

Introduction into the science of Politics

Diana Toimbek. Associate Professor, PhD

Quote of the day

All things are Political Science
(T. Sukkary)

POLITICAL SCIENCE



What Conservatives Think I do.



What Liberals think I do



What other disciplines think I do



What my parents think I do.



What I think I do.



What I actually do.

Content:

First things first: The course policies

Introduction into the science of politics

Politics in everyday life

Conceptions and approaches of Political Science

Let us build the environment of mutual respect during the course:

- Switch your video on when presenting your work (this is a mandatory point that will influence your grading performance);
- Mute your microphone when you are not talking;
- No food during the classes;
- Stay seated and stay present;
- Be aware of your surroundings (quiet location);
- Be polite and respectful to others.



General information

- 10 lecture themes (10 hours)

- Seminar hours (10 hours)

- Midterm – Quiz with 20 Multiple choice questions

- End Term – Quiz with 20 Multiple choice questions

- Final examination – 40 Multiple choice questions

Each student has to attend 70% of sessions. In case you miss more than 30 percent of the lessons, you will not be allowed to take the final exam.

Students' performance evaluation

Period	Assignments	Points	Total
Mid-term	Individual students work	35	100
	Group project	35	
	Mid-term assessment	30	
End-term	Individual students work	35	100
	Group project	35	
	End-term assessment	30	

Assignments:

- ❖ All assignments for mid-term and end-term period are given in the syllabus (Table 7)
 - Assignments will be discussed and presented during the practical sessions only.
 - Weeks 5 and 10 are assigned for late submissions (mid-term and end-term assignments, respectfully) with the automatically 3 pts decrease in grading (This information may change in accordance with national holidays. Check Moodle for updates).
 - Failure to pass assignments on time will result in 0% for the work.
 - Bonus tasks and extra works to raise grades are not envisaged.
 - Spoiler alert: Save your time from asking me “add a few points”. Never going to happen
 - Exceptions from the rule: official decree from the dean’s office about special circumstances of your absence.

How to ensure maximum grades?

- ❖ Carefully read the Grading criteria in the syllabus (Table 8) and prepare your works in accordance with it.
- ❖ The class participation and engagement quality (not quantity) will result on increase of grades (2 pts max for each session).

The following types of class participation are particularly appreciated and can help to increase your participation grade:

- communicate your ideas and opinions in an accurate, concise and logical manner;
- present reasoned explanations for phenomena, patterns and relationships;
- understand the implications of, and draw inferences from, data and evidence;
- discuss and evaluate choices, and make reasoned decisions, recommendations and judgements;
- draw valid conclusions by a reasoned consideration of evidence.

A brief tutorial on how to pass my class:



Academic integrity



Academic dishonesty is prohibited at the university and is punishable by penalties, including failing grades, suspension and expulsion.



Any plagiarized assignment (with similarity more than 20%) will receive 0-points with no possibility to resubmit the work.



Students are expected to present assignments with proper APA style of referencing or they will not be regarded.



The Academic integrity policy may be found on the university website (Реестр внутренних НОРМАТИВНЫХ ДОКУМЕНТОВ Astana IT University «Academic Integrity Policy of Astana IT University»).

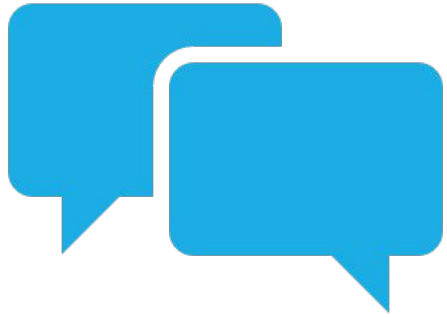
Why so strict?



In HE you do not only get a specialty, but also learn to integrate into society. Your future professional development will substantially depend on functional literacy.

Hence such policies are for:

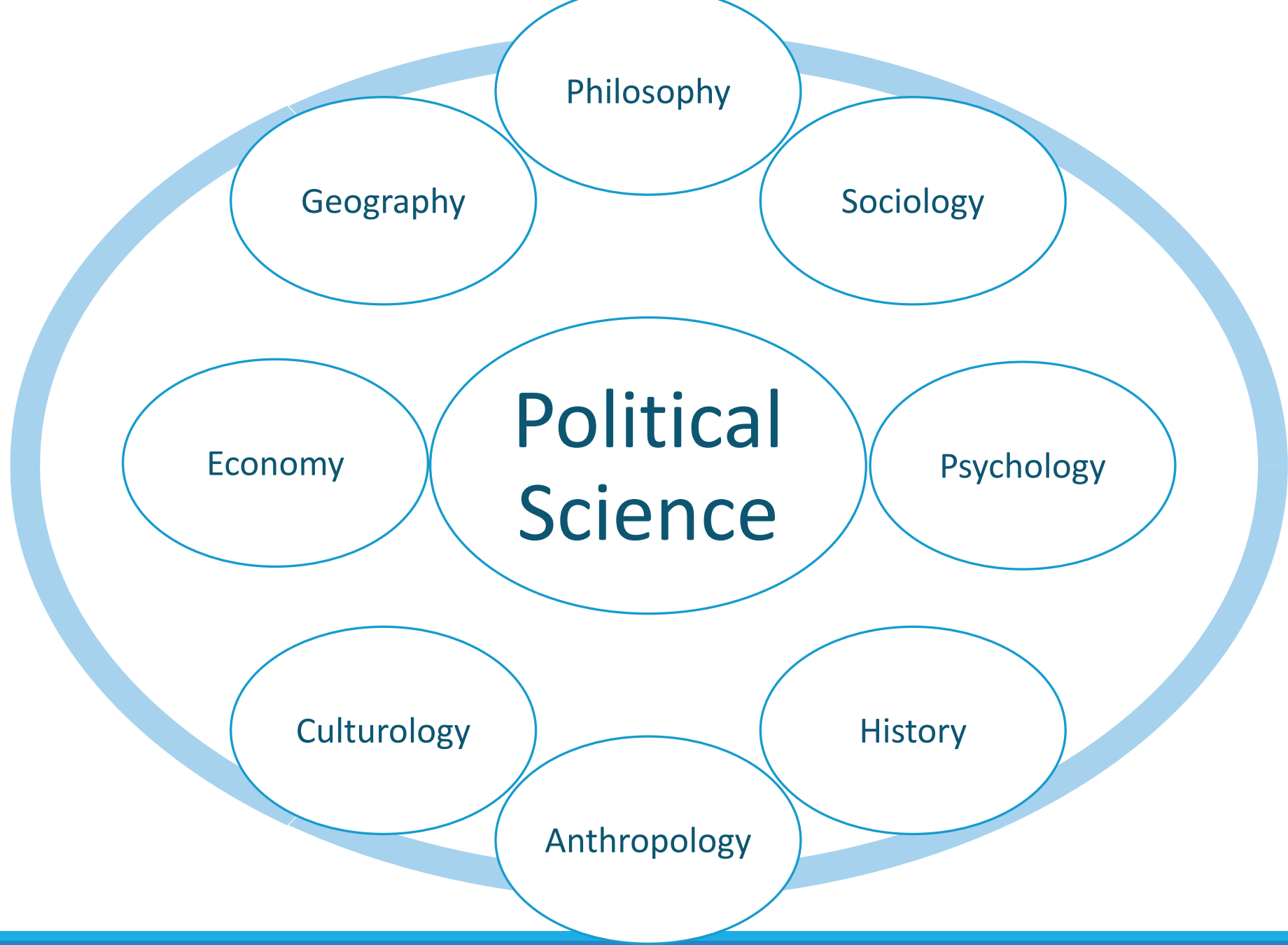
- Equal opportunities for everyone
- Learning the time-management
- Taking responsibilities
- Critically analyze your surrounding environment



If you wish to present topics that are not listed in the Table, you need to first discuss with me (But you have such possibility).

If you are confused about assignment topics or have questions regarding them, do not hesitate to e-mail me.

Political Science is
Power relationship



Philosophy

Geography

Sociology

Economy

**Political
Science**

Psychology

Culturology

History

Anthropology

Concept in depth

Many parts of our life may appear apolitical. This is very rarely true.

People may think that politics has nothing to do with their relationship. What is the minimum age when couples can get married? Who can marry and who cannot?

Governments answer such political questions.

In sport dishonesty by a sportsmen can be considered as a reason to assault the whole country.

The case of Kamila Valieva in Beijing 2022 was presented by BBC World as a sign of “how Russia disregards rules”

Your emotions can be also very political, if you commit something that a government defines as a crime. Your “state of mind” maybe one of the charges for sentencing criminal cases.

Governments define those political concepts

Art is what we use to express ourselves; to expand our ideas and personalities in a way from which other people (and even ourselves) can learn and take inspiration. Governments measure if your art is acceptable or radical, since art can be a tool to convey your grievances.

Whether you know it or not, education system is also highly politicized. The difference is only the extend of imposing the propaganda and power relationship.

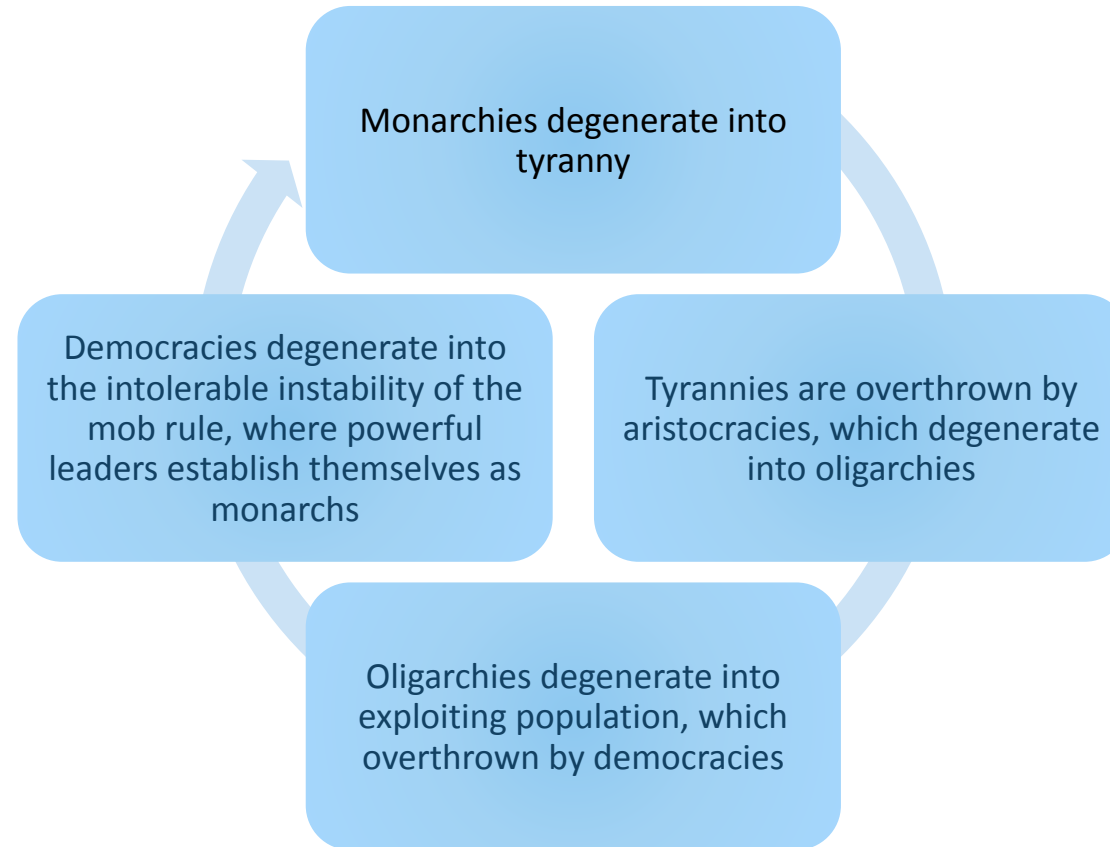
Your everyday routine is also political. Starting from whether you have food & running water, their quality, whether you are employed, educational opportunities, healthcare, sense of security and rule of law.

Governments ensure the safety or insecurity of every aspect of your life

Political Science

- ❖ “The attempt to make the chaotic diversity of our sense-experience correspond to a logically uniform of thought” (Einstein, 1970).
- ❖ When politics began to be “scientific”, it meant that social scientists were becoming concerned with objective description and generalization.
- ❖ Politeia (πολιτεία) is an ancient Greek word, means “the community of citizens in a city/state.”
- ❖ Aristotle used the “politeia” in his *Politics*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Constitution of Athens*, and other works. The simplest meaning is “the arrangement of the offices in a polis” (state) (Spiro, 2021). Thus, a new way of thinking, feeling and above all, being related to one’s fellows.
- ❖ Lasswell (1950): “who gets what, when, how.”
- ❖ Politics is complex, contingent and chaotic; and at the mercy of human nature from which it arises. Thus have a great variety of conceptions, theories, methods and approaches.

Theory of recurrent cycles





“You say you want a revolution

Well, you know,

We all want to change the world.”

The Beatles - Revolution.

Are they right? What do they mean by a revolution? Do we all want to change the world? What would change the world? Would the result be good or bad?

Political methodology provides with tools for answering all these questions (although it leaves to normative political theory the question of what is ultimately good or bad). Methodology provides techniques for clarifying the **theoretical meaning of concepts, such as revolution and for developing definitions of revolutions**. It offers **descriptive indicators for comparing the scope of revolutionary change, and sample surveys for gauging the support for revolutions**. And it offers an array of methods for making causal inferences that provide **insights into the causes and consequences of revolutions**. How big a revolution has to be to qualify as a revolution? All these tasks are important and strongly interconnected.

Methodology

“Criticism is the most powerful weapon in any methodology of science.” (P. B. Medawar, Advice to a Young Scientist).

Case studies

- Strengths: Case studies allow for in-depth study of people, events, countries, elections, or other political questions.
- Weakness: Information may not apply to other cases.

Survey research

- Strengths: Large amounts of information can be gathered and quantitatively assessed; information is more general in application than in case studies.
- Weaknesses: Wording, sampling, and other problems with surveys may compromise results; survey does not provide up-close, in-depth details of a case study.

Experiments and Quasi-Experiments

- Strength: Experimental conditions allow researchers to carefully test hypotheses.
- Weaknesses: Participants may alter their behavior because of the conditions of the experiment; many questions cannot be tested by experiments; in quasi-experiments, researchers lack perfect control groups.

Quantitative analysis

- Strength: Researcher builds on findings of others and extends and applies large amounts of quantitatively tested data.
- Weakness: It is often difficult to compare findings observed in different research projects under different conditions and through studies asking different questions.

Dominant conceptions

- ◆ **Historical Conception** – Building the basis of insights and resources from history that would tell us how and why we have certain values, norms and moral expectations. The history of ideas may tell us that our political universe is a product of things whose root lies in the past. In this perspective, political theory becomes situation-dependent in which historical situation sets a problem, which in turn taken care of through situations devised by the theory
- ◆ **Normative Conception (Philosophical theory or Ethical theory)** – The concept is based on the belief that the world and its events can be interpreted in terms of logic, purpose and ends with the help of the political theorist’s intuition, reasoning, insights and experiences. In other words, philosophical speculation about values.
- ◆ **Empirical Conception** – The theory rose to make the field of political theory scientific and objective and hence, a more reliable to guide for action. This new orientation came to be known as *positivism*. Under the spell of positivism social scientists attempted to create a natural science of society and attain scientific knowledge about political phenomena based on the principle which could be empirically verified and proved. The popular trend of empirical conception – “Behavioral revolution” in 1950’s.
- ◆ **Contemporary Conception** – Does not neatly follow the commonly accepted category of classification and does not stay within the particular tradition. In the course of building the theoretical edifice, the concept breaks new grounds and create new sites for political investigation and also innovate new tools for searching and establishing the principles of politics. Nonetheless, it does not move beyond the conceptions discussed earlier; that is, historical, normative and empirical; but the mode of employing them has some hybridness in character.

Approaches to political science

Approaches	Scope of political studies
Behavioralism	Concentrates on processes of politics associated with mainstream politics and government
Rational choice theory	Concerned with conditions for collective action in mainstream political world
Institutionalism	Focus on the rules, norms and values that govern political exchanges; tends to look at institutional arrangements in mainstream political world
Constructivism	Politics is driven by the meanings that actors attach to their actions and their context. Politics can be broad in scope reflecting people's diverse world views about what it involves
Psychology	Views politics through the lens of the personality and cognition of the individuals who engage in its practice, primarily within the mainstream world
Feminism	A broad process definition that recognizes that the personal can be political
Marxism	Politics is a struggle between social groups, in particular social classes

The historical development of the discipline

Greek political science



Roman centuries



Middle ages



Renaissance & Enlightenment



XIX century



Solid growth in the XX century



“The School of Athens,” a fresco by the Renaissance painter Raphael (1509-1510), in the Vatican City’s Apostolic Palace.

At the center are shown Plato and Aristotle, representing the enduring bond between Athenian democracy and philosophy

(Source: Greece-is.com)

References:

Goodin, Robert E., ed. *The Oxford handbook of political science*. OUP Oxford, 2009.

Grigsby, E. (2009). *Analyzing politics an introduction to political science*.

Almond, G. A. (1996). Political Science: The History of the. *A new handbook of political science*, (75-82).

Marsh, D., & Stoker, G. (Eds.). (1995). *Theory and methods in political science* (p. 115). London: Macmillan.

