

ELECTION PROGRAMS AND POLITICAL SLOGANS IN KAZAKHSTAN

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Abstract: *During each election campaign, political parties use election programs and slogans to identify the direction, aims, and tasks of the political party, as well as the means of implementation and activities to be addressed. The slogan of each election campaign is necessary to create a party image. This article examines the election programs and slogans of the Republic of Kazakhstan's political parties from 1999 through 2021, covering the key concepts, views, and slogans of each election campaign. As a result, the review of the election platforms of the Republic of Kazakhstan's political parties exposes social issues. Finally, a comparative table of the approach to social challenges by the five political parties in Kazakhstan is provided.*

Keywords: *Kazakhstan, election programs, slogans, political parties, campaign, democracy, nationalism.*

Rezumat: *Programe electorale și sloganuri politice în Kazahstan. În timpul fiecărei campanii electorale, partidele politice folosesc programe și sloganuri pentru a identifica direcția, scopurile și sarcinile partidului politic, precum și mijloacele de implementare și activitățile care trebuie abordate. Sloganul fiecărei campanii electorale este necesar pentru a crea o imagine de partid. Acest articol examinează programele electorale și sloganurile partidelor politice din Republica Kazahstan din 1999 până în 2021, acoperind conceptele, punctele de vedere și sloganurile cheie ale fiecărei campanii electorale. Analiza platformelor electorale ale partidelor politice din Republica Kazahstan dezvăluie existența unor probleme sociale. În final este oferit un tabel comparativ al abordării provocărilor sociale de către cele cinci partide politice din Kazahstan.*

INTRODUCTION

On January 10, 2021, the eighth parliamentary elections in the history of independent Kazakhstan were held. Five political parties of Kazakhstan participated in the elections: ADAL, Ak Zhol Democratic Party, Ayl People's Democratic Patriotic Party, Nur Otan Party and People's Party of Kazakhstan. The Nationwide Social Democratic Party decided not to participate in the elections to the Mazhilis (the lower house of the bicameral Parliament of Kazakhstan) and Maslikhats (local representative bodies in the Republic of Kazakhstan) and announced a nationwide boycott of the electoral event. The electoral programs and main slogans of political parties participating in the electoral race of 2021 were analysed and compared to the previous elections. The electorate expects the parties to fulfil their election promises such as keeping commitments, focusing on public opinion, and serving the common good.¹ When studying the election programs of political parties, scientists use different methods: multi-methods approach²; expert surveys, conventional content analysis and computer-assisted content analysis³; coding⁴; quantitative content analysis⁵; mixed-methods analysis⁶; sociolinguistic perspective⁷; optimal-tax method⁸; and historical and

¹ Annika Werner, *Voters' Preferences for Party Representation: Promise-Keeping, Responsiveness to Public Opinion or Enacting the Common Good*, in "International Political Science Review", Vol. 40, 2019, No. 4, p. 486.

² Anders Todal Jenssen, Toril Aalberg, *Party-Leader Effects in Norway: A Multi-Methods Approach*, in "Electoral Studies", Vol. 25, 2006, No. 2, p. 248-269.

³ Andrea Volkens, *Strengths and Weaknesses of Approaches to Measuring Policy Positions of Parties*, in "Electoral Studies", Vol. 26, 2007, No. 1, p. 108-120.

⁴ Franz Urban Pappi, Nicole Michaela Seher, *Party Election Programmes, Signalling Policies and Salience of Specific Policy Domains: The German Parties from 1990 to 2005*, in "German Politics", Vol. 18, 2009, No. 3, p. 403-425.

⁵ Thomas Meyer, Marcelo Jenny, *Measuring Error for Adjacent Policy Position Estimates: Dealing with Uncertainty Using CMP Data*, in "Electoral Studies", Vol. 32, 2013, No. 1, p. 174-185.

⁶ Paul Chaney, *Mixed-Methods Analysis of Political Parties' Manifesto Discourse on Rail Transport Policy: Westminster, Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish Elections 1945-2011*, in "Transport Policy", Vol. 35, 2014, p. 275-285.

⁷ Josep A. Mas Castells, Eva M. Mestre-Mestre, *Latest Language Policy Proposals in Education in the Valencian Country*, in "Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences", Vol. 178, 2015, p. 151-156.

⁸ Jacobs Bas, Jongen L. W. Egbert, Floris T. Zoutman, *Revealed Social Preferences of Dutch Political Parties*, in "Journal of Public Economics", 2017, No. 156, p. 81-100.

conceptual analysis.⁹ The programs of political parties that run in parliamentary elections are often the most influential elements on the voters¹⁰. When studying party election manifestos, a quantitative dimension can be used to assess a party's position, and a qualitative dimension can be used to assess the effectiveness of a program.¹¹ Romanov and Novoselova¹² studied the pragmatic effectiveness of threat statements in political communication, especially the use of threats in pre-election programs and intimidating voters to vote for a certain politician. During electoral campaigns, parties often focus on five major issues: pensions, corruption, finance, healthcare and safety.¹³

In addition, political slogans are considered in different contexts: ideological/cultural analysis¹⁴; viewpoint of logic¹⁵; emotions in political slogans¹⁶; neuropsycholinguistic study¹⁷; and multimodal analysis.¹⁸ There is a slogan technique in Communist propaganda.¹⁹ The slogan serves a variety of temporal functions, and its repetitive and ritualistic nature has a psychological impact on people's

⁹ Ian Budge, *Issue Emphases, Saliency Theory and Issue Ownership. A historical and Conceptual Analysis*, in "West European Politics", Vol. 38, 2015, No. 4, p. 761-777.

¹⁰ Anna Makhorkina, *Ukrainian Political Parties and Foreign Policy in Election Campaigns. Parliamentary Elections of 1998 and 2002*, in "Communist and Post-Communist Studies", Vol. 38, 2005, No. 2, p. 251-267.

¹¹ Vlastimil Havlík, Hana Vykoupilová, *Two Dimensions of the Europeanization of Election Programs. The Case of the Czech Republic*, in "Communist and Post-Communist Studies", Vol. 41, 2008, No. 2, p. 163-187.

¹² Aleksey Romanov, Olga Novoselova, *Discursive Realization of Threat in Pre-Election Communication*, in "Russian Journal of Linguistics", Vol. 24, 2020, No. 2, p. 419-448.

¹³ Ana Kores Maiken, *Powerful Posters – A Multimodal Analysis of Slovenia's 2018 Parliamentary Elections*, in "Ars et Humanitas", Vol. 14, 2020, No. 1, p. 105-124.

¹⁴ Xing Lu, *An Ideological/Cultural Analysis of Political Slogans in Communist China*, in "Discourse & Society", Vol. 10, 1999, No. 4, p. 487-508.

¹⁵ Xia Nianxi, *Political Slogans and Logic*, in "Diogenes", Vol. 56, 2009, No. 1, p. 109-116.

¹⁶ Jeroen Vaes, Maria Paola Paladino, Chiara Magagnotti, *The Human Message in Politics: The Impact of Emotional Slogans on Subtle Conformity*, in "The Journal of Social Psychology", Vol. 151, 2011, No. 2, p. 162-179.

