

THE REACTIONARY WAVE OF PUBLIC OPINION (AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE SITUATION IN KAZAKHSTAN)

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Abstract

In this article, the factors that form public opinion, the principle of their categorization, the scope of influence according to the characteristics of manifestation (horizontal and vertical wave range), driving mechanisms (organization, management and control forces of public opinion), attributes that change social opinion (factors that move from simplicity to generality, from it to specificity), the changing goals and interests of public opinion (local, regional, global area), as well as the elements of the institutional system that organizes, manages and controls public opinion. Conceptual opinions regarding the contours, stages (waves) of the movement are analyzed socio-philosophically, and the factors affecting the public consciousness are classified as systematic, interconnected, it is revealed on the basis of comparative analysis, expert survey and content analysis. In the article, the influence of pessimistic changes in public psychology on "social peace", "people's way of life", "stability of times" is studied, relying on the legality of the sociometric method and on the example of the situation in Kazakhstan, a socio-political analysis is performed, and the dynamics of change of the "influence elements" showing the trend of its development are mathematically modeled (using the "Chi-square criterion" method developed by Carl Pearson). A scientific forecast is put forward on the existing potential of "external forces" aimed at influencing public opinion. In addition, the main focus is on the "psychology of internal possibilities", which coordinates the mental and emotional forces operating in the human psyche, and which was put forward in the "psychotherapy" teaching of the Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud - unconsciously generated mental processes, which are given to the team by external forces. The "social significance" of the motivational influence was analyzed based on the data base focused on real reality (as an example of the processes in Kazakhstan), and a "social portrait" of its existence and future plans was developed.

Keywords: local public opinion; regional; global manifestation

Introduction

Public opinion is a product of processes moving from simplicity to generality and becoming more specific according to the form of manifestation. It is also a simple fact that the stage of formation of public opinion is classified according to the course of events. Scientific conclusions are given on many opinions about how its changing "face" (in relation to goals and demands) is renewed and eventually creates a "public wave"*. In particular, Гольцендорф Ф. Роль общественного мнения в государственной жизни. 1881; Руссо Ж.Ж. Об общественном договоре или принципы политического права. 1938; Ноэль-Нойман Э. Общественное мнение. Открытие спирали молчания. 1996; Почепцов Г.Г. Паблик рилейшнз, или Как успешно управлять общественным мнением. 1998; Тард Г. Мнение и толпа. Психология толп. 1999; Сурмин Ю.П. Теория общественного мнения. 1999; Федотова М.Г. Формирование общественного мнения как управляемый процесс: Информационный аспект. 2002; Липпман У. Общественное мнение. 2004 and in the hypotheses put forward by others - it is revealed on the basis of scientific evidence and practical studies how

powerful the speed of public opinion tension is, how powerful it is to weaken any power (state authority) that falls under its influence.

If we rely on the logic of the approach based on the main goal of the research, **the first "wave"** in the formation of public opinion occurs in a local (local, limited to a certain area) manner, usually limited to a narrow audience. This stage is considered important in the formation of public opinion, and depending on the attitude of the authorities to public opinion, its range expands. If the stimulatory forces of public opinion are allowed, then a second wave of public opinion will form, creating a surge of public opinion similar to the events that occurred in Kazakhstan in January 2022. On the contrary, if serious attention (attitude) is given to public opinion, the speed of its development will be limited and the second "wave" of public opinion will be stopped. An example of this is the events that occurred in Uzbekistan in July 2022.

The second "wave" is a change in the regional (group of regions or on the scale of countries) significance, although it does not radically differ from the local stage according to the sphere of influence, but in the main factors (goals and interests) that motivate the formation of public opinion.

The third "wave" is considered to be a global (planetary, breadth according to the characteristics of social space) stage, and when this breadth occurs, the goal, demand, and nature of public opinion will change, that is, the goal at the local and regional level and the permanence of interests will remain in history. Such changes in the nature of public opinion are evaluated by D. Droba as wildness (Droba, 1931) in public opinion, that is, unbridled power.

In general, in developing the classification of factors influencing the formation of public opinion in the article, the main attention is paid to the following:

Firstly, in the structure of objects and subjects of public opinion: qualitative and quantitative changes, individuality and relative independence, continuity and permanence according to the principles of democracy and tolerance, mutual compromise, their integration, on the basis of a common goal, interest, organizing and managing, to require the policy of the democratic-legal state, which determines the tactics of the implementation of its strategic tasks;

Secondly, to the fact that the integration of social units into public opinion based on reciprocity does not exclude their interests in a narrow range of purposes: based on individualism, egocentrism, ethno egocentrism and Mercantile;

Thirdly, in the construction of the state and society: to increase the role of national, mass, corporate, elite public opinion, to create a harmony of differential-factorial and complex-systemic approaches to their individual potential;

Fourth, to model the correlative relationship between qualitative and quantitative indices of the system of determining factors and objective conditions affecting the functional integration of public opinion-forming institutions and the functional integration of forming social objects using mathematical methods, predicting its development trends

and prospects from the point of view of doing, attention is paid to the factors that show important theoretical, methodological and practical importance.

