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Temirkhan Mukhambetov
Tomsk Polytechnic University

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ETHNO-POLITICAL TRIBALISM AS A CAUSE FACTOR OF NON-EQUALITY AND HATRED (THE EXAMPLE OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN COUNTRIES)

Mukhambetov Temirkhan. PhD,
Mukhambetov.t@gmail.com ,
tel.+7-775-4144538

In recent years, the human instinct of tribalism has been increasingly blamed for the causes of conflicts that occur in different states of the world.

Tribalism has taken deep roots in the world. Tribalism as a model of social behavior and a tribal way of thinking of people leads to intra-national polarization, generates social distrust, and also creates conditions for inter-ethnic and inter-tribal hatred and even serious military conflicts.

When talking about tribalism, the countries most often mentioned are Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia and others. It is believed that tribalism is especially developed there. For example, in Yemen there is even tribal law and tribal courts, parallel to the state ones.

However, in reality, tribalism is much more developed. Its distribution area covers almost the entire world. The countries of Central Asia, which includes Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, are also countries with a tribalist structure of society.

The concept of ethnopolitical tribalism

In the usual understanding of tribalism researchers do not see anything negative. It is most often characterized as an informal organization of social life based on a network of kinship or fictitious kinship relations [1]. Some even note in it a positive sense of solidarity. They note that tribalism is a constantly existing institution of mutual assistance between members of a clan, tribe or other tribal unit, created on the basis of family ties [2].

Based on this, we can say that a tribal society is a society based on a tribal structure.

Nevertheless, despite the neutral definitions of tribalism, it should be said that in modern society the existence of tribal division is considered an archaic phenomenon that prevents the formation of a single, civil, political nation in the country. At the same time, getting rid of this phenomenon is a complex and lengthy process. The gradual transformation and modernization of such a society into a modern political nation for the country is the main task for the country if it wants to become a progressive, democratic and advanced country.

The main obstacle to this process is the very nature of tribalism, which in its exhibitions relies on the deep-rooted centuries-old consciousness of its bearers. That instinct, which was noted above in the definition of tribalism as the instinct to protect the group interests of relatives by blood, is very stable and related to the basic instincts. In this case, the interests of society begin to yield to the interests of the group (tribe), because the instinct of consanguinity influences the entire consciousness and behavior of the individual.

But the problem is that this ancient group and blood instinct, in modern society, begins to contradict the rules of tolerance and respectful common life of all groups, regardless of its origin and tribe. One way or another, the exaltation of the interests of the group leads to their clash. Thus arise the rivalry of groups and hostility. As a result, the main features of a tribal society are inter-tribal strife, hostility towards other, sub-ethnic groups, which over time can lead and lead to inter-ethnic or intra-ethnic (inter-tribal) hatred and conflicts.

The problem of interethnic conflicts already brings the problem of tribalism to **the political level**. But the political context of the problem is much broader and deeper. The fact is that instead of regulating tribalism in a tribalist society, the problem of the fact that the authorities themselves are getting on the rails of tribalism comes to the fore. And this is much worse, because the laws

and instincts of tribalism that fit into the authorities cannot be decided by someone other than the people themselves, but who themselves are in the fetters of the tribalist consciousness.

A qualitatively different problem arises than just tribalism - the problem of political tribalism. Because in the decisive majority of cases, people who find themselves in power do not get rid of, but remain carriers of the tribalist consciousness.

In this case, the tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that, with a greater degree of probability, such a ruler will not remove, but will increase the acuteness of the problem of tribalism in society. This is the main problem of **ethnopolitical tribalism**.

But the carriers of the tribalist consciousness are a priori inclined towards totalitarian thinking, since the tribalist consciousness is by its nature based not on the principles of equality of all people in society, but on the superiority of their group, the superiority of their kind or tribe. Naturally, having seized power, the bearer of the tribalist consciousness has a great chance to use the levers of power in the interests of his tribe. And a person with such a consciousness who has come to power will definitely take advantage of the opportunity.

This is how nepotism in power first appears, favoritism and concentration of representatives of one kind in power. Instead of personnel selection based on business qualities and abilities, the new ruler uses a selective approach based on the principle of belonging to a particular genus.

Further, the holder of power seeks to protect himself from the discontented representatives of other tribes. The strengthening of the police begins and the protection of power is inflated.

Along the way, the ruler begins to reform the executive and judicial authorities, subordinating them to himself, and putting representatives of his tribe in the highest positions. All these branches work primarily in the interests of the dominant tribe. Key positions in the institutions of power are occupied by representatives of the dominant tribe.

But the goal of the ruling tribe is expressed not only in political power over others. Political power is a means. But material needs and goals in the form of financial enrichment prevail. For this, not only corruption is developing, but also the management of all financial flows of the country. Budget flows are redirected mainly to the territory of the tribe, and representatives of the ruling tribe become the main recipients of state orders.

Further, the authorities think about the legal stabilization of their power position, while maintaining the visibility of democracy and electivity. To do this, they need to manage the electoral process - the most important criterion for a democratic society, which is monitored by observers from all over the world. But even this is easily managed by the authorities. The authorities strive to make the suffrage such that only "their own", that is, people loyal to the emerging political regime, can pass. This happens in various ways, including 1) reducing the role of parliament and concentrating powers in the hands of the President-ruler, 2) creating a formally multi-party system in the country, but creating artificial barriers to the registration of opposition parties, criminal prosecution of opposition leaders 3) influence on election commissions and falsification of results by stuffing ballots and ensuring the victory of the pro-presidential party in the elections, 4) strengthening the repressive apparatus and persecuting dissent, massive propaganda, 5) controlling key positions by the President.