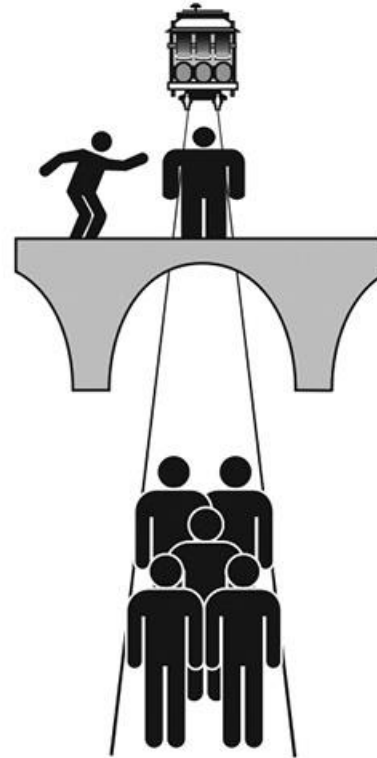
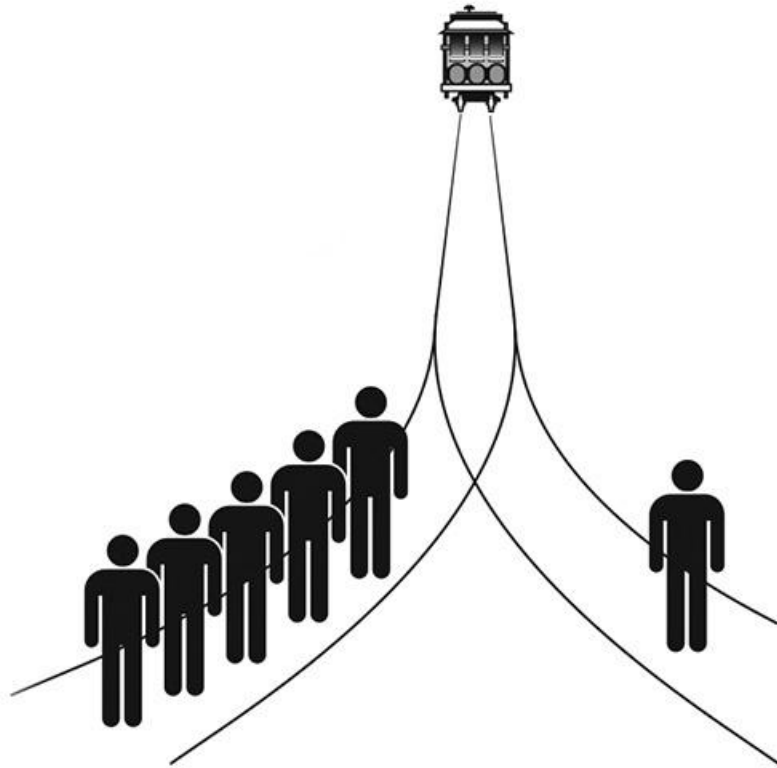
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Moral foundations of Politics

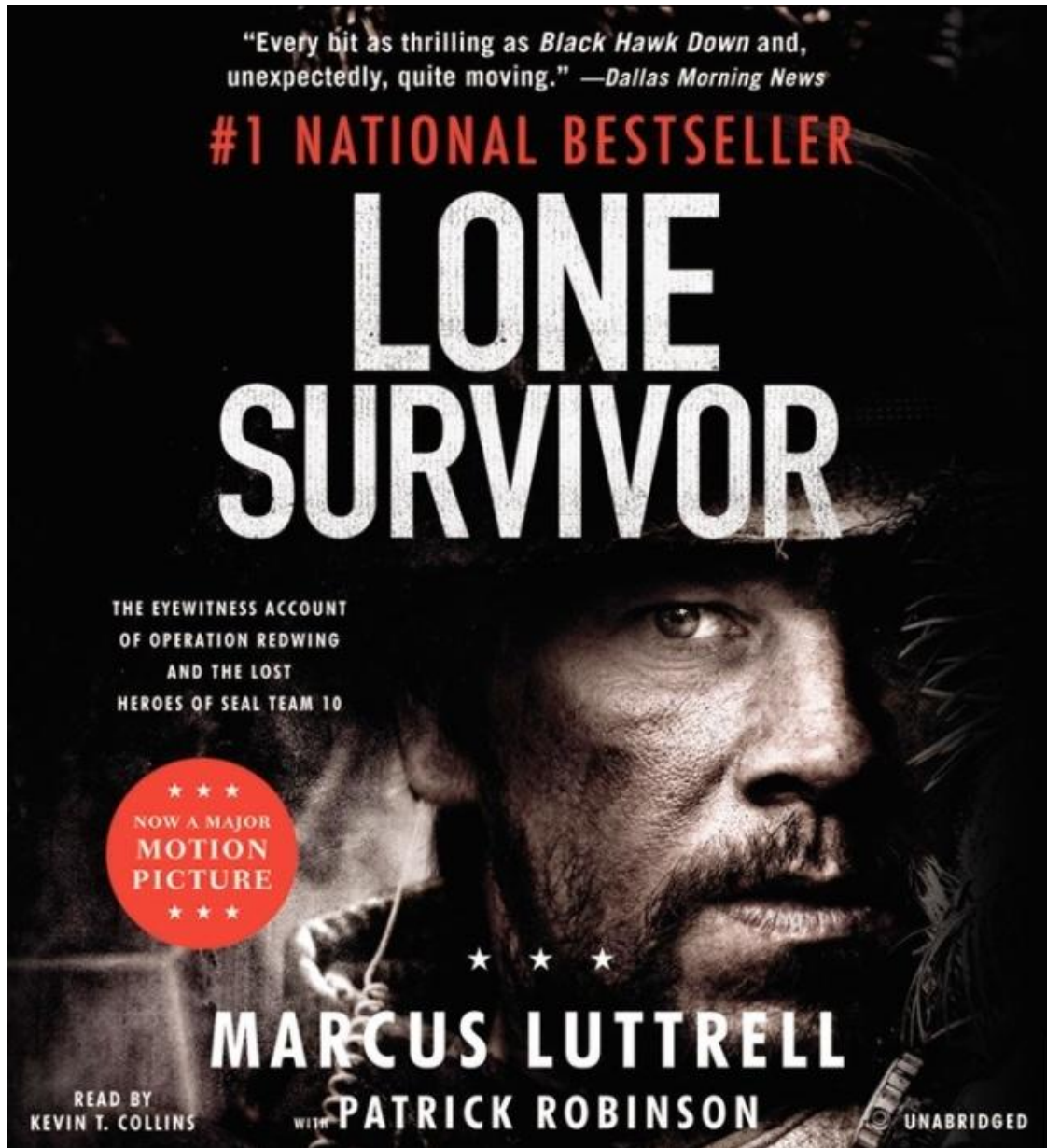
Diana Toimbek. Associate Professor, PhD



French socialist politician) and the first socialist (and the first Jewish) premier of France.



To see how moral reasoning can proceed, let's turn to two situations — one a fanciful hypothetical story much discussed by philosophers, the other an actual story about an excruciating moral dilemma.

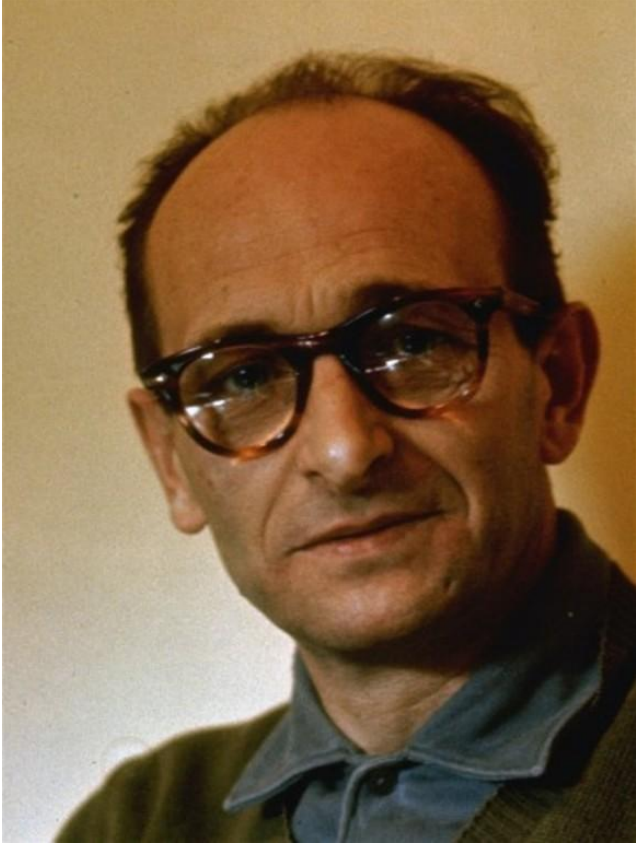


Consider now an actual moral dilemma

June, 2005.

- ❖ Special forces team made up of Petty Officer Marcus Luttrell and three other U.S. Navy SEALs set out on a secret reconnaissance mission in Afghanistan, near the Pakistan border, in search of a Taliban leader, a close associate of Osama bin Laden.
- ❖ Two Afghan farmers with about a hundred bleating goats happened upon them. With them was a boy about fourteen years old.
- ❖ Marcus Luttrell cast the deciding vote to release them.
- ❖ What would you do?

About an hour and a half after they released the goatherds, they found themselves surrounded by eighty to a hundred Taliban fighters armed with AK-47s and rocket-propelled grenades.



Adolf Eichmann

- ❖ An implementer not a designer of the “final solution”
- ❖ Not obviously a monster; a man next door; wanted to get A
- ❖ The banality of evil
- ❖ Israel had not even existed in the 1940s
- ❖ Israel made up the rules as they went

He wanted to be a good manager, without reference to what he was managing.

Are you always able to separate means from ends?

Are you justified “to be a good manager without reference to what you are managing”?

What about GULAGs in Kazakhstan?

Moral foundations of politics



What is the right thing to do?

What is the difference between legal and legitimate?

- Rwandan genocide in 1994
- Kosovo bombing in 1999
- Paradox of discomfort (illegal but legitimate)

Legitimacy boils down to a moral foundation

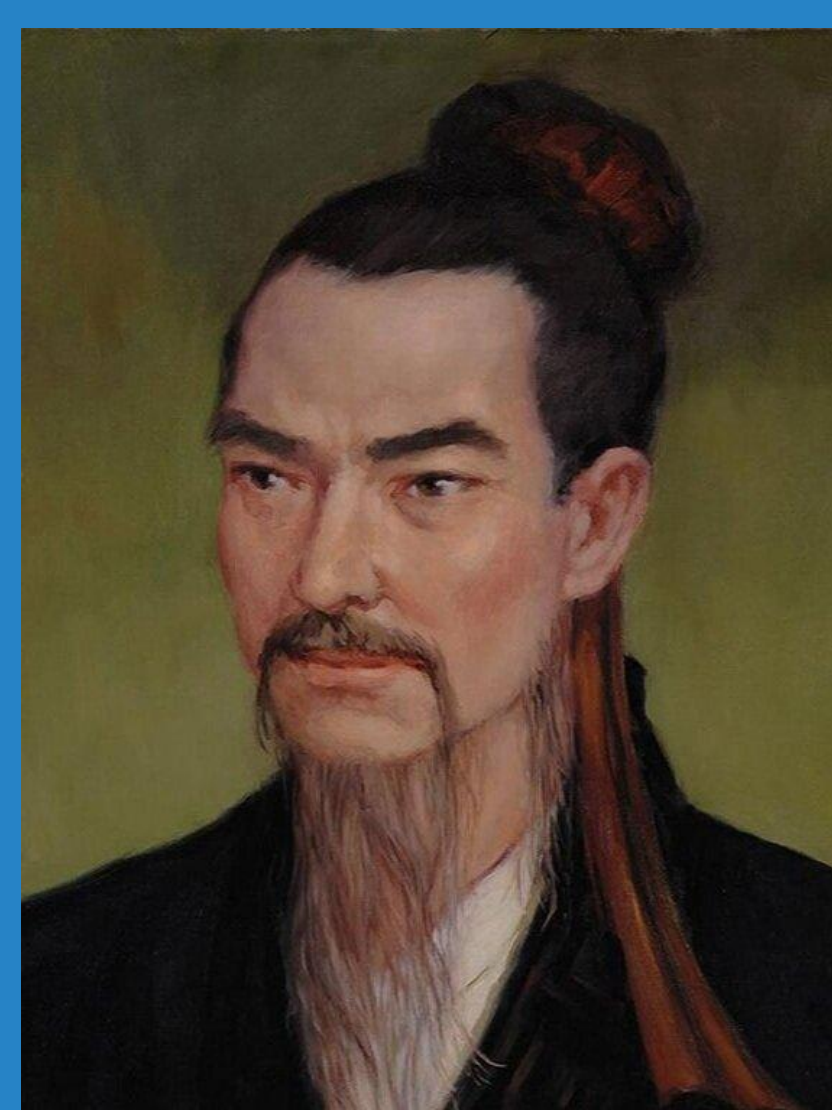
ENLIGHTENMENT	
Utilitarianism	Maximizing the greatest happiness of the greatest number
Marxism	Communist utopia - limiting or eliminating, in the best possible case, exploitation
Social contract	Constrain governments by the consent of the government
ANTI-ENLIGHTENMENT	Affirm the traditions that you've inherited and use them as a guide to what counts as legitimate action
DEMOCRACY	The principle of affected interest. Governments are legitimate to the extent that they govern in accordance with the interest of those over whom the power is exercised. The idea that those people who have interest at stake should play a role in decision making.

Utilitarianism

- ❖ Theory of morality, which advocates actions that foster happiness or pleasure and opposes actions that cause unhappiness or harm (ethical theory that determines right from wrong by focusing on outcomes).
- ❖ Utilitarianism would say that an action is right if it results in the happiness of the greatest number of people in a society or a group.

The Three Generally Accepted Axioms of Utilitarianism State:

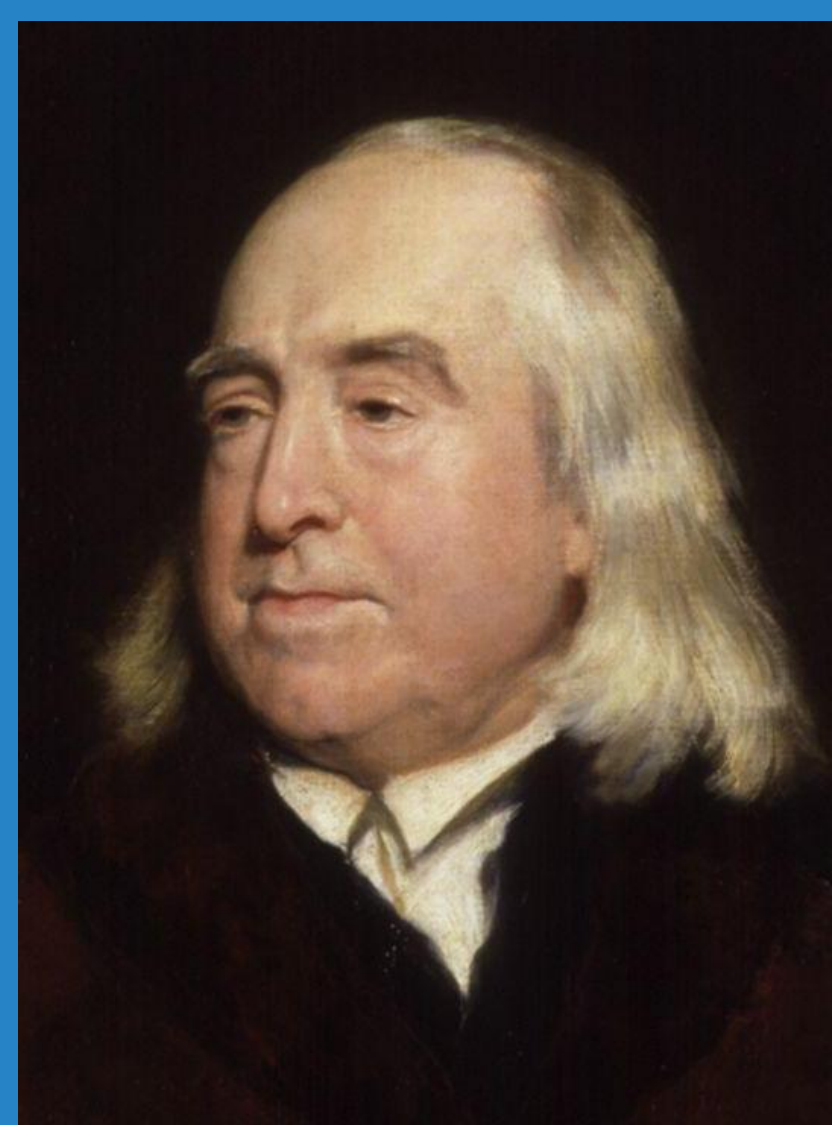
- Pleasure, or happiness, is the only thing that has intrinsic value.
- Actions are right if they promote happiness, and wrong if they promote unhappiness.
- Everyone's happiness counts equally.



Mò Dí (墨翟) c. 430 BCE.

Known as Mòzǐ or “Master Mò,” lived in Tengzhou, Shandong Province, China.

Like Confucius, Mò Dí traveled from state to state to persuade rulers to adopt policies intended to end war, alleviate poverty, install meritocracy, and promote the welfare of all. The Mohists advocated China’s first universalist, impartial ethic, and had a significant influence on the epistemology, language, logic, and political theory of early China.



Jeremy Bentham (1748 - 1832)

Source: www.utilitarianism.net

He is often regarded as the founder of classical utilitarianism.

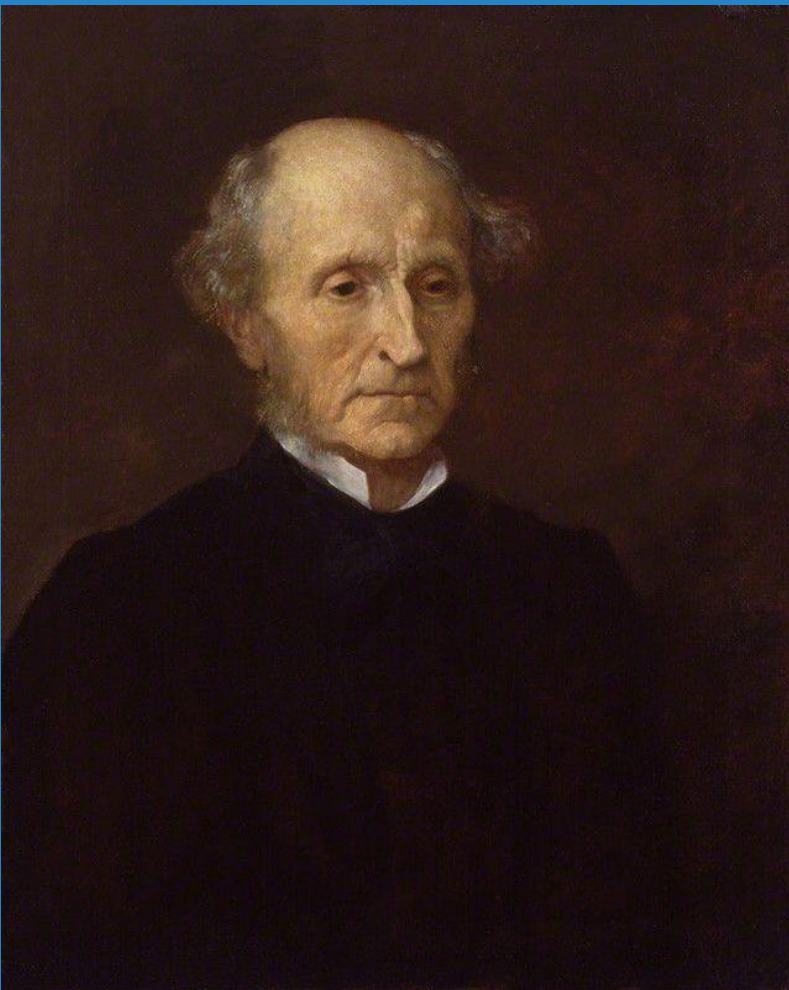
“The principle of utility” – any action is right insofar as it increases happiness, and wrong insofar as it increases pain. In a word, for Bentham, happiness simply meant pleasure and the absence of pain and could be quantified according to its intensity and duration.

Many of Bentham’s views were considered radical in Georgian and Victorian Britain:

His manuscripts on homosexuality were so liberal that his editor hid them from the public after his death. He was also an early advocate of animal welfare, decriminalization of homosexuality, women’s rights (including the right to divorce), the abolition of slavery, the abolition of capital punishment, the abolition of corporal punishment, prison reform and economic liberalization.

