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**Dominant Ideologies in Mongolia:
The Role of Education as Ideological State Apparatus in Transition
from Nomadism to Neoliberalism.**

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Abstract

In the 20th century, Mongolia encountered two major radical transitions. The first shift occurred in 1921, a transition from a traditional nomadic society to a modern society based on the socialist structure and principle by the influence of the Soviet Union. The second transition occurred in December 1989 when Mongolia shifted from an authoritative socialist regime to a democratic system in a peaceful way. These two transitions were not only systemic shifts but also ideological transitions. In the course of transitions, the local culture tends to be undermined by the new culture and values of the dominant ideologies. Based on this hypothesis, the impacts of socialism and neoliberalism on nomadism and the role of education are studied. The study result suggests Urban expansion that resulted from both transitions could lead to the abandonment of nomadism and reforms in education contributed to the latter.

Previous studies identified the top reasons for migration flow to Ulaanbaatar. However, none of the sources answered the question of why the youths from the herders' families came to Ulaanbaatar to study from their perspectives. To fill the gap, semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven people with nomadic backgrounds. The hardship of nomadic pastoralism and the underdevelopment of rural areas are the common reasons participants left rural areas. Even though the two rival ideologies that have dominated Mongolian society have controversial ideological principles and performed distinct ideological operations, the effect they had on nomadism is nearly identical.

Zusammenfassung

Im 20. Jahrhundert erlebte die Mongolei zwei große radikale Umwälzungen. Der erste Wandel erfolgte 1921, ein Übergang von einer traditionellen Nomadengesellschaft zu einer modernen Gesellschaft, die auf der sozialistischen Struktur und den sozialistischen Prinzipien durch den Einfluss der Sowjetunion basierte. Der zweite Übergang erfolgte im Dezember 1989, als die Mongolei auf friedliche Weise von einem autoritär sozialistischen Regime zu einem demokratischen System überging. Diese beiden Übergänge waren nicht nur systemische Veränderungen, sondern auch ideologische Übergänge. Im Zuge von Übergängen wird die lokale Kultur tendenziell durch die neue Kultur und die Werte der vorherrschenden Ideologien untergraben. Basierend auf dieser Hypothese werden die Auswirkungen von Sozialismus und Neoliberalismus auf das Nomadentum und die Rolle der Bildung untersucht. Das Studienergebnis legt nahe, dass die Stadterweiterung, die aus beiden Übergängen resultierte, zur Aufgabe des Nomadentums führen könnte und Reformen im Bildungswesen zu Letzterem beitragen.

Frühere Studien identifizierten die Hauptgründe für den Migrationsstrom nach Ulaanbaatar. Keine der Studien beantwortet jedoch die Frage aus der Perspektive der Jugendlichen, warum diese aus den Hirtenfamilien nach Ulaanbaatar zum studieren kamen. Um diese Lücke zu schließen, wurden Leitfadeninterview mit acht Personen mit nomadischem Hintergrund durchgeführt. Die Not der nomadischen Weidewirtschaft und die Unterentwicklung ländlicher Gebiete sind die häufigsten Gründe, warum Teilnehmer ländliche Gebiete verließen.

Obwohl die beiden rivalisierenden Ideologien, die die mongolische Gesellschaft dominiert haben, umstrittene ideologische Prinzipien haben und unterschiedliche ideologische Operationen durchführten, ist die Wirkung, die sie auf das Nomadentum hatten, nahezu identisch.

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List of Abbreviations

Asian Development Bank (ADB)

Agitation and Propaganda (Agitprop)

Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA)

Department for Agitation and Propaganda (DAP)

German Democratic Republic (GDR)

Ideological State Apparatus (ISA)

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

Ministry of National Defence (MND)

Ministry of Defense of the People's Republic of Mongolia (MDPRM)

Mongolian People's Republic (MPR)

Mongolian People's Party (MPP)

Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP)

National Audit Office of Mongolia (NAOM)

Repressive State Apparatus (RSA)

Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR)

1. Introduction

At the end of 1989 and the beginning of the 1990s, when the socialist authoritative regime of the Soviet Union collapsed, over 30 countries in Eastern and Central Europe and Central Asia became independent (Kolodko, 1999, p.3). It was a turning point in world history as the Western Liberal Democracy overperformed the Eastern Communist Bloc which led to systemic transitions in the post-socialist countries (Fukuyama, 2022, p.8). Mongolia was one of those countries that encountered radical political, economic, and social transitions in the 1990s.

However, it was not the only radical systemic shift that Mongolia ever faced. In the 20th century, Mongolia encountered two major radical transitions. The first shift occurred in 1921, a transition from a traditional nomadic society to a modern society based on the socialist structure and principle by the influence of Soviet Russia. This led to the establishment of the Mongolian People's Republic and the new government adopted a socialist political, economic, and social system based on Marxism-Leninism. In that sense, the modern State-building process began at this period in Mongolia. Before the socialist modernization took place, Mongolia had a traditional theocratic system that was led by a political and religious leader, the Bogd Khaan. The social structure of Mongolia was based on the traditional nomadic way of life. Therefore, socialist modernization was the beginning of modern Mongolia. However, Mongolia had never been a member of the Soviet Union but was a satellite influential zone of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) (Rahul, 1978; Ginsburg, 1995). Mongolia had been under the influence of the USSR for almost 70 years from 1921-1989.

The second transition occurred in December 1989 when Mongolia shifted from an authoritative socialist regime to a democratic system in a peaceful way. It was a transition from a centrally planned economic system to a free-market economy and from a one-party political system to a democracy with a multi-party-political system. The radical changes in the politics and economy led to also social changes. Since then, Mongolia has been pursuing liberal democratic policies in economic, political, and social structures.

These two transitions were not only systemic shifts but also ideological transitions. Socialism was the dominant ideology that set the common sense during the Mongolian People's Republic from 1921-1989. Since 1990, neoliberal ideology has been dominating, thus setting the common sense of the society based on neoliberal principles and values.

It could be said that systemic transitions in Mongolia were a historical evolutionary process. In this regard, as the two controversial ideologies have existed in Mongolian society in their respective historical period, the effects of socialism and the effects of neoliberalism on

nomadism and the role of education as an ideological support mechanism of the Ideological State Apparatus of the respective ideologies were examined and analyzed in two different chapters separately. Therefore, the style of this thesis is written in the form of a historiographical narrative. As this thesis consists of two different historical periods and focus analyses were made on each historical period respectively, the literature review does not have a separate chapter. Instead, it is integrated into the respective historical periods as an elaboration of the events and analyses of the impacts of the two systems on nomadism.

The structure of the thesis consists of five body parts including the introduction as a first chapter.

The second chapter focuses on the conceptualization of terminologies and theoretical concepts that help the analysis of the case study. That begins with the conceptualization of ideology as a set of beliefs and norms of a society. Further, the dominant ideology is conceptualized as a set of beliefs that dominate the society in a given time that set common beliefs and values of the majority of the society (Abercrombie et al., 1978, p.149). The dominant ideology thesis suggests that the set of beliefs dominates over the other beliefs by influencing the consciousness of minds of social classes and it is set by the dominating group for securing and maintaining their power (ibid). Regarding the operation of the dominant ideology, Gramsci argues that the dominance could be installed by coercion or consensus methods. However, consensus by influencing the consciousness of the individuals is a sustaining way of dominant ideology. (Schwarzmantel, 2015, p.100). Thus, by ideological operations, a dominant ideology of a certain group can become a universal dominant ideology that shapes the common sense and norms of the majority of the world as a world system (Abercrombie et al., 1980). Althusser (1970) argues that ideological operations are implemented through the dominant ideology's institutions as Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). The theses of Gramsci and Althusser are together valuable for analyzing the ideological shifts of Mongolia from a theoretical perspective. While Gramsci's ideological thesis provides theoretical insights to analyze characteristics and differences between the two dominant ideologies and their systemic structures, Althusser's thesis on Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and ISA will help to analyze the role of ideological institutions of the respective systems. Althusser (1970) argues that education is perceived as a crucial instrument of the ideological apparatus as it directly touches the consciousness of minds. In other words, educational institutions serve to transmit the values, norms, and ideologies of the dominant ideology. Thus, the focus of the thesis is the operation of education as ideological mediation and the instrument of the dominant ideologies in Mongolia.

Furthermore, it will be argued that the two major systemic transitions in Mongolia meant not only changes in politics and economy, but these were also ideological shifts that influenced the consciousness of Mongolian people's minds, thus changing triggers of the society and the culture. Soviet Socialism and Western Neoliberalism are perceived as the dominant ideologies that were "imported" into Mongolia (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006). In other words, neither socialism nor neoliberalism is the original ideology of Mongolia. It is nomadism or the nomadic way of life which is the Mongolian traditional societal system that had existed for thousands of years. Nomadism, for Mongolians, is not only the traditional way of life but also culture, national identity, and the heart of nationalism, therefore nomadism could be defined as the core of Mongolian national ideology. However, in the course of transitions, the local culture tends to be undermined by the new culture and values of the dominant ideologies (Said, 1978; Spivak 1988, Bhabha, 1994; Mouffe, 2000; Asad, 2003). Based on this hypothesis, the impacts of socialism and neoliberalism on nomadism and the role of education will be studied. Thus, this thesis is the quest to answer the following question: How has Mongolian nomadism been affected by the dominant ideologies through education as ISA during socialism and neoliberalism?

In the third chapter, the methodology used in the case study to answer the research question will be elaborated. In both ideological parts, the primary source and secondary sources of qualitative and quantitative data were collected, and secondary sources of surveys and studies were used for validity purposes. Lastly, the data were analyzed through coding and rationalization.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to elaborating on the socialist transition; defining the socialist system and its ideological principles and values; the consequences of the socialist shift and its impact on nomadism. In this part, Marxist theoretical input will help to understand the characteristics of the socialist system that was installed in Mongolia as a result of the socialist transition. The main analysis was made on the role of education as a socialist ideological apparatus. Particularly how this operation of education as a socialist ISA influenced the nomadic way of life and what changes in nomadism were made consequently.

The fifth chapter is focused on the shift from socialism to neoliberal modern Mongolia. First of all, neoliberalism will be conceptualized as it is perceived as the existing universal dominant ideology from the theoretical perspective of "the end of history" thesis (Fukuyama, 1992). Then, the reforms that have been made in Mongolia in the framework of the neoliberal transition will be defined. Following, the impacts of the fundamental policy reforms including education on the transformation of the nomadism will be revealed.

Regarding the neoliberal transition, analysis of statistical data and the results of the previous studies show an emphasizing phenomenon that resulted from the neoliberal shift. Urbanization, which is the controversy of the nomadic way of life, expanded as a result of neoliberal policy reforms in the education field. This results in not only the migration flow of youths to the capital city but also a trend that those migrated youths tend to stay in Ulaanbaatar. The latter is perceived as contributing to the abandonment of the nomadic way of life. In this regard, the second question of the research was derived: Why do nomadic herders' children who migrated to Ulaanbaatar for education purposes not return to nomadic pastoralism? In which condition they would go back to their homeland? Thus, the last section of chapter five is dedicated to answering this question and presenting the results.

The sixth chapter will summarise the research results and conclude the thesis. Overall, the whole thesis is designed to investigate the impacts and the effects of socialism and neoliberalism as dominant ideologies on nomadism throughout the historical period and the role of education in the process. In other words, this thesis's focus does not lie on the motives and interests of the dominant ideologies; therefore, it is not the quest for figuring out who is oppressing whom, rather it focuses on the pragmatic impacts that the dominant ideology could have on the traditional culture. Even though the two rival ideologies that have dominated Mongolian society have controversial ideological principles and performed distinct ideological operations, the effect they had on nomadism is nearly identical.

2. Conceptualization and Theoretical Departure

2.1. Definition of ideology using Gerring's suggestion

Ideology, as a term and a concept, is a much-disputed notion in social science studies (Abercrombie et al., 1980; Duncan, 1987; Gerring, 1997). The term was applied in 1796 by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy representing “science of ideas” or “philosophy of the mind which derives knowledge from the sense” (Carriere, 2022). Even though the term was introduced as a science of ideas at that time, it became ‘omnipresent’ in the 20th century, particularly during the post-war period (Simpson, 1989). Since then, the term ideology used as an analytical term in political, economic and social discourses actively but there is no fixed description of the term. Therefore, one can find a countless number of definitions of the term in social and political science works. According to Gerring, ideology is a ‘highly flexible conceptual tool’ therefore its art of definition is context-dependent (Gerring, 1997, p.957). In other words, every writer emphasizes different attributes of ideology that are essential for her/his thesis. The following attributes are associated often with ideology in modern social science discourse (ibid) (see Table 1).

Table 1. *All attributes of Ideology*

A COMPREHENSIVE DEFINITIONAL FRAMEWORK		
1. Location	(b) Subordinate	(c) Abstraction
(a) Thought	5. Function	(d) Specificity
(b) Behavior	(a) Explaining	(e) Hierarchy
(c) Language	(b) Repressing	(f) Stability
2. Subject matter	(c) Integrating	(g) Knowledge
(a) Politics	(d) Motivating	(h) Sophistication
(b) Power	(e) Legitimizing	(i) Facticity
(c) The world at-large	6. Motivation	(j) Simplicity
3. Subject	(a) Interest-based	(k) Distortion
(a) Social class	(b) Non-interest based	(l) Conviction
(b) Any group	(c) Non-expedient	(m) Insincerity
(c) Any group or individual	7. Cognitive/affective structure	(n) Dogmatism
4. Position	(a) Coherence (internal)	(o) Consciousness
(a) Dominant	(b) Contrast (external)	(p) Unconsciousness

Note. All attributes associated with ideology in contemporary social science discourse.

Adapted from Gerring, J. (1997). Ideology: A Definitional Analysis. *Political Research Quarterly*, 50(4), 957–994. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/448995?origin=crossref>

Ideology is defined by many social and political scientists by its functions. In other words, most of the definitions of ideology include attributes of power, motives, and interests of certain social classes or groups for political purposes. However, in that case, ideology is defined by its purpose or function.

In this thesis, I insist, firstly, to define ideology descriptively as an answer to the “what is ideology?” question distinguishing ideology from its functions. Gerring (1997) suggests that one should identify “a core definition” of a term to answer the question what ideology is. The core definition is ‘a single attribute or small set of related attributes that are universally agreed-upon and which might therefore lend some coherence to other, less central definitional attributes’ (Gerring, 1997, p.978-980). According to Gerring, the only coherent and most used characteristic of ideology in defining ideology ‘refers to a set of idea-elements that are bound together, that belong to one another in a non-random fashion’ (ibid).

Thus, the core definition of ideology describes ideology as encompassing beliefs, values, norms, and normative claims that individuals or groups adhere to and use to interpret and justify their social and political realities. This does not only ascertain Gerring’s descriptive definition of ideology above but also suggests that ideology consists of a multifaceted nature as it is entangled with a comprehensive system of beliefs, values, norms, and normative that not only guide individual or group actions but also justify and sustain prevailing social, economic, and political structures.

2.2. Dominant Ideology

Dominant ideology thesis suggests that in most societies, there are sets of beliefs that dominate over the other beliefs by influencing the consciousness of minds of social classes (Abercrombie et al., 1978, p.149). Contemporary discourses of capitalism as a dominant ideology come from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’ analysis of the socio-political and economic analysis of 19th-century Europe (ibid; Chambre & McLellan, 2023). In Marx’s work “Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy” (1859), it is stated that “*the mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and intellectual processes of life*”. In other words, Marx argued that the basic engine of social and political life is inseparable from the economic needs of individuals. Mode of production and the relations of classes during the mode of production are useful in Marxist analysis of ideology. The unequal relationship between capital owners and labourers is maintained through setting dominant ideology by the ruling class which functions for the subordination of the subordinate group (Abercrombie et

al., 1978, p.151). In other words, the ruling class use ideology to maintain their power and wealth. The huge amount of power and wealth concentrated on a small group of people makes unequal distribution of resources and entails social inequality. This inequality should be justified by producing common sense (Gramsci), or constructed or contextual truth (Foucault, 1963, 1966, 1975).