The final point for securing such a totalitarian dictatorial system of power is the change in the laws and the Constitution of the country. Changes are being made to it, giving the possibility of permanent re-election of president, zeroing the terms of the presidential term. Laws like the "Leader of the Nation" are passed, securing the immunity of the ruler. A cult of the leader is being created: monuments to the leader are being built, songs are being composed, cities are being renamed, and so on.

This is how a tribal society is transformed through the mechanisms of ethno-political tribalism into a dictatorial and archaic society with feudal customs and laws. There is a rollback of the state into feudalism and its conservation in the feudal consciousness. The power of the dictator is strengthening in the state, and society falls into a cycle of strengthening hatred relations, the risks of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts are growing on the basis of hostility and hatred of the society to the authorities, and the authorities to the society.

This is the main danger for the world of tribalism and its exhibition in the form of political tribalism. In fact, the tribalist nature of society has a tendency to reproduce dictatorship in the country through the penetration of tribalist consciousness into power. The representatives of a certain genus-sub-ethnos become the conductors of the tribalist consciousness. The archaic type of tribalistic consciousness becomes the mainstay of their power and works for their primitive needs for power and enrichment. Through power, the tribe sees an opportunity to rise above other tribes.

Already from the first steps of coming to power, the leader himself uses his tribal origin as a factor in the group consolidation around him of representatives of his clan. In turn, the representatives of the genus now link their fate with the new "tribal" leader. Political advantages and votes of voters are provided not through fair competitive elections, but on the principle of "one's own" or "not one's own".

Further, tribalism can be used more and more subtly for political purposes. For example, in the struggle for political power in the country, artificially born legends and myths about some kind of "special" mission of a particular clan or ethnos, subethnos can be used with reference to a distant fictional historical past. But most often, such propaganda legends appear after the seizure and usurpation of power, as a tool to retain and legitimize the usurped power. Instead of the real achievements of democracy, the ruler prefers to elevate himself to the divine destination and the savior of the nation through all sorts of dictatorial titles.

Thus, political tribalism can be characterized as the desire for political domination and the seizure of political power by representatives of a certain tribe, ethnic group or sub-ethnic group, which invariably leads to a violation of equality in society, autocracy or dictatorship and the conservation of archaic relations in society.

All this leads to the fact that ethnopolitical tribalism is one of the most dangerous phenomena. Of course, there can be no question of a democratic form of government under conditions of ethnopolitical tribalism.

Democracy and tribalism are incompatible concepts. A representative of a sub-ethnos or ethnos who has come to power will in every possible way strive to consolidate power in the hands of his clan, trust and bring closer only representatives of his clan, and strengthen nepotism within the authorities. In the economic aspect, economic inequality in society will increase, as the distribution of social wealth will develop in favor of the territory of residence of the dominant tribe. Asymmetry and inequality in the development of regions will be accompanied by inequality in income and the number of the rich in favor of the dominant sub-ethnos.

Of course, in such a society built on the influence of tribal relations on political power, a totalitarian system will self-reproduce, the essence of which is precisely the inequality in rights, the lack of political rights and freedoms among the people, and the strengthening of the repressive apparatus.

The ethnic basis of hatred in political tribalism

In its purest form, ethnopolitical tribalism is a nursery for the appearance and strengthening of an **atmosphere of hatred** in society. In this case, since we are talking about ethno-tribalism, we are talking about the manifestation of hatred between ethnic groups, sub-ethnic noses.

All categories and emotions associated with the concept of hatred, in this case, can take place and be actively manifested.

To understand how hatred develops in a tribal society, one can use the methodology known as Friedrich Glazl's 9-stage conflict escalation model [3] or other similar theories: Kurt Spilmann's 5-level conflict model[4], or the famous "Hell Staircase" of Herman Kahn [5]. Similarly to these models, one can visualize the process of the emergence and intensification of inter-ethnic or inter-clan hatred in a tribal society.

As is known, **hatred** is a multidimensional long-term negative emotional phenomenon expressed through negative feelings, motives, and emotions. The object to which hatred is directed can be a person, object, process, phenomenon or social group. In a tribal society, all of them can take place. In the literature devoted to phenomenological descriptions of hatred, authors usually indicate such emotions as anger [6], [7], revenge [8], depression [9], "intense hostility and disgust" [10]. And all these emotions take place in the model of development of inter-ethnic or intra-ethnic tribalism.

