of scientific discourse among regional, domestic, and foreign researchers. Thus, in the scientific space of Kyrgyzstan, the issue of network media and their significance in social and political change is examined in the context of “network interaction” of subjects of the political process. Here, network media are viewed as a tool of ideological influence, rather than as a factor of a stable legitimate political order [1; 2].

In existing scholarly works within the post-Soviet space, network media are considered not only as a mechanism for influencing the behavior of participants in the political process but also as a tool that establishes a peaceful and informational balance in the country. The main emphasis is placed on their peacekeeping role in the context of forming favorable conditions for the country's interaction with the outside world [3–5].

From a theoretical point of view, especially in the context of evaluating the political course in Kyrgyzstan, the Western academic community occupies a prominent place. As analysis shows, here the emphasis is placed not only on the development of network media in the context of globalization but also on the formation of a censorship system that serves as a guarantee of the information stability of the political regime in Kyrgyzstan. They examine the functioning of network media and the analysis of the censorship system formed in relation to them as a factor determining the features of the political regime in the country, its democratic or authoritarian nature [6].

However, despite this, the question of the significance of network media in the context of preserving the legitimate order of Kyrgyzstan at the regional and global levels still requires new scientific understanding. The conceptual basis of this research lies in the scientific notion that network media and the network community can be a factor not only of stabilization but also of destabilization in modern political regimes. The scientific justification for this hypothesis is the fact that a legitimate political order, as a rule, ensures the effective functioning of power, and its basic postulates exclude the presence of any elements of a violent and protest nature. Consequently, the change of power and circulation of the political elite in modern Kyrgyzstan through “color and network revolutions” demonstrates the instability of the legitimate order and the influence of external and internal factors on this

institutional order. Hence the author's conclusion that the events taking place in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, leading to a change of power as a result of "color and network revolutions," are quite consistent with the culture, ideology, and standards of Western democracy. As a result, the legitimate order in the country becomes not only unpredictable but also unstable in the conditions of Asian political reality.

**The aim of the study** is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the activities of Kyrgyz network media and their political positioning in the context of political reforms leading to a change of power in the country. To solve this problem, it is planned to systematize the main mechanisms for regulating the activities of Kyrgyz network media in the context of legitimizing the actions of the authorities and maintaining a policy of peace and security in the context of internal political struggle for power. This aspect is studied taking into account the impact of infocommunication factors in the context of ensuring the stability of the political order in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan.

## **Research Methods**

The aim and objectives of the work determined the choice of methods used during the research. An integrative approach was used in assessing the positioning of the media institution in conditions of political turbulence. The institutional approach provided an opportunity to identify the priority directions of the media institution in conditions of political reforms and "color revolutions". Using the theory of transformation of the political system, the political and communication factors of the political system as a whole were studied. The main attention was directed to studying the functioning of network media in the conditions of the transforming Kyrgyz political system under the influence of both external and internal factors. The case study method was also applied to study the political and communication factors of the political order in a particular case in comparison with other countries. During the research, content analysis of open sources was also applied, including public reports, expert opinions, materials from scientific publications and discussions, which made it possible to assess public perception of the effectiveness of implemented initiatives.

## **Results**

### ***Conceptual Understanding of the Concept of Legitimate Order***

The concept of "legitimate order" was introduced into scientific circulation by Max Weber. In his interpretation, the understanding of social behavior is associated with different justifications for what is happening. The significance of a legitimate order is determined for an individual by behavior that will serve

as a standard or role model for them; therefore, a legitimate order in this sense is determined by the nature of the motivation of those who obey it. The significance of a legitimate order, writes M. Weber, is not just the uniformity of social behavior, but also social relations when behavior is regulated by clearly established norms [7].