The main thesis of the dominant ideology is based on Marxist thoughts that in society certain beliefs serve to the advantage of the dominant class, the ruling regime or ruling class need an ideology to secure the political superiority of the dominant class (Abercrombie et al., 1978, p.149). Thus, the dominant ideology is conceptualized as a set of beliefs that dominate the society in a given time that constructed common beliefs and values of the majority of the society to maintain and secure the power and interests of the ruling class (Abercrombie et al., 1978; 1982)

2.3. Universal Dominant Ideology

Dominant ideology has existed during historical epochs as a type of governance and the way of social life that is suitable for the ideals of the existing governance throughout the globe similarly. The dominance of a certain ideology comes to an end when the existing system is realized not fulfilling the interests of a certain group or groups which leads to consciousness of minds and it pushes human history forward to the next stage or the existing dominant ideology is replaced by a new form of dominance (Fukuyama, 1989, p.115). According to Hegel, history or the historical epoch is a 'dialectical process' with a beginning, a middle and an end (ibid). Each historical epoch was characterized by a unique system of 'psychology and belief' and these can be studied from 'an evolutionary perspective' (Abercrombie et al., 1980, p.37). According to the evolutionary scheme of the French philosophers, the following 'psychology and beliefs' used to form the society (ibid):

- During the classical period (1750-1820) slavery based on the "ideology of polytheism" was perceived as the norm in society.
- After slavery, feudalism with a "theological ideology" became dominant.
- Thereafter, "an organic civilization based on industrial production for which science or positivism was the characteristic mode of thought" (ibid).

In each historical epoch, people explore and experiment with different ideologies, social systems, institutions, and religions that possibly can fulfil human needs (Fukuyama, 1989,

p.105). The dominance of a certain ideology had come to an end, when, for example, the subordinate groups came to their realization of their position in exploitation as a counterhegemony which led to the next historical epoch with another type of dominant ideology.

In the contemporary historical period, the major clash between world superpowers resulted from the ideological controversies of the two powers and it led to major division of the world into two blocs. The Cold War not only resulted from the ideological differences between the two rivals but also brought ideology into reality in the form of common sense in the simultaneous blocs of their own and manifested their ideologies in politics, economics, and social life. Therefore, it could be also described as an ideological war. Despite the war escalated to the invention of nuclear weapons which threatened the whole world with its ability of mass distraction, the Cold War proved the mere existence of ideology, and that it is inevitable.

According to “the end of history” thesis thinkers (Hegel, Kojeve, Fukuyama), this process will continue until the formation of the most equal society becomes a reality. This will be achieved by an evolutionary process that each stage would improve in the sense of equality of the society. In other words, each stage will be more egalitarian than the previous ones and these evolutionary improvements will lead to the end of history or the end stage of humankind which offers people a system protected by law that protects and maintains man’s universal rights to freedom, and is democratic in the sense that the political, economic and social life runs only with the consent of the governed (ibid). Referring to the scholars of the end of history thesis, if the stage with the latter conditions is configured universally, it will be the end of history or the last stage of the ideological evolution of humankind. The latter suggests that there will neither be any rivalry to the last universal dominant ideology nor major complications. Kojeve termed the last stage as a “universal homogenous state” and he assumed that in this state, people would not face the same contradictions that happened in the previous stages such as slavery and class conflicts (ibid). Instead, in a state of a universal homogenous state, the interests of individuals are relatively equally considered, therefore everyone’s needs will be satisfied (Fukuyama, 1989, p.116). The end of history thesis argues that Socialism/Communism and Western Liberal Democracy competed during the Cold War, both believing in creating the most equal society based on their respective ideological principles. Furthermore, it argues when the USSR collapsed in 1990, Western neoliberalism became the dominant organizing principle of world politics (Gray, 1986; Fukuyama, 1989; Huntington, 1993).

The end of history contributes to the understanding of the nature of the two different ideologies that strived for a dominant position in the world arena to announce their hegemony in the world as the universal dominant ideology. These rival ideologies had been adopted in Mongolia one after the other in the 20th century. Thus, to understand the ideological transitions and their impacts on national ideology, it is necessary to understand the operations of ideology by the dominant ideology.

2.4. Operation of Ideology

Many argue that ideology has two faces. On one hand, ideology configures an individual as a subject who possesses conscious thoughts. On the other hand, ideology is configured by the conscious individuals (Althusser, 1970; Therborn, 1980; Abercrombie et al., 1980, 1990).

The latter suggests that ideology is a product of consciousness. This assumption is sourced from Marx's historical Materialism. The theory suggests that ideology is a part of history and history is the only primary science. According to Marx (1994), history is divided into two kinds, the history of nature and the history of man. These two are interdependent as nature gives us material conditions, thus humans are dependent on nature and nature is affected by the existence of humans. As nature is the first reality in which humans interact, the ideas of humans are derived from the given material conditions. Therefore, *"Ideology is no dogma, it is 'abstraction' that is made only in imagination based on material conditions throughout historical epochs of mankind. The first historical act of these individuals, the act by which they distinguish themselves from animals is not the fact that they think but the fact that they begin to produce their means of subsistence"* (Marx, 1994, p.107).

A person is a conscious subject who creates his own history which is based on the material need of one and to secure own interest one starts to influence or propagate others (ibid, p.116). In that sense, Marx claimed that ideology is derived from the material need of humans that leads to production, exchanges and interactions between individuals. In the course of this 'mode of production', there are various groups that each share the same interests and interact with each other and there is a necessity to protect these interests. The 'mode of production' and thereof derived interests of a certain group or groups are determinants in the derivative of ideology (Marx, 1994, p.107). In other words, man creates certain beliefs, rules or standards to secure, maintain or protect his own interest, therefore, ideology is human constructed notion. On the other hand, ideology constructs conscious subjects (Marx, 1994; Althusser, 1970; Schwarzmantel, 2015) through instrumentalized by man. It is clarified above that ideology is human constructed beliefs, however, at the same time, ideology also produces a conscious

subject which means it also has the power to influence the mindset of an individual's belief, worldview, and opinion (Marx 1845/1994; Althusser 1970; Foucault 1969, 1975; Gramsci 1929-1935; Marcuse 1964; Laclau&Mouffe 1985). As ideology is constructed by a subject, it is artificial. However, this artificially constructed knowledge could become a fundamental belief and value of a whole society as a 'common sense' (Gramsci, 1971). Common sense is the notion that is perceived as the norm in society and is received by subjects through 'an unreflective and uncritical sense' (Schwarzmandel, 2015, p.218). The notion that became common sense in a society is based on the 'prejudices' of a certain social group, in most cases, those of the dominant class (ibid, p.219).

Ideology cannot be constructed by only one subject, as Marx argued that society is based on interconnection and communication between individuals. The notion that became common sense in a society is based on the 'prejudices' of a certain social group, in most of cases, those of the dominant class (ibid). Therefore, it is highly probable that a group of people who share the same interests is responsible for the construction of a certain ideology and further a dominant ideology in society (Marx, 1994).

In that sense, ideology is a two-edged sword that is instrumentalized for both the hegemony of a ruling class and for the counter-hegemony against the ruling class.

2.4.1 Ideology of Power

Power is subjective or there is always a subject or interest group which wants to be at a privileged position in a society. This group can instrumentalize ideology for political purposes under any political order to set their 'hegemony' in society (Gramsci, 1971). According to Gramsci (1971), there are two general ways that the hegemony of the dominant class is set in a society including 'consensus' and 'coercion'. Consensus is a process in which the subordinate class receives and accepts the hegemony of the dominant class not necessarily by intention, but usually by the subtle influence of the ideology of the dominant class through everyday activity as a common sense. In other words, consensus does not work the way, for example, the dominant class and the subordinate class sit together and agree on the basic values and rules that work in favour of the dominant group. However, the superstructure where the social classes live in has some advantages for the subaltern group's interests too as Gramsci noted that 'the ruling group will concretely coordinate itself with the general interests of the subordinate groups ...' (Candeias et al., 2007, p. 20) so that their hegemony stays stable (Erdenetsogt, 2021, p.2). The process of consensus goes subtly through influencing the consciousness of the mind

through 'cultural hegemony'. Cultural hegemony is the ideological influence of the dominant class on the subordinate group through cultural institutions, such as education, media and religion by embedding its ideologies that serve the interests of the dominant class. In the endeavour of setting the dominant class's hegemony, the intellectuals play an important role. In other words, those who are in institutions such as education, media, arts etc., are prominent in the construction and maintenance of cultural hegemony of the dominant class. Consensus through cultural hegemony could lead to the success of the hegemony of the dominant class in the long term. Therefore, it is crucial to take action in the framework of cultural hegemony before forceful methods of obtaining and maintaining power (Schwarzmandel, 2015, p.101).

Coercion or a forceful method of maintaining the power of the dominant class is functioned through the 'forces of order' organized by 'the State and the private individuals' (Schwarzmandel, 2015, p. 188). In general, the forces of order such as police or law enforcement agencies work against crime or 'the management of violence' in society (Miliband, 2009, p.38). However, when the ideology of the dominant class is settled in a society as a common sense, state or governmental branches are influenced by the dominant ideology too, thus those works for safeguarding 'the political and economic domination of the ruling classes' (Schwarzmandel, 2015, p.188).

Althusser's analysis of ideology in his essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus" (1970) gives a broad input to Gramsci's analysis of consensus and coercion as it focuses on the material, structural and systematic aspects of ideology in the framework of the state. Althusser (1970) sees that the dominant ideology operates in two ways through (public and private) institutions. First, the State Apparatus or the 'Repressive State Apparatus' (SA) which contains 'the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons etc.' (Althusser, 1970, p.79). Second, the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) include the following institutions:

- The religious ISA
- The educational ISA (the system of the different public and private schools)
- The family ISA
- The legal ISA
- The political ISA (the political system, including the different parties)
- The trade-union ISA
- The communications ISA (press, radio, television, etc.)

- The cultural ISA (literature, the arts, sports, etc.) (Empirical list of ISAs as institutions by Althusser, 1970, p. 80).

The state is 'the state of the ruling class', therefore either it is a repressive SA or ISAs, and the ideological state apparatus and its institutions function in the favour of the ruling class (ibid). Having hegemony over and in the ISAs makes it possible for a dominant class to retain the state power for a long period (Althusser, 1970, p.81). Functions of the SA and the ISAs are different by their operational methods, Repressive SA functions predominantly by repression and violence, while ISAs function subtly by influencing consciousness (ibid). However, 'there is no such thing as a purely repressive apparatus' (ibid, p.80) and 'there is no such thing as a purely ideological apparatus' (ibid, p.81). That means SA and ISA are coined in a way that repressive apparatus is influenced by the dominant ideology in a society, therefore it functions to ensure the 'cohesion and reproduction' of the dominant ideology (ibid). On the other hand, even though ISAs function predominantly through influencing the consciousness of both conscious or unconscious minds linguistically or discursively, they function 'secondarily by repression' (ibid). For example, schools, churches, and families can use repressive methods, such as punishment of exclusion, selection, or suitable disciplining actions (ibid).

These institutions are material mediations of the dominant ideology. In other words, institutions are the "tools" of ideology to become reality by informing, teaching, persuading, and propagating individuals. In that sense, Althusser claims that 'ideology interpellates individuals as subject' (Althusser, 1970, p.84). An individual refers to a person who is autonomous and self-determinant, in a way that they are free to follow their own ideas (ibid, p.82). For example, if an individual is spiritual, she/he can attend church by her/his own will. However, according to Althusser (1970), it is preconditioned that an individual becomes a subject who is constructed by ideological processes within a particular ideological framework. Therefore, in a society constructed by the dominant ideology, the institutions function for the maintenance of the dominant ideology and to secure the stabilization of the hegemony of the dominant class in the society. The institutions are the materially present places that spread and maintain the contents suitable for the values and cores of the dominant ideology. Further, institutions are where individuals recognize themselves as subjects within a particular ideological state, integrating themselves into societal norms and identities. In that sense, ideology creates one as an ideological subject by influencing her/his mind through its institutions. Moreover, any kind

of dominant ideology secures its legitimization in a given society through ideological state apparatus and its institutions.

2.4.2. Power of Ideology

On one hand, the power of ideology is instrumentalized by the dominant group to secure its interests and legitimise and keep the subordinate groups in their subordinate positions as long as possible. On the other hand, ideology could be also used in the favour of the subordinate groups or for those who are being exploited or marginalized. The “loophole” is subordinate groups do not realize that they are exploited and there is a possibility for more equality. *“Ideology never says: I am ideological”* (Althusser, 1970, p.86). ‘Organic intellectuals’ are the key to the realization of the latter (Schwarzmandel, 2015, p.81). Organic intellectuals are intellectual representatives who emerge from the subaltern classes, but not necessarily are academics, instead, they could be professionals, managers, journalists etc. (Forags, 2000, p.301). The potential and main function of the organic intellectuals are to identify if there is a dominant ideology hiding in everyday life; to create a controversial ideology; to state their opinion and to speak out for their interests on behalf of the social class that they are emerged from (ibid, p.302).

Furthermore, counter-hegemony may emerge when a certain group or groups come into the consciousness that the dominant group possess more power and privileges than the rest of the society. Based on this conscious realization, the emergence of counter-hegemonic groups with their ideologies that would serve their interests that often oppose the interests of the dominant class. In particular, this opposition or resistance against the dominant cultural, ideological and cultural norms set by the dominant class not only challenges the hegemony of the ruling class but also appeals to alternative ideas, values and practices that represent the interests of the subordinate class or marginalized groups within society. In that sense, the rise of the counter-hegemony or ideology of the subordinate group is possible when the fact is realized that the society is unequal because it is constructed to secure one group’s interests more than the rest. As this reality of society is constructed, it could also be deconstructed or reconstructed and replaced by an alternative approach that would fulfil the interest of the rest.

2.4.3 The Role of Education in ideological operations as an Ideological State Apparatus during the domination of a certain ideology

“It takes children from every class at infant-school age, and then four years, the years in which the child is most ‘vulnerable’, squeezed between the family State apparatus and the educational State Apparatus, it drums into them, whether it uses new or old methods, a certain amount of ‘know-how’ wrapped in the ruling ideology (French, arithmetic, natural history, the sciences, literature) or simply the ruling ideology in its pure state (ethics, civic instruction, philosophy).”

Althusser, 1970a, p.210

Althusser argues that all Ideological State Apparatuses aim at the same result: ‘the reproduction of the relations of production, i.e. of capitalist relations of exploitation’ (Althusser, 1970a, p.210). In other words, existing relations between the economy, society and education function to maintain the necessary conditions for the dominating ideology (Erben & Gleeson, 1975, p.121). Among all, education is perceived as a crucial instrument of the ideological apparatus as it directly touches the consciousness of minds. Educational institutions and the education system in society function to reproduce the constructed reality by the dominant ideology and their role is the maintenance of ideology and control (Erben & Gleeson, 1975, p.121). Thus, educational institutions serve to transmit the values, norms and ideologies of the dominant ideology.

Based on this claim, the thesis will focus on the role of education as Ideological State Apparatus of the dominant ideology in a given period. In other words, the educational policy and its implementations of both socialism and neoliberalism will be examined and its contribution to the change of nomadism will be examined.

2.5. Analytical Concepts of the Case Study

The focus of this thesis is to figure out how the two ideological transitions transformed the Mongolian traditional social formation of nomadism. Therefore, it is important to first consider the analytical concepts that are necessary to conceptualize Nomadism. Thereafter, Nomadism will be defined from the perspectives of Mongolian academics and their research results.

2.5.1. Culture

Culture is an important analytical element in the discourse of ideology because ‘concrete social individuals are always already constructed as class-ed, sex-ed and age-ranked subjects, have already entered into complex cultural forms, already have a complexly formed subjectivity’ (Johnson, 1979, p.75). There is no ‘cultureless interpellation’ (ibid). That is why the analysis

of ideology cannot exclude culture as most of the Marxist theories do. The subject as an individual cannot be analyzed in a generalized way as a member of a group or a class. It is important in which culture one is born and raised. Culture is the 'way of life of a particular class or group or, more exactly, its 'lived' ideologies or common sense' (Johnson, 1979, p.74). In that sense, culture is ideology, more precisely the primary ideology, that one learns unconsciously since her/his birth.