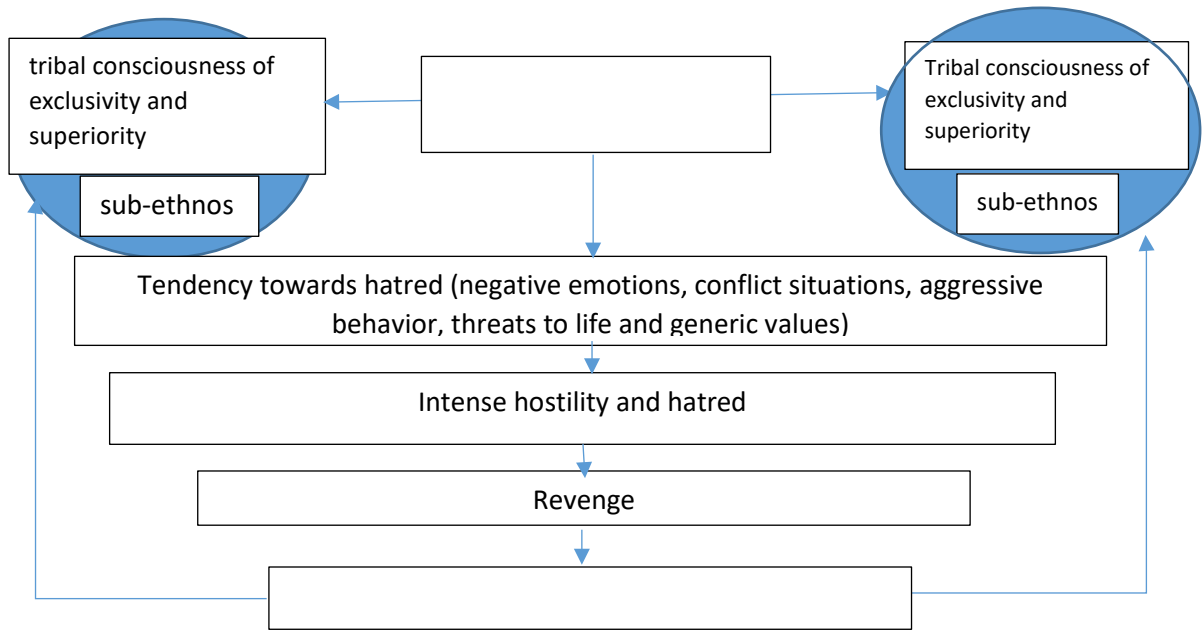Figure 1 shows the development of hatred in a pronounced tribal society.

Fig.1 Development of inter-ethnic hatred in the context of tribalism

The basis of the archaic tribal consciousness is often fictional and hypertrophied exaggerated ethnocentrism [11]. Its basis can be, for example, a legend developed and transmitted within a subethnos about its exclusivity, its isolation and advantages over other subethnoi. This awakens in a member of the tribe a sense of specialness and exaggerated significance of their ethnic group, pride in belonging to this sub-ethnos and a disdainful attitude towards other sub-ethnic groups. In other words, tribal consciousness imposes exaggerated and embellished fictions about the exclusivity and uniqueness of the ethnos, its features that distinguish it from others [12]. The greatness and uniqueness of an ethnos is sometimes so exaggerated that there is an orientation to a certain "historical mission" of this ethnic group, which is not given to other ethnic groups [13].

This consciousness leads to the development of the very intra-group pseudo solidarity, the reverse side of which is the hostile attitude towards them of the neighboring ethnic group, which does not agree with such an interpretation of the "special" role of the neighbor and cultivates its own prejudices and critical ideas about the neighboring sub-ethnos [14]. Thus, a regular form of hostile relations between sub-ethnic groups is established.

In everyday life, emerging conflict situations and aggressive behavior can provoke a tendency to hatred. But as soon as the frequency of such situations increases, the tendency to hate develops into a real feeling of hatred.

There is only one step from hatred to the desire for revenge, and it often happens. A situation arises of an inter-ethnic or intra-ethnic conflict, when various clashes of ethnic groups take place, up to bloody ones. In a clash, one side will act as the victim, and in the future it will seek retribution. Thus the **spiral of hatred** unwinds.

The considered **model of the escalation of hatred**, however, may not necessarily work and lead to hatred in traditional archaic societies, ending in conflict. The situation can be at the stage of mutual hostility for a long time, without moving to more intense stages.

A completely different situation develops when it comes to **ethnopolitical tribalism.**

Here, all processes are much more intensive. Moreover, the sub-ethnos, whose representative keep power, acts as a generator of the growth of tension. Representatives of this sub-ethnic group, now in a more favorable position and enjoying all the benefits of government favoritism, quickly become the object of hatred of all other ethnic groups. For the sake of its security, the "ruling" sub-ethnos takes measures to protect its position and strengthen control over other ethnic groups.

As the concentration of power in the hands of the ruling ethnic group grows, the inequity in the distribution of wealth among ethnic groups becomes more and more obvious. Over-enrichment and unfair appropriation of goods both by representatives and by the ethnic group in general in power is accompanied by a completely opposite situation in the regions where other ethnic groups live. For the latter, this causes an increasing irritant factor, a feeling of humiliation, deceit and growing discontent.

Attempts to protest turn into brutal repression. This creates the conditions and readiness to move from the stage of simple dislike and discontent to a feeling of hatred. In other words, the external situation in the form of political and economic conditions, the growth of injustice in the country leads to an acceleration of the transition of discontent to hatred of the authorities and, at the same time, of the entire ethnic group to which the Ruler belongs.

Most importantly, the model under consideration becomes almost inevitable in its form for a society with a tribalist structure. This is roughly what happened in all known totalitarian dictatorships, be it in the Caucasus, in the Central Asian countries, Afghanistan, or in any other country. This is due to the nature of tribalism and the idea of dividing people along tribal lines embedded in it.

The stage of hatred itself has its substages. At first, the object of hatred is a narrow circle of people close to power. Among them, in almost 100% of cases, these are family members of the future dictator, that is, his children and relatives.