Bentham also applied the principle of utility to the reform of political institutions.

He also advocated for greater freedom of speech, transparency and publicity of officials as accountability mechanisms. A committed atheist, he argued in favor of the separation of church and state.



John Stuart Mill (1806 – 1873)

Mill was a committed advocate of social and political reform.

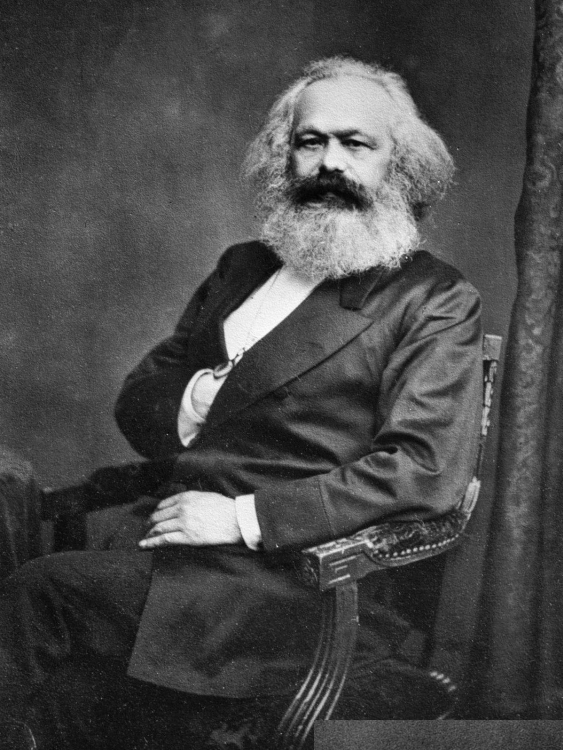
He was the second MP to call for women's suffrage and supported gender equality. He objected to women being denied the vote not only because he believed that it prevents them from advancing their own interests, but also because it impedes the cultural and intellectual development he thought happiness consists in. He rejected all supposed "natural" differences between men and women because any observed differences are products of the unequal environment in which women are raised.

Mill also preferred more equal distributions of wealth and supported various social welfare initiatives such as labor unions and cooperatives.

What do you think is the major drawback of the Utilitarian political theory?

When I say the word **Marxism**, what comes to mind?

- ❖ Marxism as an ideology that by far is the single most powerful historical alternative to the liberal tradition.
- ❖ Communist revolution of the 20th century had very little to do with Marx's actual ideas.
- ❖ Marx's Das Kapital is the only work that has ever rivaled the Bible for sales.



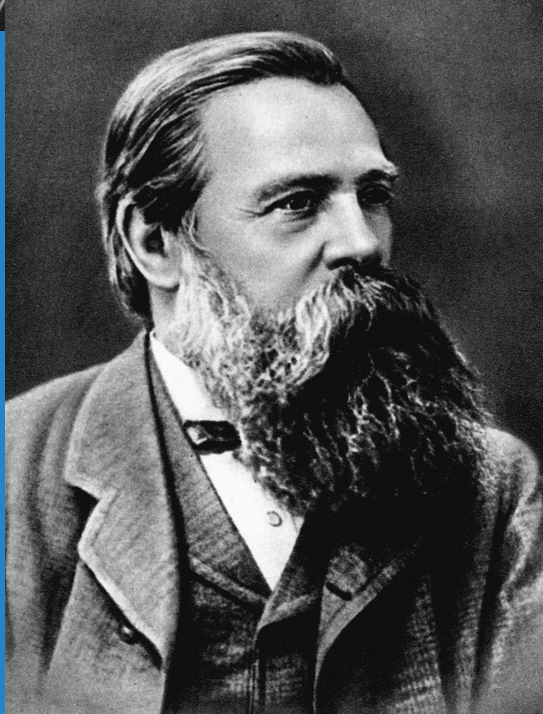
Karl Marx
(1818 –1883)

For Marx capitalism will eventually collapse and will be replaced by socialism, which is a transitory state to communism.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, his definition of communism is - a world in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. In other words, if the condition for your freedom is my lack of freedom then we don't have a free society.

The central, organizing concept of Marxism is actually the notion of exploitation. If your freedom is parasitic or dependent upon exploiting me, we don't have a free society. So, this idea of communism is a world from which exploitation will have been banished, and therefore, we will all be free.

The concept of exploitation of working class, which is at the core of the Marxist tradition is what differentiates the Marxist tradition from others. It is the notion that for all of human history people have one way or another been exploited.

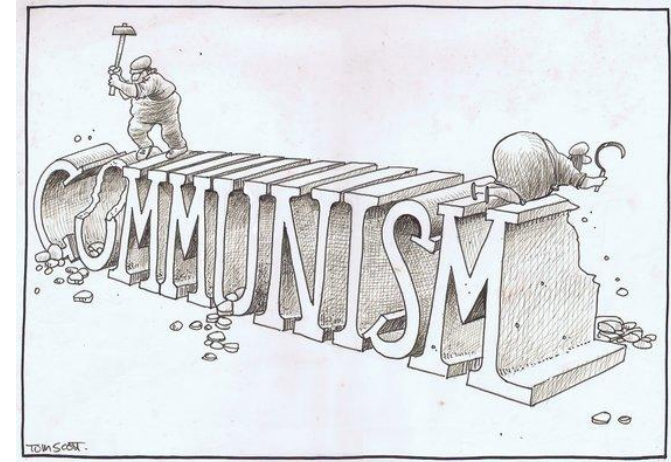


**Friedrich
Engels**
(1820 – 1895)

Overall failures of Marxism

- ❖ Marx thought that communist revolutions would come in the advanced capitalist countries. When in fact the revolutions bearing his name came about in peasant societies. And the advanced capitalist societies didn't fall apart either in the 19th century or the 20th century, or indeed the 21st, at least so far. Formally communist countries like China and the Soviet Union have now become capitalist countries in a way that would surely have shocked Marx.
- ❖ A socialist society was one in which people would be rewarded on the basis of their work according to their ability. Whereas communism was going to be a world in which a need was going to be the basis for redistribution or distribution, that everyone would work according to their ability, but **everybody's needs would be met**.

What if my needs and wants are different from yours? What if I need my own spaceship to be happy but my neighbor just a loaf of bread?



Social contract

- ❖ Social contract theory says that people live together in society in accordance with an agreement that establishes moral and political rules of behavior.
- ❖ Contract implies the idea of agreement or consent as the forming the basis for government.
- ❖ At some point, social contract theory implies that people give up individual freedom to do whatever they want in exchange for peace and protection.



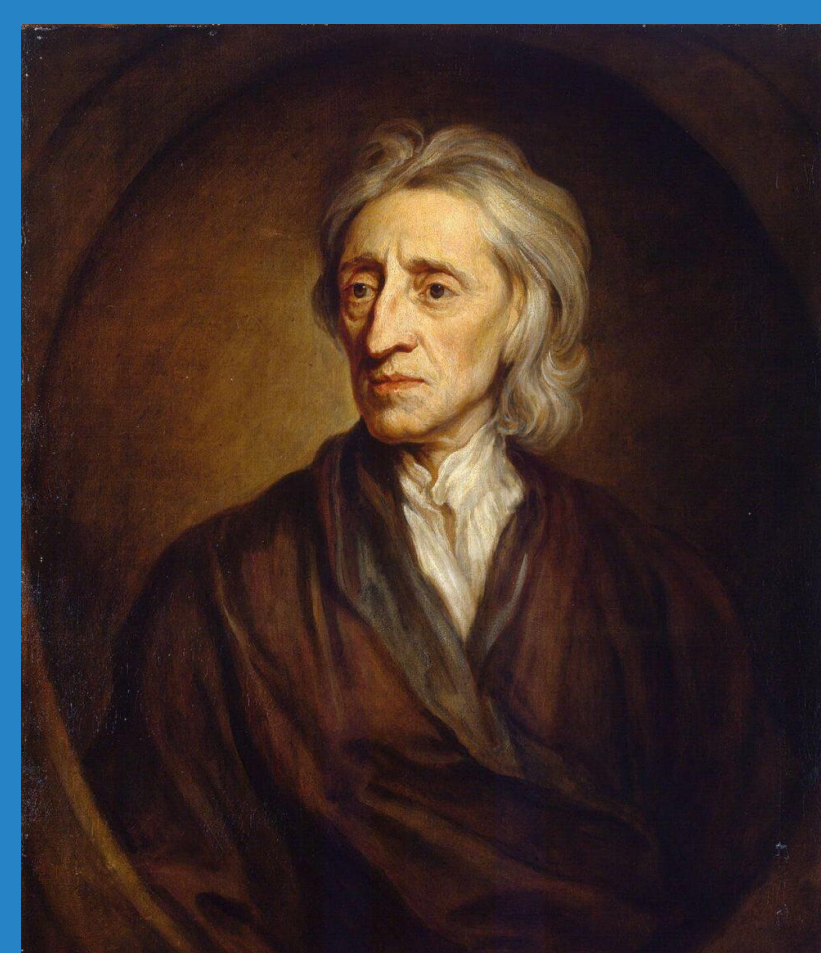
Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)

In his book *Leviathan* (1651) the core argument was that it's not what people in fact agree to, but any person who thinks clearly, who reflects on what it's like to live without government must agree with.

That submitting to an absolute sovereign is better than living in the state of nature. Thus, it's an agreement among people to give up their authority, their power, their freedom to enforce, their wishes, the law of nature, whatever it is that they think they should be doing, to a third party, to their state, and the state will have absolute power. In a word, people should reduce their wills to one will.

But there are limits to what the government can do:

- People shouldn't be obliged to die for a sovereign.
- If a state can no longer protect you, then the obligation to obey the government disappears.



John Locke (1632 - 1704)

Locke's most important and influential political writings are contained in his *Two Treatises on Government*.

He says that once we have an actual agreement, and any express declaration, given the consent to be of any commonwealth, we're perpetually and indispensably obliged to be and remain unalterably subject to it, and can never again be of liberty in the former state of nature. But if we've only tacitly consented, which is what most people do, you're just born into a country or you move into a country, then you're at liberty to go and incorporate yourself into any other commonwealth. So, tacit consent doesn't mean you're obliged to the state.



Immanuel Kant (1724 –1804)

Kant's idea is that we should never use people exclusively.

People use one another all the time. He understood that, but according to him, never treat people exclusively as means to your own ends. Always remember that they are ends in themselves. Another way of putting it is the notion of universalizability. He argues that the human understanding is the source of the general laws of nature that structure all our experience. Therefore, scientific knowledge, morality, and religious belief are mutually consistent and secure because they all rest on the same foundation of human autonomy



Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

His *Social Contract* begins with the most oft-quoted line from Rousseau: *“Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains”*, meaning that humans are essentially free, and were free in the State of Nature, but the ‘progress’ of civilization has substituted subservience to others for that freedom, through dependence, economic and social inequalities, and the extent to which we judge ourselves through comparisons with others.

Rousseau has two distinct social contract theories. The first is an account of the moral and political evolution of human beings over time, from a State of Nature to modern society. The second is his normative, or idealized theory of the social contract, and is meant to provide the means by which to alleviate the problems that modern society has created for us.

So, this is the fundamental philosophical problem that *The Social Contract* seeks to address: How can we be free and live together? We can do so, Rousseau maintains, by submitting our individual, particular wills to the collective or general will, created through agreement with other free and equal persons.

Anti-Enlightenment Politics

The initial wave of hostility toward the Enlightenment peaked in the wake of the French Revolution and the Terror, with figures such as Edmund Burke, Joseph de Maistre, and J. G. Herder leading the charge in blaming the philosophes for their supposed radicalism, atheism, and absolutism.

The rise and growth of contemporary opposition to the Enlightenment began when several scholars writing in the mid-twentieth century accused it of being the main cause of the most momentous problem the world was then facing: the emergence of totalitarianism.

The Enlightenment was also roundly criticized around this time by a number of conservative thinkers who blamed it for undermining tradition and religion without putting anything in their place other than a misguided confidence in reason.

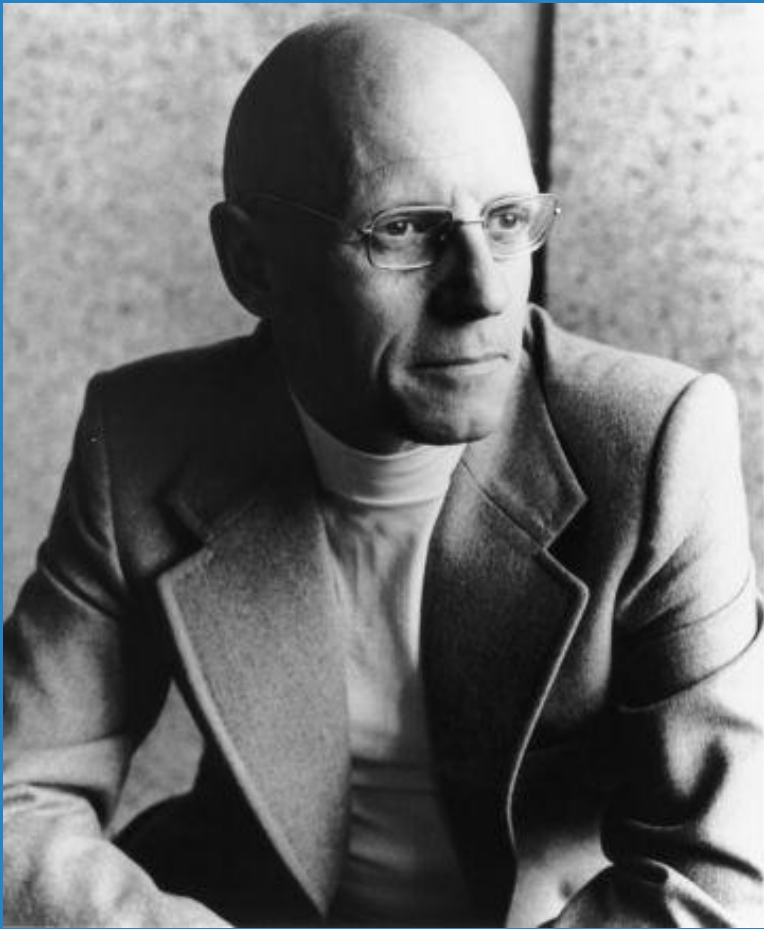
Something that's focusing on tradition, inherited rights and practices, ways of doing things that have stood the test of time and attributing importers to them for that very fact. One way to sum this up is to say that this is very much in the spirit of hostility to the enlightenment.



Edmund Burke 1729 –1797)

After the French Revolution in 1789, Burke became deeply hostile to science and to the idea that the individual is the center of the universe. Burke points out that people should think not about what we are entitled to in some inherited sense but what is expected of us to do.

Burke emphasised the dangers of mob rule, fearing that the Revolution's fervour was destroying French society by causing a devaluation of tradition and inherited values, and a thoughtless destruction of the material and spiritual resources of society. He appealed to the British virtues of continuity, tradition, rank and property and opposed the Revolution to the end of his life.



Paul-Michel Foucault (1926 –1984)

Foucault attempted to expose the dark side of the supposedly “humanitarian” and “progressive” Enlightenment, and to show that every apparent victory of Enlightenment ideals of “freedom” and “reason” in fact resulted in new and even more insidious forms of domination and control.

In his view, the Enlightenment culminated not in the Nazi death camps or Soviet gulags, but rather in the Panopticon, the model prison designed by Jeremy Bentham in which automatic and continuous surveillance exercises discipline even more surely than did the dark dungeons and corporal punishment of previous ages.



It is generally agreed that liberal democracies are based on four main principles:

- 1. The individual's right to free speech
- 2. The individual's right to political participation
- 3. The individual's right to representation
- 4. The individual's right to political expression

Democracy made famous its critics

Ancient Athenian democracy differs from the democracy that we are familiar with in the present day. All citizens (with the pertinent qualification of their being free men) were permitted the opportunity of equal political participation: Important decisions were made by the assembly, where each citizen had the right to speak and the majority of offices were assigned by lot.

Professional prosecutors and judges did not exist in Ancient Athens. Instead, it was left to the ordinary citizen to bring indictments, act as jurors, and deliberate on the outcome of trials.

In 399BC Socrates was put on trial by a small group of fellow citizens acting as democratic citizen-prosecutors. Thus, he stated that the democracy is the rule by the ignorant.

Plato believed that expertise is the critical attribute of a leader; He criticizes democracy of seldom producing such characters. Rather, it elects popular spinsters who are effective in manipulating popular opinion.

Plato, therefore, believed that philosophers (from Greek “love of wisdom”) should rule, where a person is someone that is in love with knowledge and the search for true reality.



Plato 428/427 or 424/423 – 348/347 BC)

Is today's democracy flawless?

The Weakness of Democracy's Strength

- ❖ Majority rule - Tyranny of the majority.
- ❖ Democracy is ineffective unless voters educate themselves on governing decisions.
- ❖ Democracy requires more time to implement changes.
- ❖ Corruption - a democratic leader while in a position may have a tendency to make fortune by use of power & encourage unfair trade practices to get support for election campaigns.
- ❖ Emotional manipulation of people's minds, media misuse, brainwashing, propaganda

Eastern philosophers

According to the teachings of Muslim philosophers of the Middle Ages, excellence in any field can be achieved only if each individual will combine a number of **essential virtues**, without which he is unable to properly perform the functions assigned to it by society. In the formation of a person of moral and intellectual skills that lead to true happiness, the important role played by education in the humanities, in particular philosophy.

One of the principles of Eastern philosophy is an appeal to authority of the spiritual master, and, thereby, to one's spiritual roots, spiritual values and spiritual traditions.

The most important and the substantial of these qualities is love, which leads a man and humanity to the completeness and, therefore, to perfection. Perfection of man, Sufis, should have a good master in any creative profession. However, the work can not be reduced to a simple physical labor, it also means working on ourselves, painstaking spiritual work, by which one attains perfection.

It is known that Al-Farabi in his last years of life lived in Sufi way. True Sufi in his actions and deeds will always remember the love of the divine light in the heart. Scholars and poets Sufis have the broadest range of knowledge about the universe, almost all were excellent musicians, astronomers. Among the famous Sufi – Omar Khayyam, Al- Khwarizmi, Rubaie, Jalal ad-Din Rumi, Hafiz, Jami, Nizami, Ibn Arabi and others.

Al-Farabi's Virtuous City and its Contemporary Significance



Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al Fārābī
(870 CE - 950 CE)

His political philosophy identified the features, which can help in creating the project of a welfare state. The thinker created a state model, 'A Virtuous City', where high morality of people and a religious head of that city play key roles.

Virtues of Al-Farabi shares on ethical and intellectual. For ethical virtues he reckons temperance, courage, generosity and justice, to the intellectual – wisdom, intelligence and wit.

So the most important points of ethics Al-Farabi: true happiness is the possession of all these virtues. Moreover, virtuous people he calls free in nature.

Al-Farabi believed that earthly life should reflect the wonderful harmony of the cosmos, as the laws of social development related to the eternal laws of existence.