¹⁷ Serhii Maksymenko, Bohdan Tkach, Lesia Lytvynchuk, Liana Onufrieva, *Neuro-Psycholinguistic Study of Political Slogans in Outdoor Advertising*, in "Psiholingvistika", Vol. 26, 2019, No. 1, p. 246-264.

¹⁸ Kores Maiken Ana, *Powerful Posters – A Multimodal Analysis of Slovenia's 2018 Parliamentary Elections*, in "Ars et Humanitas", Vol. 14, 2020, No. 1, p. 105-124.

¹⁹ Harold D. Lasswell, Dorothy Blumenstock, *The Technique of Slogans in Communist Propaganda*, in "Psychiatry", Vol. 1, 1938, No. 4, p. 505-520.

memory and perception of reality.²⁰ Makhlaiuk²¹ approves that dynastic names and unofficial imperial nicknames during the Seven Dynasties served as political slogans symbolizing adherence to a particular political line. According to Hartig²², political slogans have not been sufficiently studied in political communication. Koc and Ilgun²³ suggest that irony and metaphor are the most commonly used rhetorical devices in political party slogans. Panov²⁴ argues that it can be called nationalism if it is accompanied by political aspiration. According to the scientist, slogans like “Russia for Russians”, and “Beat Jews and rescue Russia” have an obvious political connotation. Many people who follow the ideology seek personal power and profit, but as profits fall, they abandon the idea and slogans.²⁵ The popular political slogan “Power to the people” shows the essence of democracy and participation.²⁶ Chinese city residents have long clunky political slogans and these slogans are eventually transformed into attractive thematic public service advertising posters around the country.²⁷ Karmazin²⁸ considers slogans as an organizational feature of Chinese politics and believes that leadership slogans are significant in terms of propaganda, ideological innovation, policy and strategic direction, structuring politics and maintaining the Communist Party of China’s unity.

²⁰ Tom Dickins, *The Political Slogan in Communist Czechoslovakia (1948–89)*, in “Central Europe”, Vol. 15, 2017, No. 1-2, p. 58-87.

²¹ Alexander V. Makhlaiuk, *Dynastic Names and Unofficial Imperial Nicknames during the Severan Dynasty*, in “Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo Universiteta, Istoriya”, Vol. 63, 2018, No. 3, p. 872-897.

²² Falk Hartig, *Political Slogans as Instruments of International Government Communication – the Case of China*, in “The Journal of International Communication”, Vol. 24, 2018, No. 1, p. 115-137.

²³ Erdogan Koc, Ayse Ilgun, *An Investigation into the Discourse of Political Marketing Communications in Turkey: The Use of Rhetorical Figures in Political Party Slogans*, in “Journal of Political Marketing”, Vol. 9, 2010, No. 3, p. 207-224.

²⁴ Petr Panov, *Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Russia: What Kind of Nationalism is Produced by the Kremlin?* In “Journal of Eurasian Studies”, Vol. 1, 2010, No. 2, p. 85-94.

²⁵ Katya Vladimirov, “Red East”: *Soviet Central Asia in the 1920s*, in “Journal of Eurasian Studies”, Vol. 1, 2010, No. 2, p. 127-133.

²⁶ Martin Gosim Chukwu, *Giving ‘Power to the People’ in a Nigerian Hospital: From Evaluation Over to Evaluation with Stakeholders*, in “Action Research”, Vol. 16, 2018, No. 4, p. 361-375.

²⁷ Yang Jincai, *Narrating the Chinese Dream: A Cultural Interpretation of “Chinese Dream Series” in Urban Public Service Advertising*, in “Interdisciplinary Studies of Literature”, Vol. 1, 2017, No. 4, p. 15-27.

²⁸ Aleš Karmazin, *Slogans as an Organizational Feature of Chinese Politics*, in “Journal of Chinese Political Science”, 2020, No. 25, p. 411-429.

There is very little research on the parliamentary elections in Kazakhstan. Daly²⁹ argues that Kazakhstan's parties are striving to support the middle class. Mishra³⁰ investigates the process of democratization in Kazakhstan and assesses the indicators. Bhuiyan³¹ argues that Kazakhstan's opposition political parties are weak and disorganized, and their leaders are not quite capable of mobilizing favourable public opinion. Sayabayev³² examines the evolution of political parties in the Republic of Kazakhstan from 1991 to 2016. Several researchers consider the party system as an important element of Kazakhstan's political modernization.³³

In Kazakhstan, brief periods when electronic voting was used, but they had to reject it and return to traditional paper voting due to a lack of confidence from the nongovernmental sector.³⁴ The non-governmental sector, particularly the public associations, has the potential to affect this result. Golosov³⁵ examines and explains the processes of party creation in the post-Soviet states of Central Asia. Akhmetova et al.³⁶ identify some effective slogans that emanate optimism about the party (e. g. "Power – under the strict control of the law! Support the "Ak Zhol" Party!" - could be effective; "Responsibility, experience, fatherland!"; "Well-being for all" - radiates party optimism).

²⁹ John C. K. Daly, *Kazakhstan's Emerging Middle Class*, Silk Road paper. Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Program, 2008, p. 63-69, in https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/48483/31_Kazakhstan%20middle%20class.pdf (Accessed on 28.04.2020).

³⁰ Mukesh Kumar Mishra, *Democratisation Process in Kazakhstan: Gauging the Indicators*, in "India Quarterly", Vol. 65, 2009, No. 3, p. 313-327.

³¹ Shahjahan Bhuiyan, *Political Leadership and its Role in Achieving Good Governance in Kazakhstan*, in "International Journal of Public Administration", Vol. 35, 2012, No. 6, p. 379-388.

³² Daniyar Sayabayev, *Sociopolitical Associations in Independent Kazakhstan: Evolution of the Phenomenon*, in "Pacific Science Review B: Humanities and Social Sciences", Vol. 2, 2016, No. 3, p. 94-99.

³³ Marat Baypakov, Akhan Bizhanov, Rustem Kadyrzhanov, *The Party System as an Element of Political Modernization of Kazakhstan*, in "Central Asia and the Caucasus", Vol. 19, 2018, No. 3, p. 34-48.

³⁴ Maxat Kassen, *Politicization of E-voting Rejection: Reflections from Kazakhstan*, in "Transforming Government: People, Process and Policy", Vol. 14, 2020, No. 2, p. 305-330.

³⁵ Grigorii V. Golosov, *The Five Shades of Grey: Party Systems and Authoritarian Institutions in Post-Soviet Central Asian States*, in "Central Asian Survey", Vol. 39, 2020, No. 3, p. 285-302.

³⁶ Laila Akhmetova, Tatiyana Lifanova, Aleksey Verevkin, Dmitriy Shorokhov, Sergey Lifanov, *Factors and trends of increasing role of mass media in democratic elections in Kazakhstan*, in "Media Watch", Vol. 11, 2020, No. 2, p. 394-407.

The lack of research on this subject makes it difficult for the methodological approach to conduct a complete analysis of the problem. First, election programs for 1999 and 2004 are rather hard to find. The majority of the election programs on political parties' official websites are for the 2021 elections. There are 2016 programs in some of them. Secondly, all election programs are in Kazakh and Russian and they are not translated into English. Thirdly, there is a variety of research and expert studies on this subject available in both Kazakh and Russian. Therefore, for some researchers, these instances pose a methodological challenge.