But with the growth of personalist power and its transition to absolute, dictatorial power, the circle of the hated expands to the size of an ethnic group. The entire ethnic group becomes the object of hatred, because, as a rule, the area of residence of the dominant sub-ethnic group becomes the beneficiary of favoritism. The entire subethnos may not have direct advantages and benefits, but indirect ones from a much higher quality of life on the territory of the dominant subethnos will have. And such inequality in living conditions is a reason for hostility and dissatisfaction with the ruling ethnic group of all other ethnic groups.

This is one of the shortcomings of tribalism, when hatred spreads to the entire ethnic group, regardless of whether its representatives have direct benefits or not. However, indirect benefits from inequalities in living conditions play a huge role, as they are a significant factor in the quality of life in general. As a rule, the territory of residence of the dominant ethnic group is distinguished by high living comfort due to increased investments from the budget, attraction of state orders, psychologically close perception of the ruler of his "small" homeland. This phenomenon of the transfer of hatred from the personal level to the entire sub-ethnic group is called cognitive distortion [15]. Often, negative nicknames (ethnopholisms) appear for the hated sub-ethnos or ethnos.

In fact, at a certain stage in the development of political tribalism, emotions and feelings in its context become similar to feelings that lie in the sphere of analysis of xenophobia or racism. Xenophobia is also accompanied by a feeling of hatred of some racial or ethnic groups towards other racial and ethnic groups [16]. Moreover, in terms of the strength of emotions, political tribalism even surpasses ordinary xenophobia in the form of ethnic intolerance and racial intolerance. This is because, unlike xenophobia and racial intolerance, in political tribalism, antipathy is associated with everyday social inequality, constant and recurring negative emotions

in connection with economic problems: low living standards, unemployment, etc. in subordinate ethnic groups.

The development of the stages occurs as a result of an increase in the intensity of emotions: hostility and a sense of injustice develops into a feeling of hatred, and hatred into a desire for revenge. Over time, asymmetric regional development, discrimination based on origin, lack of social lifts, increasing poverty and low quality of life, non-transparency and lack of accountability of government, lack of fair elections, declining education, quality of medical services lead non-dominant ethnic groups to increase the index of vindictiveness .

On fig. 2 shows the development of hatred in dynamics in an authoritarian (dictatorial) state.
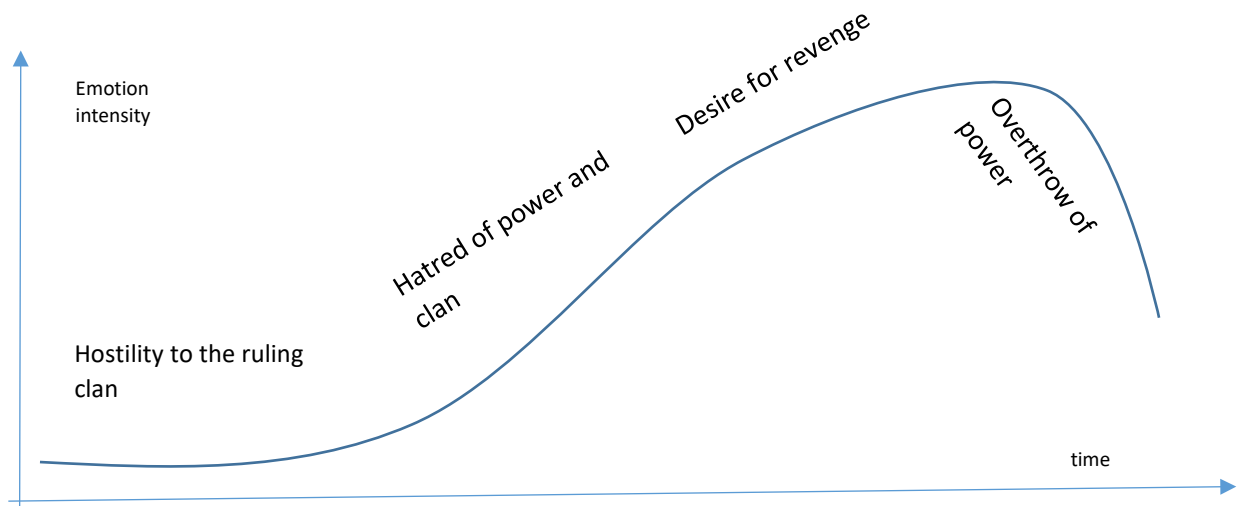

Figure 2 Model of the development of hatred in the context of tribalism under authoritarian regimes

The overthrow of the political regime embodied with a certain tribe can take place in the form of bloody riots, or even executions of dictators. But the peculiarity of a tribalist society is that this overthrow does not lead to democratic change. The problem is that, despite the overthrow of the dictator, tribalism in society persists, and the change of power will only lead to a change from one dominant tribe to another.

This is the particular danger of dictatorships in a tribalist society, that dictatorship and authoritarianism not only slow down the economic, political and social development of society, but also preserve the very tribalist nature of society. In a society during the period of an authoritarian, dictatorial political regime, illiteracy of the population is preserved, a civil and politically active society is not formed. Poverty does not contribute to a rapid transition to democracy, getting rid of fear of the authorities, and modernizing public consciousness. The example of Afghanistan has shown that even huge investments and external assistance cannot always help return society to a civilized path of development.

Tribalism leads to the gradual degradation of society, the strengthening of totalitarianism and the evolution of a personalist regime to a dictatorial one, in which the idea of interethnic hatred is ripening. As a result, the building of a civil society requires even longer time in conditions when the attitudes of the archaic consciousness have become even stronger, and the level of distrust in society has increased. In all the dictatorships of the world, whether it is Central Asia or Latin America, the Middle East or Africa, the coincidence will be almost total - a cult of personality, a ban on the opposition, harsh repressions, a complete usurpation of power.

