

## **The Main Directions of the Analysis of Ethnopolitical Processes in the Political System of the Modern World**

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### **Abstract**

In the article the essence of ethno political processes is analyzed, the analysis of the theoretical and methodological basis of modern understanding of political processes separates the definition of ethno political processes in broad and narrow senses. The article considers the main aspects of the concept of ethno political processes and different points of view on the presented problem of both foreign and domestic theorists. And also, at least three groups of research programs are allocated, which are aimed at studying the ethno political process.

**Keywords:** analysis, ethno political process, political processes.

### **INTRODUCTION**

There is no unified view on the subject and the contents of the discipline of ethno-political studies, and generally, we can make out following three simplified views in this respect: 1) ethno-political studies examine the origins and development of the ethno-political reason; 2) ethno-political studies provides the process of ethnic policy-making with the necessary theories, models and conceptual descriptions; 3) ethno-political studies focus on the contemporary ethno-political phenomena and processes. In our view, the points we just provided are contradictory and they illustrate different aspects of the same phenomenon.

It is rather difficult to answer the question of the contents of the events and phenomena, which comprise the subject matter of the discipline of ethno-political studies. We encounter at least two theoretical obstacles if we attempt to answer this question. Firstly, many things directly related to the attitudes and predispositions of the researcher towards the notions of ethnos and nation, which accompany him during the research. The views on the influence of political factors are known as the natural (geo-biological, racial-genetic), mystic and socio-cultural theories of ethnicity. We can also point out the ethnical, socio-civic, state and synthetic theories of nationality. Therefore, as we continue reviewing this notion, the author sees the notions of “ethnicity” and “nation” as notions of different nature, but the ones that have intersecting points. As we stated, the ethnicity has socio-cultural implications, and the notions of nation and nationality have socio-political implications. Both of these notions can and must serve as subjects of ethno-political researches.

### **Review of the literature on the topic**

Now, the description of the contents of the discipline of ethno-political studies depends on the coverage of the research conducted by the researchers, and these researches can both too narrow and too wide. For example, the narrow interpretation of this concept can be exemplified by the concept of M. Parenti, who studied the function of ethno-political science and the relationship between the ethnic origin of people and their political views and positions[1]. Another example of a narrow interpretation of this concept belongs to D. Rothschild, a professor at Columbia University, one of the most famous ethno-political

scientists of today. In his fundamental monograph, *Ethnopolitics: Conceptual Circles*, he defined the goals of the science, only as an analysis of ethno-political renaissance processes and the role of politicized ethnic groups in the political life of the country and the world in general[2]. Another well-known scholar, Pierre van den Berghe, cites only the relationship between the state and ethnic minorities as the main content of ethno-political studies[3]. A large group of other scholars (including K. Deutsch, E. Smith, G. Seton-Watson, and others) cite the study of various forms of nationalism and the relationship between them and the state as the subject of ethno-political studies[4].

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The present research employs such general and philosophical methods as historical method, objectivity, abstraction, concrete methods, system analysis, and comparative analysis.

## **ANALYSIS AND RESULTS**

However, proponents of the narrow interpretation of the phenomenon dominated in the 1960s and 1970s. Later, the subject area of ethno-political studies expanded and deepened. This is reflected in the published works: the newer the date of publication of the works, the wider the interpretation of the scope of their research. Beginning in the 1990s, many authors began to cite not only minority issues, nations, and nationalist issues, but also various social, cultural, and political processes at different taxonomic levels, including meta-ethnic societies, as a field of ethno-political science research. The activity of different ethno-political actors is considered both at the national and international levels, in interaction with different types of political systems[5].