Imam - the head of the virtuous city, according to Al-Farabi, should have specific congenital and acquired qualities. Understanding of man as a spiritual and bodily unity Al-Farabi set out from this point of view, the theory of the perfect man. This harmonious development of personality, combining physical and mental qualities: healthy body, a clear mind, imagination, a good memory, wit, expressive speech, curiosity, intelligence in sensual pleasures, love of truth, nobility of soul, contempt for wealth and others. Especially, Al-Farabi considered necessary the presence of the quality of justice in the perfect man, who must «love ... justice and its advocates, hate injustice and tyranny of those from whom they come; to be fair to her and to others, to encourage justice and indemnify the victims of injustice ... to be fair, but not stubborn, do not be capricious and not to persist in the face of justice, but to be quite adamant to every injustice and meanness...». Man combines all these qualities, worthy to be a ruler. Moreover, such a person is required to society as head of the city.

**Discussion of
democratic in
form, but
autocratic in
function systems**

Main reference:


Shapiro, I. (n.d.). *Moral Foundations of Politics*. Coursera. <https://www.coursera.org/learn/moral-politics>

Political ideologies and systems in societies

Diana Toimbek. Associate Professor, PhD

Ekaterina Shulman

POLITICS DOES NOT HAVE *POINT OF NO RETURN*. IT IS ALWAYS A PROCESS AND THERE IS ALWAYS A CHANCE TO TURN INTO DEMOCRATIZATION

A portrait of Ekaterina Shulman, a woman with light brown hair pulled back, wearing a dark blue top with a lace-like pattern around the neckline. She is looking slightly to the left of the camera with a neutral expression. The background is dark and out of focus.

RUSSIAN POLITICAL
SCIENTIST

Political ideologies

Political systems



Science of ideas



All of us have an ideology. Because we all believe in certain things and value somethings – family, friends, property, the law, freedom or authority.

We all have prejudices, even those who claim to be free of them. We look at the world in one way or another and have “ideas” about it – and we try to make sense out of what is going on in it.

“Like-minded” people with the same ideas about the world, society, and its values, who like the same things and have similar prejudices band together. They gather in clubs, mosques, movements...

Thus, we are sensitive to appeals made to us – honor, patriotism, family, religion, pocketbook, race, ethnicity, gender, or race.

We are creators and creatures of ideas, of ideologies, and through them we manipulate others or are ourselves manipulated. So, ideologies are very much a part of our lives.

Some nations “discover they are ready to die to the idea to choose their own destiny. For cynical dictator that must be incomprehensible. To the rest of humanity it is a inspiration”

As the historian Isaiah Berlin observed in his 1992 book *The Crooked Timber of Humanity*, “the great ideological storms” of the twentieth century “have altered the lives of virtually all mankind,” producing not only revolutions but “totalitarian tyrannies of both right and left and . . . explosions of nationalism, racism, and, in places, of religious bigotry. . . . These great movements began with ideas in people’s heads: ideas about what relations between men have been, are, might be, and should be; and . . . [these ideas were] transformed in the name of a vision of some supreme goal in the minds of the leaders, above all of the prophets with armies at their backs” (p. 1) (as cited in *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*).

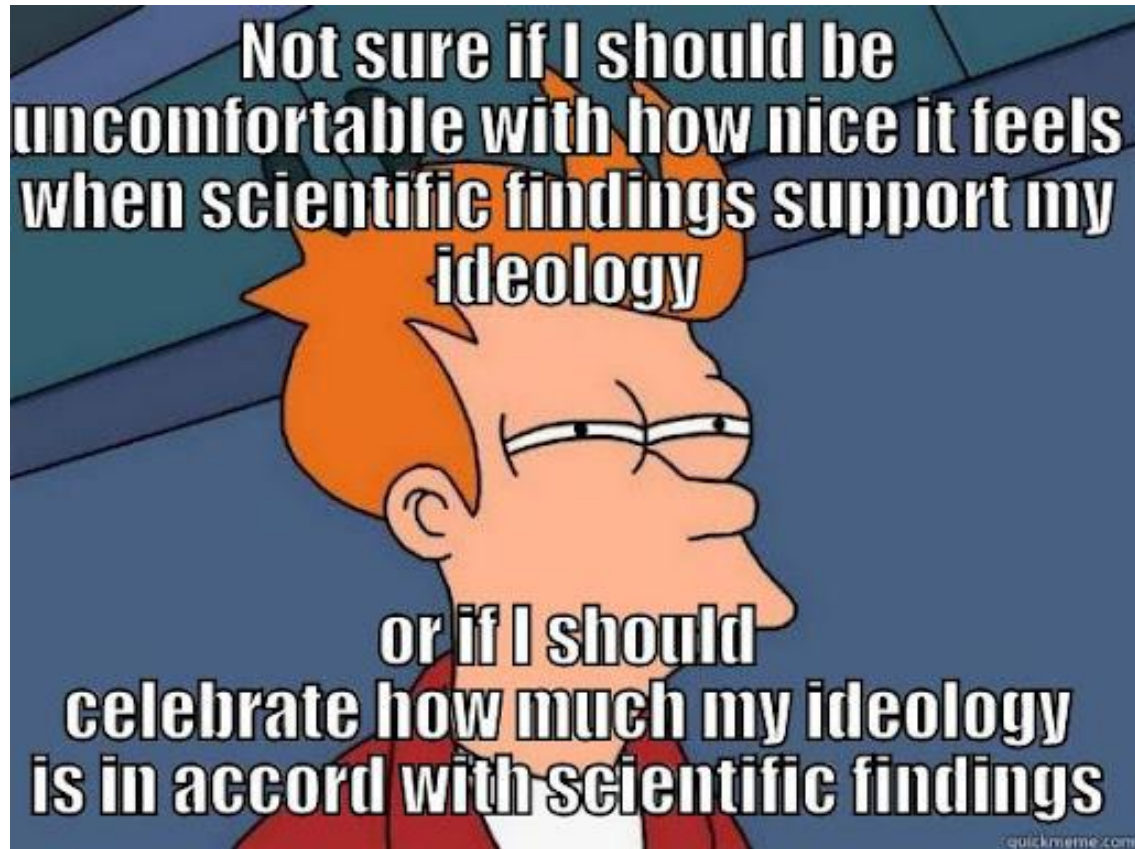
History of ideology

- ❖ The word first made its appearance in French as *idéologie* at the time of the French Revolution, when it was introduced by a philosopher, A.-L.-C. Destutt de Tracy.
- ❖ de Tracy drew on the ideas of John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690, where he had argued that the mind is like a *tabula rasa*, or blank slate, in that people are born with no knowledge or ideas; everything we know and every idea we have is thus the result of sense experience. de Tracy took this claim about the nature of knowledge as the starting point for his own science of ideas, or *idéologie*.
- ❖ If ideas are the result of experience, he reasoned, it must be possible to discover their sources and explain how people come to have the ideas that they have—including the false and misleading ideas that stand in the way of freedom and progress. Among these were religious ideas, which he regarded as mere superstitions.
- ❖ Catholic Church, the nobility, and powerful political elites viewed *idéologie* and the “ideologues,” as de Tracy's followers were called, with alarm. With its emphasis on rationality and science, *idéologie* posed a threat to traditional authority in politics and society as in religion.
- ❖ But it was Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) who quashed de Tracy's attempt to found a reforming science of ideas. Once a supporter of the ideologues, Napoleon changed positions in the early 1800s when, as self-proclaimed emperor of France, he needed the support of the church and the nobility.
- ❖ Karl Marx (1818–1883) used the concept some forty years later, referring to a set or system of ideas that served to justify and legitimize the rule of a dominant social class.
- ❖ What people think—not just the ruling class but everyone — may depend on their social positions. In his *Ideology and Utopia* (1929), Mannheim called for a “sociology of knowledge” to trace the social origins of ideas and beliefs.
- ❖ To many, ideology remains a pejorative term. In their view, ideologies are bad because they always simplify and distort matters. Worse yet, ideologues use emotion-rousing slogans and simplistic analyses to persuade people that their ideology has a monopoly on the truth.
- ❖ In contrast to this negative view, many people now use ideology in a neutral fashion. In such cases, ideology means a more or less consistent set of ideas, beliefs, and convictions about how the social world does and should operate.

Ideology: The Building Blocks

The Individual	Political ideologies are addressed to each one of us; they all begin with one pre-conception or another about us – about human nature.
The Nature of Truth	Human beings are deprived of the freedom to seek truth, to experiment with new ideas, to confront each other with different points of view, and to live in a system that tolerates different ways
The Individual and Society	The individuals are perceived as part of a group whose protection and survival require cooperation.
Political Authority	Belief in one overriding truth almost always leads to an authoritarian position (elitist). It assumes that a small group 'knows' and is capable of governing on the basis of certain qualities
Equality and Property	Many political ideologies can be distinguished in terms of the answers they try to provide: Who produces and who decides what is produced? Who gets what and how much?

Major political ideologies



The Encyclopedia of Political Science lists around 60 ideologies.

However, we are going to discuss the most famous ones:

- Liberalism
- Socialism
- Conservatism



I know it's
longread
but hang in
there ;)

Liberalism

- Liberalism is often treated as if it is a 'complex of doctrines' that cannot be simplified (Geuss, 2002). So we are told that it involves an enthusiasm for freedom, toleration, individualism and reason, on the one hand, and a disapproval of power, authority and tradition, on the other (Dunn, 1993).
- Or that it involves 'the idea of limited government, the maintenance of the rule of law, the avoidance of arbitrary or discretionary power, the sanctity of private property and freely made contracts, and the responsibility of individuals for their own fates', complicated by 'state involvement in the economy, democracy, welfare policies, and moral and cultural progress' (Ryan, 1995). All these authors agree that liberalism is not simple.
- Some older definitions of liberalism sound like definitions of anarchism. L. T. Hobhouse (1911, p. 123) yet although listed many 'elements' of liberalism, expressed reluctance to give any of them priority. He nonetheless located the 'heart' of liberalism in the belief 'that society can safely be founded on a self-directive power of personality'.
- Perhaps the best way to express this is to say that the liberal always divides the world into three: into what is intrinsically necessary (the self), what is necessary to support that intrinsic necessity (a system of standards, rules, laws), and what is contingent (everything else, including all other beliefs, practices and institutions).
- Liberalism is the fundamental form of modern ideology because of the apparent simplicity of its criterion. The direct appeal to the self, especially the reason of that self (whether understood as rationality or reasonableness), is what made enlightenment possible. It also explains why the liberal is usually far clearer in argument than the socialist or the conservative.



another
one - _ -

Socialism

Socialism



From each according to his ability, to each according to his contribution.

Communism



From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

- In a purely socialist system, all legal production and distribution decisions are made by the government, and individuals rely on the state for everything from food to healthcare. The government determines the output and pricing levels of these goods and services.
- Socialists contend that shared ownership of resources and central planning provide a more equal distribution of goods and services and a more equitable society. Socialism recognises that we are not mere selves, but selves in a situation, in a society – and that it is to these selves that a debt is owed. The self is no longer a merely selfish self, but a self constituted by its existence in society.
- Socialist ideals include production for use, rather than for profit; an equitable distribution of wealth and material resources among all people; no more competitive buying and selling in the market; and free access to goods and services.
- Socialism remains as significant as ever as a fundamental ideological possibility (Dunn, 1984). Yet the more abstract or argumentative socialism becomes the more it tends to liberalism, and the more actual or historical it becomes the more it tends to conservatism
- Capitalism, with its belief in private ownership and the goal to maximize profits, stands in contrast to socialism.
- While socialism and capitalism seem diametrically opposed, most capitalist economies today have some socialist aspects.
- Examples of socialist countries include the Soviet Union, Cuba, China, and Venezuela.



it's the
last!
hopefully...

Conservatism

As Edmund Burke (1999, p. 193) put it, we have to see ourselves as involved in ‘a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those are dead, and those who are to be born’.

Conservatives argue that there is no obligation to change the world because human imperfection, on the one hand, and unforeseen consequences, on the other, make it impossible to know that any change will be for the better (Stove, 2003). If we do change anything, it should be in terms of the considered judgements of the past, for the reason that we cannot depend on our own experience.

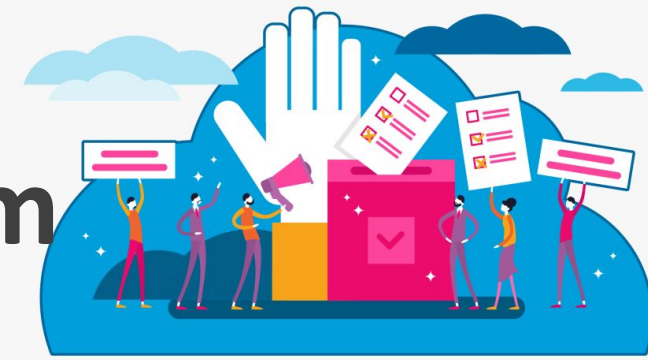
As many have observed, resistance to change is the abstract concept or negative moment of conservatism. Because ‘the highest virtue in politics is to resist change until change becomes inevitable, and then to concede to it with as little fuss and as much obeisance to tradition as possible’ (Utley, 1989, p. 87).

In general characteristic, conservatives reject the optimistic view that human beings can be morally improved through political and social change. Skeptical conservatives merely observe that human history, under almost all imaginable political and social circumstances, has been filled with a great deal of evil. Far from believing that human nature is essentially good or that human beings are fundamentally rational, conservatives tend to assume that human beings are driven by their passions and desires—and are therefore naturally prone to selfishness, anarchy, irrationality, and violence. Accordingly, conservatives look to traditional political and cultural institutions to curb humans’ base and destructive instincts.

- ❖ Political system is a **form of governance** (the set of formal legal institutions that constitute a “government” or a “state.”).
- ❖ Political regime is **an actual government** run by groups of politicians and their supporters (principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures that regulate the operation of a government and its interactions with society).
- ❖ The type of government under which people live has fundamental implications for their freedom, their welfare, and even their lives. Accordingly, political system is:
 - “...The members of a group with the authority and power to influence and implement public policy in relationship to institutions and norms.” (Sociology dictionary)
 - “...refers broadly to the process by which laws are made and public resources allocated in a society, and to the relationships among those involved in making these decisions.” (Encyclopedia.com)

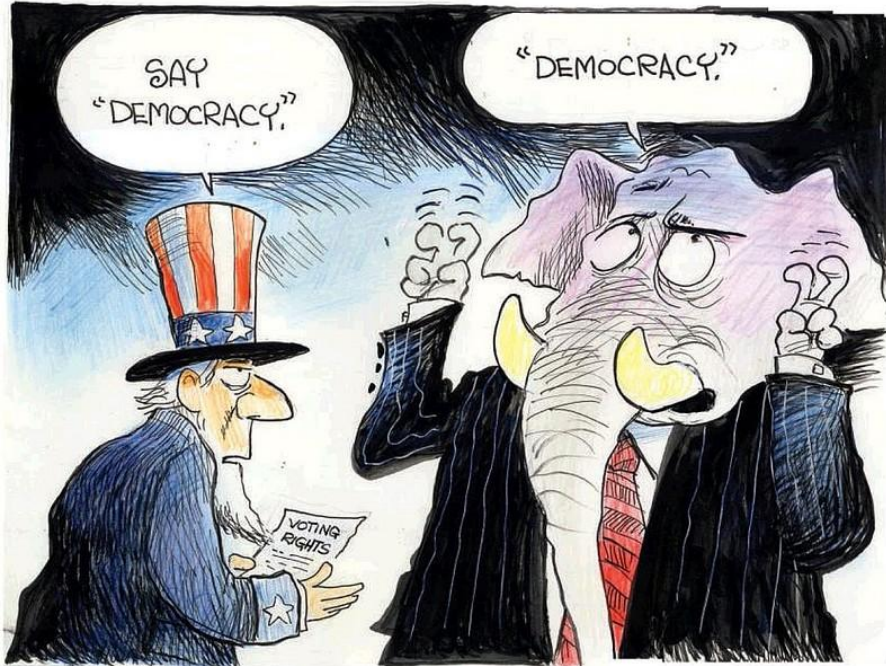


Democratic political system



- ❖ Democracy is a form of government in which all eligible citizens have an equal say in the decisions that affect their lives. Democracy allows people to participate equally—either directly or through elected representatives—in the proposal, development, and creation of laws. It encompasses social, economic, and cultural conditions that enable the free and equal practice of political self-determination.
- ❖ Direct democracy is a form of democracy in which people vote on policy initiatives directly. The earliest known direct democracy is said to be the Athenian Democracy in the 5th century BCE, although it was not an inclusive democracy; women, foreigners, and slaves were excluded from it. The ancient Roman Republic’s “citizen lawmaking”—citizen formulation and passage of law, as well as citizen veto of legislature-made law—began about 449 BCE and lasted the approximately 400 years to the death of Julius Caesar in 44 BCE.
- ❖ Representative democracy is a variety of democracy founded on the principle of elected people representing a group of people. For example, three countries which use representative democracy are the United States of America (a representative democracy), the United Kingdom (a constitutional monarchy) and Poland (a republic). It is an element of both the parliamentary system and presidential system of government and is typically used in a lower chamber such as the House of Commons (UK) or Bundestag (Germany).

Non-Democratic political system: Authoritarianism



- ❖ An authoritarian government is characterized by highly concentrated and centralized power maintained by political repression and the exclusion of potential challengers. It uses political parties and mass organizations to mobilize people around the goals of the regime. Authoritarian regimes aren't always easy to recognize. They might still hold elections and have branches of government, but only a small group holds the power.
- ❖ Authoritarianism is marked by “indefinite political tenure” of an autocratic state or a ruling-party state. An autocracy is a system of government in which a supreme political power is concentrated in the hands of one person, whose decisions are subject to neither external legal restraints nor regularized mechanisms of popular control. Also, a single-party state is a type of party system government in which a single political party forms the government and no other parties are permitted to run candidates for election.

Non-Democratic political system: Totalitarianism

- ❖ Totalitarianism is an extreme version of authoritarianism. Authoritarianism primarily differs from totalitarianism in that social and economic institutions exist free from governmental control. By contrast, totalitarianism is a political system where the state holds total authority over the society and seeks to control all aspects of public and private life wherever necessary. The term 'an authoritarian regime' denotes a state in which the single power holder monopolizes political power. However, a totalitarian regime attempts to control virtually all aspects of the social life, including economy, education, art, science, private life, and morals of citizens.

"Tank man" stands alone to tanks heading from the Tiananmen Square on June 5, 1989 after the famous Tiananmen Square Massacre. Credit: Jeff Widener/Associated Press



Non-Democratic political system: Dictatorship

- ❖ A dictatorship is defined as an autocratic form of government in which the government is ruled by an individual: a dictator. In contemporary usage, dictatorship refers to an autocratic form of absolute rule by leadership unrestricted by law, constitutions, or other social and political factors within the state.
- ❖ Hence, a dictatorship (government without people's consent) is a contrast to democracy (government whose power comes from people) and totalitarianism (government controls every aspect of people's life) opposes pluralism (government allows multiple lifestyles and opinions).
- ❖ A totalitarian dictatorship is even more oppressive and attempts to control all aspects of its subjects' lives through fear and intimidation; including occupation, religious beliefs, and number of children permitted in each family. Citizens may be forced to publicly demonstrate their faith in the regime by participating in marches and demonstrations.