A legitimate order is based on irrational and rational motives that are formed on issues of justifying power. D. Held writes that the principles of a legitimate order are formed according to “normative agreements” obliging the authorities and society to establish relationships in accordance with generally accepted norms. The stability of power depends on how effectively it forms in society the conviction that this particular legitimate order is the best among all possible [8]. In this context, a legitimate order is perceived as a set of rules and norms that ensure the stability of society and simultaneously act as a mechanism for regulating the behavior of political subjects.

Essentially, this reasoning reflects the opinion that the problem of building a legitimate order must answer the question of how political systems survive in both a stable and changing world. From this perspective, a legitimate order includes a set of those rules and norms that significantly ensure the stability of society, thereby creating a format for the behavior of political subjects in general. If the social order is a set of certain forms, rules, and principles on the basis of which people interact, then a legitimate order is giving such an order the quality recognized by the participants of that order. Approximately from this perspective, V. Gille defines a legitimate order as a factor guaranteeing the longevity of the institution of power from a legal point of view. The political legitimacy of the state, he writes, is “the degree to which people consider the political system legitimate or valid based on their basic values” [9]. Following him, V.R. Scott also proposes to consider political legitimacy as a “legal guarantee” of the existence of the institution of power [10].

Defining a legitimate order as a quality of political governance demonstrates its significance not only from a legal but also from a political point of view. According to A. Imran and D. Nabamit, a legitimate order is a set of rules and norms and a mechanism for regulating the behavior of political subjects. It creates favorable conditions for the effective functioning of the institution of power. The most important component in their concept is that a legitimate order can also ensure pluralism of opinions, which manifests itself in the absence of total control and violence in the event of a gap between societal expectations and the policy pursued by the authorities. This reasoning differs from previous concepts in that it denies the presence of any violence. As Z.S. Ignats indicates, “to be able to function as an authority, it needs a legitimate order” [11]. Here, the presence

of a legitimate order is a necessary condition for the longevity of the institution of power. The absence of a legitimate order can lead to the emergence of threats and instability [12; 13].

Under any political regime, a legitimate order as a set of rules and norms includes a whole range of strategies for ensuring the legitimacy of the institution of power. From this point of view, the procedure for acquiring legitimacy is dialogical in nature. According to K. Deutsch, the effectiveness of political governance depends on the quantity and quality of information coming from the social environment. Consequently, the institution of power mobilizes the political system by regulating information flows and communicative interactions between the system and the environment [14]. In this context, F. Burrico writes that a successful legitimate order also implies the inclusion of the media in this process. He also defines the legitimation process as a set of methods that lead to a state crucial for the stability of the institution of power. That is why he calls the legitimate order “an overly deliberate conceptualization” [6].

At the same time, the communicative consequence of people’s actions contributes differently to the improvement of the legitimate order. This is precisely the means by which society responds to rulers’ claims to legitimacy, approving or rejecting those claims. To this he adds public demonstration and protests as a way to enhance legitimacy and the legitimate order in modern political regimes. In both cases, the communicative action of people also becomes a parameter for measuring the legitimate order [15].

Thus, a legitimate order is a specific mechanism for shaping people’s behavior in society. This order includes a set of those rules and norms that significantly ensure the stability of society, thereby creating a format for the behavior of political subjects in general. If the social order is a set of certain forms, rules, and principles on the basis of which people interact, then a legitimate order is giving such an order the quality recognized by the participants of that order.

### ***Network Community and Problems and Prospects for Legitimizing Kyrgyz Authority***

The media space of Kyrgyzstan is represented by media of various types, forms of ownership, and orientation. The penetration of traditional state Kyrgyz media into the network environment contributed not only to the expansion of their zone of influence but also to their effective functioning in the context of legitimizing the actions of the authorities. The information space they create significantly influences both the functioning of society and the entire system of political governance. At the

same time, in an information space of this kind, there is no room for pluralism of opinions, and justifying the actions of the authorities in the media falls into the category of obligatory. A vivid example of this is the case when the country's Supreme Court in 2020 acquitted a number of officials and the prime minister in a case about an attempted seizure of power. The media called them not only innocent but also probable future authorities. Later, the main figure of this incident, S.N. Zhaparov, became the president of the country. A similar conclusion can be drawn regarding state electronic media.