The author also advocates a broad interpretation of the structure of ethno-political science, understanding it as a combination of two interrelated and complementary approaches. The first - "from ethnicity to politics" - involves the study of ethnic characteristics of social and political actors and their impact on politics (for example, the specifics of political activity of different ethnic groups, and the attitudes of different nationalities to the state strategy) specific features, etc.). The second, "from politics to ethnicity," is the study of the impact of political events and processes on ethnic development and interethnic relations. The second example deals with three types of relations: 1) relations between ethnic communities and political institutions in the state; 2) the relationship between different ethnic units, and finally, 3) the relationship between the individual and the ethnic community, only in the final type of relationship will it be important how the socio-political factors in that relationship mediate.

Ethno-political studies is an interdisciplinary field of research today that is at the crossroads of several disciplines, primarily political science, sociology, and ethnology.

This trend is relatively new in origin, and it is possible that the novelty of the subject, the absence of rigid, dogmatic views, also led to differences in views on the nature and composition of ethno-political phenomena. Even the classification of approaches to this problem poses a major problem, as many authors offer different solutions to this problem. Some authors classify ethno-political currents and schools according to the principle of universality and relativism of their historical origin; others - distinguish between the objectivism and subjectivism of concepts; and members of the third type classify ethno-

political concepts according to their relation to the phenomenon of ethnicity and its mono- or multi-factorial nature[6].

In our opinion, it would be expedient to use the historical-genetic method in the analysis of the diversity of approaches to the issue under consideration. By placing different concepts on a historical scale, it is only possible to trace the cradles of the origins of basic ethno-political doctrines, in part, to complement the various ideas described by many today as antagonistic and contradictory. One can witness that it is related. Historical-genetic analysis shows that ethno-political knowledge has not developed in a straight line; its development path consists of various vicissitudes and difficulties. Researchers who have lived and worked in different eras have come up with ideas that seem to have been forgotten or rejected, but which at times have become extremely relevant at a particular point in history.

It is difficult to say exactly who introduced the terms "ethnic politics" and "ethno-political science" and when. According to some researchers of the history of ethno-political thought, the first mention of the term "ethnic politics" dates back to the 1920s and to the name of M. Boehm, a professor at the Berlin High School. He was the founder of the Ethno-Political Almanac, the first of its kind in Berlin and published regularly in Berlin before World War II [7]. Other authors avoid the notion that there are only pioneers of such a trend, so as not to confuse the emerging ethno-political studies with racist theories about some kind of "Third Reich."

However, in general, it does not matter who introduced the terms "ethnic politics" and the resulting "ethno-political science" into scientific circulation. More important is when this trend became systemic and when it was interpreted as ethno-political by the authors themselves. It can be said without hesitation that this period was the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, when the collapse of colonialism, the formation of new nation-states, the work of national revival in them and the wave of ethnic awakening associated with these processes.

V.A. Tishkov gives several reasons for the "global ethnic awakening phenomenon". He cited "the desire to eliminate historical, socio-political injustices that have accumulated over the long years of the existence of colonial empires and neo-colonialist policies towards many nations, discrimination against immigrant, racial and ethno-religious groups of the population of multinational states" as the first reason for it[8]. Another reason cited by V. Tishkov is expressed in the terms of modernization transformations, and it is "related to a number of objective processes related to the scientific and technological development, urbanization, mixing and equalizing tendencies of ethnic communities and lifestyles. Ethnicity, cultural identity, serves as a protective reaction against a number of alienating and inhumane aspects of modern civilization, moving from the material (housing, clothing, and economic activities) to the spiritual sphere. We must not forget that in the context of growing environmental problems, there is a growing pressure on human communities to use the resources they need to survive"[9].

Given the role of the post-colonial era in the formation of views on ethnic and national processes in the political sciences, it can be said that overemphasizing the roots of ethno-political science does not meet scientific criteria. If the same political doctrines of ethnic and national relations have emerged relatively recently, the roots of ethno-political thought go back to the ancient past.

