

## CONCEPT AND CAUSES OF ETHNOPOLITICAL CONFLICT

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**Annotation:** Most countries of the world are distinguished by ethnic diversity. As a result, many social, economic, or political problems and conflicts within multi-ethnic states can also cause ethnic and religious conflicts. Today research in the field of ethnic conflicts is being conducted very actively. This article examines the concept and causes of ethnopolitical conflicts.

**Keywords:** conflict; types of ethnic conflict; the stages of conflict; conflict prediction.

In conflict situations, the contradictions that exist between communities of people united based on ethnicity are exposed. Not every conflict involves an entire ethnic group, it can be a part of it, a group that feels or even realizes the contradictions that lead to conflict. In essence, conflict is a way to resolve conflicts and problems, and they can often be more effective than expected.

Conflicts often arise due to a misunderstanding of the nature of inter-ethnic conflicts or the process of resolution. A functional approach to understanding conflict is characteristic of most ethno-conflictologists. V.A. Tishkov defines inter-ethnic conflict as "any form of civil, political, or armed conflict in which one or more of the parties act, act, or suffer based on ethnic differences."

According to him, it is impossible to give a different definition to this process, because the inter-ethnic conflict cannot be separated from its "pure appearance", because they do not exist in nature in this state. Cases of one nation clashing with another in early times due to ethnic differences or some internal differences are hardly known. In general, science has not proven that such contradictions exist in human nature.

The phenomenon of ethnic conflicts also hindered the development of the socialist or totalitarian state as an "ideological obstacle" that pushed back the development of national movements.

The same shortcomings suffer from attempts to explain conflicts with a clash of economic interests of the elite or with a crude materialistic perception of them as the result of society's poverty and struggle for resources. Ethnic conflicts also occur in rich

countries; another thing is that there are other legitimate means of implementing elite interests.

None of the concepts can fully explain the occurrence and localization of conflicts. The fact that there are many theories about the emergence of ethnic conflicts indicates that they are not able to adequately explain the causes and factors of conflicts.

Interethnic conflicts in their pure form are very rare. Usually, the conflict that arose on an economic, socio-political, or other basis acquires an ethnic character only in the process of its intensification. There are two approaches to explaining ethnic conflicts in modern literature: political science and sociology.

According to the first, political approach, the essence is the result of a structural conflict between the cultural hegemony of capitalism and the ethnic diversity of the world, which arises from two processes: a) through the colonization or conquest of peripheral regions and peoples; b) through the emergence of nation-states.

The first process, suppression, has always faced resistance from people seeking to preserve their way of life and ecological environment. "Consequently, integration into the system is a dialectical historical process that leads both to the emergence of systemic relations with the system and to people's resistance to the project of capitalist civilization."

As for nation-states, their role is to control the source of discontent of rebellious minorities. The modern world system is inventing nations where they do not exist. Modern nations are an "imaginary political unit". The emergence of sovereign states in the framework of interstate relations simultaneously gives rise to the emergence within the framework of "people" states, the second main component of historical capitalism. Therefore, nationalism has always been closely related to racism, genocide, and intolerance, without which the state cannot control its members and unite its citizens around a common civilization and official history.

The first explanations of their causes at the beginning of mass ethnic conflicts, in particular, in connection with national movements in Armenia and the Baltic republics after the events of Alma-Ota (1986), Yakutia (1986), and Sumgait (1988). In the USSR, scientists and politicians often commented on these events based on their professional and social status.

In addition to political versions, a model of socio-structural changes has been proposed as a basis for the contradictions that lead to conflict. It was put forward by ethnosociologists who believe that the basis of ethnic conflict is the processes related to the modernization and intellectualization of people. Without these processes, the metropolis cannot develop like the regions. They led to increased competition between titular nations and Turkic peoples in prestigious activities. Such ideas and values did not correspond to the ideas of the Turks in the republics. Most of them came to different regions of the new region with different intentions and, therefore, they felt superior to

the local population and titular ethnic groups.