In light of the foregoing thoughts and perspectives, the election programs and slogans of political parties in the Republic of Kazakhstan were approached from three angles. The first section was an examination of how political party policies and campaign slogans reflect societal challenges. Second, a comparison chart for the five contemporary political parties was constructed, referring to the primary indicators of societal difficulties. The third angle defines the most pressing societal challenges.

DATA AND METHOD

The electoral system of Kazakhstan has changed many times. The election system in 1991 was majority rule. The majority system was replaced by a mixed electoral system in 1998. These rules were applied during parliamentary elections in 1999 and 2004. The Mazhilis election system was amended again in 2007, becoming fully proportional. Following the Constitutional referendum in 2022, locally called the Republican referendum, the electoral system for parliament has changed once more. Mazhilis elections will be held using a mixed electoral system.

There were many parties on the political scene of Kazakhstan, and some of them participated in the legislative elections. The following political parties and public associations participated in the 1999 legislative elections: Otan (Fatherland; from 2006 to 2022, Nur Otan, currently AMANAT) Communist Party of Kazakhstan (liquidated in 2015 by a court decision), Agrarian Party of Kazakhstan (dissolved in 2006 and merged with the presidential Nur Otan Party), Civic Party of Kazakhstan (dissolved in 2006 and merged with the ruling Otan Party), the Democratic Party Azamat, the People's Congress of Kazakhstan, Alash, the Renaissance Party of Kazakhstan (formerly the Rukhaniyat Party, which in 2013 merged with the Adilet Democratic Party to form the Birlik Party), the Republican Labor Party, the Federation of Trade Unions of Kazakhstan and the People's Cooperative Party of Kazakhstan.

In 2004, there were 12 political parties, four of which were in two electoral blocs: Otan; Ak Zhol; Asar (Kazakh custom of mutual assistance; merged with the Otan Party in 2006); the Agrarian-Industrial Union of Workers (bloc of the Agrarian Party of Kazakhstan and the Civic Party of Kazakhstan); the Opposition Union of Communists and DCK (united the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan - on March 13, 2018, DCK was recognized as an extremist organization by the decision of the Yesil District Court of Astana); the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan (since 2020, People's Party of Kazakhstan); the Auyl Social Democratic Party; the Democratic Party of Kazakhstan (since 2006, Adilet Democratic Party); the Party of Patriots of Kazakhstan (in 2015 merged with the Auyl Social Democratic Party), and the Rukhaniyat Party.

Since 2007, seven political parties have been actively participating: Nur Otan People's Democratic Party, the Nationwide Social Democratic Party, Ak Zhol Democratic Party, Auyl Social Democratic Party, the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan, the Party of Patriots of Kazakhstan and the Rukhaniyat Party. In 2012, the Auyl Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Party of Kazakhstan participated with changed party names, the Auyl People's Democratic Patriotic Party and the Adilet Democratic Party. Following the merger, the Adilet Democratic Party and the Rukhaniyat Party formed the Birlik Party in 2016.

As mentioned above, five political parties participated in the 2021 legislative elections: ADAL (Birlik was renamed ADAL; later on, April 26, 2022, the AMANAT and ADAL parties merged); Ak Zhol Democratic Party; Auyl People's Democratic Patriotic Party; Nur Otan Party; and People's Party of Kazakhstan. Therefore, it can be argued that there are five officially registered political parties in Kazakhstan: Ak Zhol Democratic Party; AMANAT; Auyl People's Democratic Patriotic Party; People's Party of Kazakhstan; and Nationwide Social Democratic Party. Ak Zhol Democratic Party is liberal-conservative; AMANAT is social conservatism; Auyl People's Democratic Patriotic Party - social democracy, agrarianism, patriotism, centre-left; People's Party of Kazakhstan - socialism and leftist ideas; and the Nationwide Social Democratic Party - social democracy.

This analysis is based on the Russian-language election programs that are posted online by political parties in the Republic of Kazakhstan. The research covered Kazakhstan's legislative elections in 1999, 2004, 2007, 2012, 2016, and 2021. A descriptive method appropriate to the nature of the study problem was used after evaluating the scientific literature. To increase understanding of the components, relationships, and conditions of political parties, a systematic review of electoral

programs and scientific literature was conducted. The ideas and principles of systems analysis form the research's methodological foundation. Methodologies such as comparative, conceptual, and historical analysis were also employed.

ADAL POLITICAL PARTY

Since 2004, the Adilet (“Justice”) Democratic Party (renamed on 2006) has functioned as the Democratic Party of Kazakhstan (DPK). During these years, DPK served all Kazakhstanis as a truly democratic party of law and justice, and freedom. During the 2004 elections, they focused on the need to pass a “Teachers Law” and the issue of combating corruption. A topic on the agenda was also the approval of the law “On Lobbying.” The party took part in the 2012 election with the “For Justice!” election program.³⁷ The program for this year is based on 17 steps to justice and four priorities. “Oil to the people!” was the party’s main campaign slogan throughout this election campaign. “To jail for corrupt officials! Adilet – to the Parliament!”³⁸ Maksut Narikbaev (2002-2012) and Tolegen Sydykhov (2012-2013) functioned as the party’s presidents for several years. Adilet belongs to the category of “Soft Opposition.”³⁹

Rukhaniyat (“Spirituality”) Party operated in Kazakhstan from 1995 to 2013. Before Rukhaniyat, the party was called the Party of the Revival of Kazakhstan, and it participated in the 1999 campaign. In the 2004 elections, the party considered it necessary to implement the reforms defined in the Strategy “Kazakhstan-2030”. The campaign slogan for this year is Freedom, Justice, and Humanity. In addition, the party drew attention to the development and state support of small and medium-sized businesses. Under the slogan “Stability, justice and spiritual revival!”⁴⁰ Rukhaniyat advocated the preservation of the spiritual,

³⁷ *PUT' K SPRAVEDLIVOSTI. Predvybornaja platforma partii “Adilet”* [THE WAY TO JUSTICE. Election Platform of the Adilet Party], in https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=31095066#pos=5;-116 (Accessed on 28.04.2021).

³⁸ Anna Kuzhnikova, *Teledebaty kandidatov v deputaty proshli kak obychno – ne v priamom efire* [TV Debates of Candidates for Deputies were Held as Usual – Not Live], in https://rus.azattyq.org/a/election_debaty_osdp_azat_nurotan_akzhol_adilet_knpk/24450286.html (Accessed on 28.04.2021).

³⁹ Anthony Clive Bowyer, *Parliament and Political Parties in Kazakhstan*, Silk Road Paper. May 2008, Washington, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, 2008, p. 12.

⁴⁰ Altynshash Zhaganova, *Stabil'nost', spravedlivost' i duhovnoe vozrozhdenie!* [Stability,

national, cultural, and civil integrity of the people of Kazakhstan which were the priority areas of the 2007 party program. The party presidents in different years were Altynshash Zhaganova (1995-2000; 2012-2013), Serikzhan Mambetalin (2010-2012) and Serik Sultangali (2013). Rukhaniyat, according to Heinrich⁴¹, is a marginalized, small pro-presidential party that continues to be submissive.