On the contrary, 'the concept of ideology is not dependent on the concept of culture' argued Göran Therborn (1982, p.6). With this claim, he meant Johnson's argument of the importance of 'culture' in the discussions of ideology is unnecessary. Unfortunately, he did not clearly explain why. He just used three sentences to elaborate this claim insisting that Johnson's statement that argues 'ideologies never address a subject' and 'ideologies always work upon a ground' and that ground is culture is denied by his own definition of culture: "*Ideologies always work upon a ground: that ground is the complex of ideologies that are actually adopted as moral preferences or principles of life*" (ibid). The interpretation could be that the society (including family members) is constructed by politicised ideology as Therborn defined ideology as 'both everyday notions and experience and elaborate intellectual doctrines, both consciousness of social actors and the institutionalised thought-systems and discourses of a given society' (Therborn, 1980, p.2). In other words, when one is born, one's family members are most influential that one to realize who one is and what one to believe as truth or reality, but this truth or reality and identity or who he/she is supposed to become is informed by the society and transmitted through the family members. The latter suggests that society is constructed by politicized ideology, and the family members are influenced (consciously or unconsciously) by the politicized ideology. That concludes that the individual is influenced by politicized ideology since her/his birth (ibid).

On the contrary, Gerring (1979) argued that even defining ideology as 'sophisticated political cognition' requires us to take distance from 'the political beliefs and values' to figure out the origin of those political thoughts (p.981). Assume these political thoughts are not entirely random. In other words, the "seed" of these thoughts was in one's mind for a long time. "*If all these observations are correct, social scientists evidently need a term referring to such cognitive behaviours*" (ibid). Then he mentions in brackets culture could be that term but this 'loses the explicitly political connotation of ideology' (ibid). Here I want to ask why ideology must only be used to explain politicized social phenomena. Was a nomadic way of life created because of someone's interest in power? It is natural that citizens of any nation-state are under the state's umbrella and are influenced by political decisions. However, the existence of culture

or at least some elements of culture exist apart from politics. For instance, a nomadic way of life is configured harmoniously to the given geographical and climate conditions. It was not politicized but still shaped one's beliefs, values and identity or who they are. That is why culture can be a primary ideology that is separate from politics. But this does not deny the influence of political ideology on an individual's view. The fact is the definition of ideology by political scientists does not define what exactly it is, instead, ideology is defined by its instrumentalization that includes motivational or interest-based attributes that might be the reason defining ideology is difficult. But if we put aside the motivation and interest and focus only on, the "what is ideology?" question by requiring descriptive definition, then the common attributions of the most used definitions suggest that ideology is a set of beliefs and values. And that belief is introduced firstly through culture.

Culture is underrated or under-discussed with its reference to ideology by Western scientists (Said, 1978; Spivak 1988, Bhabha, 1994; Mouffe, 2000; Asad, 2003). Firstly, most of the well-discussed political theories around ideology are based on Western societies. All these theories' discourse go around preconditions and challenges that are discussed accordingly Marxist theories such as social classes, dominant class and dominant class's interest and power retainment and instrumentalized ideology or counter-hegemonic ability of ideology. All these politicized ideology discussions are based on capitalist Western societies which could be why culture is considered unimportant (ibid).

Furthermore, regarding the latter fact, it could be suitable to use Marxist theories to analyze fundamentally capitalist and settlement societies (but not denying its credibility, only suggesting filling the gap, when it comes to the social change of a non-western country), but not the nomadic societies with fundamentally different cultural background. Kurczewska (1990) suggests that category *culture* is an intermediary to the ethno-national communities and their distinctive features in the analysis of ideas, norms, principles, and values (p.8). Therefore, culture as the analytical element is important in this thesis alongside the Marxist theories. Because, in the discussions of social changes in Mongolia, nomadic culture is important and influential in transitions and reformation of new social orders as it has been always present in Mongolia as a highly influential part of national ideology. Nomadism and nomads affect the process of social change and are affected by social change during transitional times. The interrelations between the local ideology and a foreign ideology produce new kinds of challenges in the process of transition to a different mode of life, therefore culture is a "not-afford-to-miss" analytical element in the analysis of Mongolian social changes.

2.5.2 National Ideology

Parsons' structural functionalism explains that for a society to function, there must be a shared 'set of values and beliefs' which is also termed as 'common culture' (Abercrombie et al., 1980, p.29). The set of common culture and values is transmitted and reproduced during one's socialization process within a primary group such as a family (ibid). That suggests that the first experience of receiving a set of beliefs unconsciously is made through her/his family since the birth of one. Then what shapes the family members' set of beliefs and values in the first place? The answer is disputed that some argue that a certain ideology that is dominant in a given society is the most influential in one's reception and configuration of consciousness (Althusser, 1971; Gramsci 1971; Abercrombie. et al., 1980, 1990; Therborn, 1982).

This is true that the dominant ideology has impacts on an individual and society as the Marxists claim. Marxist historical materialism claims that the material needs of humans, further the mode of production is determinant for an individual to become an ideological subject in a society. But the problem with most of the Marxist theories of ideology is that it does not define and discuss the common culture, instead, it focuses on 'central tradition around class and class consciousness' or 'ideology in general and the effects it is supposed to have on its subjects' (Johnson, 1979, p.74). Therefore, Marxist theories might exclude an important analytical concept which could be important to examine the ideological and social transitions of non-western countries. In other words, in the cases of non-western countries, the universal dominant ideology is imported through, for example, colonialism or post-socialist transitions, which means they encountered an ideological shift. The latter implies that before the universal dominant ideology comes to a non-western country, there must be some kind of ideology that used to function as an organisational and unifying force that social, economic, and political life to be and to go on as a unified nation which could be termed as a national ideology. In other words, a dominant ideology discussed in the sense of Marxist theorists is not the only factor that affects an individual to become a subject, but also the elements of national ideology or nationalism and its impacts on and interaction with the dominant ideology (Larsen et al., 1995, p.165). The elements of national ideology include culture and traditions that are constructed by naturally given conditions such as geographical and climate conditions and history (ibid). In addition to the latter, ethnicity, language, religion, myths, and symbols of the national culture are considered as the elements of national ideology (Haas, 1986; Smith, 1981; Triandafyllidou, 1998; Larsen et al., 1995). In a broader sense, national ideology consists of the above-mentioned elements, it has also the power to unify, and specify the nation and give belonging and identity (Larsen et al., 1995).

When talking about national ideology another term comes across often which is nationalism. The characteristics and function of nationalism and the national ideology overlap as nationalism is the most fundamental source of ideology and identity (Haas, 1986, p.709; Larsen et al., 1995, p. 165;). Nationalism responds to the most fundamental question of identity: “Who am I and what do I believe?” (ibid). Similarly, Haas (1986) defines Nationalism as a “civil religion” that ‘contains a set of core values that, whether for objectivist or subjectivist reasons, come to be accepted by the population of a state; they become the definers of selfhood’ (p.709). That suggests that national ideology and nationalism both function to fulfil the universal human need to belong somewhere or to something and to be secure (Larsen et al., 1995, p. 166). Furthermore, Larsen et al. (1995) argue that the ideological role overlaps with the functions of national identity that are based ‘partly on memories and partly on the myths and symbols of the nation culture’ (ibid). In that sense, national ideology represents national identity which makes nationalism and national identity the inseparable pair.

Schnee (2001) argues that ‘nationalism is a potentially divisive ideology and the idea of the nation, it is also a fundamental means of social organization in the contemporary world’ and it will remain so despite globalization (Schnee, 2001, p.1).

Kurczewska (1990) defines National ideology as ‘a system of culture of a nationalized individual, system concentrated on his/her own is strongly linked to ethnocentrism’ (p.8). National ideology is ethnocentric¹ in a way that it focuses on one particular nation, its culture and the worldview as a lens through which evaluate the world as a whole and ‘norms of the whole remaining social world’ (Kurczewska, 1990, p.7). “*By arising from the extreme cognitive and emotional monocentrism of ideologies of all types, national ideology is the source of the division of the social world into the world of one’s own nation and the remaining, alien world*” (ibid), but not necessarily conceiving own nation as superior to the rest. In that sense, national ideology is a source of comparing one’s own nation to the rest, for instance, its evolutionary stance and development including progress or backwardness. Not only a nation but also its people compare them to the rest. Schnee (2001) defines nationalism similarly to Kurczewska that ‘nationalism is a way of thinking about society, whether domestic or international’.

Billig (1993) argues that ‘in the contemporary world of nation, it is accepted that everyone belongs to a nation’, therefore modern individuals see having a national identity ‘to be as

¹ “Ethnocentrism is a set of beliefs according to which one’s own group is the centre of everything, the measure of everything, and the comparative scale for all other groups and social phenomena” (Kurczewska, 1990, p.5)

natural as having an arm or leg' (p.40). This 'naturalness' indicates the 'ideological nature of nationalism as an everyday phenomenon' (ibid). Therefore, in contemporary times, nationalism can't be defined as an expression of traditional and backward societies 'as in western states nationalism is often regarded as "disease" that afflicts the lesser developed world' (Schnee, 2001, p.1). Instead, nationalism should be defined by the unique characteristics of a nation and could function as an analytical tool to examine social changes in societies that have diverse backgrounds, such as geographical, historical, and cultural backgrounds.

Larsen et al. (1995) state that the modern nation-state-building process is based on the blending of national ideology and dominant ideology (p.165). National ideology is derived from 'historic territories, historic memories, and social ties (Larsen et al., 1995, p.166). In that sense, national ideology is relevant when a country encounters an ideological shift (e.g. non-western, originally non-capitalist societies transitioning to a capitalist system). Because this primary ideology of the nation influences in the process of adapting the universal dominant ideology of a given time and space that is produced in a society with different cultures, traditions, geography, and climate.

When an ideological transition happens, the old dominant ideology is supposed to be replaced by a new dominant ideology. However, replacing does not mean that the old dominant ideology or the national ideology is replaced by the new one completely, instead, these two ideologies tend to blend and that is how national ideology survives (Larsen et al., 1995, p.165). This could be the reason why the good practices of the West do not work in other societies and create new challenges. In other words, the latter could be the reason, why foreign culture is assimilated into local culture, producing new challenges resulting from clash of local and new cultures. This clash produces new challenges that no others have experienced, and those challenges must be solved by policy that is made by politics influenced by the dominant ideology. The complexity of ideological analysis in non-western societies requires national ideology and culture as analytical dimensions. Because they are important elements with the explanatory power of social changes in non-western societies. Therefore, it is crucial to include the unique national ideology and the culture in the analysis of social changes of the non-western countries and further consider those aspects in the process of policymaking and policy implementation.

Overall, national ideology can be defined, succinctly, as a shared set of values and beliefs of a certain nation which consists of culture and tradition derived from the given material conditions, such as geography, climate, and natural resources. Schnee (2001) argues that as

long as nations exist, there will be nationalism and the nation will not fade any time soon, 'nationalism will continue to exist' (p.15). *“As it emphasizes solidarity among members of a group who are defined by culture, it may prove to be an effective tool for disadvantaged cultural groups to protect themselves against the forces of globalization and international capitalism”* (ibid). In that sense, nationalism functions as a unifying force of a nation and gives its people identity, belonging, and securing a nation's independence and sovereignty through culture. Furthermore, as a fundamental ideology of a nation, when a nation encounters an ideological shift, the national ideology interacts with the “foreign ideology”. As a result of the interaction, the culture or the core of national ideology is affected by the shift and it also affects the process. The quest of this thesis is to examine how the ideological shifts affect the heart of the national ideology of Mongolia, nomadism. The next section is dedicated to conceptualizing nomadism as the core Mongolian national ideology.

2.6. Conceptualizing National Ideology of Mongolia

As discussed in the previous section national ideology, according to international theorists who specialize in their study of ideology, refers to an idea of nationalism that is based on culture and tradition that evolved for thousands of years influenced by material surroundings. Haas (1986) argues that 'nationalism functions to hold society together while people are being buffeted by the strains of modernization' (p.710). Likewise, it is argued that before the import of the dominant ideology to non-western countries, national ideology and nationalism functioned, hand in hand, as unifying factors of a nation and the heart of the national ideology could be culture. Referring to this case study, there is one question that arises above all: What constitutes Mongolian national ideology? It is important to define this as it will be the research objective of this thesis as this work is intended to figure out how the core of Mongolian national existence is affected by the dominant ideologies.

According to Lham and Munkhzul (2023), there is no agreed-upon definition of national ideology and its structure neither theoretically nor pragmatically in Mongolian academia which could be the answer to the complication of diagnosing Mongolian social, economic, and political life (p.21). However, they argue that culture and religion are “the core” of national ideology. Contemporary Mongolian national ideology is based predominantly on culture, tradition, and religion, thus, without a conception of culture national ideology can't be comprehended (ibid).

Whetherell and Potter (1992), suggest that national ideology should be studied by analyzing what do people of the nation perceive themselves and their nation (p.42). For example, when

British people talk about nationalism, they associate it with the British Royal Family (ibid). According to the study conducted in Mongolia to define the expressions of the national ideology of Mongolia, 200 people were asked the following question: “*Through what kind of acts and activities of Mongolians, is the national ideology of Mongolia expressed by in the present?*” (Lham&Munkhzul, 2023, p.19). The result shows the following:

80% - by honouring the country, culture, and tradition and by refreshing forgotten traditions.

20% - by reflecting the national ideology in the art.

10% - by hatred against the other nations. (ibid).

Furthermore, the study participants were asked what refers to national ideology for them. The result shows that 73% answered national ideology is defined by national history, 67,5% said national pride (culture) and 9% by political ideology, 61,5% by native language (Lham&Munkhzul, 2023, p.21).

Meanwhile, Myadar (2011) states that the identification of Mongolia by the Western imagination is nomadism (p.339). Deleuze and Guattari (2002) described Mongolians as ‘the great nomads of the steppes’ (p.118). Nomadism is a culture of Mongolia that 67,5% of the participants above voted for, as ‘Mongolian culture stems from nomadic life and its values’ (Myadar, 2011, p.338).

“*Who is rich, if not Mongolia, with its language, border and livestock?*”

Zunduin Dorj, Translation by Gungaa, 2015, p.65

This is a famous line of the state poet of Mongolia, Mr. Zunduin Dorj, which is well known and cited often in Mongolian papers as a metaphor for national independence and cultural differentiation of Mongolian nomadic culture and pastoralist way of life. The language, border and livestock represent the core of Mongolian values to maintain and preserve at any time as they are considered as elements of national ideology that are crucial for Mongolian sovereignty and security. Furthermore, Uradyn Bulag (2002) defines nomadism as a ‘cultural symbol defining the core of the Mongol identity’ (p.10).

Considering the study result by Lham&Munkhzul (2023) and the foreign and Mongolian scholars’ perception of Mongolia, the Culture, Language and History of Mongolia are highly influential in the constitution of Mongolian nationalism, therefore considered as Mongolian national values. Mongolian culture is the Mongolian traditional way of life nomadism; Language is the Mongolian language (including old Mongolian script) and History is the unaltered historiography of Mongolia that begins with the ancient period (209 BC, establishment of Xiongnu Empire) to the Modern Period History of Mongols. Therefore Culture/Nomadism is the main research object of this thesis.

2.6.1. Nomadism as the Core of National Ideology

Nomadism, the root of the word stemmed from the Greek word *nomados* which means 'living on pasture' (Salzman, 1967, p.115). The contemporary definition of nomadism, according to Britannica, is the "*way of life of peoples who do not live continually in the same place but move cyclically or periodically*". The encyclopedia classifies nomads into three general types which include 'nomadic hunters and gatherers; pastoral nomads; and thinker or trader nomads'. Mongolian nomadism is pastoral nomadism. Galaty (2015) defines pastoralism as "*a mode of subsistence that involves raising domestic animals on natural pastures, a livelihood practice mainly pursued in dry grassland environments ... and pastoralism requires herd and household mobility as herders continually seek fresh grazing*" (p.577). Pastoral nomadism as "true" or "full nomads" (Kroeber, 1948, p.277; Salzman, 1967, p.116) because pastoral nomads are in constant mobility as they move year around in search of grazing for their cattle and dwell in their portable homes without settling permanently and without practicing agriculture (Myres, 1941; Salzman, 1967; Dyson-Hudson&Dyson-Hudson, 1980; Fernandez-Gimenez 1997; Galaty, 2015; Scholz&Schlee, 2015; Honeychurch&Makarewicz, 2016). Among many definitions of pastoral nomadism, Myres's (1941) definition is the closest to describing Mongolian nomadism.