Based on the principles mentioned above, the article:

- The principle of categorization of factors affecting the formation of public opinion is developed;
- The stages of transition of public opinion from individuality to generality, thereby to particularity, are considered as a philosophical category, and the law of correlative relationship between them is found;
- Mechanisms of organization, management and control of public opinion are considered as "control panel" and the principle of functional connection between them is indicated;
- The horizontal-vertical directions of the dynamics of public opinion change are found and their "wave character" is shown;
- Three-wave (third reaction) stages of public opinion are mathematically modeled, and a correlation between them is found.

Literature review

A number of studies are being conducted in the world within this topic. In particular, the influence of public opinion on public policy (Paul Burstein, 2003, p. 29-40). The impact of public opinion on the dynamics of reforms (Sanjay Jain & Sharon Mukand, 2005, p. 21). Reconsideration of public opinion variability (Thomas Fitzgerald, 2008, p. 45-62). The purpose, essence and stages of formation of public opinion (Lee Epstein, 2012, p. 141-148). Public Opinion: Social Attitudes. (Edward Freeland, 2015, p. 562-568). Major changes in European public opinion regarding the European Union (Jacques Nancy, 2016, p. 68). Why should public opinion matter in a country? (Radhika Pethe, 2018, p. 66-69).

Objectives and methodology

Based on the "Analysis and Synthesis" method, the data collected within the framework of the planned problem were analyzed socio-philosophically, and the initial hypotheses on the causes of the problem were developed. In order to achieve the goal of the research, **firstly** the "Analysis and Synthesis" method was the basis for dividing the data into parts, fragments and directions, and allowed to summarize and systematize their sum into a whole. **Secondly**, "Analysis and synthesis" was the basis for finding qualitatively immanent signs of the "position" formed in public opinion, clarifying its socio-political, economic, cultural signs, and classifying the stage of development of the problem. The parts formed in the process of classification of the collected data were divided into parts and their functional relationship was found. On the basis of data differentiation, various parts related to the whole, but functionally unrelated, were systematized and the commonality between them was proved.

The mathematical model of the correlation between the data was developed using the "Chi-square criterion" method, and the coefficient of importance of the factors influencing the formation of public opinion was found. In other words, with the help of the "X² criterion" method, the range of public opinion $\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^m \frac{(E_i - T_i)^2}{T_i}$ from particularity to generality, from that to particularity was shown. For this:

E_i- the value of the factor;

i- Empirical value by factor;

T_i- was determined as a theoretical value. As we know, the empirical value is the same as the original value in the database (from the table below). The theoretical value is determined by the following formula:

$$T_i = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^n X_{ij} \cdot \sum_{k=1}^m X_{kj}}{\sum_{j=1}^n \sum_{k=1}^m X_{kj}}$$

Here:

m- Number of factors;

n- The number of criteria;

x_{ij}-and j- is the order number indicating the number of respondents in the i-factor according to the j- criterion. Summarizing this formula, the formula for finding the χ^2 coefficient of individual criteria is as follows:

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^m \frac{\left(E_i - \frac{\sum_{j=1}^n X_{ij} \cdot \sum_{k=1}^m X_{kj}}{\sum_{j=1}^n \sum_{k=1}^m X_{kj}} \right)^2}{\frac{\sum_{j=1}^n X_{ij} \cdot \sum_{k=1}^m X_{kj}}{\sum_{j=1}^n \sum_{k=1}^m X_{kj}}}$$

On the basis of this formula, data are systematized and compared in a logical sequence, and a typology of abstraction between "waves" of public opinion is shown while summarizing the correlation relationship between the stages of formation of public opinion.

Results

First of all, the formation of public opinion, although in the stichy night, but depending on the sphere of influence, the wavy movement, the vertical in the ward, the horizontal in the ward changes its position along the line, the speed of its (public opinion) tension is determined by internal mental emotions.

Secondly, increasing the role of public opinion in the democratization of society and state administration depends on the creation of the moral and legal foundations of the constitutional freedom of its subjects, ideological space, and information transformation technology.

Thirdly, the integration of public opinion based on mutual interest of the social units that make up the society excludes its egoistic, utilitarian and mercantile aspects within the framework of narrow goals.

Fourthly, according to the possibilities of democratic and tolerant alternative financial opinion, mutual compromise, integration of document objects and subjects requires the creation and management of the state policy.

Fifth, the principle of a complex-systemic approach to the analysis of the laws of correlative relations between the determining factors of optimal-rational development of society and the state and real public opinion ensures the scientificity of predictions.

Sixth, the effectiveness and level of "profitability" of public opinion-forming entities is directly related to its institutional system, functional differentiation, and integration processes, and there is a correlation between them.

Seventh, in determining the determinative role of certain objective conditions and subjective factors influencing the formation of public opinion, the mathematical chi-square criterion method is considered a relatively universal and concrete method in the knowledge of social phenomena.

Discussion

The influence of public opinion is not limited to politics and elections. Perhaps it is felt in many other areas (Britannica, 2020), such as culture, fashion, literature, art, people's daily consumer spending, marketing and public relations. For this reason, careless treatment of public opinion will only harm the society and the state. On the contrary, its power, the approach taking into account its possibilities - leads to the stability of social life. Because, as in all fields, the competition in obtaining and delivering information and forming an influential public opinion is becoming intense. In such complex conditions, life puts new demands and tasks before us (Sh, 2021).