Tribalism leads to social and civilizational backwardness. As history shows, even liberation from the colonial yoke does not allow a quick transition to the formation of a competitive or viable economy. On the contrary, acts of the most inhuman genocide are taking place. The conflict between the Tutu and Hutsi tribes, the conflicts in Namibia, Uganda, and the Congo have become

classic examples. Most often, conflicts are based on the fact that the leader of the people belongs to one or another ethnic group.

Some researchers believe that tribalism and modernization are incompatible, since tribalism is a deliberate return to the archaic, the abolition of the nation, which is incompatible with modernization [17].

In the general sense, revenge is a kind of destructive activity and is accompanied by aggression [17]. There is dependence between them and strong revenge is accompanied by strong aggression [18], which can turn into violence [19] (example: mob violence against Saddam Hussein). However, the subject of vengeance, who carries out revenge, perceives it as an act of retribution for the humiliation of honor and dignity [20]. According to Pedahzur and Yishai, revenge can be qualified by the community as a just retribution, and hatred must end in revenge, because if it does not end in retribution, then this is another destructive passion like sadism and necrophilia [10]. So injustice and seemingly individual actions develop into inter-ethnic or inter-clan, or even interracial conflicts.

The peculiarity of political tribalism is not only in its consequences, but also in the absence of a way out in its solution. All dictatorships rule for decades. Power, as an object of hatred for the people, at the same time has an asymmetric domination, since the repressive apparatus is in its hands. At the same time, a subject that hates power in the form of a people does not have effective protection from power as an object of hatred and fear. The people have no protection from humiliation, injustice, physical pain or threat to their safety, threats to their identity, their culture and worldview, values and culture that come from the object of hatred. The long-term negative impact of violence, intimidation and repression becomes unbearable over time.

The strength of emotions and destructive consequences can be traced on the example of a conflict that has features of interethnic hatred. For example, in the war between Russia and Ukraine, the features of the social hatred of the Russian people towards the Ukrainians are strongly visible. The consequences of such social hatred can be seen in the tragic consequences of this war: violence, the death of civilians, women, children, an undisguised desire to destroy the Ukrainian nation. Quite naturally, this causes a backlash of retribution and hatred of Ukrainians for Russians.

Other forms of ethnic conflicts can be ethnic cleansing, blood feuds and hostility [21]. When one speaks of social hatred as the primary condition for aggression [22], one is talking about hostile aggression. Among the many reasons for such hatred at the level of social groups is social identity [23].

It should be noted, however, that softer autocratic forms of government, which have formal democratic institutions and often use the appearance of democracy, demonstrate more subtle methods of interethnic politics and interaction with different ethnic groups. In such states, the intensity of hatred is much weaker, and may even remain at the level of hostile inter-ethnic relations.

Problems of Social and Ethnic Identity in the Post-Soviet Countries of Central Asia

Turning to the consideration of the countries of Central Asia, one more area of problems should be noted - artificial interference in ethno-geographical processes. Such interference began with the advent of Soviet power to these territories, which decided to create pseudo-republics on the basis of national territories. These territories, as well as the territories of Siberia, the Far East, went to the USSR from the tsarist empire, which, starting from the 17th century, gradually expanded to the east, occupying new lands. Direct accession of Central Asia took place in the 18-19 centuries.

The Bolshevik government, having come to power in 1917, faced the problem of confusion in ethnic identification and ethnic uncertainty, which was a great difficulty for them.

What is ethnic identity? According to the definition of Taifel, ethnic identity is the result of a cognitive-emotional process of self-awareness as a representative of a particular ethnic group [25].

Identifying oneself with a certain ethnic group automatically means separating oneself from all other ethnic communities.

However, the Soviet government did not want to bother with the issue of ethnic identification and, moreover, to create national autonomy on the basis of each ethnic group. The dominant task was the creation of a new political nation - the Soviet people and ethnic issues were put in tenth place.

Armed with a ruler and a pencil, guided by approximate knowledge of the habitation of peoples here and there, they began to cut the ethnographic boundaries of the future republics. They were guided by the principles of the optimal number of national republics, as well as the principle of "Divide and Conquer", which meant, in their understanding, the artificial laying of ethnic contradictions into ethno-geographic boundaries by dividing ethnic groups by administrative boundaries.

One way or another, after certain manipulations on the map, by the end of the 20s of the last century, borders were cut up and national republics were formed in the way Moscow wanted. Among these newly formed republics were the five Central Asian republics under consideration.

As long as the Soviet Union existed, the problem of ethnic identification was not acute, since the Soviet dictatorship put the formation of a single Soviet people at the forefront. Inside the republics, national "constructors" could without any problems arbitrarily rewrite ethnicity, which increased the difference between formal and real ethnic identity, the mismatch between ethnic and administrative boundaries. As a result, over the 70 years of the existence of Soviet power, true ethnicity in some cases has changed completely, in others partially, and in the third, it has been preserved, no matter what.

But the problem escalated with the collapse of the USSR and the independence of these republics. The problem of identity has been transformed into problems of tribalism.

In essence, this factor in democratic societies would not have significant value. In a democratic state where all ethnic groups are equal, a single political nation is being formed, the problem of ethnicity and tribalism would not even arise.