"Nomadism is a mode of life in which a human community is enabled, through its control of domestic animals, and also through its own dependence on them. ... It also usually dispenses with any permanent abode; for such a nomad community can (and must) wander wherever its animals find pasture; and it maintains itself with the milk and other products of its cattle-wool, hair, and (occasionally) meat and skin (Myres, 1941, pp.19-20).

Mongolia is a country with a long history of existence starting from the 3rd century BC as nomads. Mongolian nomads move four times a year and depending on the weather conditions of the respective season, the next pastoral location is decided. As Myres (1941) described the seasonal location is chosen wherever the cattle find their pasture, therefore it is not the nomads or humans who choose the location. It is because nomads believe that animal's survival instinct is reliable when it comes to nature as animals connect to nature better than humans. Thus, the cattle for nomads are not only domesticated animals that are used for their life subsistence but are also considered as an inseparable element of the philosophy of Mongolian nomadism.

According to Natsagdorj (2018), the philosophy of Mongolian nomads is based on the interrelation of the following three: nature/mother earth; the five main herd animals of Mongolian nomadic pastoralism – horse, camel, cow/yak, sheep, and goat; and humankind. The life principle of Mongolian nomads is also derived from this philosophy which became the key to maintaining this way of life for centuries while coping with nation-building endeavors. These principles are protecting and sustaining the environment like own mother; growing the cattle like raising own child; and respecting the human counterparts as own family. The first principle - protecting the environment - is derived from Mongol nomads' respect towards Mother Earth as the great source of existence and survival for humans and animals. This principle preaches having high ecological ethics by preventing environmental degradation and deterioration while obeying natural law and living in harmony with it, instead of shielding it from force majors or providing a way to restore it after deterioration. This rule had been applied and obeyed by the people for centuries daily as common sense. Moreover, this principle was considered at the political level to legalize ecological preservation nationwide. The first law, Ikh Zasag², was established in the 13th century by the order of Chinggis Khaan.

The second principle – growing the herds is like raising own child. Besides nature and environment, the five main livestock are the most important source of survival for Mongolian nomads. 'Livestock are objects of pastoralist identification used for subsistence, market sale, social exchange, and symbolic expression and were the world's first currency' (Galaty, 2015, p.577). Therefore, the identity of Mongol nomads is inseparable from their five main herds.

The third principle – respecting the human counterparts as own family – appeals for anti-discriminatory communication and relationships between humans. Regardless of nationality, religion and gender, a person should be treated humanely. Therefore, the capital city of the Mongol Empire in the 13th century, Kharkhorin, was the centre of internationality and diversity as it not only attracted traders and international skilled workers but also provided convenience to live in the city by securing their security by law. Also, in Kharkhorin there were a number of Buddhist temples, Christian churches and Islamic Mosques coexisting peacefully. This principle is based on an unwritten law of nomads being hospitable to their guests. In Mongolian nomadic family homes, there is always milk is available for making tea and meat or snacks made of milk ready to serve in case there is another nomad who is moving or some herder who

² Also known as Yassa or Great Yassa of Mongols.

is looking for his/her lost herds would visit out of the blue. Unexpected guests are welcomed and served beverages and refreshments.

These principles are the main philosophy of Mongols based on a nomadic way of life that creates core beliefs, values and ideology that influence people's consciousness and these together serve at the national ideological level. Considering the nomadic way of life is a culture that is the core of nationalism, every aspect of the nomadic lifestyle is embedded in national ideology. As Marx suggests ideas come from the material conditions surrounding the people, material conditions in the Mongolian case, nature, herds and climate. These materials give Mongolians the idea of the way of living and production through owning herds and lands. This process of nomadic way of life, including pastoralizing animals, migrating from season to season depending on herds' grazing and producing the means of life, produces the Mongolian nomadic culture. That given space consists of vast steppe, gobi desert or high mountains; given material conditions including herds and landscape, thereof derived intangible cultural heritage, produces beliefs (superstitious or not) and gives one identity and belonging; and gives ethnic groups solidarity; and that produces national ideology to protect or motive to protect. In that sense, ideas derived from a nomadic way of life and culture constitute Mongolian national ideology that differentiates Mongolia from the others and directs its political interests and policy decisions for millenniums.

Nations with a long history like Mongolia have their national ideology and the fundament of this does not change but the fundament it blends with a new dominant ideology (Larsen et al., 1995, p.165). As Mongolian nomadism is the identity of Mongolia and national ideology is based on the interrelations of nature or land, livestock, and people, they are the main research objects to be studied. In other words, the focus will be to what extent Mongolian nomadism – a relationship of the land-livestock-people is influenced and changed as a result of ideological shifts.

Lham and Munkhzul (2023) argue that Mongolian national ideology is based predominantly on culture, tradition, and religion (p.21). In this regard, when it comes to the history, ideology and cultural discussion of Mongolia, the role of religion and its impact on the political and social changes should be considered.

2.6.2 Buddhism as an inseparable part of Mongolian Culture and History

William (1996) argues that 'religion as a political resource is both culture and ideology' (p.377). Religion is an analytical concept that intersects often with ideology, politics and political action, and cultural discourses. Religion is a 'useful resource' for ideology and politics as it often penetrates culture and ideology (ibid). In other words, religion is present in ideologies, politics, culture and tradition which is used for both control of power and emancipation through social movements. Therefore, 'religion can offer coherent and elaborated cognitive rationales that diagnose social problems, prescribe possible solutions and justify the movement's actions...' (ibid).

Spirituality and religion in Mongolia are considered as a highly influential factor in the consciousness and mind of Mongolians which is assimilated in the culture and has had its political impact in history (Lham & Junkhzul, 2023). Thus, Buddhism is considered as an ideological element that is influential in the political and historical events of Mongolia. Buddhism has evolved in Mongolia through many thousands of years as a spiritual tradition, culture and symbolic element of politics. Undoubtedly, it has a certain role in political and historical events as a symbol of national solidarity and part of culture and tradition. However, it did not bring about radical social change and did not result in major social transformation in Mongolian society. Considering its place and played role in Mongolian history and its presence in present Mongolia as an expression of independence and a part of country culture, Buddhism should be considered in ideological discourse in Mongolian history.

In the following part, Buddhism will be relevant in two ways. Firstly, for many centuries Buddhism functioned as a symbol of national solidarity of Mongolia. Secondly, its role in historical events because Buddhism was an inseparable part of Mongolian nomads' spirituality and beliefs and a part of Mongolian culture.

While nomadism is the identity of Mongolia and an influential factor in the life philosophy of Mongolian nomads, spirituality or religion was the main political instrument to unify through the consciousness of Mongol nomads who spread throughout the vast steppe. Sukhbat (2023) argues that the governing method of ancient Mongolia was chosen based on a special characteristic of nomadic people. In character, Mongolian nomads have been autonomous as nomadic pastoralism requires moving year around for grazing in the wide steppe. This way of life enabled groups, tribes and similar organizations to live freely in the plains without belonging to any major leader. Thus, Mongolian nomads have enjoyed a lot of freedom since ancient times, and because they did not cultivate the land like settled civilizations, they used to

not bind to a single settlement and lived not in droves. For this reason, ancient Mongols were decentralized and independent in nature (Sukhbat, 2023, p. 82). Therefore, the main political ideology of ancient Mongolians was based on Tengerism³ (ibid. p.83). In other words, spirituality was used to secure the legitimization of a leader as a chosen one and maintain the solidarity of the nomadic tribes as religious tradition supports that the chosen one is an unquestionable leader.

The ancient spiritual belief of Mongolian nomads, Tengersizim is, however, high-level spirituality that is inconceivable by ordinary people, therefore it might be considered as abstract to be used for political purposes in the long run (ibid). To instrumentalize in political purpose of governing and unifying scattered nomads, a materially visible belief mechanism should be necessary. That would be materially available, visible, tangible yet a strong belief system to unify a nation while keeping peace and suitable for nomadic way of life. The core philosophy and the art of Buddhism fulfilled that criterion, thus the ancient States of Mongols adopted Buddhism voluntarily since the 2nd century BC, mostly based on political purposes.

There are three (some argue 4 including post-socialist restoration) waves of Buddhist spread in Mongolia (Buyanbadrakh, 2012). The first wave was the latter period of Indian Buddhism introduced in Mongolia during the Hun Empire (Bataa, 2004, p.107) until the 12th century AD (Buyanbadrakh, 2012). The second wave is the 12th – 15th century and the latest wave has been since the 15th century (ibid).

The most relevant wave of Buddhism in Mongolia, regarding the contemporary history of Mongolia, is the third one since the 15th century when Tibetan Lamaist Buddhism was introduced and announced as the State religion of Mongolia by Altan Khaan. Buddhism was announced as the State religion to maintain solidarity and peace of whole Mongolia.

From the second half of the 16th century until the 1930s, the importance of Buddhism had become so significant that almost every Mongolian family sent at least one son to a Buddhist school (Shagdarsuren, 1976). By the beginning of the 20th century, there were 750 Buddhist monasteries with over 115.000 monks throughout Mongolia (Buyanbadrakh, 2012). According to the UN's Population Data Analysis (2006), in 1918 population of Mongolia was only 647.000 which suggests that at least every fifth man was a monk. Aesthetically, it may look as if Mongolia's state policy of securing national solidarity drew the nation in religious influence. However, Buddhism in Mongolia is not only a religion or a superstitious tradition or belief of

³ Mongolian shamanism

people, instead, it contributed drastically to the development of education and science in the country.

Buddhism brought a systematic education to the country for the first time by establishing its institutional authorities. According to Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe (2006), since that time, Tibetan Lamaist Buddhism functioned as a bridge between Mongolia and Tibet in the framework of Mongolia importing the culture of Lamaism including its philosophy and education. In that sense, Tibet became the primary reference society in Mongolia, and the Tibetan language became the dominant language in higher education (ibid: 26). Buddhist Monasteries were not only the centre of religion but also the nest of official education and flourishing of Buddhist sciences. There are five main sciences of Buddhism, language, philosophy, medicine, arts and crafts, and spirituality (Gandan Tegtschilen Monastery, 2015). Translation of the literature from Tibetan to the Mongolian language on the one hand expanded the number of existing science literature, on the other hand, increased the importance Tibetan language in Mongolian society. Being a student at a monastic school and knowing the Tibetan language became a sign of novices' knowledge and high social prestige (Steiner-Khamsi&Stolpe, 2006: 28). Thus, Buddhist high-ranked masters and monks were intellectual representatives of the time.

On that account, Buddhism did not only secure national solidarity and peace but also brought Mongolian educational development on a progressive level while the religion harmonizingly adapted to the nomadic way of life without harming the core identity of Mongolia. Even though Buddhism does not play a political role in Mongolia today, its symbolic existence as a main religion and part of culture and history is an expression of Mongolia as a free and independent nation. Buddhism exists today as historical evidence which was once during socialism perceived as an enemy and obstacle to socialist modernization that survived socialist repression. Considering the importance of Buddhism in Mongolian history, culture and consciousness it should be incorporated to ideological discourses regarding Mongolia.

3. Case Study of Dominant Ideologies in Mongolia and their Impacts on Nomadism

Firstly, to identify how socialism affected nomadism and the role of education in building socialism in Mongolia, qualitative and quantitative data were collected. Primary data sources are official policy documents of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP, 1967) and the policy implementation report of the MPRP (1985). MPRP (1967) provides principles of Marxism-Leninism and policies pursued in the framework of Marxism-Leninism which helped to identify values and principles of the socialist ideology. The policy report of the MPRP (1985) is a document published by the MPRP at the beginning of the 7th five-year plan period which was shortly before the collapse of the USSR. The policy directions stated in the MPRP (1967, 1985) provide a broad understanding of the role of education during socialism and statistical reports of the policy.

Some argue that at the end of socialism, many documents were destroyed therefore the documents that are available now are the filtered documents that the former socialist governments wanted to reveal to the public (Knabe, 2016; Tsedevdamba, 2020). Therefore, it could be that these documents tend to reveal the achievements and success of the socialist times rather than its dark numbers and dark stories. In this regard, for the validity purpose media analysis and secondary source analysis were made. In particular, secondary data sources from academic studies and media such as the interviews or the storytelling of the people who lived during the socialist period are used as qualitative data.

Furthermore, as a contribution as well as validity for existing quantitative and qualitative data, a semi-structured interview was conducted with two people who lived during the socialist period. Sample selection was based on interviewees' lived experience during socialism.

Secondly, to identify the effects of neoliberalism on nomadism and its educational policy, the general policy reforms that were made in the post-socialist transitional period were studied mainly based on secondary data sources. Statistical data provided by the National Statistics Office (NSO) of Mongolia is used to analyze the impacts of the neoliberal policy reforms on nomadism. The secondary source studies were reviewed for qualitative interpretation of the statistical data.

To fill the gap in the previous studies, semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven interviewees. All interviewees came to Ulaanbaatar from the countryside between 2004 and 2019 for higher education purposes and stayed in Ulaanbaatar. All seven interviewees originated from the nomadic herder's family and, therefore were born in the countryside and

grew up there until they migrated to the city. It is intended that the voices of the interviewees as representatives of the Mongolian young generation will give a hint of rural development ideas to the decision-makers based on their needs for making rural areas more attractive for younger generations which could decrease urban concentration that resulted from concentration of educational institutions in Ulaanbaatar and improve preconditions of the equal development of the rural and urban areas.

All interviewees were informed about the purposes of the interview and consented to be interviewed and the way the information they would give would be used before the interview started.

Data analysis

In the first step, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and coded. The codes were selected on the criteria of 'being able to link the data back to the research questions and propositions' (Atkinson, 2002, p.2).

After the initial coding step, themes were created by grouping the codes by their logical order. In the third step, the themed codes were rationalized. The process of rationalization includes identifying whether initial codes are used or connected to the research questions. If not, the code is to be deleted as unnecessary or irrelevant.

After the rationalization, the rationalized data were analyzed and interpreted with the aid of other sources including literature and studies conducted in the field.

Based on the above-stated data analysis steps and interpretation, the result and conclusion were drawn.

4. Socialism as a Dominant Ideology in Mongolia

The governance of theocratic governance of Mongolia collapsed when the Chinese troops occupied Outer Mongolia between 1918 and 1919. The political tensions with the neighbouring countries including China and White Russians put Mongolia in a closer ally with the Socialist Russia which could be considered as an official strengthening of the Soviet influence in Mongolia. With the assistance of the Red Army, Mongolia made the People's Revolution of 1921. It was a turning point in Mongolian history as the revolution ended traditional governance and introduced modern social and political structures in the country. The revolution was led by Damdin Sükhbaatar who is also one of the founders of the Mongolian People's Party (MPR). Rodionov et al. (2018) assure that the People's Revolution of 1921 was the official start of the 70 years of socialist Mongolia's history. UNESCO (1982) noted the event as 'the country was freed from the imperialist colonial yoke and was able to develop along the road of social progress' (p.9).

The expression of the drastic influence of the Soviet Union was the declaration of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) in 1924. The new republic was ruled by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) which was the only political party in the nation that was directed by the Soviet Union. Since the declaration of the MPR in 1924, up until the victory of the democratic revolution in 1989, Mongolia was the satellite of the Soviet Union. Outer and inner policy, political and economic decisions of Mongolia were all determined by the strong interference of Soviet Russia.

4.1.Socialist Modernization in Mongolia:

4.1.1 Industrialization

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party's operation was under the direct control of Russian Bolsheviks and influenced by the strong ideological directives which were embedded in political objectives and policy-making. The ultimate political objective was to modernize Mongolian traditional society by building 'an equal classless society through breaking the vestiges of the past' (Rodionov et al, 2018, p.1).