Non-Democratic political system: Monarchy

A monarchy is a form of government in which sovereignty is actually or nominally embodied in a single individual, the monarch.

This is a form of government in which a state or polity is ruled or controlled by an individual who typically inherits the throne by birth and rules for life or until abdication.

Monarchs may be **autocrats** (absolute monarchy) or **ceremonial heads of state** who exercise little or no power or only reserve power, with actual authority vested in a parliament or other body such as a constitutional assembly.



[Hermitage Museum](#)

Non-Democratic political system: Oligarchy

- ❖ **Oligarchy is a form of power structure in which power effectively rests with a small number of people. These people could be distinguished by royalty, wealth, family ties, education, corporate, or military control. Such states are often controlled by a few prominent families who pass their influence from one generation to the next.**
- ❖ Oligarchies often have authoritative rulers and an absence of democratic practices or individual rights.
- ❖ E.g., The government that ruled South Africa from 1948 to 1991 was a **racially constructed oligarchy**. The minority white population exercised dominance and imposed segregation over the nation's majority Black population, controlling policy, public administration, and law enforcement.
- ❖ Oligarchs who achieved their wealth after the **fall of the Soviet Union by monopolizing economic activities and political power**, also considered an oligarchy.
- ❖ Since the political control and government is in the hands of **a few elite individuals of the Communist Party of China**, China is considered an oligarchy. The Communist Party of China has hold of the government, with five main members controlling most government facets.
- ❖ Unique among oligarchies, the government of **Saudi Arabia** is run by the royal family left from the Saudi Kingdom. The makeup of the government includes the descendants of the royal family. These descendants use their power and wealth to maintain control over the oil industry.
- ❖ While not all economists agree, a recent Princeton and Northwestern University study showed that the **United States** was also an oligarchy. This was due to the wealthy elite having more rule over the country than general citizens.

Non-Democratic political system: Theocracy

- ❖ Theocracy is a form of government in which official policy is governed by immediate divine guidance or by officials who are regarded as divinely guided or is pursuant to the doctrine of a particular religion or religious group.
- ❖ **Theocracy essentially means rule by a religious leadership**; a state in which the goal is to direct the population towards God and in which God himself is the theoretical “head of the state”.
- ❖ One of the most well-known theocratic governments was that of Ancient Egypt. In Egypt, the pharaoh was seen as a divine connection to the gods. They were thought of as descending from the god Ra. Though it is divided into different periods, the theocratic monarchy of Egypt lasted for about 3,000 years.
- ❖ Prior to 1959, the Tibetan government was headed by the Dalai Lama. This Buddhist leader is considered to be a reincarnation of the previous Dalai Lama. He is seen as a ruling god. There have only been 14 Dalai Lamas throughout history. The reincarnation of the Dalai Lama is chosen by the High Lamas through a dream, smoke or holy lake.
- ❖ Modern theocracy examples include Iran, Vatican, Saudi Arabia.



Non-Democratic political system: Tribalism



Indigenous tribes around the globe use a form of government called tribalism.

In this form of government, you follow the dictates and rules of your tribe, which is made of specific people groups or those with the same ideals.

There can be a council of elders making decisions, but not always. Each tribes make up is unique. While tribalism is becoming less and less common, tribes in Africa still use this form of government.

Economically Driven Types of Political System:

Capitalism

While capitalism is actually a type of economy, many times, it works to drive a government and political power. In capitalism, the government doesn't run the economy; instead, private-ownership corporations and businesses do.

Communism

A theory created by Karl Marx, communism is where everything is publicly owned rather than privately like in capitalism. It's an attempt to create a classless society, but it typically happens through a violent revolution.

Socialism

Socialism and communism form from the same ideals of Karl Marx for a utopian, classless society. However, socialism places emphasis on making small changes through reforms and laws. Additionally, communism doesn't recognize private property, while in socialism, you can own property, but industry is regulated by the government.

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Political institutions & General enabling environment

Diana Toimbek. Associate Professor, PhD

“There are specific simple factors that dramatically affect our economy and life. First of all, it is the climate, long distances, this lack of access to the sea, this is our historical cultural heritage. The reasons for our difference are geography and climate. There are practically no real frosty winters like ours in developed countries.”

N. Nazarbayev in his speech during the Youth Forum
"With the leader of the nation - to new victories!" in 2015

Egypt



What analytics say:

- ❖ Geography – mostly desert and lacks adequate rainfall; soils and climate does not allow agriculture;
- ❖ Cultural – supposedly, Egyptians lack ethic and cultural traits that inconsistent with economic success;
- ❖ Rulers simply don't have right advisors to follow correct policies and strategies;

Nogales, Arizona

Located in Santa Cruz county:

- Average household income is 30 000\$
- High school enrollment
- Public healthcare; Many people above 65 have access to Medicare
- High life expectancy
- Electricity, telephones, sewage system, road network linking to other cities
- Financial and political safety of their lives, investments, businesses, etc
- Exercise free elections



Same geography, same climate,
same ancestors

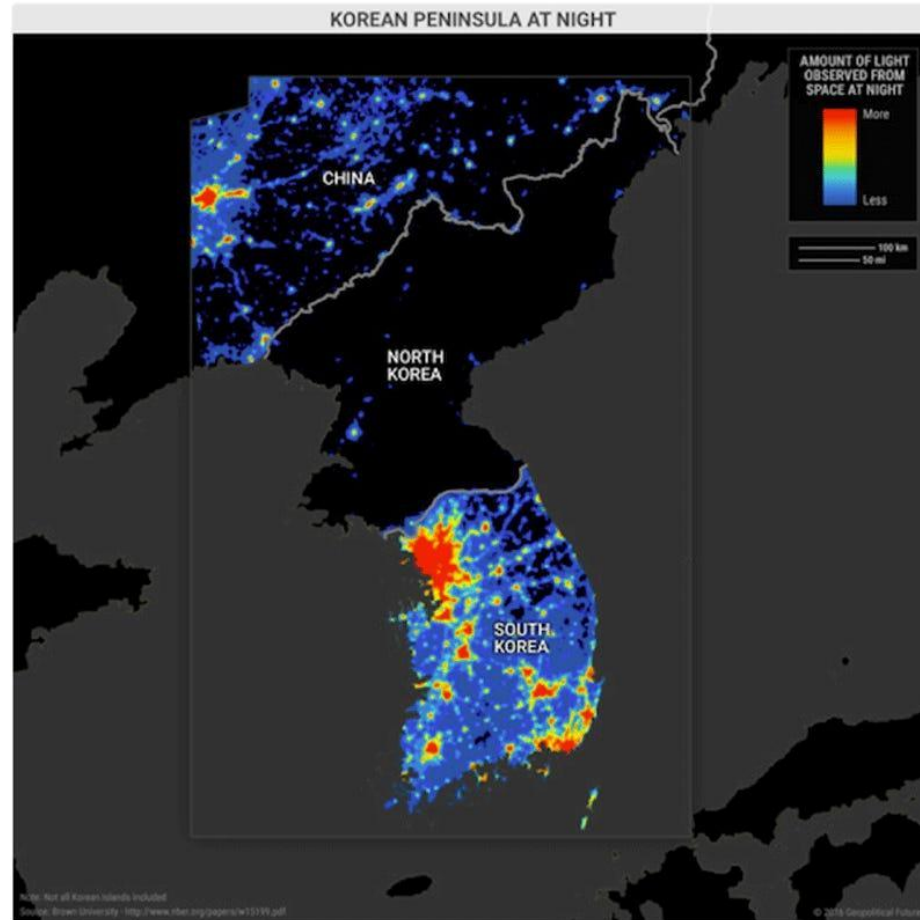
Nogales, Sonora

Located in prosperous part of Mexico:

- Average household income is 1/3 of Nogales, Arizona
- Many people without secondary education
- High rates of infant mortality
- Poor public health
- One of the lowest life expectancies
- No rule of law, crime is high, business is risky
- Corruption and ineptitude of politicians
- Terrible roads

South Korea

- Is lead by President
- Presidential Republic form of government
- Constitutional democracy with capitalistic market system
- Average life expectancy is 82
- Average height of children to 4 cm taller than in NK children
- Strong education & economy
- Free media (case with impeachment of Park Geun-hye)



Same geography, same climate,
same culture, same ethnicity – but
one of the most hostile and heavily
militarized borders in the world

North Korea

- Is lead by Supreme Leader
- Single-party dictatorship state. The official state ideology is “Juche” or “National Self-Reliance
- Hold people — including children — in political prison camps
- The lowest ratings in the Press Freedom and Government Accountability
- Poverty and famine – extremely low economy
- 1/3 of population is malnourished & very low healthcare
- Average life expectancy is 70

Shortly - NO



Ignorance Hypothesis

The ignorance hypothesis differs from the geography and culture hypotheses in that it comes readily with a suggestion about how to “solve” the problem of poverty: *if ignorance got us here, enlightened and informed rulers and policymakers can get us out* and we should be able to “engineer” prosperity around the world by providing the right advice and by convincing politicians of what is good economics.

Poor countries are poor because those who have power make choices that create poverty.

They get it wrong not by mistake or ignorance **but on purpose**. To understand this, you have to study how decisions actually get made, who gets to make them, and why those people decide to do what they do. This is the study of politics and political processes.

Understanding politics is crucial for explaining world inequality.



- ❖ In 1688, Britain (England) had a revolution that transformed the politics and thus the economics of the nation. The result was a fundamentally different trajectory, culminating in the Industrial Revolution.
- ❖ US has rather longer history of freedom fights. Major turning points can be stated as Declaration of Independence in 1776; the Civil War in 1864, when the nation half enslaved, half free — was reunited and the progressive reforms in American domestic and foreign policy during the early XX century transformed the United States into a modern world power .
- ❖ Egypt was ruled by Ottoman Empire, which was overthrown by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798, then fell under the control of British colonialism. In 1952 Egyptians overthrew their monarchy and power was taken by local elites.

NONE OF THEM HAD INTEREST IN PROMOTING EGYPT'S PROSPERITY

Kazakhstan – history of oppressions

- ❖ By the second half of the XV century nomads living in the territory of modern Kazakhstan started the consolidation process by two sultans Kerey and Zhanibek who are considered as founders of Kazakh nation.
- ❖ During the XVII-XVIII centuries due to insoluble situation with neighboring nations Kazakh khans gradually signed an assistant pack with the Russian Empire to form a temporary alliance against stronger enemies, which was a turning point of Kazakhs' voluntary colonization (Bridges & Sagintayeva, 2014).
- ❖ Later nomadic tribal society of Kazakh nation underwent a number of changes and as a result of colonial policies experienced large-scale agricultural land and livestock exploitations.
- ❖ Almost two decades of social and cultural transformations imposed by the Russian Empire was followed by brutal economic renovations of the Soviet Union (Bridges & Sagintayeva, 2014).
- ❖ Kazakhstan was formed as an autonomous Republic within the Russian Federation in August 1920 and became the **Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union in 1936.**
- ❖ Dispossession of Kazakhs, mass collectivization in the 1920s with the immobilization of livestock and forced shift to sedentary in the 1930s brought to the “Asharshylyq” - Kazakh famine. This led to the death of from 1.5 to 4.6 million Kazakhs, 2/3 of the population at that moment, according to various sources and still is not accepted as a genocide of Soviet government against the Kazakh nation, like the Holodomor in Ukraine (Bridges & Sagintayeva, 2014; Aqquly, 2014; Cameron, 2018; Mamashuly, 2019).

...deeply rooted in the past and a cause of either poverty or prosperity.

Shape of political and economic institutions...

What rules society is determined by politics: who has power and how this power can be exercised. No consensus.

It is about the effects of institutions on the success and failure of nations and also about **how institutions are determined and change over time**, and **how they fail to change** even when they create poverty and misery for millions.

Thus, achieving prosperity depends on solving basic political problems

That is why it is hard to remove the world inequality. *But it does not necessarily mean it's impossible*

Examples of North and South Korea

After 1945, the different governments in the North and the South adopted very different ways of organizing their economies:

South Korea was led, and its early economic and political institutions were shaped, by the Harvard and Princeton-educated, staunchly anticommunist Syngman Rhee, with significant support from the United States

In the north of the 38th parallel Kim Il-Sung established himself as dictator by 1947 and, with the help of the Soviet Union, introduced a rigid form of centrally planned economy as part of the so-called Juche system. Private property was outlawed, and markets were banned. Freedoms were curtailed not only in the marketplace, but in every sphere of North Koreans' lives. There are immense level of repressions, famine and further stagnation.

In couple of centuries (around 1990's) South Korean growth and North Korean stagnation led to a tenfold gap between the two halves of this once-united country

A large crowd of people, including a man in a military uniform, sitting in an audience. The image is in black and white with a blue tint at the bottom. The man in the military uniform is in the foreground, smiling. The crowd is dense and diverse in age and appearance.

Imagine teenagers of North Korea...

They grow up in poverty, without entrepreneurial initiative, creativity, or adequate education to prepare them for skilled work. Much of the education they receive at school is pure propaganda, meant to shore up the legitimacy of the regime; there are few books, let alone computers. After finishing school, everyone has to go into the army for ten years. These teenagers know that they will not be able to own property, start a business, or become more prosperous even if many people engage illegally in private economic activities to make a living. They also know that they will not have legal access to markets where they can use their skills or their earnings to purchase the goods they need and desire. They are even unsure about what kind of human rights they will have.

A black and white photograph of a bustling street in South Korea, likely a shopping district. The street is filled with people, many of whom appear to be teenagers. The buildings are tall and covered in numerous signs and advertisements. Some visible signs include 'STAFF', 'QUICKSILVER', 'SPAC', 'Urban Chic', 'SNOYER', and 'ORDANO'. The overall atmosphere is one of a vibrant, modern urban environment.

Imagine teenagers of South Korea...

They can obtain a good education, and face incentives that encourage them to exert effort and excel in their chosen vocation. South Korea is a market economy, built on private property. South Korean teenagers know that, if successful as entrepreneurs or workers, they can one day enjoy the fruits of their investments and efforts; they can improve their standard of living and buy cars, houses, and health care.



Extractive and Inclusive institutions



The very meaning of
“institution” is that values are
settled within it (Selznick
1967).

- ❑ There is strong synergy between economic and political institutions.
- ❑ The real reason behind the poverty trap and significant between-nation differences lies in the **role of political institutions**.
- ❑ Political institutions that can be either **inclusive** — focused on power-sharing, productivity, education, technological advances and the well-being of the nation as a whole and create the incentives that lead to sustained development and poverty reduction; or **extractive** — bent on extracting wealth and resources away from a nation and removing the majority of the population from participation in political or economic affairs (limited access to quality education or economic opportunities, and no ability or incentive to use their talents or skill).
- ❑ Throughout history, extractive institutions have typically led to stagnant economic growth. Even though certain societies (for example, the USSR) have achieved some level of economic growth under extractive methods, they do not achieve long-term, stabilized economic growth. In fact, the countries which have developed long-term growth patterns did so with the parallel, gradual development of inclusive institutions, enabling large swathes of the population to participate in the political and economic systems of the country.

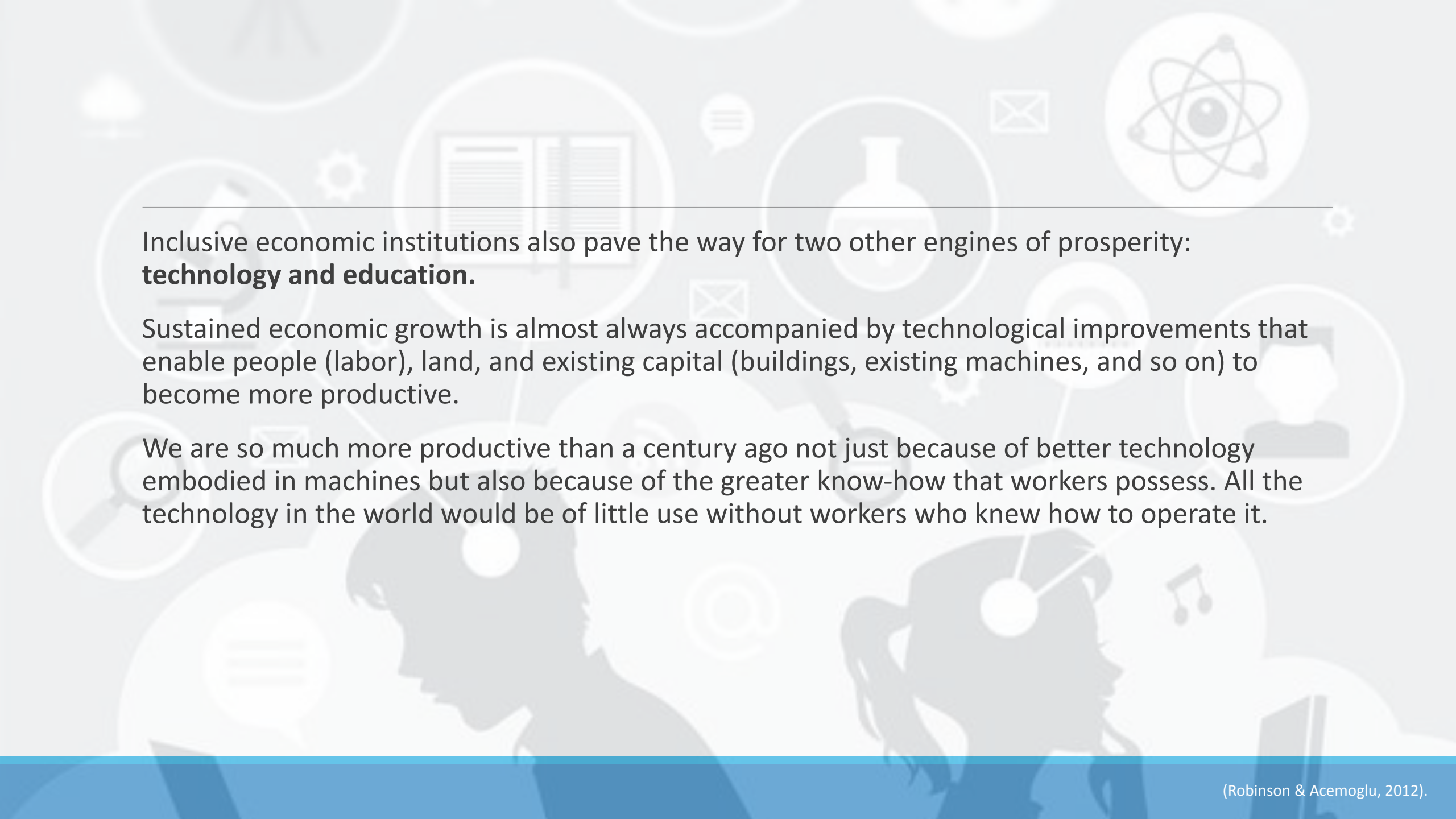
utInclusive institutions

Inclusive institutions create **inclusive markets**, which not only **give people freedom to pursue the vocations in life that best suit their talents** but also provide a level playing field that gives them the opportunity to do so. Those who have good ideas will be able to start businesses, workers will tend to go to activities where their productivity is greater, and **less efficient firms can be replaced by more efficient ones**.