According to the conclusion of research in the field of political science, "public opinion tends to define the boundaries within which politicians operate, rather than influencing the finer points of government policy." (du Bois & Longley-Cook, 2021) Of course, such views have their own significance. For example, on January 2, 2022, people's protests against the increase in the price of liquefied gas began in the form of a peaceful rally in the city of Janaozen, Mangistau region of the Republic of Kazakhstan. But within a short period of time, a comprehensive public opinion against the government and its "figures" was formed or organized by "third" parties. In both cases, the same result was achieved, that is, as mentioned above, a change in the "limits of activity of certain political elites" was achieved. As an example, taking into account the public opinion formed against the background of the popular demonstration, according to the decision taken by the current head of Kazakhstan, Kasim-Jomart Tokayev, the government of Kazakhstan was resigned and his political position in the country was high. Nursultan Nazarbaev was deprived of all his powers.

Another example that supports the above points is the "Yellow Vests" movement started in France in November 2018 against the government's tax policy. The stage of development of this movement was based on the law of going from simplicity to generality. That is, a woman driver named Perisiliya Lodosky objected to the government's decision to increase the tax on fuel and gasoline. That is, a woman driver named Perisiliya Lodosky objected to the government's decision to increase the tax on fuel and gasoline. This protest, which was received with disdain by the government, gave a great resonance in a short period of time, and finally, in his video address, Emmanuel Macron called the protests the right of the citizens of the country, saying that we can all get out of this awkward situation together. It has led him to admit his indifference and irresponsibility in solving problems during the past year (Macron, 2017). Many such examples can be cited from world history. The important thing is to draw the right conclusions and not be mistaken. Because the psychological structure, conditions, and external influences play an important role in the formation of a person's opinion, it is difficult to predict how the public opinion will be formed on an issue. But it is possible to manage and control the trends in the formation of public opinion. For this, it was required to pay attention to the following stages of the dynamics of public opinion formation.

The first stage. Any public opinion initially appears at a local level, and as a result of internal and external "escalation", the scope of influence expands. This process takes place in a wave-like form, and first it manifests itself as an individual's opinion, point of view, views, opinions, and its influence does not make a noticeable "wave" in the social life of society or the state. But if we look at this tendency based on a scientific approach, it shows that it (a social process) is the first "wave" of the formation of public opinion. We explain this idea with the events that took place in Kazakhstan on January 2, 2022.

On the morning of January 2, 2022, in the city of Janaozen, Kazakhstan, where 100,000 people live, people protested that the price of liquefied natural gas suddenly doubled. Although this demonstration began peacefully, the government did not take serious notice. Because it was not the first time that such a mood of protest was observed in Janao'zen, the center of Mang'istau region. Janaozen is known as a symbol of people's dissatisfaction with the government in Kazakhstan (Satpayev & Umbetaliyeva, 2015). Because of this, the government ignored the demonstration. But the representatives of the government, who forgot that the 21st century is the "culmination" period of the information society, were very mistaken. In other words, the higher bodies of Kazakhstan did not understand that public opinion is being formed that undermines the peace of the state and the stability of the society. As a result of this, an opportunity was created for external and internal groups, which President Kasim-Jomart Tokayev described as "terrorists" (Krol & Ramesh, 2022), to move from organizing public opinion to the next stage - managing public opinion. At this point, it should be noted that if the organization of public opinion takes place covertly, it means that a well-thought-out plan is drawn up by the "forces" that shape the reactionary public opinion, and on the basis of this plan, psychological influence is exerted on the public mind. In this case, every mistake made by the state or some government representatives can cause great losses

for the society. As an example, we cite the losses in the first five days of unrest in Kazakhstan:

- Against the background of demonstrations and riots in Kazakhstan, the price of bitcoin dropped from \$43,000. Kazakhstan ranks second in the world for bitcoin mining after the US, the country accounts for 18% of cryptocurrency mining (Spanò, Massaro, Ferri, Dumay, & Schmitz, 2022);
- As a result of riots in Kazakhstan in 5 days, the damage caused to one business amounted to 87.2 billion tenge (about 198 million dollars). More precisely, as of January 7, 848 business entities and 1021 objects were damaged in ten regions of the country, including 789 entities and 950 objects were damaged in Almaty (Czech & Niftiyev, 2021);
- A number of plants, factories and enterprises in Kazakhstan have stopped their activities, in particular, the Metallurgical Plant in the city of Balkhash, Karaganda, has also been closed. Factory workers went on strike and joined the protestors;
- According to information, the number of victims among law enforcement bodies was at least 14, three people were beheaded, more than 350 policemen and soldiers were injured in various degrees;
- According to the SSV (Ministry of Health), more than a thousand people were injured during the mass riots, of which about 400 people were admitted to the hospital - 62 people were admitted to the intensive care unit in a serious condition (Analytica, 2021).