In the framework of socialist modernization, firstly, political restructuring was made by establishing the communist party (MPRP). Traditional - power in a one-man political structure is transformed into a 'model of participatory political process' that enables people's right to elect their political representatives and co-configure the political institutes (Rodionov et al., 2018, p.2). The social policy of the MPRP aims at developing social-class structure and social

relations based on the latter, configuring conditions of a good life for working-class while providing the demand of their material and cultural needs, and perfecting the socialist way of life (MPRP, 1985, p.3). As a single party was governing in political decisions, it was rather an authoritative system than a democratic one.

The creation of a modern state-building process should be based on the development of industrial economies, therefore, on the soil of pastoralist nomadic land, new industries and factories were aimed to be built. Within this objective, since 1921, the industry of agriculture based on animal husbandry with the introduction of Russian technology and training had developed. In 1924, the Ministry of Agriculture and Industry of Mongolia was established to formalize the whole process. In 1946, the project of a 5-year planned economy was developed and began to be implemented in 1948. Until the democratic revolution of 1990, Mongolia went through 7 years of economic and social development.

Table 2. *The years of seven five-year plans during the MPR*

1 st 5-year	2 nd 5-year	3 rd 5-year	4 th 5-year	5 th 5-year	6 th 5-year	7 th 5-year
1948-1952	1953-1957	1958-1962	1963-1967	1968-1982	1983-1987	1987-

Note. The first six 5-year plans were implemented and 7th five-year had started, but as a result of the democratic revolution 7th year-plan was not complete. Data source Social Policy Report of the MPRP, 1985.

As reported in the Social Policy of the MPRP (1985), by the beginning of the 1960s, socialism-building was completed in Mongolia. “*By bypassing capitalism, Mongolia transitioned from feudalism to socialism by 1960 ... Socialism has configured naturally based on the foundation of material technique, economic, socio-political and ideological basis by itself...*” (p.4).

The Social Policy of the MPRP (1985) is an official publication by the MPRP as an introduction of the policy direction of the party and its implementation report from the beginning of socialism in Mongolia (1921) to the beginning of the 1980s. In the framework of centralized planned economic order, until 1983, Mongolia completed six five-year economic plans. This document presents the result of the economic plans and the social achievement of the MPRP. According to the report, the basic indicator of the growth is national income per capita. National Income (sum of the total income) in production of the MPR increased 2,3 times in 1983 compared to 1970 (ibid. p.109). And 2/3 of the national income goes to the Population Subsistence Fund which is dedicated to increasing the level of the population’s material and

cultural needs. Compared to the 5th five-year plan, population income per capita is increased by 14% by the end of the 6th five-year plan (ibid).

4.1.2 Urbanization

During the socialist modernization process urbanization became an integral part of industrialization (Rodionov et al. 2018, p.3). While the expression of urban life, buildings and factories had been increasing, the population concentration in the urban area increased drastically during the socialist period in Mongolian history.

The present Ulaanbaatar (UB), the capital city of Mongolia, was founded in 1639 as Da Khüree (also known as Örgöö). In 1924, the Mongolian People's Republic was announced with the assistance of the Soviet Red Army, and the city's name was changed to Ulaanbaatar. The name Ulaan-Baatar means Red Hero which is kept until today. The second largest city is Darkhan which was established as an industrial center by the Soviet's influence in 1974. The third largest city is Erdenet. Erdenet was established in 1974 based on its mining industry. These three cities are considered as only three urban areas (that meet the criteria of a modern city) in Mongolia since the Soviet period up until today.

In 1956, the official population of the city was 183,000 which equals 21% of the total population of the time (NOS, 2022). By the end of socialism in Mongolia in 1989, the population of the urban areas increased to 1,1 million which is more than 50% of the whole population (NOS, 2022).

Moreover, following the settlement life and industrialization, a new social class was derived in Mongolian society which is white-collar workers such as civil servants, doctors, teachers, students, scientists, artists etc. (Rodionov et al., 2018, p.3). Industrialization and urbanization in Mongolia resulted majority of the population getting involved in the 'process of goods exchange and consumption' (ibid).

Above the historical evidence of socialist modernization in Mongolia was presented which could be perceived as a positive impact and legacy of socialism. On the empty land of nomadic society, modern industries and infrastructures were built and urbanization and urban development came to a reality in the wide steppe land. However, development in general tend to be followed by positive and negative impacts. In the following part, the other side will be tackled.

4.2. Parallel Reality: Unpopular Truth of Socialist Mongolia

Above-stated numbers and facts are, in high probability, historical evidence that filtered through a socialist ideological committee, thus allowed to be kept as a socialist history of Mongolia. This historical narrative could be evidence that Soviet Russia made Mongolia from backward, traditional nomads to a progressive modern nation. However, according to post-socialist historians, historical documents, statistical evidence, and archival materials that related especially to the exploitation of Mongolia by Soviet Russia, the destruction of national heritages and the numbers stated in the framework of five-year-plans were destroyed by the communists before the collapse of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the dark numbers are not to be found in the national archive, but related evidence was revealed by the research conducted in the post-socialist time, mostly based on the interviews of the people who witnessed the dark and lost historical period of Mongolian history (Altantugs, 2014; Batbayar, 1999; Boldbaatar, 2003; Bumdari, 2017; Buyanbadrah, 2012; Kaplonski, 2000; Knabe, 2016; MNB, 2019; Sandag et al., 1999; Tuldalai, 2019, Tsedevdamba, 2020). Official data is only partially kept and available. In some cases, there are no official statistics and evidence such as the poverty rate during the period of planned economy and collectivization movement.

Destruction of the evidence and documents did not only happen in Mongolia but also in other post-socialist countries. For instance, the Ministry of National Defence (MND) of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) began to destroy documents and evidence systematically in the spring of 1989 (Worst, 1991). Although it is not clear how many documents were destroyed and what it was exactly about, there is an estimated 15,000 sacks of shredded documents were found in the former GDR (Knabe, 2016, p.63). Likewise, in Mongolia, there is not much official evidence, especially regarding political repression, confiscation, numbers related to five-year plans and trade and economic data of the relations between the USSR and the MPR. The historical events and the related numbers were hidden until the Mongolian democratic revolution of 1989/1990. Until then Mongolian public was not aware of events of certain period.

Despite the destruction of data sources at the end of socialism in Mongolia, historical studies have been well conducted by Mongolian and international historians and restored by the Institute of History under the Mongolian Academy of Science since 1990. Besides academic research and publications, the field of journalism contributed to restoring history by broadcasting interviews with experts who were involved in state internal and external affairs and ordinary people who were nomadic herders at the time which makes it easier to reflect

socialist ideological operation in Mongolia and its methods and its impact and consequences on Mongolian traditional nomadism and nomadic herders. For that reason, the main sources of the communist time of this thesis are constituted of the survived statistics and media analyses based on interviews and oral stories from the “experts” who lived through the era and lived experiences that reached the public in the form of TV and radio program and the press as a secondary source. To contribute to the originality of this paper and the validity of the latter source, three interviews with three different persons who lived in socialist Mongolia were done.

4.2.1 Building Social Classes for Building Socialism

According to the Social policy of the MPRP (1985), the party aims at developing social-class structure and social relations based on ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism by configuring conditions of a good life for working-class while providing the demand of their material and cultural needs and perfecting the socialist way of life (p.3).

Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe (2006) identified a big logical flaw regarding socialist formation on the soil of nomadic Mongolia. The main objective of the Soviet Union (Soviet Russia) was to build communism, in other words, replacing the old social order with communism. According to Marxism, social progression starts from a primitive society and it progresses to a slave society, then to feudalism, to capitalism, to socialism and the final version of social construction is communism each stage has its representative classes and the class struggle and dispute between classes lead to revolution and at the end the formation of the next stage of the society. The “end of history” according to Marxist ideology is communist society passing through the above-stated stages.

Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe (2006) argue that, according to the Marxist theory, socialism should replace capitalism, but in the case of Mongolia starting point was not clear (p.55). In other words, at the beginning of the 20th century neither capitalism was in existence in Mongolia nor the social classes that are considered as essence of Marxist theory (ibid). Mongolian society at the time was composed of aristocrats, Buddhist monks and nomadic herders but ‘the most important ingredient in the theoretical formula for socialism’, *the working class* was not in existence in Mongolian society (ibid). Therefore, it was necessary first to define the social structure of nomadic Mongolia equating to sedentary progressive societies to application of Marxist theory to the Mongolian soil (ibid).

The Russian Mongolist Vladimirovits defined the Mongolian social organization of the 1920s as “nomadic feudalism” (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006, p.57). Socioeconomic relation of nomadic feudalism was based on the relations of the following social classes (ibid): aristocrats

(*noyod*), nonaristocratic nomadic herders (*arad*), Buddhist monks of various ranks (*lam*), and the monastery subjects (*shav'*) (ibid). Thus, the socioeconomic relations of these groups were based on negotiation and given momentum's conditionalities, not based on the relationship of an exploitive class and an exploited class⁴. Despite this fact, equivalent categorization of social classes was prescribed by the Marxist-Leninist criteria (ibid): the aristocrats and monks were designated the feudal exploiting class, and the nomadic herders and *low-ranked* monastery subjects were considered the exploited class (ibid). Furthermore, another two classes were newly introduced which are the elite class (socialist- politicians, -professionals such as doctors, teachers, and journalists) and the working class (Rodonov, 2018, p.3).

At its peak development of socialism in Mongolia by the 1980s, Mongolian society constitutes of the following three classes: working class, collective herders and intellectuals (MPRP, 1985, p.71). Working class and intellectuals in the modern sense were new concepts in Mongolian society. Therefore, these two classes were specifically created by the operation of the party. Following the development of industrialization, the working class was built comparatively complication-free through training by Russian experts in Mongolia.

However, the party report (1985) noted that “*It has been a great challenge to create new intellectuals in the MPR...*” (p.88). In Soviet Russia, intellectuals had been derived mostly from the working class, but in the case of Mongolia, as there wasn't a working class, intellectuals were born from mostly nomadic herders. The intellectual class of socialist society conceptualizes “*a big group of individuals who are highly educated and do intellectual work that requires specialization*” (MPRP, 1985, p.88). The necessity of professionals was high but the material basis for preparing them was not sufficient. To improve this, the party carried the following two policies: First, civil servants of the former government who are educated in civil/secular education will serve as intellectuals (ibid). Secondly, to prepare professionals of the party, of the government and of teaching and educating, workers and herders will be prepared at the internal schools, courses and people's army also in different socialist countries, above all in the Soviet Union (ibid).

It could be concluded that the social class-building process in modern terms based on the Mongolian nomadic way of life had two main roles in building socialism in Mongolia. Firstly, the founding precondition of class struggle through dividing traditional social agents into

⁴ Socioeconomic relations of pre-socialist Mongolia were constructed as following: “Within the *arad* group, some had their own cattle, while others, the *khamjlaga*, herded the cattle of the aristocrats and/or wealthy *arad* families. All *arad* were obliged to pay duties and perform civil service (*alba*). In contrast, the *shav'* who served the monasteries were freed from these duties, which meant that former *arad* often changed their status to *shav'*” (Steiner-Khamsi, 2006, p.57).

classes which will justify repressive operations against the constructed feudal class. Secondly, the formation of socialist new elites or intellectuals and the working class was perceived to contribute foundation and maintenance of socialism in Mongolia.

4.3 Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) of Socialist Mongolia

The construction work of the new social structure of Mongolia and the categorization of social classes based on Marxist-Leninist ideology might have given the justification for the exploitative operation of Soviet Russia in Mongolia (Boldbaatar, 2003). In other words, neither feudal aristocrats nor the monks were the exploitive classes but the state and the Soviet Union behind the control were the main exploiters of the Mongolian ordinary nomadic herders and the destructive force of Mongolian core values.

That could be explained by Althusser's thesis about the dominance of Repressive State Apparatus (STA). Althusser (2002) claims that during governance under a certain ideology, State Apparatus functions in a repressive or coercive way that is expressed by violence and punishment mechanisms. On the other hand, the ideological state apparatus also functions subtly through its ideological institutions. During a certain political order of a given time, the Repressive State Apparatus and Ideological State Apparatus function at the same time to maintain the power of the dominating group. However, either RST or ISA, one of the two apparatuses is dominant at a time.

In the case of Mongolia during the People's Republic of Mongolia, the state functioned mainly based in a repressive way as a single political party (the MPRP) was dominating and the party obtained power over all institutions, government and public. The resisting individuals and groups against this governance and the order either were eliminated coercively or demotivated violently through the punishment mechanism that the system maintains.

The domination of RSA in Mongolia is a result of power concentration on a single political party. The communist party, the MPRP obtained all the decision-making power by centralizing administrative authorities and institutions to the state ownership. For instance, In 1930, the People's Party of Mongolia and the Ministry of Inspection unified their activities to achieve a unified political leadership (MNAO, n.a). In this way, the Ministry became not only responsible for monitoring the expenditure of the state budget but also became the main institution that monitors all governmental institutions (ibid). Since then, state audit and monitoring is not led by the highest authority of the state institution but the political party became the main authority that directs the operations and decision-making. That means the MPRP received limitless power of political authority and social organizations.

The main institutions that played an important role in the justification of repressive operations and the ideological operation were today's National Audit Office of Mongolia (NAOM) and the Ministry of Defense of the People's Republic of Mongolia (MDPRM).

The operation of NAOM was justifying the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party's possession of power over institutions, and political and social affairs. The MDPRM had an executive role in the operation of political persecution. Moreover, MDPRM includes in its structure the Department of Agitation and Propaganda (DAP). The executive apparatus that was responsible for public education was the Department for Agitation and Propaganda under the Ministry of State Defense (MOD, 2021). That means, all the policy papers and public documents first went through censorship of the NAOM, then through the DAP.

Building socialism in Mongolia is associated with the following events: Stalinist purge and political repression that directed to eliminate the influence of national intellectuals and destroying the symbolism of national solidarity including Buddhist monasteries, tangible heritages and banning all kinds of spiritual practices and keeping related material items. Meanwhile studying national history was banned. To modernize Mongolia, Mongolian traditional nomadic pastoralism was changed radically through collectivism. Under the name of modernization and industrialization, Mongolian nomads were exploited and reached record-high poverty in the contemporary history of Mongolia (Tsedevdamba, 2020). The two events can be considered the most impactful policy actions of the MPRP on Mongolian core values. In the framework of the Repressive State Apparatus of the MPR, Stalinist purge/ political repression, and the Collectivism Movement in the framework of plan-economy order are analyzed as operations of the Repressive State Apparatus of socialist Mongolia.

4.3.1. Stalinist Purge

We were seeing how monasteries were closed and destroyed and the number of monks was decreasing and many of them were disappearing. Also, sometimes our neighbours were caught and never came back. Of course, nobody told us why this was happening and where did they go and what was happening to them. We were afraid to ask a thing from state officers because they could be very violent. Later we hear from each other that these people who got caught were Japanese spies or traitors against our nation”.

Interviewee 1 (female, 79)

who lived during the 1940s as a nomadic herder child.

Stalinist Purge, also known as the great political repression in Mongolia, started from the beginning of the 1920s and continued until 1990 which means the entire 70 years of socialist period in Mongolia was the time of political repression. After the establishment of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) under the control of the USSR objectified to build communism in Mongolia in accordance with the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. Anyone who resisted this objective was (falsely) accused as Japanese spy and a traitor to the nation (Boldbaatar, 2003). Based on the false accusations, within only two years between 1937 and 1939, the responsible commission held 51 meetings to finalize the cases of 25824 people, of which 20474 were sentenced to death, 5343 people were sentenced to be jailed (Boldbaatar, 2003). The great political repression is divided into three main stages considering its operation, target victims and motives.

The first stage covers from 1922-1939 which targeted Mongolian political leaders and intellectual representatives and was the peak of the three stages. These people were accused either of being traitors of the nation or of exploitive feudal capitalists who were obstacles to socialism. The main targets of this stage were Buddhist monks who were symbols of national solidarity and representatives of intellectuals. The official institution "Central Commission Against Religion" was established in 1928 as Buddhist monks were considered as feudal class (Bumdari, 2017, p.100). The main responsibilities and operation of the latter commission were: Rooting out Buddhism in Mongolia as religion is an obstacle to socialist modernization as Marxist atheism preaches and supporting exploited classes in the class struggle. In the framework of the latter, firstly, Buddhist monasteries' reserves and high-ranked monks' assets and wealth were confiscated by the government and Buddhist institutions and temples were closed and destroyed. Secondly, class struggle was created mechanically among high-ranked monks and low-ranked monks or monastery subjects to awaken class consciousness (Tuv archiv). As a consequence, 35,000 monks (mostly high-ranked intellectuals) were falsely accused, of which 18,000 were sentenced to death (Boldbaatar, 2003, p.146, Bumdari, 2017, p.102). The low-ranked or rank-less, young monastery subjects were forced to leave subjectivity to monasteries and become ordinary socialist citizens and obliged to take part in socialist activities to prove their dedication to communism and prevent diving into religious superstition again.