However, the thing is that the Central Asian countries have chosen the path of forming authoritarian and dictatorial regimes, that is, the path of usurpation of power, the path of inequality of sub-ethnic groups, the path of strengthening tribalism. The former party functionaries who came to power used tribalism, including ethnotribalism, in their own interests. The leaders who came to power turned out to be carriers of a typical archaic type of consciousness, when their own identity is extolled over others.

Gradually, with the usurpation of power, the formation of tribal clans in power structures, all the shortcomings of the tribalist type of government developed: inequality in development between the center and regions, vassal and colonial position of sub-ethnic territories in relation to the center of power captured by the dominant sub-ethnic nose, nepotism in power, hidden segregation and discrimination of the provinces.

As a result, such tribalism, instead of the formation of a national identity, implementation of the processes of rallying the nation and civil society, led to an increase in tribal strife, fraught with a transition to an increase in an atmosphere of hatred and civil conflicts within the country.

Increasing repressions are increasingly rolling back societies from the democratic path of development. In addition to the political inequalities that are present in these countries, pronounced regional economic inequalities are typical. Wealthy and prosperous regions were the territories of residence of the tribesmen of the Ruler of the country. The tribesmen become in all respects the dominant sub-ethnic group. On the contrary, the regions of residence of competing sub-ethnic groups are gradually turning into provinces and colonies of the dominant ethnic group-territory. They degrade over time, turning into depressive backyards of the country, where poverty and destitution thrive, their interests are not taken into account by the power center.

Social injustice and inequality are aggravated by the fact that it is not at all necessary that the territory of the dominant sub-ethnic group has all the competitive advantages in terms of resources. On the contrary, as ironically, it was on the territory of non-dominant sub-ethnic groups that all

the resources ended up. It is these territories that most often turn out to be the main sources of income for the treasury. This further reinforces the injustice of the colonial regime, making society even more polarized and divided.

Let's stop briefly on the characteristics of each of the five Central Asian countries.

In **Tajikistan,** for more than 30 years, power has been seized by a representative of the so-called Kulyab clan. The country has all the signs of a totalitarian state, the president is declared by law the leader of the nation, and from this point of view, society and the state are at one of the highest stages of the development of tribalism, bordering on the risks of manifestation of hatred. However, the current president is focused on maintaining power and then transferring it to his son.

In **Turkmenistan**, the dominant clan is the clan of Akhal Tekins. It is believed that 75% of all government officials are representatives of this kind [27]. In the so-called "power" bodies, 90% of the members come from the family of the President [27]. Since 1991, the dictator Niyazov ruled for 15 years, who received the title of Turkmenbashi - the Leader of all Turkmens. After his death in 2006 ruled by Gurbanoglu, who bore the title of Arkadag - the patron of all Turkmens. March 2022 he transferred power to his son, who bears the title "Your Excellency". Today it is one of the most closed countries. All three presidents belong to the category of dictators. It is obvious that all other regional sub-ethnic groups (Khorezmians, Oguzes, Yomuds of the Caspian Sea) are in a state of hatred towards the ruling sub-ethnos of the southern Tekins, who seized power in the state.

Uzbekistan is another of the closed countries. The state tightly controls information resources and the Internet. Only recently have visas for leaving the country been lifted. The Uzbek society itself is one of the most complex in terms of tribal structure. Tajiks believe that as a result of an arbitrary approach to the definition of ethno-geographical boundaries in 1924, a significant part of their historical lands and, accordingly, Tajiks ended up in Uzbekistan. A significant part during this time formally or mentally became Uzbeks.

Tribalism is developed at the regional level, there is a strong inter-ethnic tribalism. One of the famous ethnic conflicts occurred in the summer of 2022. when the central government tried to change the Constitution of the national autonomy of Karakalpakstan, which had remained from the Soviet period, which led to protests and casualties.

The country's first President Karimov remained in office for 27 years until his death. The second President Mirziyoyev continues the authoritarian course of the former president. Uzbekistan ranks 92 in the rule of law index [28].

The **Kyrgyz society** is structurally, except for the clans, divided into 2 sub-ethnic groups: "northern" and "southern", under one ethnonym. They are not recognized as different ethnic groups, but the degree of their opposition to each other is akin to inter-ethnic opposition. As a result, this contributed to the fact that an exotic way of changing presidents was developed in the country - each President, in case of unwillingness to voluntarily leave the post, is overthrown by an opposing sub-ethnos.

This practice was established after the first president, "northerner" Akaev, ruled for 15 years and did not want to leave his post. In 2005, he was overthrown by the "southerners", after which he was forced to flee Russia. The second president, "southerner" Bakiyev, who came to power, was overthrown by "northerners" in 2010. He was forced to flee in Belarus. The "northerner" Atambayev, who came to power after him, not wanting to tempt fate, resigned voluntarily, handing over the presidential chair to the "southerner" Zhenebekov. Nevertheless, that, having received power, put Atambaev in prison. However, this did not help him defend himself against other leaders of the "northerners". As a result, 4 years later, he was overthrown by another "northerner" Zhaparov, who released his compatriot Atambaev from prison. There is no doubt that the next president, according to the laws of this Kyrgyz "carousel", or the Asian model of "democracy", will be a representative of the "southerners".

Both sub-ethnoi endure exactly one presidential term as president of a representative of another sub-ethnos, after which hostile relations quickly turn into hatred, and if the president does

not voluntarily give up the presidency, he is quickly overthrown. It is believed that these sub-ethnoi have different mentalities and are very hostile towards each other.