In fact, these losses could have been avoided. That is, the problem would not have reached this level (there would have been no need to introduce peacekeeping forces of the Collective Security Treaty Organization into Kazakhstan) when the government of Kazakhstan took a serious attitude to reality and began to study the demand of public opinion. The situation that occurred in Uzbekistan in July 2022 can be cited as an example.

For reference. In the Republic of Uzbekistan on July 2-3, 2022, under the influence of external forces, there was an attempt to mobilize public opinion and thereby carry out a "constitutional coup" in Uzbekistan. Briefly speaking about the reality, on July 2, 2022 at 14:45 approximately 300 persons from the Nukus district moved towards the city of Nukus and served at the block post in the city of Nukus, disobeying the legal requirements of the law enforcement officers. Received the special equipment of 50 National Guard personnel (walkie-talkies, truncheons, helmets, noise grenades, protective shields). On this day, an attack was organized by unknown persons on a military post in Khojaly district, and weapons were seized. Attacks were carried out on the Nukus International Airport, the Rehabilitation Center where administrative detainees are held in Nukus, and the internal affairs building in Nukus.

In general, in Karakalpakstan, 107 law enforcement officials were seriously injured as a result of the attacks by the participants of the mass riots, 23 of them are in a serious condition (according to the following information, it happened in Karakalpakstan on July

1-2 18 people were killed during the riots, 14 of them were protesters, 4 were law enforcement officers). 270 employees of state bodies were injured in various degrees.(Analytica, 2022b)

The important aspect of the issue is that the Uzbek government (Supreme leader - President Shavkat Mirziyoyev) took the situation seriously and implemented a constructive approach to the problem, in contrast to the Kazakh government. As a result of this, firstly, state peace was preserved without major losses, and secondly, the wave of formation of public opinion was stopped at the "local" level. Such a position of the Uzbek government not only helped to maintain peace, but also prevented a bloody conflict that could occur in the history of the Karakalpak and Uzbek peoples, whose nationality and values go back to the same root.

Therefore, it can be concluded that if there is no response to the resonance that occurred in the first stage (wave) of public opinion formation, the "powers" that used this mistake will move to the second stage (creating the second wave). This wave (the second wave), which includes the formation and management of public opinion, is distinguished by its aggressiveness, violent behavior, intolerance, and the instability of its demands to the government.

The second stage. In this wave, public opinion is stimulated, that is, controlled by certain "powers". Usually, these "forces" do not appear in front of the general public, moreover, the general public, actively participating in the demonstrations, does not know who is being led by them. Because the tactics of psychological influence on the mind of the "crowd" have given their results. Therefore, the deformation of public opinion occurs, and the effectiveness of the mechanisms used to control it increases. This trend is called the process of transition from simplicity to generality according to philosophical law.

When the second wave occurs, usually the government starts taking drastic measures. The masses of the people will suffer more from such hastily adopted measures, and a system of negative views will be formed in the public opinion towards the state administration bodies. We know that if the mood of discontent among the masses of the people against the state leadership increases, eventually a state of chaos will arise in the society. As a result, the tactics of arming public opinion with disinformation by "third parties or groups" begin. They begin to make demands on the government on behalf of the public that serve their purpose. For example, the facts in this regard can be explained by recent events in Kazakhstan:

- After the resignation of the government, President Kasim-Jo'mart Tokayev had to replace Nursultan Nazarbayev as the chairman of the Security Council.

For information: In March 2019, Nursultan Nazarbayev resigned as the President of Kazakhstan after nearly 30 years of rule. He retained the leadership of the ruling Nur Otan party and was also the chairman of the Security Council of Kazakhstan. In the opinion of the world community, Nazarbayev was expected to remain in this position for life.

- The government of Prime Minister Askar Mamin, who has been leading the government of Kazakhstan since February 25, 2019, has resigned. Alikhan Smailov was appointed interim prime minister of Kazakhstan in his place.
- For information: Kasim-Jo'mart Tokayev proposed Alikhan Smailov's candidacy for the post of prime minister at the parliamentary session. Smailov's candidacy for prime minister was supported by 89 deputies. Earlier, on February 25, 2019, by the decree of the President of Kazakhstan, he was appointed as the First Deputy Prime Minister - Minister of Finance(Clement et al., 2021).
- The former head of the National Security Committee of Kazakhstan, Karim Masimov, was relieved of his duties, and the former head of the State Security Service, Yermek Sagimbayev, was appointed in his position.

For information: after Karim Masimov was released from his duties, the National Security Committee of Kazakhstan started an investigation against him on the charge of Article 175, Clause 1 (treason) of the country's criminal code. Karim Masimov, the former head of the National Security Committee, and other persons were arrested as part of the case. Samat Abish, the nephew of Nursultan Nazarbayev, who served as Masimov's first deputy, was also fired(Alytina, 2022a). But such reforms carried out by the Government of Kazakhstan could not lead to the return of peace and stability to the country. Because the situation has gone out of control, the peaceful rallies started by the people have ended and their place has been replaced by aggressive demonstrations and destructive actions.