The second stage is considered between 1940-1955 and the main targets of the stage was the witnesses of the first stage, including responsible politicians, officers and executors of the

massacre of the Buddhist monks and intellectuals in the 1930s. According to the Mongolian Institution of History and Ethnography (2023), between 1939 and 1941, 206 people, most of the victims were punished in the USSR.

The third stage took place between 1955 and 1990. This phase of political repression was directed against the new generation of intellectuals of Mongolia and aimed at discrediting their attempt to restore patriotism. While the first and the second stages of the repression were carried out through violence and physical punishment, the punishment mechanism of the third stage was gradually changed that the punishment measures were taken through the Mongolian People's Party by dismissing the professional positions, denigrating human dignity, discriminating in professional and social environment and exiling.

Stalinist purge as an operation of RSA can be perceived as an attempt to destroy national solidarity and nationalism by targeting two main symbolisms of Mongolian nationalism: firstly, the national intellectuals and nobles; secondly, repressing Buddhism by eliminating the monks who were considered intellectuals in the society and carriers of nationalism by banning religion to create socialism forcefully in Mongolia.

4.3.2. Collectivization Movement.

While national intellectuals were oppressed in the framework of political repression, ordinary nomadic herders encountered socialist modernization through a "Turning point policy". In the late 1920s, the Soviet Union confiscated the assets of the wealthy group of the society peasants were put into cooperatives and the means of production were socialized. Likewise, in the meantime, the "Turning point policy" in Mongolia under Stalin's instruction would turn nomadic herders into modern, classless, socialist economic agents through the collectivization of herders at the same time expansion of the state sector (Batbayar 1999, p.3). The policy objectifies the socialist modernization of nomadic herder society through 5-year plans.

Collectivization in Mongolia, also known as *Negdel* is a "collective herding system that served as the foundation of daily life for most Mongolians for over thirty years" (Sutton-Smith, 2017, p.1). According to Endicott (2012), Mongolian nomadic herders were equivalent to the proletariat class as there was no urban working-class group in Mongolian society (p.71). In accordance with the communist ideology, private ownership was considered controversial to communist imaginary society, thus Mongolian nomadic "proletariats" posed to collectivize

their livestock as the Russian peasant did their lands. In other words, the livestock that were owned by herders were to become (obligation and forced) state property which was dedicated to the development of modern sectors and industrialization of the modernizing Mongolia. However, the livestock of the collective community are no longer private property but state property which should be taken care of by the very owners of the livestock. Herders of the neighbourhood became a community and were obliged to raise livestock as ordered by the state and had to reach quota as stated in the 5-year plan. If herders refuse to join the collective community (*negdel*), the punishment mechanism functions against them, such as appointing much higher quotas of livestock (usually twice the amount of breeding that quota requirement) (Endicott, 2012; Sutton-Smith, 2017). By 1959, Mongolia established 389 collectives that were dedicated to raising social capital for the communist government of Mongolia (MNB, 2019). According to Bruun (2013), *negdel* is considered as “*a comprehensive unit that meets every single aspect of the herding household’s social and economic needs. It offered free education, health care and pensions. It provided veterinary services, animal shelters, hay and transpiration for people and equipment*” (p.67).

However, collectivization had negative impacts on nomadic herders and resulted in the abandonment of the nomadic way of life to urban-centred life (Batbayar, 1999; Altantugs, 2014; Turdalai, 2019).

Furthermore, the way collectives operated was not only disastrous for herders and exhausted them until they left the nomadic pastoralist way of life but also increased unequal economic relations between the USSR and the People’s Republic of Mongolia (Batbayar, 1999; Altantugs, 2014; Turdalai, 2019). The economic relations between Soviet Russia and the People’s Republic of Mongolia were based on unequal trade exchange. Mongolian *negdels* were operating to export livestock, meat, and byproducts of herding to the USSR for a very small price rather than supplying its internal demand. As a consequence, poverty among Mongolian herders increased drastically at the end of the first five-year-plan (Oyungerel, 2020).

For instance, in the post-war II period, the USSR repeatedly proposed Mongolia to increase the import of livestock and meat to Russia to improve food supply. In 1947, during the meeting of the Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the Soviet Union and the trade Representative of Mongolia in Moscow, Mongolia promised to export 120.000 tons of meat and other byproducts of livestock (Altantugs, 2014, p.135). At the time, the Soviet Union

produced about 1 million tons of meat per year and the 120.000 of quota for Mongolia was equal to 12% of the total meat production of the USSR (ibid). For Mongolia, it was approximately 3 million head of livestock which is equal to half of the livestock raised in a year by herders. The price exchange for a head of sheep was 10kg of flour (ibid). In exchange for the exploitation of the herders for livestock export to Soviet Russia and partially raw material export, Mongolia constituted its state budget and created funds for the import of consumer goods, industrial materials and transportation equipment.

This means that the development of modern industries in Mongolia was built on the cost of impoverishment of the poor and middle-class nomadic herders. The evidence shows that only during the first five years between 1948-1952, the percentage of poor herders increased by 2,4% which constitutes 38,4% of the total herders. Meanwhile, the average herders' percentage was decreased by 6,6% which is 47,3% of the total herders (Altantugs, 2014, p.124). According to Altantugs (2014), the number of herders who became herd-less is not identified but based on the increase in urban population, it could be estimated. In 1944, the total population of Ulaanbatar was 30.3 thousand, in 1947 the number increased to 45.000 and in 1950 the number increased drastically to 62.5 thousand (Altantugs, 2014, p.125).

Collectivism was the attempt to industrialize nomadic pastoralism which is an economic operation that is most probably suitable for sedentary societies. That means the introduction of collectivism and plan economy changed nomadic pastoralism radically. The organization of collectivism had changed the authentic nomadic way of life as it banned the freedom to move unless searching for pastoralist land which is appointed by the state rather than herds and herders. Furthermore, it might also demotivate herders because the fruit of the work is not the herders to receive, but all the livestock that was raised by collectives were taken by the state. And the expected production according to the plan ordered by the state was too high, therefore herders used to work hard to fulfil the obliged plan. If they were not able to raise the livestock as ordered, they bought from others with their own money to fulfil the state plan (Turdalia, 2019). That led to the poverty of the herders. That means either herders did not have any private capital that demotivated them to carry on a nomadic way of life or the required fulfilment of the plan-economy impoverished herders. Either way led to migration flow to the capital city for paid work as the planned economy was hard for nomadic herders which led to the abandonment of the nomadic way of life and therefore expansion of urbanization.

“Before the people’s revolution of 1921, 90% of the total population of the country was nomadic herders, now (1985) the number is less than 30% of the population are herders. Furthermore, progress in the material base of animal husbandry and technological advancement in production have changed the nomadic way of pastoralism immensely by organizing seasonal migration of the herders as stated in the plan, thus the number of seasonal migrations decreased” (MPRP, 1985, p.84).

That means the authentic nomadic way of life had been transformed into an industrial version of animal husbandry. Moreover, the party’s further aim was to transform nomadic pastoralism fundamentally into sedentarism to maintain agricultural industrialization and intensification of production (ibid). For this purpose, the role of rural intellectuals was crucial p.85.

Concluding the former and the latter parts, Mongolian aristocrats and the descendants of Chinggis Khaan who are considered the main symbol of Mongolian history, national intellectuals as potential patriotic influencers of the public, and the Buddhism and the monks as the symbol of national solidarity were considered as a potential threat to the construction of socialism in Mongolia, thus it led to political repression and great massacre of the 1930s-1940s and continuous political persecution for the rest of the communist period.

In addition, the collectivization movement was the beginning of economic modernization and industrialization in Mongolia. However, at the great cost of Mongolian nomadic herders who suffered from strict five-year economic plans with high production quota based on coercion and the latter led to impoverishment of the herders. As a consequence, many nomadic herders, who lost their main subsistence livestock, started to migrate to the capital city with the hope of finding a job in new industries. That could be the beginning of the abandonment of the nomadic way of life as a result of modernization in Mongolia.

4.4. Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) of Socialist Mongolia

A support mechanism of the RSA of the MPRP was its operation of the Ideological State Apparatus. One of the main objectives of socialist modernization was the ‘popularization of mass education’ (Rodionov, 2018, p.2). Marxism-Leninism preaches education as a subordinate part of the political ideology which has a role in the class struggle of the adult masses by making them conscious of their economic condition and preparing them for their historical role (Lilge, 1968: 231). *“Then, in the new society, political ideology would continue to control educational institutions in order to secure its gradual internalization and to direct common efforts toward the attainment of planned social goals”* (ibid). Furthermore, the education system should be closely controlled by the state to serve the interests of the working

class (ibid: 236). In that sense, education and educated mass wasn't the priority of Marxism-Leninism, instead, it was a political tool to reach the ultimate objective of a successful revolution to create a socialist society and an instrument that brings class consciousness to fulfil the latter.

As Groth (1987) summarized the Marxist-Leninist ideology *“Ideologically, education in the Marxist state must be seen as an extension of the dominant (revolutionary) political forces seeking to mobilize the masses to their cause. It is expected to raise political consciousness; disseminate 'correct' values and information; fight the remnants of 'bourgeois' and/or feudal cultural-ideological attitudes and mentality; help educate the new 'Socialist Man' or, more inclusively, human being; promote equality between the sexes; develop the skills and capacities needed to transform and develop the economic and cultural systems of society; and, concomitantly, provide for the defence of 'socialism' against 'imperialism' in all its modalities-militarily, economically as well as politically and psychologically”* (Groth, 1987: 330).

In the framework of the above-stated Marxist-Leninist ideological principle, there were two main educational ways the ISA was functioning in Mongolia. Public education and formal education.

4.4.1. Public Education

“At that time, it was preached that the only right way is socialism, and the worst way of life is capitalism. Every public newspaper and magazine repeated the glory of socialism and the disgust of the capitalist system in Mongolia as well as in other socialist countries. As a result of repetitive propaganda of perfect socialism, it could be not easy to comprehend whether the change was as good as it is said or the other way around.”

Interviewee 1 (female, 79)

Herder during socialist Mongolia

A definition of public education by the Oxford Dictionary is, first, 'education in schools, colleges and universities provided by the government'; and second, 'the process of giving the public information or training about a particular subject'. The first definition is termed formal education in this thesis which will be discussed in the next part. The second one is considered an important way of education during the socialist regime in Mongolia as public education, also known as *agitation and propaganda* was a centrally organized educating way of public which is funded by the state and had its own institutions and representative posts all around the country (Tsedevdamba, 2020).

In the case of Mongolia, socialism was constructed on the basis of traditional society which suggests that there was no existence of modern socio-political and economic structure before the establishment of modern government in Mongolia. As discussed in the previous part, preconditions of socialism, including social classes, class struggle, sedentary culture and modern economic order, were first introduced by the influence of Soviet Russia but were not the natural process that Marxist theory assumed. According to Marxism, this process should be initiated by the working class's consciousness in capitalist society which leads to the realization of exploitive features of feudal, capitalist socio-economic order. The consciousness of the working class naturally leads to revolution and as a result victory of socialism. However, as socialism was installed or constructed in Mongolia, Mongolians had to learn socialism, including what socialism is, why socialism is the absolute regime and the goals of socialism. The result is making socialism as absolute and a socialist way of life as common sense. Nevertheless, to educate Mongolians and constitute proper socialism in Mongolia, education campaigns were implemented through public education.

Public education could be explained by Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony as it could be considered as a result of ISA's operation. Gramsci's cultural hegemony is the domination of the world-view of a dominating class in a society that reaches the consciousness of all the social classes in the society through everyday activities such as media, press and art (Schwarzmantel, 2015, p.218). Gramsci emphasized the role of intellectuals in the endeavour of cultural hegemony.

The operation of ISA in Mongolia was carried out by the instruction of the MPRP and executed by their organic intellectual agitators in the form of lectures and seminars at workplaces and education institutions or as a form of *Ulaan ger*. *Ulaan ger* was the main institution of public education. *Ulaan ger* is a unique form of carrying out agitprop activities during the socialist period in Mongolia, especially in the rural regions. *Ulaan* means red and was the symbol colour of the socialist revolution. *Ger* is the traditional portable dwelling of Mongolia which is also widely known as yurt. As *ger* is portable, socialist agitators used to carry it and build it wherever location they desired to agitate the native mass (could be also named as public hearing).

Regarding the similar communist past experiences of the post-socialist countries, this operation is also termed as *agitprop*. According to Britannica (2023), agitprop is a 'political strategy in which the techniques of agitation and propaganda are used to influence and mobilize public opinion'. According to Inkeles (1950), who is expert analyst in socialist communication and media, agitation and propaganda are similar but distinct conceptions (p.41).

Propaganda is a complex idea of socialist ideology in that the intellectuals (party members, scholars, leaders, directors and responsible officials in all spheres of the national life) are indoctrinated, usually during Party Meetings (Inkeles, 1950, p.41). While agitation is a simplified version of those ideas that are specifically produced to be absorbed by public. That suggests that the agents of propaganda are traditional intellectuals, and the agents of the agitation are the organic intellectuals. The role of organic intellectuals as socialist agitators was crucial in public education. They used to distribute themselves all around the country to educate working-class masses and herders through oral agitation about socialism. 'The job of the Bolshevik agitator is to make clear the policies of the Party and the government to the members of collective farms, factories, and machine-tractor stations' (Paul, 1950, p.55-56).

During the 10th Congress of the MPRP, policy goals on People's Culture and Education were discussed, and it was emphasized "to increase the number of nomadic Ulaan Ger in rural areas; to improve their operation and make it as education institutions for mass" (MPRP, 1970, p.345).

"It was summer 1937, Tuwden L., the former head of the Tumen soum (note. Soum is and tumen is the name of a soum), Balgan S., the former secretary of the soum and Dschamts D. the head of the party unit (these three used to have an office in the same ger) received some of our young people and said "There is going to take place a big Dom⁵ of Ariyin Khuree. Before that, you have to build a Ulaan Ger on the territory of the Dom to introduce youth propaganda. This includes the current policies of the party and the government! Well, get to work! Take one of the two gers outside and build it. The other necessary stuff for the agitation are your responsibilities to find". ... We prepared to sing songs, read poems and play theatre pieces during agitprop. Shortly, the ceremony began and many devotees gathered. At this moment, a music box started playing from our Ulaan ger and many devotees were gathered around our Ulaan ger. The same day, it was decided to organize a meeting with poor monks and the location was our Ulaan ger. We started to register the poor monks who were voluntarily willing to change their monk status to an ordinary civilian for dedicating themselves to the endeavour of the communist party and our nation. As I remember about 100 monks signed the registration. We worked very hard during the five days that the Dom lasted".

Degeekhoogiin Suriya,

⁵ Dom was a large-scale religious act in which a number of young monks joined together to organize religious service (inc. reading mantras and praying) and to host a feast with their own fund for the senior monks to show their loyalty to their religion. In summertime, it usually took place in the open-air, therefore it was publicly available.

A veteran of the people's revolution of Mongolia

Source: Issue of Altain Khugdijil Press, 17.10.1981

Ulaan ger was especially targeted to be built where the masses were in rural areas. In Mr. Surya's case, it was built where the religious ceremony took place which could be interpreted as firstly, the Party's attempt to catch the public's attention and distract them from attending the religious ceremony as religion was perceived as an obstacle to socialism. Secondly to persuade young and rankless monks to become members of the party to support the class struggle between high-ranked, feudal wealthy monks and the poor young monks.

Another story of the agitprop mechanism is told by an interviewee.