- ❖ Inclusive economic institutions are those that allow and encourage participation by the great mass of people in economic activities that make best use of their talents and skills and that enable individuals to make the choices they wish.
- ❖ To be inclusive, economic institutions must feature secure private property, an unbiased system of law, and a provision of public services that provides a level playing field in which people can exchange and contract; it also must permit the entry of new businesses and allow people to choose their careers.
- ❖ Inclusive institutions foster economic activity, productivity growth, and economic prosperity.
- ❖ Secure private property rights are central, since only those with such rights will be willing to invest and increase productivity.

Extractive because such institutions are designed to extract incomes and wealth from one subset of society to benefit a different subset.

-
- ❖ Private property is nonexistent or very limited
 - ❖ Unequal distribution of wealth (Example with North Korea; in colonial Latin America there was private property for Spaniards, but the property of the indigenous peoples was highly insecure)
 - ❖ In neither type of society was the vast mass of people able to make the economic decisions they wanted to; they were subject to mass coercion
 - ❖ In neither type of society was the power of the state used to provide key public services that promoted prosperity
 - ❖ States built an education system to inculcate propaganda not to enhance human capital
 - ❖ Poor legal system – discriminations, oppressions, coercions, etc



Inclusive economic institutions also pave the way for two other engines of prosperity:
technology and education.

Sustained economic growth is almost always accompanied by technological improvements that enable people (labor), land, and existing capital (buildings, existing machines, and so on) to become more productive.

We are so much more productive than a century ago not just because of better technology embodied in machines but also because of the greater know-how that workers possess. All the technology in the world would be of little use without workers who knew how to operate it.

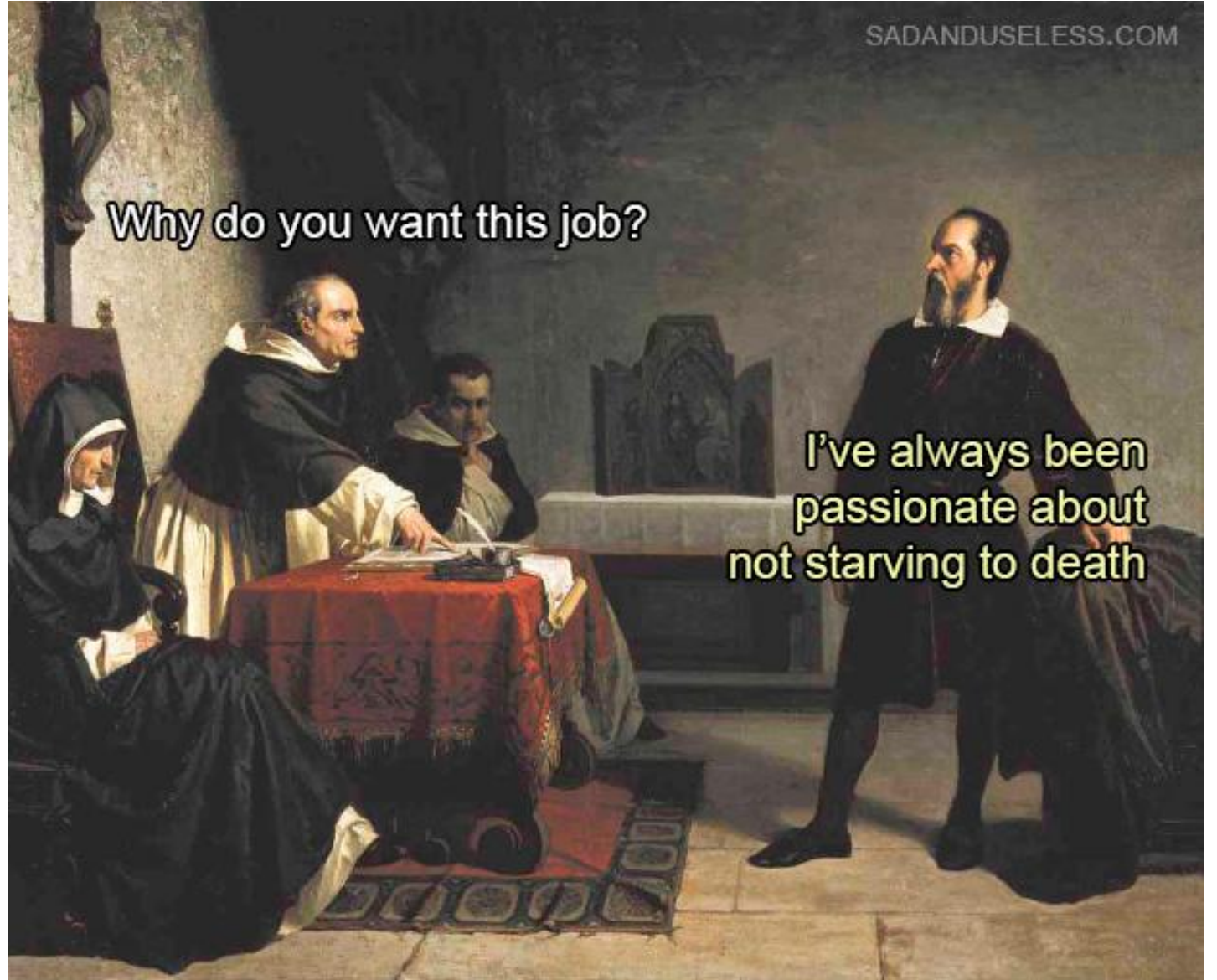
The supply of talent was there to be harnessed because most teenagers in developed countries have access to as much schooling as they wish or are capable of attaining.

Now imagine a different society, for example the Congo or Haiti, where a large fraction of the population has no means of attending school, or where, if they manage to go to school, the quality of teaching is lamentable, where teachers do not show up for work, and even if they do, there may not be any books.

The low education level of poor countries is caused **by economic institutions that fail to create incentives** for parents to educate their children and by **political institutions that fail to induce the government to build, finance, and support schools and the wishes of parents and children**. The price these nations pay for low education of their population and lack of inclusive markets is high. They fail to mobilize their nascent talent.

Why do you want this job?

I've always been
passionate about
not starving to death



All institutions are created by society

- The political institutions of a society are a key determinant of the outcome of this game.
- They determine how the government is chosen and which part of the government has the right to do what.
- Political institutions determine who has power in society and to what ends that power can be used.
- Politics surrounds institutions for the simple reason that while inclusive institutions may be good for the economic prosperity of a nation, some people or groups, such as the elite of the Communist Party of North Korea or the sugar planters of colonial Barbados, will be much better off by setting up institutions that are extractive.
- When there is conflict over institutions, what happens depends on which people or group wins out in the game of politics—who can get more support, obtain additional resources, and form more effective alliances.
- **In short, who wins depends on the distribution of political power in society.**

Extractive political institutions concentrate power in the hands of a narrow elite and place few constraints on the exercise of this power.

Economic institutions are then often structured by this elite to extract resources from the rest of the society.

Extractive economic institutions thus naturally accompany extractive political institutions. In fact, they must inherently depend on extractive political institutions for their survival.

- ❖ Political and economic institutions, which are ultimately the choice of society, can be inclusive and encourage economic growth. Or they can be extractive and become impediments to economic growth.
- ❖ Nations fail when they have extractive economic institutions, supported by extractive political institutions that impede and even block economic growth.
- ❖ It might seem obvious that everyone should have an interest in creating the type of economic institutions that will bring prosperity. Wouldn't every citizen, every politician, and even a predatory dictator want to make his country as wealthy as possible?

Unfortunately – NO

- ❖ One lesson is clear: powerful groups often stand against economic progress and against the engines of prosperity.
- ❖ Economic institutions that create incentives for economic progress may simultaneously redistribute income and power in such a way that a predatory dictator and others with political power may become worse off.

A ruler monopolizing political power and in control of a centralized state can introduce some degree of law and order and a system of rules, and stimulate economic activity.

But growth under extractive institutions differs in nature from growth brought forth by inclusive institutions. Most important, it will be not sustained growth that requires technological change, but rather growth based on existing technologies.

The economic trajectory of the **Soviet Union** provides a vivid illustration of how the authority and incentives provided by the state can spearhead rapid economic growth under extractive institutions and how this type of growth ultimately comes to an end and collapses.

So what does political institution mean, anyway?

Political institutions are the organizations in a government that create, enforce, and apply **LAWS**.

They often mediate conflict, make (governmental) policy on the economy and social systems, and otherwise provide representation for the population.

The ability of the state to provide these institutions is therefore an important determinant of how well individuals behave in markets and how well markets function. Successful provision of such institutions is often referred to as “**good governance**”.

Good governance includes the provision of sound macroeconomic policies that create a stable environment for market activity. It also means the **absence of corruption**, which can subvert the goals of policy and undermine the legitimacy of the public institutions that support markets.

Many studies have documented *strong associations between per capita incomes and measures of the strength of property rights and the absence of corruption*.

To a certain extent, this reflects the greater capacity of rich countries to provide good institutions.

Good governance matters for growth and poverty reduction.

What kind of institutions does Kazakhstan have?

Judicial institutions	Supreme Court, Regional courts and courts equated to them (municipal court of the capital, municipal courts of cities of the republican significance), District courts and courts equated to them (municipal court, interdistrict court), Other courts, including specialized courts can be established in the Republic of Kazakhstan (military, finance, economic, administrative, juvenile and others)
Political institutions	Political parties, Parliament (Senate & Mazhilis), Regional political institutions (akimat), international political organizations, etc
Economic institutions	Banks, Businesses, Corporations, international economic organizations, etc
Social institutions	Education and Healthcare institutions, Civic organizations, international social organizations etc

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Political Economy of Education

Diana Toimbek. Associate Professor, PhD

“Education is the Most
Powerful weapon
which you can use to
change the world.”

Nelson Mandela



The inherent politics of education

- ❖ Education systems are not neutral but inherently political;
- ❖ Schools are important agents of nation-building;
- ❖ Riad Nasser (2004): in most countries, the state “controls the ways by which the students’ national identity is shaped”;
- ❖ Keith Crawford (2003): “It is through the history curriculum that nations seek to store, transmit and disseminate narratives which define conceptions of nationhood and national culture”;
- ❖ Michael Apple (1991): “Textbooks are often used as ideological means that serve the interests of certain classes and social groups”

The politics of education is not inherently “BAD”. As with any means of social construction or engineering it can be utilized for GOOD or BAD purposes.

Education can be used to preach peaceful coexistence, tolerance, empowerment and acceptance. Or it can be used to preach hatred, intolerance and marginalization.

It is well-established that education systems are among the most important agents of nation-building; especially in traditional systems when ‘spoon-feeding’ is the main means of transmitting information.





The report on a project conducted by UNESCO MGIEP in partnership with the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Regional Bureau for Education concepts in national education policies and curricula in 22 countries in Asia revealed that:

- ❖ Policy and curricula across most countries (irrespective of their current level of development) emphasize the instrumental function of schooling in fostering human resources to enhance national economic strength.
- ❖ Interpretations of the meaning and purpose of education thus tend to be rather narrow; its role in enhancing national competitiveness, and in securing individual commitment to that goal (and capacity to contribute to it), overshadows broader, more humanistic conceptions.
- ❖ Notions such as learner-centered pedagogy, 'creativity' and student autonomy are heavily emphasized in many curricula, but mainly for their perceived role in developing economically useful skills and competencies. Far less common is acknowledgement of the importance of such capabilities to the enhancement of human fulfilment and promotion of active, participatory citizenship. Meanwhile, the qualities of autonomy and independence ostensibly valued in students are widely denied to teachers themselves. Especially

In most countries surveyed, an intense and often chauvinistic curricular emphasis on moulding national identity poses an acute challenge to a vision of citizenship education based on 'universal values' (e.g. human rights and cultural diversity).

SDG 4.7 envisages preparing learners to live together on a planet under pressure, promoting tolerance and understanding both within and between nation-states. However, curricula in many Asian countries uncritically endorse strongly ethnonationalist identities, often effectively reducing minorities or migrants to second-class status. Narratives of foreign hostility or inferiority are widely used to bolster national loyalties.

The teaching of languages, potentially a crucial tool for fostering greater intercommunal and international understanding, has tended to be neglected or viewed in narrowly instrumentalist terms. In multilingual societies, the majority linguistic community is seldom encouraged and never compelled to learn languages of linguistic minorities.

History teaching, conflict and the legacy of the past

History teaching in a divided environment creates special challenges, especially because history is so closely tied to the emotions associated with national identity and collective belonging.

Arguably, a traditional single narrative approach is of restricted value in any educational context but by presenting one interpretation of the past uncritically as the 'truth'. It is especially unsuited to a divided society where it is often nationality itself that is disputed.

A greater understanding is emerging of the relationship between education and the causes of conflict as well as education's potential to facilitate peace-building and social cohesion (Smith and Vaux 2003; Gallagher 2004; Tawil and Harley 2004). For the latter to happen fundamental curriculum change is usually necessary.

Hence it is necessary to question of your educations fosters critical thinking, enquiry, complexity and the questioning of old 'certainties', explaining conflicts from different perspectives and develop sensitivity towards them.

Historically, educational system of country or a region may build a picture of 'liberators' by dismissing other ethnic groups or labeling them as "invaders", 'barbarians' or 'uncivilized'.



As an example, Iraqi textbooks define its society as being part of a greater Arab society, marginalizing Kurdish and submerging Kurdish society into Arab identity.

Glorification of Saddam as a dictator



During the rule of Saddam Hussein, textbooks were used for glorification of Saddam as a dictator and the creation of personality cult as his image was printed on all school textbooks.

The textbooks were used to ensure loyalty of Iraqi children and youth to Saddam and his Baath party.

The slogan: “We recruit the youth to assure the future” was mounted in school corridors

North Korean education

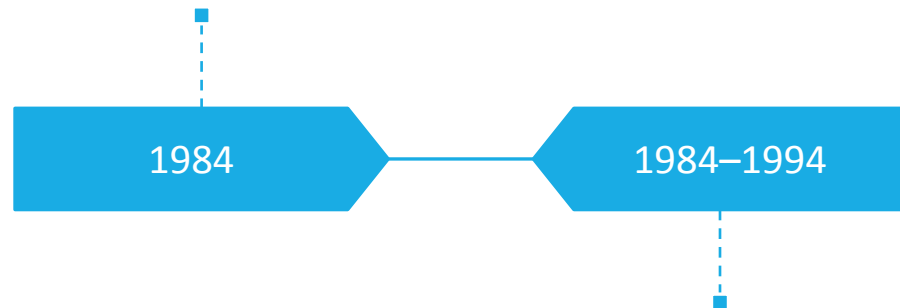
The curriculum in North Korean schools focuses on the Kims. A study by the Korea Institute for Curriculum Evaluation finds students spend 684 hours learning about the current leader Kim Jong-Un, his father Kim Jong-il, his grandfather Kim Il-sung and his grandmother Kim Jong-suk. North Korea states its education system is for “students to acquire the concept of revolution and endless loyalty toward the party and the supreme leader.”

A lot of the education in North Korea is propaganda meant to indoctrinate students into the system as early as kindergarten. For example, when children learn about time, they learn it is based on Kim Il-sung’s birth year, 1912, also known as Year 1 in North Korea. Every classroom in North Korea must have a picture of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-Il. Children learn about “revolutionary history,” involving music, storybooks, novels and artwork related to the Kims. A report published by the United Nations’ Commission of Inquiry states North Korea’s education program has two goals: to instill the utmost loyalty and commitment toward the supreme leader and to instill hostility and deep hatred toward the United States, Japan and South Korea.

One of the most prestigious schools in North Korea, Kim Il-Sung University, is extremely hard to get into. Only students who are related to higher government officials and have good grades can sit for entrance exams. If a student is gifted in science or mathematics, they often go to the University of National Defense.

Radicalizing allies

USAID in 1984 funded University of Nebraska to develop textbooks for use with Afghan refugees in camps at the Afghan/Pakistan border.



Between 1984-1994, \$51 million was spent on producing and distributing over 13 million textbooks aimed at 'radicalizing' Afghan youth to return to fight against Soviet occupation

“The speed of Kalashnikov bullet is 800 meters per second. If a Russian is at a distance of 3200 meters from a mujahid, and that mujahid aims at the Russian’s head, calculate how many seconds it will take for a bullet to strike Russian in the forehead”

(Craig, 2000, pp. 92-93)

Four Central Asian Countries

Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan attained statehood in 1991 following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The fall of socialist ideologies systematically oriented the newly independent Central nations to transition from centralised governance and economy to building electoral democracy and neoliberal economy.

Once united as multiethnic societies under the shared Communist vision, the newly independent states required the re-appropriation and re-interpretation of histories established and circulated during the Soviet times.

Curriculum reforms have sought the dual aims of 'nationalising' the curriculum, delinking it from Russia, and 'internationalising' it to prepare globally competitive graduates (Chapman et al., 2005).

However, gender equity has received little attention in educational reforms (Magno & Silova, 2007). On the contrary, the resurgence of nationalism in all countries can be seen as reasserting values of traditional association between women and domesticity (Kandiyoti, 2007), with negative implications for women's empowerment and their political and economic participation (Magno & Silova, 2007).

Soviet education in Kazakhstan

- ❖ The Bolsheviks exaggerated the 'backwardness' of the Kazakhs and their lack of literacy, as they categorized the nomads and several Muslim groups as 'people without scripts' (bespis'mennye narody).
- ❖ Overpowered by the zeal to promote a profound economic transformation through massive social and ideological engineering, the Stalinist high modernist ideology completely severed the Kazakhs' links with their nomadic tradition, life in the aul, knowledge of genealogy and oral folklore.
- ❖ By seeing literacy, the printed word, and a literary tradition as essential indicators of progress and civilization, the Soviet rulers totally devalued the tradition of nomadic epics, oral folklore and the centrality of memory in the nomadic communities.
- ❖ The Soviet state was fundamentally uninterested in promoting the national languages as a goal in itself. Some Russian scholars have gone on to suggest that the support of native language education among the Central Asians denoted their adherence to 'traditionalism' and a resistance to any fundamental socio-economic transformation.
- ❖ The knowledge of Kazakh literary and cultural traditions among the Soviet-educated generation of Kazakhs was derived entirely from the small body of pre-Soviet works that were approved by Soviet ideologues and were re-written in Cyrillic

'Progress' and mobility

- ❖ Higher education in Kazakhstan was completely in Russian and no emphasis was placed upon learning Kazakh. The limited availability and poor quality of higher education in Kazakh was the single most important factor that led Kazakhs to opt for schooling in Russian. Kazakh-language schooling was increasingly perceived as a dead-end formula.
- ❖ The use of Kazakh in the Russified urban settings often provoked negative stereotypes of being 'illiterate' (negrarnotnye) and 'backward' (otstalye). Speaking Kazakh in a public space or work setting dominated by Russians was considered not just impolite, but also risky, as it could invite allegations of 'nationalism' and 'tribalism'. For Kazakhs who had no prior access to education, Russian denoted being 'cultured' (kul'turnyi) and belonging to a larger, 'European' civilization.
- ❖ A number of young Kazakh scholars expressed their concerns over the Russianization of their republic and the virtual absence of Kazakh in state offices and public life. They were silenced by the central government and local Kazakh authorities; chastised for raising the 'nationalist ideas' and at least lost jobs.
- ❖ The debate on Kazakh language loss and *mankurtizatsiia* arose in response to the eventual dissolution of the Soviet state and the failure of Russian to live up to its global promise. By then, however, the Kazakh elites as a whole, as well as a large stratum of the subalterns, had already learned to articulate their power in the language of the dominant culture
- ❖ Traumatic as it was, Soviet education also heralded unprecedented opportunities for education, material well-being and social advancement. Deplorable conditions in the aul, including poor sanitation, scarcity of water and of a diverse range of goods and products, and lower educational standards created compelling incentives to move to the cities.