Certain views on the relationship between the state and different peoples, as well as on the origins of certain folk traditions, can be found in the works of Aristotle, Plato and Seneca. Attempts were made at that time to give the first scientific descriptions of these phenomena. For centuries, even millennia, these views of ancient authors have found their place in the teachings of certain schools and disciplines that study ethnicity and national relations. For example, the roots of the ideas of F. Ratzel, L.Frobenius and L.Gumilev on geographical determinism can be found in the works of Herodotus and Aristotle; The roots of ethno-sociology and ethno-political science, such as primordialism, can be traced in the works of Plato and Tacitus. It can be found in the works of Democritus and Lucretius, who also proposed an initial classification of the levels of cultural development of nations.

From ancient times, the ideas of what is now called nationalism or nationalism have taken root. These ideas include the idea that one's own nation is "the chosen one", the Messianic view of other nations, and, of course, the establishment, protection, and consolidation of one's own state, which is the highest duty of the people[10].

The Middle Ages are marked by a certain loss of interest in theoretical research in this field and, in a sense, the abandonment and oblivion of the achievements of antiquity. In addition, aspects of ethno-political knowledge related to practical policy were strengthened. Initially, they emerged in the form of attempts to describe and understand the "political" actions and intentions of other, "foreign" nations toward their own nation. Often in the Byzantine Empire, between the 6th and 10th centuries, attention was paid to such practical aspects in entering into political relations with peoples by Byzantine authors (Jordan, Mauritius, Constantine, etc.). The plan of Christian states to form alliances with the Mongols in order to oppose the Muslims can be said to have originated because of the travels of European monks such as Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and William of Rubruck (13th century) to the East. It must be noted that during this period, travelers like Marco Polo were motivated to travel to the East not only by commercial interests, but also by the existing system of government in their eastern countries and aspects that can be described as politically significant. The conquest of new overseas lands by European countries served as a new impetus for the growth of ethno-political knowledge and its rise to a new level "in the era of great discoveries" (mid-15th century)[11].

Society, like an individual, compares itself to those around it before it realizes itself. Therefore, it is no coincidence that researchers' interest in the life of other peoples preceded the study of their own, and foreign policy tasks (in modern terms) initially stimulated ethno-political research to a greater extent than the tasks and problems of domestic policy. However, one of the biggest impetus for the development of ethno-political views has to do with a deep sense of concern for the fate of one's own people and one's homeland. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527), one of the most prominent figures of the Renaissance and one of the most ardent supporters of the idea of a united Italy, may have had the same feeling. Machiavelli considered himself not only a resident of Florence and a subject of its duke, but also a representative of the Italian people, although at the same time he noted with regret that there was no Italy as such. In my opinion, his writings contain not only the rudiments of ethno-political knowledge, as in previous periods, but also the first ethno-political concepts.

In his magnum opus, *The Prince*, Machiavelli was one of the first to raise the question of the unification of the fragmented ethnic units with the borders of the states and the aims of it.

Machiavelli developed the "technology" of ethno-political integration, or more precisely, the national unification movement. According to Machiavelli, there are at least four conditions for national integration:

1. "A strong leader". Unity requires a wise and courageous ruler who knows his people, their needs, their past and cares about their future. In addition, he must be cunning in dealing with enemies, and at times be ruthless. Machiavelli cites the ability to choose loyal and wise advisers around him as the most important aspects of a leader.
2. "Strong army". The struggle for the unification of Italy requires a strong army and not mercenaries, and not allied troops of different principalities, but a standing people's army.
3. "Uniform symbols". Machiavelli speaks of a common banner, but it follows from the work that we are talking not only about national symbols, but, in fact, he means what will later be called a "national idea", i.e. a set of priorities and values that mobilize people for the national liberation struggle and national unification
4. "Psychological unity". A number of Machiavelli's ideas, in particular about the readiness of the people to fight, were subsequently interpreted by researchers as a forerunner of the idea of patriotism, as the main factor determining the psychological readiness of people to unite different, but ethnically homogeneous territories into a single state. At the same time, if such readiness of people (patriotism) disappears, then the sovereign must get the people to unite by force.