This approach focuses on changes in the potential of ethnic groups claiming privileged, prestigious places, including those in power, in a certain historical period. Group values are also changing. A similar situation was observed earlier in Europe (in the 70s of the 20th century), the position of Walloons and Flemings changed in Belgium; in Canada, when French Canadians began to catch up to the social and economic potential of English-Canadians. This situation can continue for a long time after the modification claims are filed. But this will last as long as the central government is strong (including under totalitarianism). If it loses its legitimacy, as it did in the USSR, at least in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it will begin to have the ability not only to make claims but also to enforce them. The further development of events - the escalation or reduction of the conflict - largely depends on the state of the central government.

Of course, one of the explanations is offered, which may even be the main one in some cases, but not for all disputes. In some of them, the sociological parameter can be found by studying the process of formation of an "enemy image" in Uzbek markets by an ethnic group, for example, Meskheti Turks, or economic intermediaries such as "persons of Caucasian nationality", "economic business". The social "insurance" of the conflict may include unemployment covering one ethnic group in a multi-ethnic community.

V.A. Tishkov believes that, in general, "opposition and competition in the field of labor relations and economic interactions can rarely be included among the main factors of major conflicts." But in such a statement, in our opinion, there is a simplification of the approach that the author calls sociological.

First, sociological approaches are divided into different types; secondly, our approach (in terms of social and structural changes) assumes not only competition in the field of labor relations (concerning this field we often talk about employment) and economic interactions but also the field of power, management competition.

If we talk about world sociology, this approach is close to the explanatory concept of conflicts by T. Parsons within the framework of the structural-functional model recognized by W. Newman, and D. Snyder, and filled to some extent. C. Tilly, L. Coser. While studying the modernization of traditional societies, the approach of S. Huntington, who focused on high political mobilization in transition periods, was not unreasonable to some extent. He explained this by the fact that urbanization, education, and the wide availability of information create new needs and ideas about how to meet them among the groups involved in the modernization process.

Ethnic conflicts in the USSR and the post-Soviet region appeared much later than the beginning of acute inter-ethnic conflicts. The main reason for the emergence of such conflict situations is the desire of social groups, which have again intervened in

the political process, to give their interpretation to the national interests of the society.

In addition to the structural-functional approach, there are also behavioral concepts in the models for explaining the causes of ethnic conflicts. They do not deny the importance of social-structural factors but focus on social-psychological mechanisms that cause conflict. Within these concepts, aggressiveness - the theory of aggression (D. Dollard, N. Miller, L. Berkowitz) is widespread.

Sociologists and political scientists study real socio-cultural and political situations and fill this theory with concrete content. Thus, T. Gurr, under his leadership, a cross-national study was conducted in 114 countries of the world, showing the importance of relative deprivation in inter-ethnic conflicts. At the same time, the risk of deprivation was not only emphasized in connection with the deterioration of the living conditions of the group but it was seen as a gap between people's values – expectations, and opportunities. However, both in Canada and Belgium, everyone lives well, and there are ethnic conflicts.

Within the framework of the concept of frustration, the theory of relative deprivation emphasizes that it is not only a bad financial situation that leads to the search for the "image of the enemy". Perhaps researchers focus on specific assumptions and directions without which it is impossible to study processes.

If we turn to the situation in the Soviet Union in the 70s and 80s of the 20th century, we can find confirmation of this theory there. During the period of improvement of the social situation, the needs and expectations of the people increased dramatically, which required a breakthrough in the field of general modernization. Instead, other processes began: the deterioration of the economic situation in the country and the increase of political instability. Fear and resentment grew among people of all nationalities, but those experiencing the transition from traditional to modern society directed their discontent towards the Center and the Russians associated with it.

Unrealized expectations are often characteristic of groups that have intellectual potential, and wealth, but do not have high prestige and social status corresponding to their ideas about themselves. G. Lenski pointed out that such status inconsistencies create a very frustrated majority within the group and encourage conflict. The situation in Karabakh, where Armenians are better educated and wealthier, but not included in power structures as they consider fair, has created a sense of constant violation, uncertainty, and injustice in them.

It is believed that the theory of human needs originates from the frustration-aggression theory. According to him, racial and ethnic groups experience deep feelings of alienation and hostility towards communities that, in their view, lack the "necessary conditions for development" and are "guilty" of meeting the vital needs of their members. experiences.