Such a dynamic change in public opinion and actions means that the "**third wave**" has occurred. From this it can be concluded that the reforms carried out at the government level did not produce sufficient results. At this point, the question arises: what did the government do to satisfy the people's demand? Note:

- President Kasim-Jo'mart Tokayev issued an order to coordinate the prices of compressed gas and gasoline within 180 days. It was specially noted that this task also applies to diesel fuel;
- a decision was also made to establish state control over the price of food products of social importance;
- on the instructions of the head of state, the issue of introducing a moratorium on the increase of utility tariffs for the population for 180 days and subsidizing rent payments for secondary residences for the low-income segment of the population was also considered(Hess, 2013). But despite the operational measures taken, the possibility of managing public opinion did not work out. Because, public opinion had reached the third stage according to its sphere of influence.

At the third stage, the real power of public opinion is manifested. Zero G. As Russell cited, "the real wave that shows the power of public opinion is its rebellion"(Brooker & Schaefer, 2015) Also, after the emergence of the third wave of social thought, there are many changes and reforms in the social life of society and the state. Because, as the

Spanish thinker José Ortega y Gasset said, the world is ruled by public opinion, which is the main force that dominates the community of people(Титов, 2010).

The "third wave" is fundamentally different from the first and second "waves" of public opinion formation, both in terms of content and development trends. In other words, at the first stage, a social opinion is formed that embodies the goals and interests of the scattered, local level, and at the second stage, a system of views at the level of public opinion is formed, commonality between the goals and interests, that is, national goals and the mechanism of their achievement is created by some individuals. Or groups are developed and a control system is established.

Looking at history, the third "wave" of public opinion always indicates a reactionary course. Because, instead of local or territorial problems, global (primary for nation, people, society, beneficial for geopolitical forces) issues come out. In such a situation, the management of public opinion seems to be out of control of the state and to be in a state of chaos. That is why, in most cases, the people of the countries that are in this situation take the decisions that they consider to be right, even if they go against the opinion of the general public. This process was carried out by the Government of Kazakhstan in the following form:

- On the evening of January 5, the President of Kazakhstan Kasim-Jomart Tokayev appealed to the leaders of the CSTO countries to "provide assistance to Kazakhstan in overcoming the threat of terrorism" (In short, the peacekeeping forces of the Collective Security Treaty Organization It was announced that they will be sent to Kazakhstan. Also, Belarus will send 500 soldiers, Tajikistan 200, Armenia 70, Kyrgyzstan will not send its soldiers to the neighboring country due to protests by activists)(Radnitz, 2006).
- On January 7, 2022, the president of Kazakhstan, Kasim-Tapart Tokayev, made a second appeal to the people in connection with the ongoing demonstrations in the country and announced that he had ordered the army and law enforcement agencies to shoot, targeting the "terrorists"who are participating in mass disturbances in Kazakhstan(Norström, 2022).

For information: in the previous address of the president, he called on the people of Kazakhstan, especially the youth, "to do things wisely, not to give in to internal and external provocations, not to be carried away by the euphoria of demonstrators and arbitrary acts."

- The President declared a state of emergency, first in some regions, and then throughout the country, the arrival of foreigners to the country was suspended;

For information: initially, a state of emergency was introduced in the city of Almaty, Almaty region, Mangistau region and Nur-Sultan, the capital of Kazakhstan.

Soon a state of emergency was declared throughout the country. According to him:

- a curfew was announced from 23:00 to 7:00;
- a commandant's office was established under the leadership of the police chief;
- public gatherings are prohibited;
- restrictions on free movement, including the movement of vehicles;
- restrictions on entry and exit to each region were set;
- checking of documents, search of goods and vehicles;
- the sale of weapons and ammunition was prohibited, a special strict regime was established for the sale of drugs and alcohol;
- it was announced that weapons and ammunition will be temporarily withdrawn from the population during the state of emergency;
- The state of emergency will be valid until January 19, 2022.

As an explanation for these restrictions, Tokaev said in his address to the nation that "financially motivated individuals" are behind the demonstrations and that they have a "carefully developed plan" in this regard, saying that he will act "as firmly as possible". He mentioned that there are mass attacks on law enforcement officers in Almaty, "bandits" are humiliating military personnel and carrying them naked through the streets, women are being abused, and shops are being looted(Lövgren, 2022).

The above comments mean that after the formation of public opinion reaches the third stage (the third wave), the mutual harmony between the state and the people is damaged, and the universal public opinion that is against the state's reputation begins to form.

This will certainly have a negative impact on the country's place in the world community. Similar trends were realized in Kazakhstan, as well as in all other countries. In particular, the following opinions were expressed by political commentator journalists in some sources:

- The reason why the protests turned into bloody clashes and large-scale destruction is because the authorities tried to calm the protests by quickly invading them. Dozens of protesters were shot dead in Kazakhstan. Over the years, the origins of such outrageous protests in stable Kazakhstan and their rapid transformation into violence have been unexpected and shocking for many both domestically and internationally;
- the Kazakh government underestimated the anger of the population, and this is not unexpected for a country without electoral democracy - because people have no choice but to take to the streets to make themselves heard;