Adilet and Rukhaniyat decided to merge the Birlik ("Solidarity") Party into a new movement in 2013. During the 2016 election campaign, they participated in the election program "Clean Thoughts! Clean Deeds! Clean Environment!"⁴² The key program slogans were: "The main concern of the Birlik Political Party is the people of Kazakhstan, their hopes, interests, and aspirations. We are a party confident that the progress, prosperity, and strength of Kazakhstan lie in the unity of its citizens. We should be together! We are for the cleanliness of the environment, justice and spiritual revival of the people. We are ready to contribute to the common cause for all Kazakhstanis - to build a free, strong and prosperous Kazakhstan."⁴³

In anticipation of the 2021 campaign, the decision was made to rename the political organization from Birlik to Adal ("Honesty"). According to the party's website, the party's main objective and purpose is a person, a citizen of Kazakhstan, and his needs, concerns, law, and justice. It is especially noticeable that law and justice derive from the Adilet Party's concept. The election program consists of five key priorities⁴⁴: a decent life for all citizens; entrepreneurship is the basis of a successful state; development of the agro-industrial complex and food security; strong regions – a strong country; a state for the people. On April 26, 2022, it united with the AMANAT Party, ending its existence.

justice and spiritual revival!], in https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=30114042#pos=5;-88 (Accessed on 28.04.2021).

⁴¹ Andreas Heinrich, *The Formal Political System in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan: A Background Study*, Working paper, Forschungsstelle Osteuropa, Bremen, 2010.

⁴² *Chistyye pomysly! Chistyye dela! Chistaya sreda! Predvybornaya programma politicheskoy partii "Birlik"* [Pure thoughts! Pure business! Pure environment! Election program of the Birlik Party] in <https://nomad.su/?a=3-201602240009> (Accessed on 21.05.2021).

⁴³ Andrey Chebotarev, *Parlamentskie vybory v Kazahstane-2016: osobennosti i itogi* [Parliamentary Elections in Kazakhstan-2016: Features and Results], in <http://ea-monitor.kz/novosti-evraziyskogo-soyuza/parlamentskie-vybory-v-kazahstane-2016-osobennosti-i-itogi> (Accessed on 22.05.2021).

⁴⁴ *Predvybornaya programma politicheskoy partii "ADAL"* [The election program of the Political Party "Adal"], in <https://adalpartiyasy.kz/program> (Accessed on 28.04.2021).

A good living for all residents, according to the party, entails issues such as new social guarantees, free and high-quality education, a healthy nation, and a favourable environment. A decent life for citizens can be achieved through the development of the driving force of the economy – entrepreneurship. To this end, the party’s goal is to create better conditions for the development of private entrepreneurship. The development of rural areas is the guarantor of the country’s stability and food security. Villagers should have access to infrastructure, education, and health care based on clear standards and norms of security. Regional development approaches must be revised to allow for the competitive advantages of different regions. According to the parties’ vision, a compact state apparatus makes quick, open, and just decisions. Therefore, they must establish a state for the people rather than a state for the wealthy.

AK ZHOL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Ak Zhol (“Bright Path”) Democratic Party is a right-wing political party in Kazakhstan that positions itself as a “constructive opposition”. The party was founded in 2002 on the foundation of the public association “Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan”. Bulat Abilov, Alikhan Baimenov, and Oraz Zhandosov founded the party. Azat Peruashev is the current Chairman of the party and Head of the Ak Zhol Parliamentary Fraction. The party made political appearances and took part in all of the Parliamentary election campaigns (Table 1).

Table 1. Ak Zhol Democratic Party election programs and slogans over the years

Years	Title	Election programs	Slogans
2004		A decent life for everyone today! [Dostojnuju zhizn’ – vsem i segodnja!]	Everyone promises, and we do [Barlygy uade beredi, al biz zhasajmyz] Our time has come! [Bizdin uakyt keldi!] People are more powerful than power - the people are not slaves of power! Ak Zhol Kazakhstan! [Bilik halyktan uly emes - Halyk biliktin kuly emes! Ak zhol Kazahstan!]
2007		You are worthy of your dream!	Kazakhstan should become a country of equal opportunities

	[Ty dostoin svoej mechty!]	[Kazakhstan ten mumkindikter eline ajnaluy tiis] Not seeing success is blindness, not seeing shortcomings is not compassion [Zhetistikti kormeu - sokyrylyk, Kemshilikti kormeu - zhany ashymagandyk]
2012	Change to move forward [Peremeny, chtoby dvigat'sja vpered]	Moving forward – changes [Alga zhetelejtin – ozgerister] Peace, tranquillity and security to every Kazakhstani home, every Kazakhstani family! [Mir, spokojstvie i bezopasnost' kazhdomu kazahstanskomu domu, kazhdoj kazahstanskoj sem'e!]
2016	Ak Zhol - time to work [Ak Zhol – vremja rabotat']	Ak Zhol - time to work [Ak Zhol – vremja rabotat'] It is necessary to put state bodies at the service of common people! [Nuzhno postavit' gosudarstvennye organy na sluzhbu prostym ljudjam!]
2021	Change is inevitable [Peremeny neizbezhnny]	Change is inevitable [Peremeny neizbezhnny]

As can be seen from the election platforms⁴⁵, Ak Zhol speaks about a decent life in 2004, a dream in 2007, and changes starting from 2012. The first election program of the party consisted of the following sections: challenges and responses; power to the people; a wealth of the nation; the fate of the earth; hope and solidarity; spirit and mind; clean country; the world and us. In 2007, to achieve the dream, the party proposed six programs: “Decent jobs and wages”; “Quality of human resources”; “Affordable and decent housing”; “Decent life of the villagers”; “Culture and spirituality”; “Equality before the law and the fight against corruption”. The 2012 election program set ten key tasks: reducing unemployment; social justice; increasing population incomes; affordable homes for the

⁴⁵ *Election platforms of the Ak Zhol Democratic Party from 2014 to 2016*, in <https://akzhol.kz/ru/election-platforms> (Accessed on 20.06.2021).

many; affordable and humane medical care; modern and quality education; creating a modern productive economy; reducing pressure on business and giving a mass character to entrepreneurship; a decent life - not only in large cities but in villages and regions; transparency and accountability of power to society; development of Kazakhstan's spiritual and cultural sectors; fight against corruption and judicial and law reform; and security for everyone; acting as a reliable barrier to extremism and terror and implementing an effective foreign policy.

In 2016, the party also set 10 key tasks: protection of business and giving mass character to entrepreneurship; market reforms and the creation of a productive economy; an educated and healthy nation – a strong and ambitious workforce; development of the employment system and reduction of unemployment; housing construction as an economic force; the agro-industrial complex is a reliable support of the country; transparency and accountability of power to society; improvement of Kazakhstani people's spiritual and cultural life; fight against corruption; judicial and law reform, and security for every home. For each of us, national interests and independence are the most important ideals. It is notable that the Ak Zhol Democratic Party consistently carried forward its ideals and developed its priorities over time.