Despite the peculiar way of changing presidents and the complete purge of personnel after the overthrow of each president, this does not play in the country's favor. The country has a bad investment climate, there is no sense of stability, and the effectiveness of public administration is declining, coups are accompanied by raider seizures of enterprises.

Often such an exotic tribalist carousel is presented as democratic governance, but it is obvious that this has nothing to do with democracy. Continuous rewriting of the Constitution has led to the fact that it is difficult even to determine what form of government - parliamentary or presidential - this republic has.

Kazakhstan in the five countries is the most prosperous in terms of economic indicators and the level of economic development. But this happened only thanks to the innumerable natural resources that all other Central Asian countries are deprived of.

Kazakhstan is also perceived by the collective West as a country with an average level of authoritarianism and the presence of democratic institutions, which, however, have a clearly formal, demonstrative and decorative character.

However, we repeat, all the economic well-being and hence some political stability in the country exist thanks to income from the country's natural resources, primarily from oil and gas. A higher standard of living, especially in large cities of the country, affects on the relatively low civil and political activity of the population. Those who are immersed in the specifics of this state understand that society consists of hidden potential conflict factors, the main of which is tribalism, which is outwardly invisible to outsiders. What is Kazakh tribalism manifested in?

Along with the tribal division of Kazakhstan, it has a higher, second level of division of society in the form of Zhuzes - tribal associations. The vast territory of the country, equal to the territories of 5 France, is divided into 3 so-called Zhuz, the inhabitants of which have a different ethnic nature, mentality.

The formation of these 3 tribal groups based on the Zhuzes, as well as the people themselves, still causes a lot of controversy, and history hides many dark spots. Modern history, concocted during the 30-year rule of President Nazarbayev, was, as history should be in a dictatorial country, a servant of politics. All 33 years of non-dependence in society, propaganda carefully popularizes the idea of the unity of the nation.

On the other hand, it is quite obvious that the factor of a huge territory and extremely low population density in the period of the Middle Ages and up to the present could not contribute to the formation of a single people in its true and complete understanding. Without intensive communications there can be no single nation. Precisely for this reason, the existence of 3 zhuzes, which are purely territorial in nature, leads to frequent mental incompatibility of their representatives with each other. These discrepancies are huge and akin to interethnic divergence.

The artificial hierarchization of zhuzes relative to each other also acted as a disconnecting factor. 3 zhuzes are called Senior, Middle and Junior, which by its meaning obviously implies hierarchization. This hierarchization is perceived as insulting for the Junior Zhuz, who considers this name inconsistent with the truth, historical truth and its real role and merits in the formation of the state. Presumably this was done by one of the rulers in the 18th century, pursuing his own narrow interests.

However, with the beginning of the existence of Kazakhstan as an independent state in 1991, the principle of giving a literal, but not real meaning, to the names of sub-ethnic groups was pulled from the depths of the tribal consciousness and began to be actively used in practice for a kind of justification for the seizure of power by a representative of the Senior Zhuz.

After that, the evolution of power went through all the stages of the tribalist style of government, which were discussed above. As a result, Nazarbayev ruled Kazakhstan for 30 years, managed to form a rigid vertical political system, where representatives of his family and Zhuz held key positions. According to tribal and Zhuz principles, intra-elite alliances were formed, a system of distribution of property and power based on the hierarchy of Zhuzes.

The segregation and inequality of the zhuz-regions was exacerbated by the fact that Western Kazakhstan, or the Junior Zhuz, on whose territory oil and gas is produced and which is the main donor of budget revenues, in reality began to have the lowest standard of living. In fact, the Junior Zhuz gradually turned into a vassal appendage of the coalition of the Senior and Middle zhuzes, a feudal colony of other Zhuzes, while itself turning into a depressed territory, a zone of ecological disaster and a desert with a marginalized population.

All this is a factor of potential instability in Kazakhstan. But this is the essence of power in a tribal society, that it cannot abandon the policy pursued, because it is contrary to their mental structure. As a result, Western Kazakhstan will gradually turn into a zone of confrontation with the central authorities. Until now, the activity of Western Kazakhstan is limited by economic requirements. However, no one can guarantee that at some point they can turn into political demands for building a more just state.

Search for ways to solve the problem of ethnopolitical tribalism.

Some of the Central Asian countries, including Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, are making certain efforts to reduce tribalist tendencies in the country. This is happening in order to demonstrate to the world how she fights against such a negative and destructive phenomenon.

Sometimes it may even look like a desire for democracy and the implementation of constitutional provisions on the equality of all nations and citizens before the law, as the desire of the authorities for democracy, the desire for progress and modernization. For example, Uzbekistan approved the rules for civil servants, which state that leaders should not allow tribalism, should not show favoritism in their work. In Kazakhstan, an article on incitement of social hatred on a tribal basis was introduced into the criminal legislation. Also, unofficially, civil servants are advised not to indicate the place of birth in public data, implying that citizens can determine the tribe by the place of birth.

In reality, all these measures are formal. Neither in Uzbekistan nor in Kazakhstan has there been a single case of punishment of a civil servant for inciting social discord, favoritism, or tribalism. The judicial practice of applying these norms has not been worked out either. There were cases of using these norms to combat dissent and protest movement of representatives of other Zhuzes.