- under the motto "Chol ket" reflected in the political demands linked to the fuel price protests, the protesters meant Nursultan Nazarbayev, who ruled Kazakhstan from 1989 to 2019, but who is seen as actually ruling Kazakhstan even after Tokaev became the president;
- The protests started peacefully, no one was attacked. But the authorities escalated the situation. Unfortunately, we see this again and again in the former Soviet Union and elsewhere in the world: autocrats think they can intimidate protesters with water cannons, tear gas, and large crowds. But what is already clear to the researchers dealing with conflicts is that the use of force by the state in such a situation only leads to aggravation of the situation and an increase in the number of protests. The same thing happened in Kazakhstan: they tried to suppress the protesters by force, the situation got out of control and people started using violence against the authorities.(Shurahanovna, 2022)

In every country, there have been opposition forces opposing the ongoing reforms, citizens from other countries expressing opinions against their own country. It should be considered natural. But there is another side to the matter. That is, public opinion is not just a result of a global process under the influence of three or four people. If we answer the question in a more precise way, there is a clear goal and interest in the public opinion that has risen from the local, regional form to the global level, and it has its genesis and retrospective foundations. Only if the driving mechanisms are missing, some forces can act to move it. Therefore, such a situation that arose in Kazakhstan did not arise by itself. There were reasons that "matured" him. In this regard, the following facts cited by the government of Kazakhstan can be cited as an example:

- Kasim-Jomart Tokayev spoke about the current difficult socio-political and socio-economic situation in the country and blamed the government, in particular the Ministry of Energy, as well as the companies "Kazmunaygaz" and "Kazakhgaz". The president criticized the execution of the task he gave in June of last year. His assignment was to accelerate the construction of a new plant on the basis of LLC "Kazakhstan gas processing plant", a producer of liquefied gas in the Mangistau region. Qasim-Jomart Tokayev also noted that there is no systematic approach to reforming the industry.
- The amount of salaries of Deputies, members of the government and heads of local administrations (governors) is now "sufficient", due to which these amounts are frozen, and in the next five years a moratorium is applied to increase their salaries. And the salaries of other workers in the budget sector are raised. Corruption and formalism are on the rise in public service recruitment, and the principles of meritocracy must be followed in order for public service to be open to every citizen.
- The government should develop a system of increasing the income of the population and measures to prevent poverty. - Reforms in the field of education are also extremely necessary for the country. At least five branches of foreign higher education institutions will be opened in Kazakhstan by 2025. Two of these

are in the technical direction and should be opened in the west of the country (demonstrations against the increase in the cost of liquefied gas initially began in the area).

The above points indicate that Kazakhstan had problems that had accumulated over many years, which, as a result of the influence of these and other reasons, caused an "explosion effect" in public opinion. This "explosion" was caused by "terrorist bandits", as the President of Kazakhstan Kasim-Jomart Tokayev said, or was it carried out by ordinary people "full of patience"! it doesn't matter. The important thing is that it became clear that it is necessary for the state to implement new reforms and direct its people to a prosperous life. Recognizing that there is some truth in such objections expressed by the people, the government of Kazakhstan announced the following plans in order to satisfy the interests of the people in a wider scope:

- The main task of the state is to ensure the well-being and quality of life of our citizens. Development of fair competition, support of small and medium-sized businesses, transparency of state support will be the main components of the new economic course;
- Overcoming territorial disparity requires special attention. It will be necessary to solve the problem of unemployment, to create conditions for social and cultural development in all regions of the country. Branches of leading foreign universities will be opened in the regions;
- The newly created national fund "Kazakhstan Khalkiga" will serve to solve the real problems of citizens. The fund helps treat children with rare diseases, finances the construction of social and cultural facilities. Funds will also be allocated for the restoration of Almaty;
- Together we preserved the integrity of the country, peace and harmony. Our citizens showed patriotism and solidarity in the fight against extremists. Now the country is entering a new stage of development. It will be a period of genuine renewal. Together we will build a prosperous and flourished Kazakhstan! Says the President of Kazakhstan Kasim-Jomart Tokayev.

Statistical analysis of the results of a sociological survey conducted in an anonymous form in order to study the public opinion on the real cause of the unrest in Kazakhstan revealed the following pattern:

Table 1

№	Questionnaire form:	Anonymous				
		The place where the survey was taken:	in the general-territorial section of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan			
	Topic:	How do you assess the situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan in January 2022?				
	Information about respondents¹ who took part in the survey:	1000 respondents from the Republic of Uzbekistan; 1000 respondents from the Republic of Kazakhstan; 1000 respondents from the Kyrgyz Republic; From the Republic of Tajikistan - 1000 respondents; 1000 respondents from the Republic of Turkmenistan.				
	Average age of respondents:	14-65 years old				
	Gender of respondents:	2500 men 2500 women				
	Geographical areas:	Republic of Uzbekistan	Republic of Kazakhstan	Republic of Kyrgyzstan	Republic of Tajikistan	Republic of Turkmenistan
	Questionnaire:					
1	Do you consider the way of life of the people of Kazakhstan satisfactory?	Respondents answer:				
	Yes	270	220	196	218	110
	Partly	120	385	178	315	240
	I haven't thought about it.	480	38	391	354	290
	No	130	357	235	113	360
	Total percentage of the answer given by the respondent (relative to 100%)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
2	What do you think was the main problem in Kazakhstan?	Respondents answer:				
	In the accumulation of problems that have been bothering the people for many years	290	691	198	206	186
	At a high level of stratification among the population	122	203	146	178	218
	When a two-government administration occurs in the country	79	106	66	101	143
	I did not think	509	0	590	515	453
	Total percentage of the answer given by the respondent (relative to 100%)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
3	Why did the people of Kazakhstan rise up against the authorities?	Respondents answer:				
	Because the state did not seriously pay attention to the plans to raise the people's lifestyle and think about the people's well-being.	87	425	102	78	112
	The people fell under the influence of external forces that artificially provoked themselves	243	58	109	100	203
	I don't have an answer to this question	508	28	526	662	540