A prominent place in preserving the country's political image and legitimizing the actions of the authorities is occupied by independent media, actively penetrating the network environment. Although independent media in their modern form began to gain popularity after the 2000s, subsequently, along with social networks, they turned out to be one of the important mechanisms for ensuring information stability against the backdrop of color revolutions and border conflicts with Tajikistan. For example, during the border conflict with Tajikistan, more than 100 accounts appeared on social networks aimed at convincing Kyrgyz society and the international community of the correctness of the Kyrgyz authorities' position, while at the same time accusing the Tajik state of violating agreements within the CIS. This logic of the Kyrgyz media, according to A. Kadirov, "indicates a media strategy of information confrontation with Tajikistan developed in advance by the Kyrgyz authorities" [16].

The media space of Kyrgyzstan is characterized by the presence of a Western style of journalism, which is often determined by the funding of independent and opposition media by foreign donors. This manifests itself in encouraging opposition forces for the sake of new political and social reforms. Thus, in 2003, under the auspices of Freedom House in Bishkek, the Media Support Center's printing house printed exclusively opposition media, whose materials were aimed at forming a protest mood in society against the authorities. In 2005, The New York Times reported that Kyrgyz opposition media, which received financial support from the United States, provoked a wave of popular indignation and mass protests. Later, this information was confirmed by publications such as The Times and The Wall Street Journal<sup>1</sup>.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to deny the importance of independent traditional media entering the network environment in shaping a new format of interaction between the authorities and society in the post-Soviet period. Today, in addition to critical materials, they also post their electronic versions of newspapers on the Internet. For example, newspapers such as "Vecherniy Bishkek", "Delo No."

<sup>1</sup> Freedom House is an undesirable organization in the Russian Federation.

(until 2021), and “Erkin Too” distribute their materials in several languages, and their social networks to some extent contribute to the formation of a new model of interaction between domestic and foreign audiences. The presence of a Western style of journalism in them sometimes serves as a reason for accusing them of violating the information balance in the country.

In the context of Kyrgyzstan, the development of online communication was also facilitated by news agencies operating in the network environment. Alongside independent media, they occupy a special place in legitimizing the actions of the authorities and forming a space for public contestation of political issues [17]. Existing online publications have a significant impact on the political life of the country; they can also serve as a propaganda tool for the current regime. For example, during the presidential elections in 2021 alone, 243 media outlets were accredited to campaign for the president’s election program, of which 92 were online publications<sup>2</sup>.

Global media and social networks occupy a special place in the context of the formation of the network community in the country’s media space. Kyrgyzstan is the only country in the region that has experienced a number of color revolutions in recent years, which demonstrates the influence of social networks and global media on the course of the political process. They have proven to be a determining factor in the context of forming a network audience, whose influence has led to both stabilization and destabilization of the political situation, a clear example of which are the color revolutions in 2005 and 2010. Here, social networks, acting as one of the mechanisms of network legitimation, can be used both for political influence on Kyrgyz public consciousness and for total control over the network activity of users of internet content. This notion has a dual character. On the one hand, in the context of Kyrgyzstan, we can speak of the existence of such a model of network space whose results, due to the rivalry of political forces, most often receiving external financial support, become unpredictable [6]. The online space they create acts as a mechanism for forming a protest mood among users of internet content, which manifests itself in public demonstrations leading to the overthrow of current regimes through the implementation of a “network revolution”, as could be observed over the last two decades [18].