Independent Kazakhstan

- ❖ Post-independence, the ruling elites selected the concept of “Kazakhstani” people, as opposed to “Kazakh” in national identity narratives, to avoid ethnic tensions and promote political stability.
- ❖ The country has experimented with large scale educational reforms to "modernise" its education system. These reforms simultaneously seek to depart from its Soviet legacy and move closer to Western education systems (Karabassova, 2021).
- ❖ However, significant regional inequalities in terms of the quality of education have been observed in Kazakhstan.
- ❖ Finally, the political imperative to use education as a nation-building instrument have resulted in a strong focus on the construction of nationalism, patriotism and national identities, which can trigger interethnic tensions (MGIEP UNESCO, 2017).
- ❖ In Kazakhstan, the National Academy of Education provides school teachers comprehensive recommendations and instructions annually regarding building patriotism, nurturing inter-ethnic tolerance, peace and respect for historical heritage or supporting multilingual education (MGIEP UNESCO, 2017).

Several studies reported the Kazakhisation of national identity in textbooks. An analysis of early literacy textbooks identified that textbooks “are increasingly Kazakhified and focus primarily on Kazakh ethnicity” (Mun, 2014, p.1). The ethnicised curriculum is potentially conflicting with the multicultural society of Kazakhstan and can negatively impact the social cohesion and inter-ethnic peace and harmony in the country.

- ❖ Multiethnicity nevertheless remains a potential source of conflicts in Kazakhstan, as illustrated by several inter-ethnic conflicts over the last three decades. They all involved the titular ethnic group (Kazakhs) against ethnic minorities. None of the above clashes took place between ethnic minorities.
- ❖ Kazakhstan actively encouraged the return of ethnic Kazakhs (Oralman) through its repatriation policy as a part of the nation building process. Between 1991 to 2020, 1,069,500 ethnic Kazakhs have returned to Kazakhstan (Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the Population of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2020).
- ❖ However, several studies have reported that many returnees struggle to develop a sense of belonging to Kazakhstan and experience challenges in housing and employment, mainly due to linguistic constraints (Kassenova & Zhanguttin, 2016; Dalelkhan et al., 2018).

Where did education fail?

Chronology of ethnic conflicts in Kazakhstan:

1. 1992, Kazakh-Chechen conflict: Ust-Kamenogorsk
2. 2006, anti-Caucasian demonstrations in Aktau
3. 2006, Kazakh-Uyghur conflict in Shelek
4. 2006, Turkish-Kazakh conflict at Tengiz Oil field
5. 2007, Kazakh-Chechen conflict in Almaty region
6. 2007, anti-Kurdish conflict in Mayatas
7. 2015, Kazakh-Tajik ethnic clash in Bostandyk
8. 2016, Kazakh-Turk conflict in Jambyl region
9. 2018/2019, Kazakh-Armenian tension in Karaganda
10. 2020, Kazakh-Dungan conflict

Rethink the fundamental priorities of education policy

- ❖ The idea of the active and reflective citizen who engages critically with the state in a participatory democracy is largely absent from official educational discourse, even in societies where electoral democracy is relatively well established.
- ❖ The potential of education for promoting collective prosperity and individual opportunity is beyond doubt. But schooling is important not just for its capacity to confer job-ready 'skills' or build 'human capital'.
- ❖ It can both divide and unite, oppress and liberate, warp minds and enlighten them, and by promoting unsustainable socio-economic models ultimately impoverish rather than enrich us.

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Politics of oppression

Diana Toimbek. Associate Professor, PhD

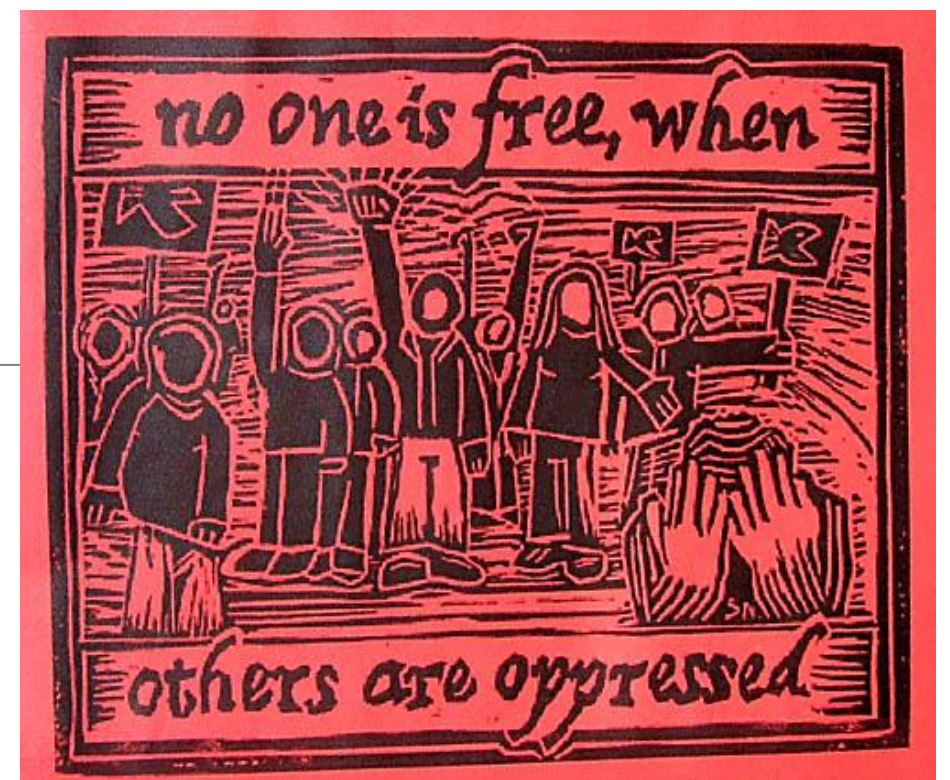
Definition

Oppression has been variously defined as a state or a process.

As a **state or outcome**, oppression results "from along-term and consistent denial of essential resources" (Watts & Abdul-Adil, in press). This situation is usually described as a state of domination where the oppressed suffer the consequences of deprivation, exclusion, discrimination, and exploitation (e.g., Bartky, 1990; Sidanius, 1993; Young, 1990).

A definition of oppression as **process** is given by Mar'i (1988): "Oppression involves institutionalized collective and individual modes of behavior through which one group attempts to dominate and control another in order to secure political, economic, and/or social-psychological advantage" (p. 6).

Another important distinction in the definition of oppression concerns its **political and psychological** dimensions. Psychological and political oppression co-exist and are mutually determined.



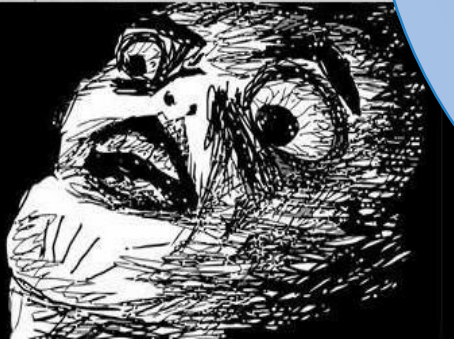
When we describe a people as oppressed, what we have in mind most often is an oppression that is economic and political in character. But recent liberation movements, the black liberation movement and the women's movement in particular, have brought to light forms of oppression that are not immediately economic or political. It is possible to be oppressed in ways that need involve neither deprivation, legal inequality, nor economic exploitation; one can be oppressed psychologically—the 'psychic alienation' of which Fanon speaks. To be psychologically oppressed is to be weighed down in your mind; it is to have a harsh dominion exercised over your self-esteem. The psychologically oppressed become their own oppressors; they come to exercise dominion over their own self-esteem. Differently put, psychological oppression can be regarded as the "internalization of intimations of inferiority." (Bartky, 1990, p. 22)

"To learn who rules over you, simply find out who you are not allowed to criticize."

- Voltaire



The women rule the world.



Political oppression, which is the creation of material, legal, military, economic, and/or other social barriers to the fulfilment of self-determination, distributive justice, and democratic participation, results from the use of multiple forms of power by dominating agents to advance their own interests at the expense of persons or groups in positions of relative powerlessness

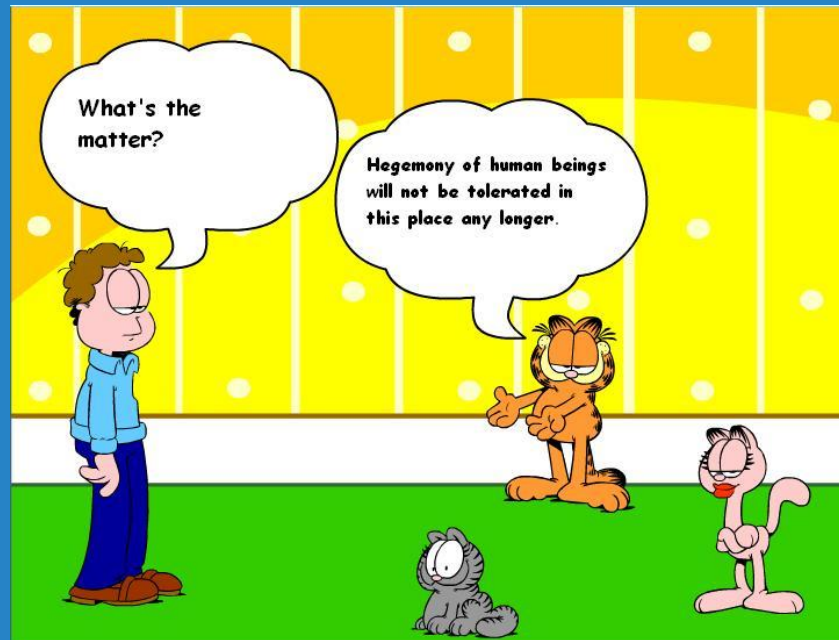
Psychological oppression, in turn, is the internalized view of self as negative and as not deserving more resources or increased participation in societal affairs, resulting from the use of affective, behavioral, cognitive, linguistic, and cultural mechanisms designed to solidify political domination

“Oppression [is] both a process and a dynamic state with codetermining psychological and political factors that manifest themselves in terms of self-determination, distributive justice, and collaboration and democratic participation.” (p. 132)

Political and Psychological Dynamics of Oppression

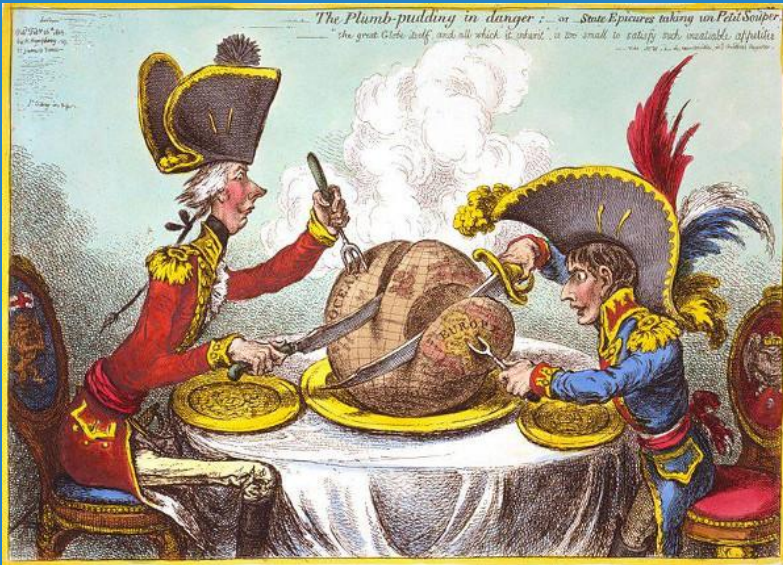
Levels	Political dynamics	Psychological dynamics
Intrapersonal	Acts of identification with the aggressor * Self-induced harm * Suicidal behavior	Internalization of inferior identity * Belief in just world * Surplus powerlessness * Learned helplessness, apathy, and despair * Pessimistic explanatory style * Conformity, compliance, and obedience to authority
Interpersonal	Restricted life-chances * Actual or potential use of force against oppressed * Aggregated individual and institutional discrimination * Restricted opportunities to challenge authority	Inferiorization and devaluation * Verbal or emotional abuse force against oppressed * Self-fulfilling prophecy * Shaping of behavior * Passivity of bystanders
Social groups	Restricted life-chances * Actual or potential use of force against oppressed * Aggregated individual and institutional discrimination * Restricted opportunities to challenge authority * Fragmentation of oppressed community	Collective identity of inferiority * Deference to dominating group force against oppressed * Inferiorization and devaluation by dominating groups * Legitimizing myths * Belief in just world * Ingroup-outgroup discrimination * Groupthink * Moral exclusion * Dehumanization of victims of oppression * Passivity of bystanders
State	* Restricted life-chances * Actual or potential use of force against oppressed * Systemic domination * Internal colonialism * Aggregated institutional discrimination * Restricted opportunities to challenge authority * Fragmentation of oppressed community	Inferiorization and devaluation by state agencies * Deference to state agencies * Legitimizing myths * Belief in just world * Ingroup-outgroup discrimination * Moral exclusion * Dehumanization of victims of oppression * Passivity of bystanders
International	Structural dependency * Restricted opportunities development of nation * Actual or potential use of force against oppressed nation Aggregated international	Collective learned helplessness and compliance * Inferiorization and devaluation by other nations * Deference to powerful nations * Legitimizing myths * Ingroup-outgroup discrimination * Moral exclusion * Dehumanization of victims of oppression * Passivity of bystander nations

Hegemony



- ❖ The term hegemony means domination with consent.
- ❖ From the Greek *hegemonia*, it denotes leadership of an alliance by a single leader, or hegemon. Although ancient hegemons tended to possess great power, their allies conceded them leading roles due to other qualities, such as skill and virtue, as well as the policies they embraced.
- ❖ The tendency toward domination without consent, however, has led many international relations scholars to equate hegemony with domination that does not respect the independent existence and autonomy of allies, thus providing a different definition of the term.
- ❖ Rather than using force or explicit coercion, hegemonic power rested on the successful manipulation of cultural and social institutions -- such as the media -- to shape the limits of economic and political opportunities for citizens.
- ❖ This gave the dominant group in society a position to influence the preferences of others in favour of the existing order; and to ensure that representatives of these dominant interests served in key monetary, regulatory, judicial and bureaucratic posts.

Colonialis m



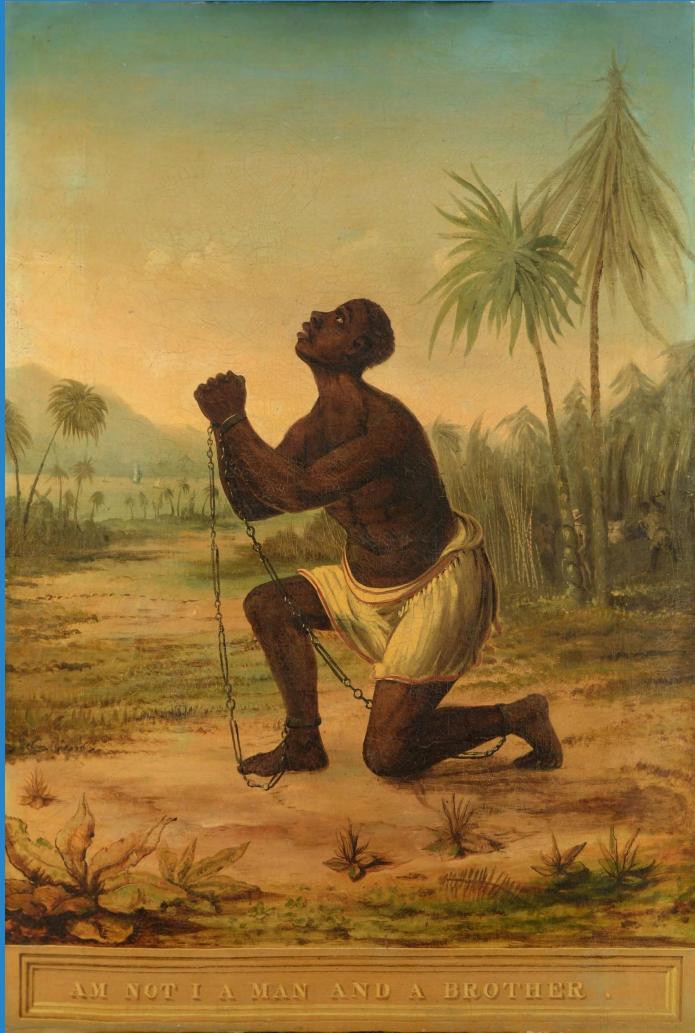
- ❖ Colonialism is a particular relationship of domination between states, involving a wide range of interrelated strategies, including territorial occupation, population settlement, and extraction of economic resources by the colonizing state.
- ❖ Historically, colonialism also depended upon legal, cultural, and political justifications of the colonial project in the metropole and the colonized state. While colonialism and imperialism share many of these characteristics, colonialism involved significant amounts of settlement of citizens from the colonial center in the colonized territory, as well as formal relationships of law and governance between colonial states and their subjects.
- ❖ The term colony has a long history and has been applied to a wide range of state arrangements, beginning with the extension of the legal status of Roman citizens to the conquered territories they settled. It was later applied in the sixteenth century to refer to the conquest by competing European powers — initially Portugal and Spain, and in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries the Dutch, French, English, and Germans — of territories in Africa, the Americas, India, and Asia.
- ❖ The era of formal colonialism is widely understood to have ended by the mid-twentieth century with waves of decolonization leading to independent nation states. However, the term has more recently been used to refer to informal relations of domination and economic exploitation by former colonial powers of previous colonies, and to the assertion of economic, military, and cultural dominance by ascendant global powers, the United States paramount among these.