The denial of the group's basic needs, including the need for identity and security, creates the "fear of annihilation" of the group, which, according to Gurr, makes ethnic conflict a permanent and inevitable element of the socio-political system.

The following arguments are usually given to prove the failure of this explanatory concept:

1) ethnic groups are not so united, they constantly fight for identity. Conflicts within groups are no less destructive than between groups;

2) "Violence is not initiated by groups that are the weakest in terms of "basic needs"; the instigators of the suppression of "others" are groups that have a titular status and have developed cultural institutions (more precisely, representatives of their elite) is the cause of all";

3) studies and other data on ethnic origins in conflict situations do not support the deep-rooted theses of inter-ethnic alienation and hatred;

4) It is dangerous to apply the thesis that legitimizes the concept of "violence due to group needs".

The last two arguments are undeniable; the first concerns the situation of the ethnic group outside of acute inter-ethnic conflict; in the context of an inter-ethnic conflict, as a rule, intra-group contradictions disappear. As for the second argument, the beginning of conflicts happens in different ways, and perhaps it is difficult to understand which options prevail. But when the demanding group made their claim public, it appears that the violence was initiated by the titular group. In such situations, the choice of the way and form of conflict resolution largely depends on the elites of the opposing parties.

The question of the role of elites is one of the most important issues in explaining the causes of conflicts. In the works of UC Tilly and his co-authors, it is most organically included in the concept of collective action developed in historical, sociological, and political aspects.

The concept of collective action deserves serious attention in explaining inter-ethnic conflicts. The main thing in it is to justify the primacy of collective interests that motivate people to act on their behalf, to choose this or that form of action. Not resentment, but "imposing the collective interest on the possibility of achieving it" is seen as a mechanism that shapes actions. The struggle between groups is not general, but rather specific issues. According to Tilly, people are most mobilized by issues of political life related to the struggle for power.

One of the Russian experts who was the first to talk about the phenomenon of power in ethnic conflicts was V.A. Tishkov. "This issue of power, the hedonistic desire of elite elements in society to acquire it, and its connection with material rewards in the form of access to resources and privileges, is the key to understanding the reasons for the growth of nationalism and ethnic conflicts." he wrote in 1993.



Russian Federation "Staff of Ethnopolitical and Regional Research Center" analyzed ethnic conflicts in neighboring countries. He considered it appropriate to highlight the historical reasons for the emergence and escalation of conflicts. These include injustices in the administrative-political hierarchy of nations (union, autonomous republics, autonomous regions, districts, etc.); arbitrarily changing the borders of national entities; Deportation of people is one of them.

The transition to democratization, which was accompanied by the struggle of the old and new political elites in the society, became the detonator that led to the "ethnopolitical tone" of the struggle in the multi-ethnic society. Useless, inconsistent steps towards turning the state into a real federation, and attempts to forcefully stop the disintegration tendencies in the republics (Tbilisi events of 1989, Baku events of 1990, Vilnius events of 1991) led to the aggravation of ethnopolitical conflicts.

Some conflicts are considered a result of the collapse of the USSR when the former autonomies in the republics began to fight "for their share of political and territorial heritage" or those who wanted to get it (Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Gagauzia, Georgia, Transnistria in Moldova, Karabakh in Azerbaijan).

E.A. Another important factor noted by Poven. This is the mutual alienation of nations. As a result of the armed conflict, ethnophobia and xenophobia, prejudice and hatred of the enemy, which are growing among the general population, have become so strong that they put pressure on the authorities, reducing their willingness to communicate and resolve conflicts in the future.

An interesting attempt to move away from the initial conceptual models in the study of the ethnic conflict was an interesting description of the Osh conflict, which used the method of "thematizing the description" of the conflict, adhering to the textual version of the events in the court verdicts. Such an approach to the analysis of conflict, including its causes, is perhaps described as anthropological.

Conflicts are often referred to as "stratification." Therefore, it is important not only to identify the main causes of a particular conflict but also to see the diversity of all the factors that make it up. With different explanatory models of conflicts, the adequacy of choosing a particular model depends on the type of conflict we want to study.

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