At the same time, the activation of social network users can also be aimed at legitimizing the actions of the political regime. During the rule of S.G. Zhaparov, this strategy manifests itself in the use of propaganda and counter-propaganda

---

<sup>2</sup>Research on the level of media literacy in Kyrgyzstan. OF “Institute of Media Policy”. URL: <https://media.kg/news/imp-publikuet-otchet-po-itogam-issledovaniya-urovnya-mediagramotnosti-v-kyrgyzstane/> (accessed: 15.08.2025). (In Russ.).

mechanisms of influence on society and the opponents of the country's leader, including through social networks. Unlike other leaders of the region's countries, S.G. Zhaparov is considered a “network president”. For example, in an interview with *Kommersant* in January 2021, S.G. Zhaparov stated that while in prison, he “communicated with the people through social networks”. S.G. Zhaparov also stated that “... he created groups on Odnoklassniki, Facebook<sup>3</sup>, Instagram<sup>3</sup>. He collected people's contacts on WhatsApp<sup>4</sup> and created more than 50 groups there — one group accommodates 256 contacts. Through these groups, he disseminated information about Kumtor, about my work. So in three and a half years, he reached the whole people”<sup>5</sup>.

The use of social networks by politicians and heads of authorities in modern Kyrgyzstan is not a new phenomenon. This trend has become part of the populism of the political image of officials in the country. However, with the coming of S.G. Zhaparov to power, social networks ceased to be a zone for creating the media image of his rivals and associates. In 2022, Kyrgyz media published a document indicating restrictions on the activities of officials on social networks. At the same time, S.G. Zhaparov himself still occupies a leading place among the presidents of the region's countries in terms of activity on social networks. The number of his followers on Facebook<sup>3</sup> reaches 2.2, and on Odnoklassniki 40 thousand. In addition, on Instagram<sup>3</sup> we can find 45 accounts that significantly create his media image. The total number of followers of the country's president on social networks reaches 70 thousand people<sup>6</sup>.

Thus, in the context of Kyrgyzstan, network media are a kind of mechanism in the context of legitimizing the actions of the authorities. This manifests itself not only in creating a space for public discourse on significant issues but also in maintaining the stability of the legitimate political order. In both cases, network media create space for public contestation of the demands of both the authorities and society, although the results of these discourses can differ greatly. In the first case, when evaluating network media, the existence of a political regime of censorship and control over them should be taken into account. Here the main emphasis is on convincing society of the correctness of the existing legitimate political order. In the second case, we should speak of the desire of network media to convince

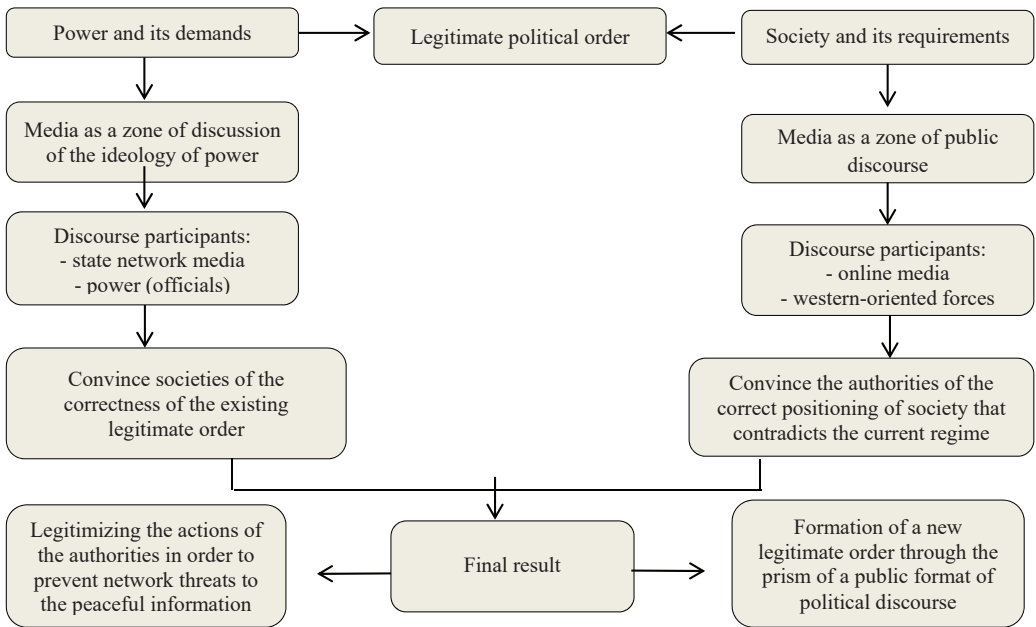
<sup>3</sup> Meta Platforms Inc. has been recognized as extremist and its activities are prohibited in Russia.