"During socialist time, it was prohibited to celebrate Tsagaan Sar (Mongolian lunar new year festival which is the most important traditional holiday of Mongolians). To prevent the public to celebrate Tsagaan, public institutions were ordered to organize lecture, seminar, and agitation gatherings with obligatory attendance on Tsagaan Sar day. All the state organizations including public offices, schools and universities were required, for example, to organize a lecture about Marxism-Leninism, its ultimate goals and how harmful is Capitalism or the achievements and goals of our Communist Party".

Interviewee 2 (male, 60)

Journalist. Former pupil and student during Socialist Mongolia.

The two examples show that the agitprop campaign by the MPRP was not only aiming at agitating socialist political ideology but also attempting to hinder traditions and cultural events from occurring and to prevent the public to celebrate or attend them. Thus, it could be said that ways of public education were first to spread and maintain Marxism-Leninism among the public and secure its legacy in all levels of society. Secondly, it was an organized attempts and activities to dismiss the core values of Mongolia by organized agitprop activities.

4.4.2. Formal Education as ISA: Establishment of the modern education system in Mongolia

The second way of educating the people of Mongolia in the framework of ISA of the MPRP is formal education. While public education was directed to the mass population and educated them about the general goals and policy framework of socialism, formal education was a way to prepare socialist citizens from a young age and produce new socialist intellectuals. In other words, the socialist objective of socialist modernization was the 'popularization of mass

education' and preparing socialist intellectuals (mainly technocratic elite) through an education system and content produced by socialists controlled by the Soviets (Rodinov et al., 2018, p.2). However, before the establishment of the communist government of Mongolia, there was no systematic education in an academic or practical sense (Krueger, 1961, p.183). Therefore, the modern education system in Mongolia was primarily introduced by the Communist government under the instruction of Soviet experts.

The priority objective of the Revolutionary government on education was to improve working-class education by liberating children from religious influence and educating them by a modern education system (MPRP, 1985, p.172). For this purpose, the first goals set by the party were the establishment of a modern school system with different levels of grades, the building of modern schools and other education institutions, and liberating the entire population (ibid). In this regard, the first primary school was established with 40 pupils in the capital in 1921.

In 1924, the Mongolian first constitution was ratified, and the government was restructured. As a result, the Ministry for the People's Education was established. In the first constitution, there was a passage for the secularization of education which stated that only the state is to be the highest authority in the sector of education, despite there being many monastic schools with approximately 18955 students (Steine-Khamsi&Stolpe, 2006, p.40). Meanwhile, state-financed schools housed ca. 1000 students by 1924. (ibid). Furthermore, the constitution of 1924 contains a paragraph which announces that all Mongolian schools to be free of charge including schools for general education and universities (Krueger,1961: 184). This decision may have influenced the high rate of schooling of the era as by 1957-1958 the school enrolment rate among children aged between 8-12 was 97.7 per cent (ibid: 44).

Moreover, a modern education system has been developed in Mongolia based on experiences and the assistance of the USSR. The main form of assistance provided by the Soviet Union was to send education experts and receive and train Mongolian personnel in education institutions in the Soviet Union (MPRP, 1985, p.174). From the beginning of 1920, Mongolian educators started to be prepared in the USSR and the number of those trainees had been increased each year. At first in 1922, only a bit more than ten students came to Moscow to study at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV), while in 1940 the number of students increased to 739 (ibid).

Table 3. *Number of Mongolian students in the USSR between 1922-1983*

Year	1922	1926	1937	1940	1983
Number of educators prepared at the KUTV in the USSR.	10	150	314	739	10,3

Note. Data source: Social Policy Report of the MPRP, 1985, p.173; 187. National Press Office. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

This number in table 3 shows that the emphasis of the Communist government on teacher preparation implicitly by the Soviet model. During socialism, intellectuals are adherent to working-class, peasants, socialist relations of industrialization and production, political constitution, and Marxist-Leninist ideology, furthermore, because they show equal treatment of the means of production, their interests are aligned with public interests (MPRP, 1985, p.88). Therefore, the organic intellectuals that were derived from the socialist society or prepared by the socialist education system had an important role in construction and maintenance of the socialism. For that reason, the public education and universal access to formal education were considered an important operation of the Communist government.

As a result, 10th Congress of the MPRP in 1940 set the priority policy directions to accelerate education development (MPRP, 1970). The policy goals on education were determined with 8 general points that are the following:

1. In the framework of “cultural invasion”, schooling every school-age child and literate the total population. All the institutions of the party and the government should take part in the act of cultural invasion.
2. Within 4-5 years, all the school-age children will get an elementary school education by establishing a primary school in each rural district.
3. All teachers, literate civilians and institutions must contribute to expanding the educating mission outside of schools to vanish illiteracy.
4. Expanding the number of schools for teacher education, increasing the number of teachers and preparing the educators who will educate teachers.
5. Schools and the public will be provided with the alphabet and textbooks.
6. Within a year, the education system will be expanded to 10 years of general education. And a higher education institution will be established.

7. Cyrillic letters and Arabic numbers will be introduced and taught within the next five to develop education and ease the learning process of literacy,
8. The number of nomadic Ulaan Ger in rural areas will be increased to improve their operation and make it an education institution for mass education.

The resolution issued during the 10th Congress became the main policy direction for the following 49 years (p.176).

Based on the above-stated goals, the spread of the Soviet-based educational system was further developed under the direct instruction of the Soviet Union. The organization of the School System was standardized by dividing levels into grades. The children aged between five to seven attended kindergartens. The formal education structure is constituted of a 4+3+3 system. That stands for 4 years of elementary school, 3 years for incomplete secondary education, and 3 years for complete secondary school (Krueger, 1961: 184). After middle school, pupils had two choices, whether to continue to study next three years which would enable them access to higher education or they could leave the school to work as herders or in factories or offices (ibid). With the completion of 10 years, access to post-secondary education was enabled. This structure changed in 1965 to 4+4+2 and in 1973 to 3+5+2 (Steine-Khamsi&Stolpe, 2006: 43). By the mid-1950s, visiting school became obligatory (Steine-Khamsi&Stolpe, 2006: 41). Furthermore, the MPRP reported that the goal of adult population literacy was fulfilled in the early 1960s, and the MPR became the first country among the backward countries of the Orient to have a universally literate population (MPRP, 1985, p.177). The initiation started in 1925 with the establishment of a Department for Adult Literacy in the People's Education Ministry. The fact shows that literacy was considered the priority policy implication of public education and was the measurement of progress to socialist modernization (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006, p.58).

However, the literacy campaign was for people to learn the Cyrillic alphabet, instead of the classical/old Mongolian script. The replacement of classical Mongolian script with the Cyrillic alphabet was justified by the argument that Cyrillic is easier to learn so the majority of the citizens would become literate in a short time and is appropriate in the technology matter as Cyrillic would match with Russian printing machines to print Mongolian press (Schöne, 1973). Steine-Khamsi & Stolpe (2006) argue that the latter arguments were not decisive, the rationale behind the decision was to prevent Pan-Mongolism or unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia by building a language barrier. According to Krueger (1961), besides the above-mentioned rationale, there was another intention of the Soviet policy of Russification that the alphabetization of Cyrillic would facilitate the general absorption of Russian culture and the

language (p.184). Nevertheless, as a result, between 1945-1946, the Cyrillic alphabet was announced to be the official alphabet in Mongolia and started to be taught in all schools (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006, p.42). Today, Cyrillic is still the official alphabet in Mongolia and classical Mongolian is taught in school as a compulsory subject, but its usage is not as common as the Cyrillic.

Moreover, the first-ever higher education institution, the “National University of Mongolia” was established in 1942 with three main faculties that include human medicine, zootechnics and pedagogy. However, some argue that the state university was instrumentalized as an institution that comprised Soviet ideology. “*Until after the first Mongolian graduates finished their degrees in 1945, the instructors all came from the Soviet Union. During the entire Soviet period up until 1990, Russian and Marxism-Leninism were compulsory subjects*” (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006, p.43). Russian became the language of scholarship and an inseparable part of academia as there was a lack of scientific materials written in Mongolian. As a result, Russian became the language of scholarship and expression of higher education and academia (ibid).

Furthermore, in the framework of Communist Internationalism, several Mongolian students studied in other communist countries from 1921-1940. For instance, the Minister of Education initiated a studying abroad program to increase the number of experts in the economy, administration, and cultural fields. By his initiation, in 1926, forty Mongolian students were sent to Germany and France to study at various universities and vocational education centres (Ish-Dorj, 1929). However, political radicalization led by Stalin terminated the program thus the students were called back to Mongolia. Many of them were accused of being foreign espionage, thus becoming victims of the Stalinist purge.

According to Ch. Lkhagvajav (1997), the former minister of education of the time, philosophy of Marxist education contains good intentions as its principle perceives that any person can learn anything, and it was the basic principle of universal education in socialist societies. However, this “*liberal principle of early Soviet pedagogy fell prey to Stalinist repression and gave way to bureaucratic propaganda*” (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006 p.39).

Marxist-Leninist Pedagogy in Mongolia

The basis of Marxist-Leninist pedagogy was reflected in the resolution made during the central Committee meeting of the MPRP in 1949 (MPRP, 1967). During the meeting, the Central Committee of the MPRP discussed the content of the textbooks of formal education and the press and publications for the masses. According to the communist party, all the contents

targeted the public should reflect Marxist-Leninist principles, and preached Chinggis Khaan was not a hero but the most famous representative of the exploitive feudal class.

Amidst the Committee meeting, the Mongolian Ministry for Education and the intellectuals serving the institute were criticized:

“The Ministry of Education made a serious political mistake by publishing “Ardyiin Unschikh bitschig” (People’s Reading book) ... published in 1949. In this book, when the part of the history of feudalism is explained by the Chinggis khaan’s wars of plunder, the writers did not provide a Marxist assessment of social class characteristics, on top of that his actions were even praised. This incident reflects the existence of narrow nationalism in some backward parts of our intellectuals. ... This book will be confiscated and terminated.” (MPRP, 1967, p.326-327).

Based on the criticism, the committee decided on curriculum reform that the revised curriculum is in line with Marxist-Leninist principles. The principle of Marxism-Leninism is based on the history of social development. Above all, the history of the relationship between production and the productive forces (MPRP, 1967). In other words, it is a social history of production and the labourer who produces the material resources essential to the existence of society. For history to be considered as a genuine science, its content should be focused on the history of the producers of material wealth and the history of the working class rather than the actions of the kings or the conquerors (ibid, p.329). Consequently, the Committee obliged the Ministry of Education to fulfil the resolution with 11 points. Among these, two points were directed to curriculum reform.

Point 3 states that the Science Institute and the National University of Mongolia were obliged to contribute to textbook writing beginning in 1950. The scientists and the intellectuals of these newly established institutions must be prepared by the Soviet methodology whether in the Soviet Union or by the Soviet educational experts who resided in Mongolia.

Point 4 states that it is obliged to reform the curriculum contents of the history and literature of the MPRP by December 1949. In the revision of the textbooks, no less than ½ of the program must be dedicated to study post-revolution period (since 1921).

In addition, in Point 7, it is written that the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the MPRP is obliged to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the resolution. This means all the content for the public will be filtered by the department before broadcasted or published.

These points of the resolution show that the MPRP’s objective of mass education was an attempt to educate Mongolian children and adults about the Marxist-Leninist pedagogical

principles while undermining national history by regulating and controlling knowledge production. Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe (2006) concludes the decision made during the meeting as “*the revision was intended not only as an anchor for the Marxist viewpoint but also as a way of devaluing national history*” (p.59).

Preparation of socialist citizens

In 1963, a law on “*Further development of people’s education through strengthening the association between school and life*” was enacted (MPRP, 1985, p.179). In the introduction of the law, it is stated:

“The main goal of schools in MPR is to educate youths to become highly educated citizens who deeply respect principles of socialist society and are prepared to perform both physical and intellectual labour. This will be achieved by consistently implementing the principles of closely linking school education with industrial labour and socialist construction practices” (MPRP, 1985, p.178-179).

Since then, industrial training had become a subject of senior years of secondary school. According to the new program, carpentry, blacksmithing and housekeeping classes were added to the curriculum. As a result of the law implementation, a new “labour culture” had been adopted in schools. In the framework of this extra-curricular activity pupils participated in building experience-fields and working at labour-holiday camps; and high school pupils helped with haymaking, harvesting crops, digging wells, building animal shelters, animal herding, and contributing urban beautification which are considered important measures to deeply apply Marxist principles to the activities of general education institutions of the country (ibid. p.179). Technical vocational schools (Teknikum) were established to prepare the working class in Mongolia in the 1960s. In 1983, 37 tekhnikums were in operation to prepare 23,6 thousand boy-and-girl-students in over 100 professions, with 1560 teachers and educators (ibid, p.185). Although the policies made by the Communist Party could be perceived as a part of its ideological operations, nomadic herding practice was kept during socialism as a result of the party policy. According to the party report (1985), after collectivization movements, due to migration flow from rural areas to the capital city, the age composition of the herders’ class in rural areas has been changed. Precisely, the age of the major population in rural areas became “old” (MPRP, 1985, p.80). This fact was considered during the 16th Congress of the MPRP which led to a solution to send some of the secondary school graduates (including boys and girls) to increase the number of youths in the herders’ community. This decision was an

important contribution to passing down the valuable practical experiences of herding practice to the younger generations and preparing future experts in the field.

“Between 1970-1980, 30 thousand secondary school graduates were sent to work in agriculture, and 22 thousand of them are working in the herding community and this number constitutes more than 10% of the total herder population of the country. ... As a result, 40% of the herding communities in the rural regions were young adults between 16-35 years old in 1980. This implementation will be further supported by the party between 1981-1985” (MPRP, 1985, pp. 80-81).

MPRP's education policy based on principles of Marxism-Leninism to prepare physically and intellectually educated socialist citizens enabled pupils to combine theory and practice in education. Even though the goal of the policy solution was not directed at maintaining nomadic culture, the end effect was the traditional herding practice was inherited by the Mongolian youths by the initiation of the communist government. But the fundamental motivation of this solution was economic as the main source of the economic growth of Mongolia was based on agriculture, especially the production of animal husbandry.

The education policy and the education system were built during socialism had maintained until the beginning of the 1990s. Following the collapse of the USSR, a democratic revolution took place in Mongolia and democracy was achieved peacefully. Since the democratic revolution of 1990, the country is no longer the MPR but Mongolia. The revolution was a turning point in Mongolian history because the country encountered another major systemic transition.

4.5. Result and Conclusion of the Socialist Transition of Mongolia

Socialism in Mongolia created an authoritative system that was dominated by the repressive state apparatus (RSA) in Mongolia. As a result, the repressive mechanism was controlled by a single political party and functioned as a central organizing mechanism of Mongolian society during socialism. The repressive operation of the communist government of Mongolia was under the direct control of Soviet Russia, thus the government decision of the MPR was influenced by the USSR and its ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. The ultimate goal of the USSR of transforming traditional, backward Mongolia into modern Mongolia through socialist modernization is suspected of being an assimilation policy of Soviet Russia to exploit Mongolia (Krueger, 1961). As a result, Mongolian tradition, religion and history were oppressed deliberately by the repressive operations of the MPRP which resulted in a Stalinist purge.

In addition, the attempt to transform Mongolian society fundamentally was expressed by a new economic structure of plan-economy. In this regard, traditional nomadic pastoralism transformed into a semi-nomadic modern animal husbandry by the collectivization movement. As a result of socialist modernization, modern industrialization was introduced and developed in Mongolia which led to new social classes including the working class and elites who did not exist before in the modern sense. In addition, industrialization led to urban development by expanding the capital city and establishing new cities as centres for industrialization and mining production. However, the industrialization and urbanization process led to an increase in the urban population which is seen as an indicator of the reduction of nomadic herders in the rural areas, thus abandonment of the nomadic way of life.

Furthermore, alongside the active operation of the RSA, the ideological operations through its institutions functioned as a support mechanism for its repressive operations of authoritative governance. This was implemented under the instruction of the MPRP (1967, 1970, 1985) at the policy level. The party gave special importance to education policy as education was seen as an instrument to secure socialism and its political ideology in Mongolian society. For this reason, education policy is directed into two ways of education. Firstly, public education in the form of Ulaan ger to educate the mass population about socialism. Secondly, formal education is developed to prepare socialist citizens.