According to official figures, and as stated on the Ak Zhol Democratic Party's official website (2020)⁴⁶ the party won one mandate and 12.04 per cent of the vote in the 2004 Mazhili elections. The party earned 3.09 per cent of the vote in the 2007 Mazhilis elections but was not elected to parliament. Ak Zhol has a parliamentary faction in the Mazhilis and has been a parliamentary party since 2012. The party obtained 7.47 per cent of the vote and 8 deputy mandates, according to the 2012 election results. Following the 2016 elections, the party was given seven mandates. These are all the outcomes of both active campaigning and the impact of election programs and slogans.

In its 2021 campaign, the Ak Zhol Democratic Party⁴⁷ proposes a program of such changes:

1. Independence and the national idea of “Alash” provide an opportunity for everyone to create their own path and their own destiny. It is a responsibility for the future of our descendants.

⁴⁶ *Party official website*, in <https://akzhol.kz/en/party/> (Accessed on 28.04.2021).

⁴⁷ *Peremeny neizbezhny* [Changes are inevitable], election program of the Ak Zhol Democratic Party for 2021, in <https://akzhol.kz/ru/peremeny-neizbezhny-2/> (Accessed on 28.04.2021).

2. Democracy and parliament ensure that government agencies are transparent and accountable to society.

3. Combat corruption and de-offshorization: combat corruption and return to the country multibillion-dollar funds stolen from the people.

4. The quality of education and health care, as well as the affordability of housing and respectable work, determine social justice.

5. In terms of the material content of political reforms, a market economy and support for entrepreneurship are required.

6. A balanced foreign policy: the foreign policy of the Republic, including participation in integration associations, should be based primarily on the national interests of the country, as well as a multi-vector policy in relations with the main actors in the international arena.

AUYL PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PATRIOTIC PARTY

Additionally, a “Soft Opposition” is the Auyl (“Village”).⁴⁸ This party was founded in 2000, and its first Chairman was Gani Kaliyev (until 2015). In 2015, Auyl was united with the Party of the Patriots of Kazakhstan. The Chairman of the party is Ali Bektayev, deputy of the Senate of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Chairman of the committee on agrarian issues and the development of rural territories. The party is also an active participant in the parliamentary elections (Table 2), but due to insufficient votes from the electorate, the party is not represented in the country’s Mazhilis.

Table 2. Auyl People's Democratic Patriotic Party election programs and slogans over the years

Title Years	Election programs	Slogans
2004	No data	No data
2007	Village rich country-happy country [Auyly baj el – bakytty el]	We believe in the future of every beautiful village in Kazakhstan! [Biz keleshegi korkem Kazahstannyn ar auyly men selosynyn bolashagy bolatynyna senemiz!]

⁴⁸ Anthony Clive Bowyer, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

2012	The fate of the village – the fate of the people [Auyl tagdyry – halyk tagdyry]	The fate of the village – the fate of the people [Auyl tagdyry – halyk tagdyry]
2016	Let us return to the traditions of the village! [Vernem tradicii aulu!]	Let us return to the traditions of the village! [Vernem tradicii aulu!] We are a party of spiritual creation and moral progress! [My - partija duhovnogo sozidanija i npravstvennogo progressa!]
2021	The voice of the village must be heard! [Golos sela dolzhen byt' uslyshan]	It's time to support Auyl! [Nastolo vremja podderzhat' Auyl!]

The Auyl Social Democratic Party represented the interests of village workers in the 2004 elections. An important part of the program was devoted to the development of the agricultural sector of the economy. Concerning the social sphere, special attention was paid to improving the living conditions in the village, and steps are suggested to enhance the party's reform agenda.⁴⁹

A separate section of the Auyl Party's 2012 election platform focuses on the development of the village, including strengthening the social protection of pensioners and large families in the village; the development of a diversified economy; forms of ownership and management; state support for the agro-industrial complex; protection of the domestic market of Kazakhstan; unemployment reduction; keeping youth in the village through the development of agricultural production; the development of small and medium-sized businesses; the restoration and development of the socio-cultural and communal infrastructure in the village; and the development of programs for the effective systematic use of pasture lands. The program also reflects issues of social development of the state, land relations, continuity of generations, security, health, and strengthening the international authority of the Republic of Kazakhstan.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Murat O. Nassimov, *Kazahstan Respublikasy saylaw nauhandaryndagy sayasi zharnama: zhenis strategiyasy* [Political Advertising in the Election Campaigns of the Republic of Kazakhstan: A Winning Strategy], Kazan, Buk, 2015, p. 46.

⁵⁰ *Ekspertnyy doklad. Dosrochnyye parlamentskiye vybory v Respublike Kazakhstan* [Expert

The 2016 election program consisted of five sections⁵¹: Great culture – great future; Village – the golden cradle of the country; Social development is the basis of spiritual progress; Specific assistance to a specific Kazakh family; Make way for the young. The party's election program also states that the Auyt People's Democratic Patriotic Party intends to "develop and implement the state program "Village Infrastructure", which provides for the integrated development of rural areas and the development of social and engineering infrastructure of the village". These are road and housing construction, construction of kindergartens, schools, hospitals, cultural institutions, land development, electrification, water supply, gasification, telephone and Internet, etc.⁵²

The Auyt People's Democratic Patriotic Party⁵³ presents its Kazakhstan development model in its election program for 2021 as follows: preserved traditional spiritual values and national culture; high standards of quality of life in the village and no social disproportion between the village and the city; the country is provided with all the necessary food products of its own production. The feeding hands of Kazakhstan connect the ideas of development: the village must live with dignity, keep to the roots, and have social equality as a prosperous society.

NUR OTAN PARTY

Nur Otan ("Radiant Fatherland") is the ruling and largest pro-presidential party in Kazakhstan. The party was founded in 1999 as the Otan ("Fatherland") Party on the initiative of Kazakhstan's first President, Nursultan Nazarbayev, who is also its leader. He was also its leader until January 28, 2022. The party has been

report. Snap parliamentary elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan], in https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=31105118#pos=4;-70 (Accessed on 28.04.2021).

⁵¹ Farida Sharafutdinova, *Chto obeshchaiut partii Kazahstancam posle vyborov* [What the parties promise to Kazahstancis after the elections], in <https://otyrar.kz/2016/02/chto-obeshhayut-partii-kazahstancam-posle-vyborov/> (Accessed on 12.05.2021).

⁵² Talgat Isenov, *Partiia "Auyt" razvernula agitatsionnuu deiatel'nost' svoih shtabov* [The Auyt Party deployed the campaigning activities of its headquarters], in <https://kazpravda.kz/news/politika/partiya-auil-razvernula-agitatsionnuu-deyatelnost-svoih-shtabov> (Accessed on 08.06.2021).

⁵³ *Golos sela dolzhen byt' uslyshan!* [The voice of the village must be heard!], in <https://auyl.kz/project2> (Accessed on 12.05.2021).

known as AMANAT since 2022 (given for storage; entrusted for storage). Kazakhstan's President, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, led the party until April 26, 2022. Yerlan Koshanov, the Chair of the Mazhilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan, now leads the party.