<sup>4</sup> Meta Platforms Inc. has been recognized as extremist and its activities are prohibited in Russia.

<sup>5</sup> You are a free man in prison 24 hours a day. *Kommersant*. 10.01.2021. URL: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/4639707> (accessed: 15.08.2025). (In Russ.).

<sup>6</sup> Which of the heads of post-Soviet states maintains their pages on social networks. *Coursive*. 20.09.2019. URL: <https://kz.kursiv.media/2019-09-20/kto-iz-glav-postsovetskikh-gosudarstv-vedet-svoi-stranichki-v-socsetyakh/> (accessed: 15.08.2025). (In Russ.).

the authorities of the correctness of society's positioning, of its Western-oriented mood. Essentially, the peculiarity of network media here lies in the fact that they simultaneously act as a mechanism that gives birth to ideas that push the authorities to certain actions. At the same time, in conditions of political disorder, such a desire turns into the desire of participants in the network community to form a new legitimate political order (Fig.).



Networked media and the Kyrgyz model of political legitimacy

Source: made by D.M. Salimov with the use of MS Word.

## Conclusion

The Kyrgyz state at various periods has increased its legitimacy, including through network media, which are part of political governance. The vector of development of the country's political course demonstrates the fact that the stability of the legitimate order is largely determined by political reforms leading to a change of power and the circulation of the political elite according to the "bottom-up" principle. This circumstance demonstrates the instability of the legitimate order and the influence on this institutional order of external and internal forces seeking to radically change the constitutional order in the country. According to this logic, the events taking place in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, which led to a change of power as a result of "color and network revolutions" are quite consistent with the culture, ideology, and standards of Western democracy, and

this is precisely what allows international organizations to include the country in the list of “stable” and “partially free” countries of the world. As a result, the legitimate order in the country becomes not only unpredictable but also unstable in the conditions of Asian political reality.

Network media and the corresponding audience in the country are characterized by uncontrollability, and this is precisely what allowed their users to become direct participants in “color and network revolutions”. This is largely explained by the presence of network pressure on both the authorities and Kyrgyz society from external forces seeking to destabilize the situation in the country. To this can be added the presence of a Western style of journalism in the Kyrgyz media and the implementation of various kinds of political and educational projects aimed at increasing the media literacy of the population from the perspective of external forces. The information space created by network media in the country significantly contributes to the legitimation of the current regime, taking into account the use of propaganda and counter-propaganda mechanisms of influence on both society and opponents of the Kyrgyz authorities. Within this strategy, the task of the Kyrgyz media is to popularize and provide network legitimation of the actions of the authorities, taking into account the formation of a positive media image of the country’s leader and a negative representation of his opponents. The rules introduced by the new leadership significantly limit the activities of political figures in the network sphere. At the same time, the country’s leader himself remains the main figure of network communication, and his media image becomes a guarantee of the institution of personality.