Jean Bodin (1520-1596) was another Renaissance thinker who contributed to the development of ethno-political science. He was one of the first to define the concept of sovereignty. If in the Middle Ages state power was seen as a treaty between a ruler and his vassals, from the 16th century onwards sovereignty began to be interpreted as a relationship of sovereignty and subordination that united the monarch and his subjects. Of course, this view was an appeal to the concept of sovereignty only within the framework of an absolute monarchy. In addition, J. Bodin gives a classification of nations, in which he divides nations into "good" and "bad" types. The very nature of this classification reflected the contempt for the peoples living outside France at that time. What matters here is the attempt to define the relationship between politics and ethnicity, or, in Bodin's own words, "people's values"[12]. During the Renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, interest in both anthropological and ethno-political themes increased at an unprecedented rate, and these themes strongly influenced the work of thinkers of this period.

There has been a new interpretation and understanding of the ideas of geographical determinism that have been known since ancient times. At the same time, ideas about the impact of the natural environment on peoples, their customs, as well as on their socio-political organization were first theoretically formulated in the works of Montesquieu. A new, much more detailed and rational than in ancient times, scheme of general historical stages of cultural development (Turgot, Voltaire, Fergusson, Condorcet) was also developed. All these socio-historical theories played a role in the ideological preparation of concepts that can be defined as the direct forerunner of modern ethno-political studies.

Among the thinkers of the period in question, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) was one of the first thinkers to address the problems of ethno-political science today, first of all, the problem of the nation. He was one of the first to speak of social contract and partnership, and the English philosopher interpreted it as a mechanism for legitimizing the monarch to act on

behalf of the state. Hobbes was one of the first to study the relationship between the concepts of "people" and "population." The term "nation" as used by Hobbes is consistent with the term "nation" used by experts in the field today. Hobbes argues that all people living in a single country can be called a nation: a nation is a kind of unity that has a single will, and a single action can be ordered. Almost a hundred years after the philosopher's death (in 1755), an annotated "Dictionary of the English Language" was published, which was one of the first to define the concept of "nation"[13] as "the people of a single country, those under a single government." Hobbes was one of the first to define the concept of people's sovereignty, but his works do not analyze the relationship between the sovereignty of the people and the ruler. In addition, as he noted earlier, a nation with a united will can be a source of power. In many ways, Hobbes developed Machiavelli's political approach, which revolved around the idea of uniting the people into a single state, and sought to define the boundaries of what later became known as the "nation-state."

According to many modern ethno-political scientists, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was one of the greatest thinkers of the Renaissance who made the greatest contribution to modern concepts of the nation. In his famous work *On the Principles of Social Contract or Political Law*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau establishes three fundamental ideas: 1) the idea of freedom and equality of individuals and peoples as the highest value; 2) the idea of the sovereignty of the people as a reflection of the concept of the sovereignty of the ruler; 3) the idea of the people as a citizen of the republic, not an ethnic unit[14]. According to L.Snyder, author of the much more famous and authoritative *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, the socio-civic (i.e., ethnic) ideas about the nation and nationalism that exist today are the work of JJ Russo and are then direct successors to the ideas that emerged under the influence of the French Revolution[15].

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, known in historiography as the "new era", gave another impetus to the development and formation of modern ethno-political concepts.

The work of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) influenced both the development of the theory of the nation and the development of ethnography and anthropology. At the same time, if in anthropology Kant was in captivity of the idea of the natural properties of ethnicity, prevailing from ancient times to the end of the 19th century, then in his socio-political views he was largely ahead of his time and stimulated the development of modern ideas about the essence of society and nation ... Under the term "people" Kant understood not just the population of a certain area, but an association of people bound by the idea of common origin (later this idea or "myth of the unity of origin" anthropologists will evaluate as the most important element of the theory of ethnicity), as well as common citizenship. He called such a union a nation[16]. Kant puts forward the idea of a union of independent states, which is still relevant and important today. Such an alliance, according to the thinker, was to be the guarantor of the freedom and independence of the independent states and the guardian of eternal peace between them[17]. To a certain extent, this idea can be considered the prototype of the concept of the world community, the international organization of the United Nations. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) undoubtedly had a huge impact on social science (of that time and now), including the process of advancing the science towards understanding the essence of nation and ethnicity.