Bader⁵⁴ rated Nur Otan as a hegemonic political party. Boban also concludes that Nur Otan is a new subtype of the hegemonic party.⁵⁵ Kubicek⁵⁶ argues that the Nur Otan Party is a merger of various pro-presidential parties. According to Isaacs⁵⁷, Nur Otan Party provides a stabilizing function in the long term, but the extent depends on the regime dynamics. In addition, Isaacs and Whitmore⁵⁸ assess Nur Otan as a distinctive type of dominant party. Nur Otan Party supports the democratic principles of interethnic relations and cooperates with the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan⁵⁹. After the Zhanaozen conflict, President Nazarbayev ordered the government, together with the ruling Nur Otan Party, to draft a "National Concept for the Social Development of Kazakhstan."⁶⁰ The party's unique task and main slogan are innovative development, rising living standards, and social stability.⁶¹ The Nur Otan Party has participated in all legislative

⁵⁴ Max Bader, *Hegemonic political parties in post-Soviet Eurasia: Towards party-based authoritarianism?* in "Communist and Post-Communist Studies", Vol. 44, 2011, No. 3, p. 189-197.

⁵⁵ Davor Boban, *The presidential-hegemonic party and autocratic stability: The legal foundation and political practice in Kazakhstan*, in "Zbornik Pravnog Fakulteta u Zagrebu", Vol. 67, 2017, No. 1, p. 55-83.

⁵⁶ Paul Kubicek, *Are Central Asian leaders learning from upheavals in Kyrgyzstan?*, in "Journal of Eurasian Studies", Vol. 2, 2011, No. 2, p. 115-124.

⁵⁷ Rico Isaacs, *Nur Otan, informal networks and the countering of elite instability in Kazakhstan: Bringing the 'formal' back in*, in "Europe-Asia Studies", Vol. 65, 2013, No. 6, p. 1055-1079.

⁵⁸ Rico Isaacs, Sarah Whitmore, *The limited agency and life-cycles of personalized dominant parties in the post-Soviet space: The cases of United Russia and Nur Otan*, in "Democratization", Vol. 21, 2014, No. 4, p. 699-721.

⁵⁹ Elnura Assyltaeva, Zhengisbek Tolen, Gulnar Nassimova, *Kazakhstan as a model for regulating interethnic relations*, in "Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences", 2014, No. 114, p. 291-297.

⁶⁰ Dossym Satpayev, Tolganay Umbetaliyeva, *The protests in Zhanaozen and the Kazakh oil sector: Conflicting interests in a rentier*, in "Journal of Eurasian Studies", Vol. 6, 2015, No. 2, p. 122-129.

⁶¹ Maulen Ashimbayev, *"NUR OTAN" – Elbasy party*, in Rogov Igor (Ed.), *Formation and development of present statehood of Kazakhstan (First-Hand knowledge)*, Nur-Sultan, Directorate of administrative buildings of the Administration of the President and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2019, p. 114-129.

elections (Table 3) and dominates all branches of government in Kazakhstan.

Table 3. Nur Otan Party election programs and slogans over the years

Title Years	Election programs	Slogans
1999	No data	No data
2004	Kazakhstani way 2009 [Kazahstanskij put' – 2009]	A lot has been done, let us continue together! [Sdelano nemalo, prodolzhim vmeste!]
2007	For the prosperity of Kazakhstan and the Kazakhstani people: we will improve the living standards of every Kazakhstani citizen [Za procvetanie Kazahstana i blagopoluchie kazahstancev: kak my uluchshim zhizn' kazhdogo grazhdanina strany]	Only together! Only forward! [Tol'ko vmeste! Tol'ko vpered!]
2012	Kazakhstan. Goals-2017. National Action Plan [Kazahstan. Celi 2017. Nacional'nyj plan dejstvij]	Our choice is Nur Otan! Forward, Kazakhstan! [Bizdin tandauymyz – Nur Otan! Alga, Qazaqstan!] Let us build the future together! [Postroim budushhee vmeste!]
2016	Kazakhstan - 2021: Unity. Stability. Creation [Kazahstan - 2021: Edinstvo. Stabil'nost'. Sozidanie.]	Kazakhstan is our common home. Kazakhstan is our fortress. Nursultan Nazarbajev is our Leader [Kazahstan – nash obshhij dom. Kazahstan – nasha krepost'. Nursultan Nazarbajev – nash Lider]
2021	The way of change: A decent life for everyone! [Put' peremen: Dostojnuju zhizn' kazhdomu!]	Having overcome the challenges, we will win together! [Preodolev ispytaniya, pobedim vmeste!]

In the 1999 elections, the Otan Party, which supported the government's reform program, said they would act quickly to break the deadlock.⁶² The election program of 2004 was dedicated to the 5-year development of Kazakhstan and outlined its purposes and tasks. They also paid great attention to the role of the party in the political system, improving the electoral legislation and strengthening interethnic harmony. In this campaign, the party supported economic integration.⁶³ The 2007 election program included many spheres, such as economics, social conditions, youth policy, women's rights, sports, art, literature, language, and country defence. Particular and special attention is paid to: Kazakhstanis' income increase; limiting price increases, fighting inflation; improving health care; pension provision: every pensioner's well-deserved care; development of the social protection system; support for motherhood and family; employment; effective protection of rights; development of education; housing provision; communal infrastructure; development of local government – development of regions; uncompromising fight against corruption; increasing the efficiency of government bodies; reliable protection of citizens from the republic; road safety; improving the judicial system; developing a competitive knowledge-based economy; advanced science - based on a competitive economy; effective use of revenues from the exploitation of mineral resources; support for small and medium-sized businesses; village development; ensuring stability and interethnic harmony; further democracy of society; development of cultural and moral values; language policy; creation of a favourable ecological environment; increasing the country's defence capability; and strengthening the position of Kazakhstan in the region and the world.⁶⁴

In 2012⁶⁵, special attention was paid to economic growth despite the crisis, quality of life, people's unity, national security and international authority, etc. As indicated in the electoral program, education and science are the basis for a suc-

⁶² Murat O. Nassimov, *Kazahstan Respublikasy sajlau...*, p. 39.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁶⁴ *Narodnaia platforma narodno-demokraticeskoi partii "Nur Otan"* [People's Platform of the Nur Otan People's Democratic Party], in https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=30188766 (Accessed on 20.04.2021).

⁶⁵ *Kazakhstan. Tseli 2017. Natsional'nyy plan deystviy. Predvybornaya platforma Partii "Nur Otan"* [Kazakhstan. Goals 2017. National Action Plan. The Pre-Election Platform of the Nur Otan Party], in https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=31099365#pos=3;-52 (Accessed on 04.05.2021).

successful future and the health of the nation – the strength of the country. New requirements that have been proposed for economic growth include transition to an innovative economy – a knowledge economy; creating a favourable investment climate; supporting domestic business; affordable work and decent wages. Support for motherhood and childhood, social support for the low-income population, a decent life for pensioners, the success of the youth is the success of the country, and comfortable living conditions are the guiding principles of the new social policy.