	Government agencies have lost public trust	162	489	263	160	145
	Total percentage of the answer given by the respondent (relative to 100%)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
4	Was it possible to prevent the situation in Kazakhstan from becoming serious?	Respondents answer:				
	No, because government agencies are slow to make quick decisions that satisfy the interests of the people	40	489	98	112	59
	No, because government agencies have made it possible for the people to rise in stages	345	26	366	475	390
	No, because the use of force by the state against mass unrest has begun	445	380	449	277	338
	No, because the leadership in the state administration (disorder, irresponsibility) did not allow it	170	105	87	136	213
	Total percentage of the answer given by the respondent (relative to 100%)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In order to find the correlation between the numbers in "Table 1" formed in the process of statistical analysis, mathematical analysis using the "X² criterion" method revealed the context of the transition of the dynamics of public opinion from simplicity to generality to specificity (see Table 2 see).

Table 2

Questionnaire form:		Anonymous				
	Where the survey was taken:	In the general-territorial section of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan				
	Topic:	How do you assess the situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan in January 2022?				
	Information about the respondents who took part in the survey:	1000 respondents from the Republic of Uzbekistan; 1000 respondents from the Republic of Kazakhstan; 1000 respondents from the Kyrgyz Republic; From the Republic of Tajikistan - 1000 respondents; 1000 respondents from the Republic of Turkmenistan.				
	Average age of respondents:	14-65 years old				
	Gender of respondents:	2500 men 2500 women				
	Geographical areas:	Republic of Uzbekistan	Republic of Kazakhstan	Republic of Kyrgyzstan	Republic of Tajikistan	Republic of Turkmenistan
	Questionnaire:					
1	Do you consider the way of life of the people of Kazakhstan satisfactory?	Respondents answer:				
	Yes	270	220	196	218	110
	Partly	120	385	178	315	240
	I haven't thought about it.	480	38	391	354	290

	No	130	357	235	113	360
	X ² coefficient (in relation to one question) according to the relevance of the answer given by the respondent to the purpose of the research	92,39	239,24	20,81	6,06	1,36
2	What do you think was the main problem in Kazakhstan?	Respondents answer:				
	In the accumulation of problems that have been bothering the people for many years	290	691	198	206	186
	At a high level of stratification among the population	122	203	146	178	218
	When a two-government administration occurs in the country	79	106	66	101	143
	I did not think	509	0	590	515	453
	X ² coefficient (in relation to one question) according to the relevance of the answer given by the respondent to the purpose of the research	26,43	1056,93	1,29	0,35	3,82
3	Why did the people of Kazakhstan revolt against the government?	Respondents answer:				
	Because the state did not seriously pay attention to the plans to raise the people's lifestyle and think about the people's welfare	87	425	102	78	112
	The people fell under the influence of external forces that artificially provoked them	243	58	109	100	203
	I have no answer to this question	508	28	526	662	540
	Government agencies have lost public trust	162	489	263	160	145
	X ² coefficient (in relation to one question) according to the relevance of the answer given by the respondent to the purpose of the research	9,69	99,96	40,75	49,30	0,07
4	Was it possible to prevent the situation in Kazakhstan from becoming serious?	Respondents answer:				
	No, because government agencies are slow to make quick decisions that satisfy the interests of the people	40	489	98	112	59
	No, because the government agencies allowed the people to step up	345	26	366	475	390
	No, because the use of force by the state against mass unrest has begun	445	380	449	277	338
	No, because the leadership in the state administration (disorder, irresponsibility) did not allow it	170	105	87	136	213
	X ² coefficient (in relation to one question) according to the relevance of the answer given by the respondent to the purpose of the research	6,72	346,35	2,36	15,47	0,11
	The overall X ² coefficient on the relevance of the answer given by the respondent to the research objective (for four questions)	135,23	1742,48	65,21	71,18	5,36

The numbers presented in this table are the result of calculations based on the "X² criterion" method, where the coefficient of importance of the respondents' answer to each factor is shown separately, and the total x² coefficient for four questions is given at the end of the table. The following example shows the calculation of the answer given by the respondents from Uzbekistan to the first question and the calculation of the answer given to the four questions.