Hegel's ideas about the essence of the nation were somewhat further from current ideas than many of the concepts of his predecessors, thinkers of the Enlightenment. It is, first, about the refusal of Hegel, who absolutized and even deified the autocratic state as the highest spiritual value from the idea of "popular sovereignty". At the same time, it was in Hegel's works that many of the terms that have now become generally recognized, including "state-nation", were reflected. Hegel understood a nation as a community in which two parents, on the one hand, are a clan, a tribe, subsequently transformed into ethnic communities, and on the other hand, these are social institutions that arise with the emergence of states[18]. This idea of two sources of the nation's origin is still at the center of discussions about the essence of this phenomenon, and in my opinion, it is extremely fruitful, although usually modern authors do not refer to Hegel's priority as a pioneer of this approach. S. Avineri first noticed this[19].

First half of the 19th century - were marked by the emergence of new interests and new points of view in the area of interest to us. The most understandable reason for the growing interest in ethnic politics was the growth of national liberation movements in empires. At this time, such movements shook the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires in the Balkans and the Russian empires in the Caucasus and Poland especially strongly. Interest in ethnology also increased in connection with the weakening of the positions of absolutist forms of government and the growing influence of constitutional forms of government. Under the influence of the revolutions in France, England, the Netherlands, the growth of constitutionalism in the Scandinavian countries, additional resources were required to legitimize the imperial power, which in this connection became interested in its national roots. Then a "folklorized" policy appeared, the expression of which in Russia was the Uvarov concept of nationality.

Of course, they stimulated interest in ethnology and national unification processes. Therefore, in the elite circles of the German states, they increasingly began to talk about a single German ethnic community, divided by many state borders. It was at this time that the ideas of uniting the people became extremely popular in the Prussian kingdom, which claimed (in a dispute with Austria) for the role of leader of the unification of the German lands. All this stimulated interest in the past of the Germans and the Germanic peoples in general. Hence homeland studies ("Volkskunde"), the collection and publication of monuments of poetic folk art, and sometimes their deliberate forgery. The search for common origins and historical roots of the German people stimulated interest in myths, legends about the origin of the Germans, about their heroic history. At this time, the so-called "mythological" school (Grimm, Kuhn, Schwarz, Müller) developed in the German states, explaining the peculiarities of folk traditions by the reflection of ancient Germanic myths in them[20]. This mythological theory, which sometimes took on a mystical form, became so popular that it was reflected in the ideological teachings of the Third Reich.

## CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Socio-political thought developed differently in France. Here, in contrast to Germanic mythologism and mysticism, purely rationalistic theories of positivism (Auguste Comte) and universalism of world historical development prevailed, in which there was no place for ethnic specificity. These schemes of universal world-historical development were much poorer in content than the ideas of progress among the thinkers of the 18th century.

Despite the wavelike nature of the development of ethnopolitical knowledge, in which periods of the rise of theoretical research were replaced by times of stagnation and even some conceptual regression, there was still a historical advance towards a fuller understanding of the essence of ethnic and national problems. It was prepared not only by the accumulation of factual material, but also by the crystallization of the subject of research.

In the second half of the 19th century, important, in my opinion, revolutionary changes in views on these problems occurred. Firstly, in the 60-70s of the XIX century, the study of the problems of ethnicity and nations spun off from general philosophical discourses on the development of society and become an independent branch of knowledge. Of course, this was not ethno-political studies yet, but some kind of interdisciplinary scientific direction, including elements of ethnology (anthropology), sociology, psychology, and political knowledge. Secondly, within the new complex of knowledge, the demarcation of subject areas related to the study of ethnicity and the problems of nations began as interrelated but specific subject areas.

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