In the 2016 election program, a clear plan of action was determined with five institutional reforms, a new economic policy, Nurly Zhol (“Bright Path”), and the construction of an open Eurasia. They identified the directions of economic transformation, new social policy, security and stability. The direction of economic transformation consists of six points: a new strategy for the development of basic industries; innovation for all - a response to new technological challenges; privatization and support for effective owners; the middle class is a resource for the country’s overall development; a new investment policy; and economic security. The new social policy also consists of six points: an effective social state; support of socially vulnerable segments of the population; provision of employment; new housing policy; health care and education - to the best world standards; and a new labour policy. Important for security and stability are the following: the peaceful foreign policy of Kazakhstan; the fight against corruption; and the protection of interethnic peace and harmony.⁶⁶

The electoral program for 2021⁶⁷ is a continuation of the reform course of the Nur Otan Party. The program identifies the new challenges of our time: geopolitical tensions; increasing instability in the global economy; limited resources; uncontrolled migration; widespread increase in mass protests; a sharp increase in populism; and the development of digital technologies. The electoral program consists of four parts: equal opportunities for all; an intelligent, healthy and thrifty nation; sustainable development of the economy and regions; and accountable government and responsible citizens.

⁶⁶ *Kazakhstan – 2021: yedinstvo. Stabil'nost'. Sozidaniye* [Kazakhstan – 2021: Unity. Stability. Creation], in <https://nomad.su/?a=3-201602230010> (Accessed on 04.05.2021).

⁶⁷ *Put' peremen: Dostoy'nuyu zhizn' kazhdomu!* [The Path of Change: A Worthy Life for Everyone!], in https://nurotan2021.kz/upload/iblock/c57/Programme-2025-Nur-Otan_ru.pdf (Accessed on 06.05.2021).

PEOPLE'S PARTY OF KAZAKHSTAN

The People's Party of Kazakhstan emerged as a result of the split of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan in 2004. The party's official name from 2004 to 2020 was the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan. The party is also an active participant in the legislative elections (Table 4) and, following the results of the 2012 and 2016 elections, was elected to parliament. Vladislav Kosarev was the party secretary from 2004 to 2013. Aikyn Konurov has served as Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan since 2013 and afterwards as Chairman of the People's Party of Kazakhstan. On March 28, 2022, at the XIX Extraordinary Party Congress, Ermūhamet Ertisbaev was elected Chairman of the People's Party of Kazakhstan. Aikyn Konurov is the first deputy chairman.

Table 4. *The People's Party of Kazakhstan's election programs and slogans over the years*

Title Years	Election programs	Slogans
2004	No data	No data
2007	Our party follows the course of Lenin-Kunaev! [Nasha partija sleduet kursom Lenina-Kunaeva!]	In authority – power, we have – truth [U vlasti - sila, u nas – pravda] We believe that Kazakhstan will reach the peak of civilization [Kazahstan orkeniETTIn biik shynyna shygatynyna senemiz]
2012	Let's give the people back the right to the future [Vernjom narodu pravo na budushhee]	Right to Work! People is Power! Justice! [Pravo na trud! Vlast' naroda! Spravedlivost'!] Peace. Labour. January. [Mir. Trud. Janvar'.] Live by conscience [Zhit' po sovesti]
2016	For our common cause! [Za nashe obshhee delo!]	The Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan is a party of the Leninist type. [Kommunisticheskaja Narodnaja partija Kazahstana – partija leninskogo tipa]

		We oppose Western individualism, depredation and lack of culture [My vystupaem protiv zapadnogo individualizma, stjazhatel'stva i beskul'tur'ja]
2021	People, land and justice! [Narod, zemlja i spravedlivost']	Right to Work, People's Power and Justice [Pravo na trud, vlast' naroda i spravedlivost']

In the 2004 elections, the party recognized the existence of many different forms of ownership but openly declared that it did not accept market transformations of a capitalist nature. The program emphasizes the need to strengthen the social protection of the population. As indicated in the 2007 election platform⁶⁸, working in the Parliament and Maslikhats, the party does not allow the looting of natural resources; poverty in a rich country; increased prices for products and services; the disenfranchisement of self-employed citizens; dismissal of persons of pre-retirement age; robbery of landowners; the fusion of business and government; escalating corruption and suppression of small businesses.

The party advocated in its 2012 election program⁶⁹ people's representation and control, justice and social guarantees, and state responsibility. The election program for 2016⁷⁰ consists of six points: the Preamble; principles and tasks of People's Communism; the Crisis of World Capitalism; we oppose Western individualism, depredation, and lack of culture; the true values of communist upbringing; and the purposes of the People's Communists.

In the 2021 election program⁷¹, the renamed party has set the following tasks: building a social state as a new core for the development of Kazakhstan;

⁶⁸ *Predvybornaia platforma Kommunisticheskoi Narodnoi partii Kazakhstana* [Election platform of the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan], in <https://centrasia.org/newsA.php?st=1184922420> (Accessed on 21.06.2021).

⁶⁹ *Predvybornaia programma Kommunisticheskoi narodnoi partii Kazakhstana* [Election program of the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan], in https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=31095092 (Accessed on 21.06.2021).

⁷⁰ *Predvybornaia programma Kommunisticheskoi narodnoi partii Kazakhstana* [Election program of the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan], in <https://nomad.su/?a=3-201602290018> (Accessed on 21.06.2021).

⁷¹ *Predvybornaia programma Narodnoi partii Kazakhstana* [Election program of the People's Party of Kazakhstan], in <https://qhp.kz/Docs/PredvibProgram.pdf> (Accessed on 20.06.2021).

changing the economic strategy for modern realities; providing transparency of the government's work and its focus on the result. The party will present ten popular initiatives that will become the basis of a new social course. These include the availability and quality of education and medicine, a decision on the Kazakhstanis' housing issue, state-guaranteed decent old age to retire for Kazakhstanis, an economy in the interests of the people, not the capitalists, agriculture to become an engine of economic growth and ensure the country's food security, conducting a credit amnesty for individuals and legal entities at the expense of the banks themselves, fair taxation, transparency and control over the effectiveness of government decisions, independence of the judicial system and preservation of the cultural heritage of the people.

CONCLUSIONS

Some peculiarities can be found in the election programs and slogans of the political parties in the Republic of Kazakhstan. For example, before the unification of the Birlik (ADAL), Rukhaniyat mainly practised freedom and humanity. The Ak Zhol Democratic Party has always positioned itself as a "constructive opposition", a party of business and a follower of the Alash movement of the early 20th century. The Auyl People's Democratic Patriotic Party always represents the interests of the village workers. The Nur Otan Party must prepare each election program for 5 years and is interconnected with party programs (for example, the Nur Otan Party's 2019 adopted program until 2030 includes 10 goals for the decade of welfare society). People's Party of Kazakhstan is mainly against capitalism. In addition, you can see that many of the election programs of 2021 are interconnected with the President of Kazakhstan Kassym-Jomart Tokayev's State of the Nation Addresses "Constructive public dialogue – the basis of stability and prosperity of Kazakhstan" and "Kazakhstan in a new reality: time for action".

Generally, there are more similarities than differences in the election programs of political parties in Kazakhstan. For example, there is a lot of talk about the fight against corruption, justice, spiritual renewal, a decent life, and change. Therefore, these issues are relevant to Kazakh society.