In general, such mechanisms, of course, have a weak effectiveness and are more aimed at external audiences and government officials. However, this cannot at all affect the change in tribal consciousness. On the contrary, everyday tribalism has grown in the country: monuments to the ancestors are erected, books and articles are written on the topic of childbirth, and the Internet is full of videos about this or that kind. The power of the clans became more invisible and disguised from the eyes of the people.

Solving the problem of tribalism is extremely important because, in essence, such a search comes down to finding ways to build a democratic state. However, as already mentioned, the viciousness of tribalism lies in its cyclical nature and self-reproduction. Where there is a complex society with a complex archaic consciousness, there the probability of the arrival of a liberal and democratically thinking leader who is determined to decisively demolish this backward type of consciousness is extremely low. As was seen from the analysis of the situation with tribalism above, rulers who rule for 30 years are automatically champions of tribalism, and even theoretically such a ruler cannot become a fighter against tribalism.

It follows from what has been said that it is necessary to look for other methods of solving this problem and combating this atavism of human consciousness. Such a way lies, it seems, in the tribalist society thinking about the **state reorganization**.

The fact is that in all analyzed and not analyzed states with a tribalist society, the form of state structure in the form of a **unitary state** is adopted. It is unitarity, which implies a high degree of centralization of power, that facilitates the usurpation of power and the creation of a state

dominated by a certain kind of power. In other words, the centralization of functions, the vertical type of power, which is characteristic of a unitary type of state, corresponds perfectly to the manifestation of all the negative aspects and aspirations of the tribalist consciousness. Thus, the unitary type of state pushes the representative of the tribe who came to power to take advantage of all the possibilities of the unitary type of state and centralized power to build a mechanism for the usurpation of power.

That is why in all 5 considered Central Asian countries a rigidly *authoritarian and dictatorial regime is inscribed in a unitary type of statehood*. The exception is Uzbekistan, which has the Republic of Karakalpakstan. But this republic in reality is not independent. And at the same time, in 2022, the central government tried to take away her only right, which formally remained to her from the constitution of the Soviet era, which turned into bloody protests.

Only an authoritarian-dictatorial regime allows the leadership to seize financial flows, carry out a subjective, at the request of the ruler, distribution of wealth between regions, pursue a policy of segregation of unrelated regions and selectively develop related and close regions, create a system of protection of power from the people, create a system control over elections, etc. And this regime is possible only with a unitary type of state. Yes, some countries, such as Kazakhstan, are implementing policies that are deeply disguised as democracy. However, in essence, they continue to be a typical authoritarian country with personalistic and personal power.

For the very people with a tribalist type of consciousness, the unitary type of state, due to over-centralization, carries the risk of losing the chances for equal, free development and falling into a cycle of hatred, a continuous struggle against the political regime that usurps power. The prospects for the fight against tribalism will be negligible, tribalism, most likely, will only intensify.

The only remedy in such cases is the transition to a **federal form of statehood**. Only a federal form of the state will contribute to the decentralization of the financial and political system, the decentralization of government. That is why the regimes established in the Central Asian countries in every possible way preserve the unitarity of their states, seeing in them the guarantee of their unlimited power over the people and the guarantee of their lifelong rule. The authorities are well aware that the federal structure of the state means a complete loss of absolute, total power, which allows them to manage according to their personal desire and as he wants for life, transferring power to whomever he wants.

The federal structure of the state makes it possible to avoid the situation of subordination of some tribes to others, and each of them becomes the master of his own state. Situations of robbery of some sub-ethnic groups by others are excluded. Each sub-ethnos manages its own taxes and revenues from the use of its resources. The situation of usurpation of power by one sub-ethnos is excluded, since the central government controls a narrow range of issues delegated by federal units. Power will cease to be an object of hypertrophied interest of unscrupulous people of this or that tribe. The central government will decide purely questions of monetary policy, foreign policy, the country's security, but will not be involved in the distribution of money within the country between regions where issues of abuse of power are concentrated. Strategically important, but not operational issues will be decided by parliamentarians elected in the federal districts.

The main power and all problems will be solved not by appealing to the President of the country, but locally. At municipal levels, at the level of districts (counties), the main problems will be solved, judges, prosecutors, police will be selected.

Thus, the conditions for the emergence of dominant tribes, ethnic groups and sub-ethnic groups will disappear. The economic and political independence of the sub-ethnoses-tribes will contribute to the development of democracy within the federal units, inter-tribal conflicts, enmity and hatred will disappear or significantly decrease.

It is in this way that the political nations of the Americans, French, Germans, British, Canadians and all other progressive countries are formed through federalization and equality of sub-ethnic groups. If Germany were a unitary state, like Kazakhstan or Turkmenistan, there would be disputes and discontent between the Bavarians, Saxons, Swabians and other subethnic groups.

If France were a unitary state, like Tajikistan or Uzbekistan, then conflicts would flare up between the Bretons, Visigoths, Burgundians, etc. If America were a unitary state, like Kazakhstan, then Texas or North Dakota would be unhappy that their funds go to West Virginia. If Canada were a unitary state, like Kyrgyzstan, then the French-Canadian and English-Canadian parts, and within them Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba and Sas-Kachewan and other districts, would come together in a dispute over the fair distribution of income.

Unlike these countries with a tribalist society, they are in the opposite system of coexistence of sub-ethnic groups and injustice in these societies is rapidly developing in a spiral: hostility - xenophobia - intolerance - hostility - hatred - open conflict. But it is precisely this, federalism, that the current dictators and autocrats fear like fire.

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