Absolutism



- ❖ Absolutism is a historical term for a form of government in which the ruler is an absolute authority, unrestricted by any other institution, such as churches, estates, a constitution, laws, or opposition.
- ❖ Political philosophers of the 16th and 17th centuries reacted by introducing concepts of the natural law or the divine right of kings. Although contradictory, both concepts claimed that unquestionable rule by a single person was the best form of government.
- ❖ Absolutism went through several historical stages, such as early absolutism, confessional absolutism, court absolutism, and Enlightened absolutism.
- ❖ Absolutism is characterized by the end of feudal partitioning, unification and centralization of the state, rise of professional standing armies and professional bureaucracies, and the codification of state laws. The general rise of state power was demonstrated by expensive lifestyles of absolute monarchs who identified with the state. Absolutist monarchs attempted to intervene personally in every area; welfare of the state was therefore determined by their (in)competence.

Slavery



- ❖ The practice of slavery has occurred in many civilizations throughout human history and was caused by social stratification, economic factors, and high population density. Perhaps most noteworthy of places it occurred were ancient Egypt, China, India, Greece, and the Roman Empire. During the Roman Empire alone, it is estimated that one hundred million people were captured or sold as slaves.
- ❖ Slavery developed in many ways, including as a means of repaying debts, as punishment for crime, as treatment of prisoners of war, and due to child abandonment. But the trading of slaves for what would be intended as cheap labor is what led to its popularity in North America.
- ❖ “‘Am Not I A Man and a Brother’ dates to around 1800 and features a dominant motif detailing the agonizing and insufferable treatment of slaves on a Caribbean sugar plantation during the Transatlantic Slave Trade.
- ❖ Based on a design commissioned by the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade on 5 July 1787, the painting is considered to be one of the first instances of a logo designed for a political cause. It was famously used by the potter Josiah Wedgwood for his persuasive anti-slavery ceramic medallions and went on to become the dominant image of abolition campaigning in the 18th and 19th centuries.” (Galway, 2018)

Caste system

THE CASTE SYSTEM OF INDIA



ASTRONOMER

BRAHMAN

The highest-ranked of the four *varnas*, or traditional social classes of India. Includes Hindu priests, advisers, and intellectual leaders.

KSHATRIYA

The second-highest of the *varnas*. Includes rulers, military leaders, and large landowners.



CHIEF

VAISHYA

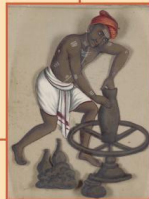
The third-highest of the four *varnas*. Includes merchants, traders, and farmers.



ACCOUNTANT

SHUDRA

The lowest-ranked *varna*. Traditionally includes artisans, laborers, and servants.



POTTER

DALIT

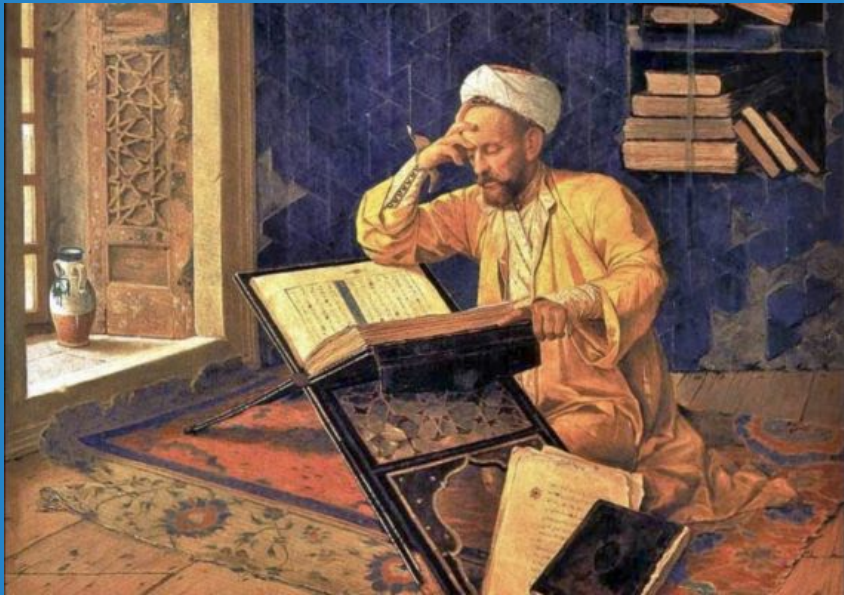
(formerly called "untouchable")
A fifth category, with no *varna* designation. Includes various low-status persons and those outside the caste system.



BEGGAR

- ❖ The Indian caste system is primarily a division of human endeavor, yet the caste system also profoundly impacts Hinduism.
- ❖ A four-tiered system, the main castes of birth into the Hindu social system include: Brahmin (priestly class), Kshatriya (administrative class), Vaishya (mercantile class), Shudra (worker class), and Dalit (untouchables).
- ❖ Karma determines birth into one of the main castes, which means all of humanity is created unequal. Dalits are India's "hidden apartheid" and constitute approximately 20 percent (three hundred million) of India's population. The exploitation and oppression of the Dalits causes this population to occupy a position of perpetual economic and physical vulnerability, and condemnation of the Dalits varies from social ostracism to punitive violence.
- ❖ According to Hinduism, people strive to achieve release from samsara, the cyclical process of death and rebirth, and consequently, the notion of karma, which is the law of cause and effect.
- ❖ The caste system associated with Hinduism is not only the world's oldest social hierarchy; it is also an example of a traditional economy. According to the Hindu caste system, one should not attempt to alter one's destiny, but to commit life to one's current degree or estate in a way that is similar to the European feudal system. As an economic structure, the caste system is oppressive in restricting any opportunity to change one's occupational or social status.

Dhimmi



- ❖ Literally meaning “protected person,” dhimmi is the term applied in early Islam to Christians, Jews, and others; and refers to specific individuals living in Muslim lands, who were granted special status and safety in Islamic law in return for paying the capital tax.
- ❖ This status was originally only made available to non-Muslims who were People of the Book (‘ahl alkitab’, namely, Jews and Christians), but was later extended to include Zoroastrians, Mandeans, and, in some areas, Hindus and Buddhists.
- ❖ The term connotes an obligation of the state to protect the individual, including the individual's life, property, and freedom of religion and worship, and required loyalty to the empire, and a poll tax known as the *jizya*.
- ❖ Dhimmi had fewer legal and social rights than Muslims, but more rights than other non-Muslim religious subjects.
- ❖ This status applied to millions of people living from the Atlantic Ocean to India from the seventh century until modern times.

Collectivisation



Stalin's Collectivisation of Agriculture

- ❖ Collectivization, a policy pursued in the Soviet Union and most other communist countries, refers to a process whereby private agricultural lands were seized by the state and transferred either to collective farms (kolkhoz in Russian) or state farms (sovkhoz). The policy was unpopular with farmers and was accompanied by violence. It also contributed to lower agricultural output. Nonetheless, politically it helped consolidate communist authority in the countryside.
- ❖ Collectivization became a key feature of the Soviet communist model and was pursued in many communist states, including most of Eastern Europe (except Yugoslavia and Poland), China, Vietnam, and Cambodia. As in the Soviet case, it was often resisted by farmers and was accompanied by violence.

Anti-Semitism



- ❖ Semites are both Jews and Arabs who emerged from a common ancestral and geographical setting in the Middle East. However, anti-Semitism refers specifically to prejudice against Jews as a religious, ethnic, or racial body. It can include a wide range of attitudes and expressions, from individual hostility to legal discrimination and violence against Jews as a group. Like so many stereotypes, anti-Semitism is based on a myth—one with the power to influence individual attitudes toward Jews and their place in society and, collectively, to impact the larger culture. It has no basis in fact or reason, but its acolytes make vague references to historical or pseudoscientific genetic arguments in support of their prejudices.
- ❖ Accusations against Jews of two millennia ago, or toward some individual Jew today, are portrayed as the collective responsibility of all Jews as a people, who must be punished by strong measures, up to and including genocide.
- ❖ Religious anti-Semitism attacks Jews as being responsible for the death of Jesus, and for practicing their minority faith, which is portrayed as the devil's product. It promises a cessation of persecution if Jews give up their faith and assimilate into an approved religion.
- ❖ Racial anti-Semitism identifies Jews as a genetically distinct race. They are an innately subhuman race that can never assimilate with the superior culture but conspire to pollute the more advanced Aryan race and control the world, its government, and its economy. They must be stopped at all costs.

The Nuremberg Laws



Holocaust

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- ❖ Nürnberg Laws, two race-based measures depriving Jews of rights, designed by Adolf Hitler and approved by the Nazi Party at a convention in Nürnberg on September 15, 1935.
- ❖ One, the Reichsbürgergesetz (German: “Law of the Reich Citizen”), deprived Jews of German citizenship, designating them “subjects of the state.”
- ❖ The other, the Gesetz zum Schutze des Deutschen Blutes und der Deutschen Ehre (“Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour”), usually called simply the Blutschutzgesetz (“Blood Protection Law”), forbade marriage or sexual relations between Jews and “citizens of German or kindred blood” in order to prohibit marriage and consequently to prohibit reproduction of the ‘inferior race’.
- ❖ These measures were among the first of the racist Nazi laws that culminated in the Holocaust.
- ❖ The capitalized term Holocaust emerged in the 1950s and, over the next two decades, gradually replaced the German term Endlösung (final solution) for the macrokilling project of European Jews by Nazi Germany.
- ❖ Some authors have used the expression holocaust in reference to other mass-killing events, such as genocidal policies against Native Americans in the United States (nineteenth century), Tutsis in Rwanda (1994), and Muslims in Bosnia (1992–1995).

Genocide

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- ❖ The term genocide was originally used for Nazi patterns of state violence against the European Jewish populations during World War II (1939–1945).
- ❖ The word combines the Greek prefix for race or tribe (geno-) with the Latin suffix for killing/murder (-cide). The most frequently cited examples of genocide include the Holocaust during World War II, the “killing fields” of Cambodia in the 1970s, the “100 days” in Rwanda in 1994, and the Srebrenica massacre in Bosnia and Herzegovina in July 1995.
- ❖ In 1948, Raphael Lemkin’s concept of genocide was codified and established as an international crime through the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The convention defined the term as “acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such.” It is important to note that the convention’s definition does not include the targeting of political, ideological, economic, professional, or other groups.
- ❖ As defined by the convention, overt acts of genocide include
 - (1) Killing members of the group,
 - (2) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group,
 - (3) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part,
 - (4) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group, and
 - (5) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group



Ethnic cleansing

- ❖ Ethnic cleansing is the intentional act of removing by force or threat of force any national, ethnic, religious, racial, or socioeconomically homogeneous group from a specified area of land, usually within the borders of a sovereign state, up to and including genocide.
- ❖ Although ethnic cleansing may encompass genocide, the term does not mean that the target group is specifically designated for total extermination; rather, the group is targeted for removal from a specific geographical location or expulsion from a population. The target group may be subjected to rape, murder, arson, and torture, among other acts of violence.
- ❖ Some examples of ethnic cleansing are the Americans' treatment of Native Americans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Turkish genocide of Armenians in 1915, the Nazi Holocaust of Jews and Gypsies during World War II (1939–1945), the Balkans conflicts of the 1990s (Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, and Kosovo), the conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan, and the Rohingya mass exodus on Aug. 25, 2017.



Rohingya exodus.
Refugees make their way through the water
after crossing the river to Bangladesh on Nov. 1.
GETTY IMAGES

Apartheid

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- ❖ Apartheid is an Afrikaans word meaning “separateness.” It was the official government policy in South Africa from 1948 until a negotiated transition that culminated in the first democratic elections in 1994, with Nelson Mandela winning.
- ❖ In 1976, the UN General Assembly recognized apartheid as a crime against humanity.
- ❖ Though the majority of its inhabitants were Black, they were dominated by a white minority that controlled the land, the wealth, and the government—a discriminatory social structure that would later be codified in the country’s legal system and called apartheid.
- ❖ Over the next 95 years, Mandela would help topple South Africa’s brutal social order. During a lifetime of resistance, imprisonment, and leadership, Nelson Mandela led South Africa out of apartheid and into an era of reconciliation and majority rule.



Cult of Personality

- ❖ Cult of personality refers to the common practice among twentieth-century dictatorships of promoting religious types of devotion to their national leader.
- ❖ As described in George Orwell's novel 1984, through skillful use of the mass media and pervasive secret police monitoring, a modern state can create fanatical mass adulation of its leader on a scale not possible in premodern dictatorships.
- ❖ In the absence of democratic elections, this provides a mechanism to secure the loyalty of a state's subjects.
- ❖ The term itself originated with the February 1956 speech by Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in which he denounced Joseph Stalin's "cult of personality." Some post-Soviet leaders did generate a so-called cult of personality.
- ❖ One open question is to what extent personality cults are the result of pressure from below, from local officials and ordinary citizens, rather than being simply constructed from above by the national leadership



Xenophobia



- ❖ Xenophobia has come to be defined as the fear of foreigners.
- ❖ Etymologically, *xenophobia* can be broken down into the Greek terms *xenos* (stranger) and *phobos* (fear).
- ❖ In common usage xenophobia refers to a disdain for individuals or groups of persons that are different from oneself. This dislike can range from simple rude comments to much more dangerous forms of intolerance. Therefore, the term can have varying levels of severity in the amount of the fear of the foreign population, as well as in how this fear is manifested in thought and action
- ❖ The future of xenophobia as a human condition is unlikely to end. This, of course, is a sad report on human relations that people fear what is not directly familiar to themselves and their normal experiences.
- ❖ One can only hope that the future will provide increased opportunities for diverse groups and populations to share their cultural traditions in an atmosphere of genuine interest in the other and mutual respect for them and their ways of life.

Discriminatio n



- ❖ Discrimination, in its modern usage, means treating someone unfairly or unfavorably and denying individuals or groups of people equality of treatment.
- ❖ International labor organizations; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; and various United Nations (UN) treaties define discrimination as any distinction, exclusion, or restriction of preference based on race, color, descent, disability, age, sexual orientation or national or ethnic origin that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, or any other field of public life.
- ❖ Four forms of discrimination include inequality in treatment, imposing disabilities, granting privileges, and imposing obligations. Discrimination as denial of equality has many faces, including denial of economic or social opportunities, power, status, access to education, and career opportunities.
- ❖ Girls and women suffer most of the negative impact of rigid gender norms and roles - they are more likely to experience restrictions of their freedom and mobility, they experience epidemic levels of violence and harassment across the globe and have fewer opportunities to choose how to live their lives.
- ❖ Boys and men suffer too. Ideas about what it means to be a man force boys and men to behave in very limited ways which can harm them. Negative masculinities encouraged in boys serve to perpetuate the cycle of discrimination and inequality.
- ❖ Gender discriminations include: Restricted sexual and reproductive rights; Sexual harassment, catcalling; Gender stereotypes at school and work; Objectification and poor representation; and others.

Hate speech



- ❖ Though hate speech comes in many forms, liberal democracies in the earlier twentieth century concerned themselves primarily with speech that vilified or criticized individuals and groups based on the categories of race, nationality, and religion.
- ❖ In the 1920s, the term race hate was the preferred label for such expression, while group libel emerged as the predominant designation in the 1940s and 1950s. By the 1980s and 1990s, gender and sexual orientation were among items added to the list of categories considered hate speech.
- ❖ Human Rights Watch provides a typical contemporary definition of hate speech as “any form of expression regarded as offensive to racial, ethnic and religious groups and other discrete minorities, and to women.”
- ❖ Hate speech and its regulation pose a dilemma for liberal democracies. On the one hand, hate speech threatens social order and the security (or sense of security) of targeted individuals and groups. On the other hand, prohibiting hate speech can threaten freedom of speech, especially if such expression is defined too broadly and the causative link between expression and harm is not direct.

Homophobia

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People of the older generation (from 40 to 60 years old) do not accept same-sex relationships, citing the fact that such contacts do not provide for procreation. In this category of citizens, more than 60% of respondents consider it necessary to revive the criminal prosecution of homosexuals. Most respondents (over 97%) aged 30 to 40 are sure that homosexuals should be isolated from the rest of society, and 60% said that at any opportunity they are ready (both men and women) for physical violence against persons LGBT. And only 3% of respondents agree that people with a homosexual orientation have the same rights as other citizens of Kazakhstan.

Sociological survey of E. Belyayeva

- ❖ Homophobia refers to aversion, bias, or discriminatory actions, attitudes, or beliefs directed toward individuals who either have or are perceived as having nonheterosexual identities such as gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer people (GLBTQ).
- ❖ Closely related terms to homophobia are heteronormativity and heterosexism. *Heteronormativity* refers to the assumption that heterosexuality is and should be the norm. *Heterosexism* (also sometimes called compulsory heterosexuality) refers to the array of attitudes, actions, and institutions that structure heterosexuality as the norm.
- ❖ The institution of marriage, to the extent that it privileges and attaches benefits to certain kinds of relationships such as marriage between opposite-sex couples, is a *heterosexist* one. Next, prohibiting gays and lesbians from marrying each other could be considered homophobic. Finally, the assumption that opposite-sex marriage is “natural,” along with the pervasiveness of opposite-sex-only marriage within society, are reflections of its *heteronormativity*
- ❖ The main characteristics of Kazakhstani legislation in the field of ensuring the rights of LGBTQ representatives are the absence of direct discriminatory provisions for people of homosexual orientation with the simultaneous absence of any mention of their rights, and with the absence of legal mechanisms for protection against discrimination in various areas of their life.
- ❖ According to the Art. 14 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan: “1. Everyone is equal before the law and the courts. 2. No one can be exposed any discrimination based on origin, social, official and property status, gender, race, nationality, language, attitude to religion, beliefs, place of residence or any other circumstances.”

The concept of sexual orientation, although not directly mentioned in Part 2 of Art. 14 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, but, obviously, falls under the category of “other circumstances.” However, there is no explanation for this in scientific and legal comments to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan



“ The ultimate tragedy is not the oppression and cruelty by the bad people but the silence over that by the good people.

Overcoming oppression

- ❖ Detailed political and psychological factors shaping conditions of oppression are needed in order to apply the knowledge to eliminate unjust social policies and practices.
- ❖ This state of increased social awareness develops in stages. Watts and Abdul-Adil (in press) suggest that there is a sequential order to the evolution of critical consciousness:
 1. **Acritical stage:** At this phase people are unaware of power inequalities and their impact on their lives. The belief in a just world prevails. Oppressed individuals accept the legitimizing myths of personal blame and natural causes.
 2. **Adaptive stage:** There is an acknowledgment of power differentials, but the social structure is perceived to be immutable. People try to adapt and benefit from whatever rewards the system can offer.
 3. **Pre-critical stage:** There is an emerging understanding of asymmetric power relations and their adverse effects on the lives of the oppressed. During this stage people question the need to adapt to the system.
 4. **Critical stage:** There is a deeper realization of the sources of oppression, accompanied by the impulse to work toward social change and a more equitable distribution of resources in society.
 5. **Liberation stage:** The experience of oppression becomes obvious. The newly acquired awareness of the sources of disempowerment is followed by involvement in social and political action to eradicate personal and social injustice

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