In this example $m = 4$, $n = 5$

$\chi^2_{Uzbekistan}$ The process of determining the importance coefficient of the opinion of the respondents is as follows:

$$E_1 = 120; E_2 = 385; E_3 = 178; E_4 = 315; E_5 = 240;$$

$$E_1 = 120; E_2 = 385; E_3 = 178; E_4 = 315; E_5 = 240;$$

$$\sum_{j=1}^n \sum_{k=1}^m x_{kj} = (270 + 220 + 196 + 218 + 110 + 120 + 385 + 178 + 315 + 240 + 480 + 38 + 391 + 354 + 290 + 130 + 357 + 235 + 113 + 360) = 5000$$

$$T_1 = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^n x_{1j} \cdot \sum_{k=1}^m x_{1j}}{\sum_{j=1}^n \sum_{k=1}^m x_{kj}} = (270 + 120 + 480 + 130) \cdot \frac{120 + 385 + 178 + 315 + 240}{5000}$$

$$= \frac{1000 \cdot 1238}{5000} = 247,6$$

$$\frac{(E_1 - T_1)^2}{T_1} = \frac{(9 - 247,6)^2}{247,6} = 92,39$$

$$\chi^2_{Uzbekistan} = \frac{(E_1 - T_1)^2}{T_1} + \frac{(E_2 - T_2)^2}{T_2} + \frac{(E_3 - T_3)^2}{T_3} + \frac{(E_4 - T_4)^2}{T_4} = 135,23$$

The results of the "X² criterion" show that (see Table 2), **first of all**, there is a big difference between the views of the citizens of the five Central Asian countries regarding the reality that happened in Kazakhstan, and the global public formed on the true nature of the problem. There is no commonality between the opinions. As a basis for our opinion, the table 2 "What do you think was the main problem in Kazakhstan?" it is possible to cite the answers given by the respondents to the questionnaire:

- X² coefficient according to the answers of the respondents from Uzbekistan - 26.43
- X² coefficient according to the answers of the respondents from Kazakhstan - 1056.93
- X² coefficient according to the answers of the respondents from Kyrgyzstan - 1.29
- X² coefficient according to the answers of Tajik respondents is - 0.35
- X² coefficient on the answers of respondents from Turkmenistan - 3.82

These results mean that if the X² coefficient between the survey results obtained from different points according to the "X² criterion" method is not significantly different from each other (for example, 0.35; 0.75; 0.45, etc.), then only means that there is a correlational relationship between the general public opinion.

Secondly, if we look at the "X² criterion" analysis, it shows that there is no correlative relationship in the opinion of the citizens of this country regarding the events of Kazakhstan. Basis:

Questionnaire 1. Do you consider the way of life of the people of Kazakhstan satisfactory?

The coefficient of X² according to the answers of respondents from Kazakhstan is 239.24

Questionnaire 2. What do you think was the main problem in Kazakhstan?

The coefficient of X² according to the answers of respondents from Kazakhstan is 1056.93

Questionnaire 3. Why did the people of Kazakhstan rise up against the authorities?

The coefficient of X² according to the answers of respondents from Kazakhstan is 99.96

Questionnaire 4. Was it possible to prevent the situation in Kazakhstan from becoming serious?

The coefficient of X² according to the answers of respondents from Kazakhstan is 346.35

Thirdly, the relative generality of the correlative relationship between the public opinion formed about the events of Kazakhstan is the answers of the Uzbek respondents according to the criterion "X² criterion". Because the X² coefficient for four questions is 135.23. A large disparity between the views of public opinion can be seen in the answers given by respondents from Turkmenistan (X² coefficient – 5.36).

Conclusion

First of all, the changeable and flexible nature of public opinion is the impetus for the formation of the motivational basis, which directs it towards a specific goal, and concrete social position. If we interpret it in a philosophical approach, this process shows the synergistic nature of the form of social thought, and as a result of the horizontalization of local views and opinions, it turns into chaos, and ensures that the group views formed by fluctuation and bifurcation become regional or global public opinion.

Secondly, the current processes of integration and globalization are intensifying, information technologies are becoming stronger, and it shows the need to develop mechanisms of global management of public opinion, to study its national, territorial (regional) characteristics. Because, the purposeful organization of public opinion (conforming to the interests of the society), achieving the gradualness of the management and control system can serve to prevent it from going to the reactionary stage.

Thirdly, the differentiation of public opinion in horizontal and vertical directions and the laws of integration determine the globalization trend of its transformation infrastructure,

communications, technology development. Therefore, ensuring that the formation of global public opinion is appropriate for a universal purpose - does not exclude the objectivity of the correlative relationship between the "profitability" of the activities of the elements of the institutional system that integrates national, regional, and regional interests of public opinion and the sustainable development of society.

Fourthly, the integration of public opinions based on mutual interest of the social units that make up the society excludes its egoistic, utilitarian and mercantile character within the framework of narrow goals. From this point of view, there is a need to develop optimal directions, methods, criteria for the development of public opinion, and to create mechanisms that democratize it.

In short, the formation of public opinion is a dialectical process, **firstly**, the internal contradictions of the formation of this system of events are complex; **secondly**, the utopianism or idealism of public opinion; **thirdly**, the limited possibilities of human mind and thinking; **fourth**, the continuous growth of human needs; **fifth**, it is related to the alternation of interest in scientific research. Therefore, finding a compromise will depend on the policies of each country.

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