## REFERENCES

1. Burbilova VS. Image of Kyrgyzstan’s opposition in Russian independent media on the example of the “third revolution”. *Information Age*. 2020;8(4):49–58. (In Russ.). EDN: CVBNRR
2. Alimbekova GT, Shabdenova AB. The media-preferences of the population of Central Asian countries: the results of sociological research. *Journal of the Belarusian State University. Sociology*. 2019;(1):52–60. (In Russ.). EDN: ACKFDR
3. Dzhunushalieva GD, Dyatlenko PI, Kulikovskiy AV, Moldokeeva AB. Russia in the media and public space of modern Kyrgyzstan. *Russia & World: Scientific Dialogue*. 2023;(1):112–128. (In Russ.). [https://doi.org/10.53658/RW2023-3-1\(7\)-112-128](https://doi.org/10.53658/RW2023-3-1(7)-112-128) EDN: JJWUCL
4. Booth JA, Seligson MA. *The legitimacy puzzle in Latin America: Political support and democracy in eight nations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2009. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511818431>
5. Scott WR. *Institutions and organizations: Ideas, interests, and identities*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications; 2008.
6. Bourricaud F. Legitimacy and legitimization. *Current Sociology*. 1987;35(2):57–67. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001139287035002007> EDN: JRIFNR
7. Veber M. *Khozyaistvo i obshchestvo: ocherki ponimayushchei sotsiologii* [Economy and society: essays on understanding sociology]. Moscow: VSHEH publ.; 2016. (In Russ.).

8. Held D (ed). *Global'nye transformatsii: politika, ehkonomika, kul'tura* [Global transformations: Politics, economics and culture]. Sapov VV, translator from English. Moscow: Praxis publ.; 2004. (In Russ.). EDN: QODEJD
9. Charron N, Lapuente V. Does democracy produce quality of government? *European Journal of Political Research*. 2010;49(4):443–470. <https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1475-6765.2009.01906.X>
10. Sheralieva S. Specifics of use of mass media in Kyrgyzstan during election campaigns. *World of Ideas and Politics*. 2020;19:257–275. <https://doi.org/10.15804/siip202013> EDN: HXXVUZ
11. Ignácz Z.S. The relationship between political legitimacy and economic legitimacy: Empirical explorations of a novel research approach on legitimacy. *Frontiers in Political Science*. 2024;6:3–20. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2024.1198295> EDN: HSOPAE
12. Rasmussen T. *Political legitimacy: Realism in political theory and sociology*. London: Routledge; 2022. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003242536>
13. Abdieva CH.I. *Osobennosti ehlektronnykh sredstv massovoi informatsii v Oshskoi, Dzhahal-Abadskoi i Batkenskoi oblastyakh Kyrgyzskoi Respubliki (1991–2016)* [Features of electronic media in the Osh, Jalal-Abad and Batken regions of the Kyrgyz Republic (1991–2016)]: abstract of dissertation. Bishkek; 2021. (In Russ.).
14. Deutsch K. *The Nerves of Government: Models of political communication and control*. New York: Free Press; 1966.
15. Barker R. *Legitimizing identities: The self-presentations of rulers and subjects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2001.
16. Atykanova JA. Contemporary media in Kyrgyzstan: status and challenges in the coverage of inter-ethnic relations (1990–2010). *The Herald of Kyrgyz State University of Construction, Transport and Architecture named after N. Isanov*. 2020;(4):537–543. (In Russ.). <https://doi.org/10.35803/1694-5298.2020.4.537-543> EDN: ORXYVS
17. Gilley B. The meaning and measure of state legitimacy: Results for 72 countries. *European Journal of Political Research*. 2006;45(3):499–525. <https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1475-6765.2006.00307.X>
18. Shukuralieva NR. The phenomenon of “color revolutions” in the post-soviet states. *PolitBook*. 2017;(1):16–29. EDN: ZEQJAZ

#### Information about the author:

Dilovar M. Salimov — Candidate of Political Sciences, Associate Professor, Department of Public Relations in Politics and Public Administration, Saint Petersburg State University, 26 1-ya Liniya V.O., Saint Petersburg, 199004, Russian Federation (ORCID: 0000-0002-6697-0902) (Researcher ID: HKO-2666-2023) (SPIN-code: 6780-8010) (AuthorID: 1027923) (e-mail: d.salimov@spbu.ru).