Table 5 provides a comparative picture of all societal challenges expressed in the electoral platforms of the five major political parties:

Table 5. Societal challenges expressed in the electoral programs

	Ak Zhol Democratic Party	AMANAT	Auyl People's Democratic Patriotic Party	People's Party of Kazakhstan	Nationwide Social Democratic Party
1999	The party has existed since 2002. Improvement of the political system; adoption of the state program of political reforms; direct and equal distribution among all citizens of Kazakhstan of state revenues from the sale of subsoil wealth; state industrial policy; improving market housing affordability; efficiency of qualitative economic and social parameters; protection of workers' rights; a state program to protect motherhood and childhood; a state program of social assistance for the disabled; secondary education for free; genuine free	Quick actions to get out of a deadlock, etc. Achievement of the national standard of quality of life; improving the well-being of the people; development of the economy; strengthening the security of the state; social protection of the population; specific tasks in the political, economic, environmental, social, and cultural spheres, etc.	The party has existed since 2000. Interests of rural workers; development of the agricultural sector of the economy; improvement of living conditions in rural areas; and measures to improve social policy, etc.	The party has existed since 2004. Restoration of real people's power; adoption of a new Code on Parliamentary Elections; social security of the population, etc.	The party has existed since 2007. The party has existed since 2007.
2004					

	<p>medical care; a twofold increase in wages, etc.</p> <p>Decent jobs and Wages; quality of human resources; affordable and decent housing; a decent life for the villagers; culture and spirituality; equality before the law and the fight against corruption.</p>	<p>Improving the quality of life of every Kazakhstani and the social well-being of all sectors of society; maintaining social stability, encouraging high civic engagement, and bolstering Kazakh patriotism; increase in the average monthly income of the population by more than 2 times; constantly raising the minimum wage, outstripping the rate of inflation; keep inflation within tight limits, etc.</p>	<p>Improving the financial situation of all rural residents, ensuring their well-being; developing the agricultural sector of the economy, etc.</p>	<p>Encourage people to take charge of the affairs of society themselves; the authorities' responsibility towards the people; participation of the people in the government of the state; production of domestic consumer goods; lowering the retirement age, etc.</p>	<p>Positive changes in medicine and education; pension and benefit increases; implementation of key mechanisms for further improving the welfare of the population; free and quality education and medicine, etc.</p>
2007					
2012	<p>Introduction of parliamentary investigation of executive bodies' actions; legislative protection of the status, interests and powers of parliamentary opposition parties; gradual introduction of the election of akims in settlements (including cities) directly</p>	<p>Simultaneously counteract the crisis and perform electoral commitments; improving the quality of life of rural residents; creation of the state education accumulation system; expanding the availability of higher,</p>	<p>Protecting the interests of peasants; speaking more openly about the life of the people; the land must be given to the peasants who cultivate it; continuity of generations -</p>	<p>Equitable distribution of profits from fossil wealth to improve the living conditions of the majority of the population; expanding the production of consumer goods; state-established prices for essential</p>	<p>A legal and responsible state, a competitive and socially oriented economy, and a fair and patriotic society; fair elections, free press and television, the ability of citizens to gather and unite to express their opinion, the election of local authorities and judges;</p>

	<p>by their residents; ensure the safety of every Kazakhstan home, etc.</p>	<p>technical, and vocational education for the population; improvement of the Unified National Health System; support for motherhood and childhood, etc.</p>	<p>development of Kazakhstan; the state language is the basis of the state; public health is the main value of Kazakhstan; Kazakhstanis should live without worries, etc.</p>	<p>goods and utilities; the introduction of public control over their observance; popular representation and control; social guarantees and responsibility of the state, etc.</p>	<p>preservation and development of the languages of ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan, their original culture, etc.</p>
<p>2016</p>	<p>Raising the salaries of teachers and successful scientists; ensuring decent living conditions for people with disabilities; increasing house construction, including the construction of social housing for the low-income segments of the population and young families, sold or rented at below market prices; adopting and implementing special programs for the development of regions with an unfavorable environmental situation or with a negative balance of migration; further development of the</p>	<p>Pave the way for the future of children; structural reforms in almost all spheres of the country's economic and social development; strengthen the identity and unity of the nation; updating the system of targeted social assistance; rental housing development; fighting corruption, etc.</p>	<p>Actual problems of the village and issues of social wellbeing of the villagers; problems of efficient land use, poor use of modern innovative technologies, development of new varieties and breeds in animal husbandry; integrated development of rural areas - development of social and engineering infrastructure of rural settlements; an increase in the scale of</p>	<p>Carrying out socio-economic reforms; the country's movement towards progress and prosperity; ideological opposition to any radicalism; social stability and interethnic harmony, etc.</p>	<p>ensuring that citizens have access to all of their political rights; creating in cities and rural settlements of an elective system of local self-government, which has all the powers to resolve local issues; abolition of private ownership of agricultural land; providing free and perpetual agricultural plots for the intended use to any villager who requests one, as well as town people's plots in the suburbs for homebuilding and gardening; development of approaches to the return of strategic sectors of the economy to the state in accordance with the law; the</p>

	<p>representative branch of power - the Parliament and maslikhats in relations with executive authorities at all levels, etc.</p> <p>Expanding the use of the state language; restoring historical justice; prohibition of the sale and lease of land to citizens and companies of neighbouring countries; approval and control of the spending of all public funds in Parliament; The billions of money that authorities withdrew from offshore accounts should be returned to the nation; there should be no poverty in Kazakhstan; no one should be homeless, etc.</p>	<p>Creation of equal opportunities for all Kazakhstanis to realize their full potential; the growth of the well-being of Kazakh families, a happy childhood for children, a confident future for the younger generation and care for the elderly; solution of housing issues of the family; accessible education for all youth; providing young people with work and housing; support for people with special needs; cultural and intellectual society; sustainable development of the economy and regions; secure jobs, etc.</p>	<p>construction of social housing for young families, etc.</p> <p>Providing each village with high-quality roads, centralized water supply, gasification and Internet; addressing the rural unemployment issue; developing an index of family well-being to improve the quality of life in rural areas; a ban on the sale and lease of agricultural land to foreign citizens and non-resident persons, etc.</p>	<p>Dissolution of the social insurance fund; reducing the cost of housing for young families and socially vulnerable segments of the population; return to the solidarity pension system; lowering the retirement age to 60; rational approach to attracting foreign investment; monitoring compliance with the prohibition of land ownership by foreigners; openness of government activity; preservation of the cultural heritage of all ethnic groups in Kazakhstan, etc.</p>	<p>conversion of the state's whole educational system to a free one, etc.</p> <p>Refused to take part in the election.</p>
<p>2021</p>					

During the study, it was noted that the election programs of political parties from the previous years were practically absent from the official websites. One can only get familiar with all the election programs of the Ak Zhol Democratic Party and the programs Nur Otan Party for 2016 and 2021. Research had to rely on information from other websites, like <https://online.zakon.kz>, <https://nomad.su>, and <https://centrasia.org>. In addition, all official websites (except the Ak Zhol Democratic Party website, which provides information in English) and election programs are in Kazakh and Russian.

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