The content of the educational material for both public and private education was designed to include socialist principles and praise socialist social relations and production while excluding the content that praises patriotism. The special exclusion was made in Mongolian historiography by the party's interference.

Despite the ideological operation and motivation of the communist party, the education policy and its implementation not only contributed to the Mongolian entire population becoming literate but also established a modern education system that enabled access to basic education for the entire population. The modern education system that was introduced in the framework of socialist modernization in Mongolia became the fundament of the present education system of the country.

Moreover, MPRP's education policy based on principles of Marxism-Leninism to prepare physically and intellectually educated socialist citizens enabled pupils to combine theory and practice in education as pupils could practice nomadic herding as a part of their school activity. Even though the goal of the policy solution was not directed at maintaining nomadic culture, the end effect was the traditional herding practice was inherited by the Mongolian youths by the initiation of the communist government.

5. Neoliberalism as Dominant Ideology

5.1. Neoliberalism as Universal Dominant Ideology since 1990

“What we may witness is not just the end of the Cold War or the passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is the end point of mankind’s ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government” (Fukuyama, 1989).

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union started a new chapter in world history. According to Fukuyama (1989), it announced the ultimate victory of the Western liberal democracy. Ever since then, the Western (neo)liberal ideology became a compass of world order and for economic, political, and social operations nearly worldwide (ibid).

Mongolia encountered the universalization of neoliberal ideology too. In other words, after Mongolia made a democratic revolution in 1990, it faced another major systemic transition. Before analyzing the impacts of the neoliberal transition in Mongolia, it is necessary to elaborate on the principles and values of neoliberalism. Because systemic reforms that have been made in Mongolia since 1990 based on neoliberal principles and values and the core principles and values of a certain ideology define the policies and their implementations (Althusser, 1970; Heaton, 1992; Pomfret, 2000; Sabloff, 2010; Tseveddamba, 2016).

Neoliberal ideology is based on liberal principles; therefore, the liberal fundamental values are the essence of neoliberalism. The origin of liberalism dates back to the 17th century when John Locke (1689) stressed natural rights, the social contract and the limitation of governmental power, and that was followed by Rousseau's (1762) social contract theory and his emphasis on individual freedom and the rights of the people. Based on such doctrines, liberalism as a basic political and economic doctrine of the West has been modified and ‘has gone and in out of fashion’ throughout the historical periods, but its fundamental principles survived until today in Europe and became the dominant organizing principle of the world since the beginning of the 1990s (Fukuyama, 2022).

According to Gray (1986), the fundamental characteristics of liberalism are the following:

- Individualist in the sense that one’s self-interest precedes those of the social collectives.
- Egalitarian as it appeals all human beings are equal in nature.
- Universalist as it tends to set beliefs, values, and common sense of societies.

- Melioristic in the sense that it is generative of improvements of socially constructed adaptations such as political orders, institutional operations, and technological developments (Gray, 1986, p.156).

These fundamental principles of the liberal ideology are penetrated in (neo)liberal, capitalist democratic societies and are applied to all the spheres of life including political, economic and social life. However, there are tons of discourses on the conceptualization of neoliberalism. The only fact that is not disputed when referring to neoliberalism is that neoliberalism is founded on liberal principles.

Some argue that neoliberalism is the extreme version of liberalism as its focus lies predominantly on the economy, precise, the pro-market, anti-static, laissez-faire policy in economic activities of the capitalist system that appeals for deregulation, privatization, efficiency and growth (George, 1999; Overbeek&Apeldoorn 2012; Fukuyama, 2022). Such neoliberal ideology embedded economic policy was adopted and implemented by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s and followed by Bill Clinton and Tony Blair (Flew, 2014, p.53-54; Fukuyama, 2022, p.26). Therefore neoliberalism tends to be ‘understood primarily as an economic doctrine of free markets and individual choice’(Barnett, 2005, p.11). During the peak of neoliberal policies pursued by Reagan, Thatcher and others, there were positive outputs such as price sink because of the deregulation of government control over prices. On the contrary, there were “side-effects” of such economic policy. For instance, privatization was exaggerated as it was instrumentalized by a few to enrich their wealth. There is a classic example of privatization of Mexico’s Telmex, the public telecommunications are owned by a private person and turned the man into a billionaire. According to Fukuyama (2022) because of such a loophole that enables inequality in society, neoliberalism is an extreme version of liberalism and departs far from the principles of liberalism - the equal rights of individuals. This suggests that neoliberalism is a “sect” of liberalism. Nevertheless, this paragraph concludes that neoliberalism originated from liberalism and functions as a guiding principle in capitalist economic activities in the present, even though there are a number of side effects, it is ‘so deeply embedded in the reflexes of the world’s ruling elites and line managers that they have difficulty conceiving the world in any other way’ (Tribe 2009, p. 694).

According to Huntington (1992), the post-Cold War period for the West is an ‘extraordinary peak of power’ as there is no more superpower rivalry against the West (p.164). The manifestation of the Western hegemony in the world is that ‘*decisions made at the UN Security*

Council or in the IMF that reflect the interests of the West are presented to the world as reflecting the desires of the world community... Through the IMF and other international economic institutions, the West promotes its economic interests and imposes on other nations the economic policies it thinks appropriate (ibid).

Others argue that neoliberalism is not only a guiding principle of economy but also it is a dominant ideological doctrine that is influential in all the spheres of life including politics and social life through controlling institutions while implementing cultural hegemony (George, 1999, Swedberg, 2003, Sanders, 2006, p; March&Olsen, 2006; Brown, 2006, Foucault, 2008). In this broader sense, neoliberalism is the dominant ideological guiding framework for politics, economy, and social life. According to Brown (2006), what makes neoliberalism distinct from liberalism is that it appeals to 'free markets, free trade, and entrepreneurial rationality as *achieved and normative* through law and through social and economic policy simply as occurring by dint of nature' (p.694). Additionally, both political events and social life in the neoliberal system are dominated by market concerns as they are organized by market rationality (ibid). That requires the state to reconstruct itself in market terms and develop matching policies and political culture that construct 'citizens exhaustively as rational economic actors in every sphere of life'(ibid).

The term liberalism is often found hand in hand with the term democracy; therefore, liberalism and democracy are often comprehended as identical conceptions, however, there is a conceptual distinction between the two (Fukuyama, 2022, p.12). Democracy is the governance or 'the rule by the people' through their representatives by election (ibid). Liberalism is associated with "the rule of law, a system of formal rules that restrict the powers of the executive, even if that executive is democratically legitimated through an election" (ibid). However Western liberal democratic ideology that has become dominant in the world since the end of the Cold War is based on liberal principles, such as political equality, rule of law and freedom of speech, (Rawls, 1971; Dahl, 1971; Berlin, 1958, Sen, 1999). In that sense, the blending of liberalism and democratization produced a sort of ideological framework in the political spheres - 'Western liberal democracy', that constituted a liberal democratic regime firstly in North America and Europe, later spread in parts of East and South Asia, and at last, after the cold-war it reached some other parts of the world (Fukuyama, 2022, p.12). Therefore, the concept of democracy refers to Western liberal democracy in this thesis.

Neoliberalism in the post-Cold War world embraced another broad concept - globalism to the agenda. Neoliberalism as an ideology and economic approach - that emphasizes free-market

capitalism, limited government intervention in the economy, deregulation, privatization, and the promotion of individualism – has been integrating non-western countries into the contemporary global capitalist system through the means of globalism (Harris&Said, 2000). Globalism opens the door to neoliberalism, its institutions, and intellectual representatives to reach almost every corner of the world with the purpose of fixing the economic crises and executing necessary reforms in various fields (Harris&Said, 2000; Nef&Robles, 2000; Stiglitz, 2017). This functions in the forms of the exchange of policies that are also known as the best practice which refers to usually the experimented successful practices that worked in the Global North so that could be borrowed by the Global South with the hope that it will fix the challenges in the Global South too (Stiglitz, 2002, 2017; Steiner-Khamsi&Stolpe, 2006; White man’s burden). Ever since then, the dominant ideology crossed its boundary out of a certain society or a region, it became reachable to every single corner of the world through the “project” globalism.

5.2. Neoliberal Transition in Mongolia

Following the victory of the Western Liberal Democracy in 1990 (Fukuyama, 1992), about 30 post-socialist countries in East Europe and Central Asia encountered radical systemic changes (Kolodko, 1999, p.3). The sudden encounter of a major transition of economic, political and social system resulted in economic instability, unemployment, a decrease in wage levels, and increased poverty (Silova & Steiner-Khamsi, 2008, p.4). These are the similar problems that post-colonial newly independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America faced in the 1960s and 1970s. The Bretton Woods Organizations formulated a remedy for solving the complications of these countries that are known as Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) (Ungar, 2018, p.144). Likewise, after the collapse of the USSR, the former socialist bloc countries were required to implement *post-socialist reformation policies* (Kolodko, 1999; Kornai et al. 2001; Silova & Steiner-Khamsi, 2008; Kalantaridis, 2007).

In the case of the post-socialist countries, as a reaction to the transitional complications, two general paradigms were developed including ‘shock therapy’ and ‘gradual change’ (Godoy & Stiglitz, 2007, p. 89). Shock therapy advocates suggested that post-socialist countries to achieve a market economic structure to improve economic situations and the way to achieve a market economy is through liberalization and privatization (ibid). On the other hand, gradual school advocates emphasized the importance of institutions because ‘without the institutional infrastructure, which could be only gradually created, privatization might lead to asset stripping rather than wealth creation’ (ibid). In other words, gradualists warned of the consequences that

rapid privatization might entail. For instance, the wealth concentration resulting from privatization could lead to major inequality in the society, because the wealthiest in the society could use their wealth 'to advance political institutions and policies which would maintain their wealth and monopoly' (ibid).

Despite the warning, Mongolia implemented 'shock therapy' to overcome the financial crisis that resulted from the transitional process and to achieve growth as suggested by the experts of the International Financial Organizations (IFOs). The main feature of post-socialist transitional Mongolia is, that politically Mongolia chose a liberal democratic system with open elections in a multi-party system. Economically, it adopted a free-market economy that supports the liberalization of the market and privatization.

In the framework of economic transition, the role of international financial institutions was increased in the early 1990s in Mongolia. In order to overcome financial crises and adapt to the new system order, Mongolia requested admission to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in February 1991 (Batbayar, 2003). To be admitted and receive the necessary funding and assistance, Mongolia was obliged to accept the conditions these institutions imposed. It includes the Mongolian government importing a *structural reform package* to implement in all sectors such as politics, economics, and education too (Batbayar, 2003; Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006).

International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank took the responsibility for implementing reformation policies in Mongolia. As already seen in the practices of SAPs in Africa and Latin America, the IMF and the World Bank offered their assistance under certain conditions to increase the chances of loan repayment (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006, p.85). These conditions require comprehensive reforms from the borrowing governments, including liberalising prices, devaluing their currency, and reducing public expenditures (Unger, 2018). In the practices of post-socialist countries, privatization has been added to the above-mentioned SAPs' conditions (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006, p.85). Those financial institutions objectify long-term economic development and growth. Therefore, it is instructed the transitioning economies to open up to global trade, foreign investments and transnational monetary flows regardless of its impact on national economies (ibid).

These policy compulsions by the IMF and the World Bank have been criticized for entailing drastic increases in unemployment, poverty and large amounts of external debt (Stiglitz, 2003). Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe (2006) criticize the SAPs for increase in social inequality because the conditions they put are only beneficiary for elites in low-income countries and entrepreneurs in high-income countries (p.86).

In the case of Mongolia, the imposed policies by the international organizations were problematic because of the following reasons. First, the international financial institutions oblige SAPs and their development strategies to the governments and use their reviews to conceal the fact that the projects are not only funded but also designed and imposed by them (ibid). For instance, the Mongolian education sector development projects have been designed, funded and executed by the Asian Development Bank. According to ADB (2001), 76% of the *Second Education Sector Program* was financed by ADB which of 95% loan and 5% technical assistance grant (p.51). Furthermore, there was a lack of inclusion of the local experts and the roles that they were allowed to take (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006). Government officials and Mongolian experts functioned as informants at the beginning of the projects but were not to be heard in the final stages and the results of the projects and the reports (ibid).

Second, the implications by the financial institutions to the consequences of the rapid economic transition, the shock-therapy was criticized. In 1991, shock therapy began in Mongolia by privatizing livestock and agricultural land. As a consequence of privatization and price liberalization, the inflation rate increased to more than 400% in 1992 (Shagdar, 2007, p.3). The first two years of the economic transition (1991-1993) were the harshest for Mongolia as it entailed a massive increase in unemployment, poverty, and hunger crises (ibid). Besides the side-effect of the economic transition, there was another influential factor for the economic collapse in Mongolia which resulted from the collapse of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) following the fall of the USSR.

CMEA was an organization established in 1949 to coordinate and maintain the economic development of the Soviet blocs. The Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) became a member of the CMEA in 1962. Since then, 95.1 per cent of the foreign trade was made with the other socialist members of the CMEA and it was dependent on financial assistance from the CMEA (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006, p.68). For example, from 1966 to 1970, 40% of all investments were financed by CMEA loans (ibid). Thus, for Mongolia, the collapse of the CMEA meant the termination of internationalist assistance and the closing of trade with socialist countries. The latter required Mongolia to find a new financial source for national development. Thus, to receive the necessary funding to overcome the "side-effects" of radical systemic change, Mongolia accepted the conditionalities of the IMF and ADB and the policy guide imposed by international donors (ibid).

Despite the financial recessions that Mongolia encountered at the beginning of the transition, the people of Mongolia secured their right to political participation and economic liberalization which led to the establishment of private sectors and private businesses and urban development

as a result of the fundamental transition. Furthermore, Mongolia started to represent itself in international relations and started to cooperate with international actors actively which opened new opportunities for not only newly born private sectors in the country but also individuals and young generations. The event of Mongolia opening its border to the world and its citizens brought a new era of neoliberal modernization to the country. Since, then the term modern stopped being defined as socialist modernization, but it is used to define neoliberal new system associated reforms and phenomenon related to globalism. Thus, *modern* represents from now on, the system and the changes made in the post-socialist era in Mongolia.

5.3. Neoliberal Educational Reforms and ISA

The fundamental systemic change has also changed the structure of the education sector and led to reforms. Since 1990, a number of laws on education have been enacted which are considered as policy direction of education in the neoliberal era. The first official document that reflects the reformation of the educational sector is the *Law on Education of 1991*⁶ (Baterdene, 1996, p.3). It was the first legal principal act on reform of Mongolian education sector. This law highlighted a change towards a democratic, independent, productive educational system based on a sound economic basis (ibid). Additionally, in 1991, The Ministry of Education issued another two policy documents which are: *Concepts for Developing Education* and *Directions for Reforming General Education Schools's Structure* (UNESCO, 2019, p.34). These became the basic documents for the reformation of the educational sector of Mongolia that reflect national cultural values in the educational policy (UNESCO, 2019). In 1995, these documents were improvised, hence the *Policy of the Education Development* and *Set of Laws of Education* (laws on primary, secondary and higher education respectively) issued (ibid). The reformation policy for education sector was configured by the Mongolian government with assistance of neoliberal economists, experts and the international cooperation organizations (UNESCO, 2019, p.23). Silova and Steiner-Khamsi (2008) termed reformation as the “*post-socialist education reform package*” and summarized the main reforms that were made accordingly in the above-mentioned documents as follows:

- Extension of the curriculum to eleven or twelve years of schooling with the introduction of new subjects, such as English and Computer literacy, to catch up with global standards.
- Student-centred learning.

⁶ The Law on Education has been revised and amended in 1995, 2002, 2006, 2012, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2023 respectively.

- Electives in upper secondary schools.
- Introduction of standards and/or outcome-based education (OBE).
- Decentralization of educational finance and governmental branches.
- Reorganization of schools and rationalization of school staff.
- Privatization of higher education institutions.
- Standardization of student assessment.
- Liberalization of textbook content and publishing.
- Establishment of education management and information systems (Silova & Steiner-Khamsi, 2008, p.2).

Ferguson (2006), Strange (2009), and Stiglitz (2002) argue that powerful states and international institutions are not only aligned with Western values but also tend to impose policy prescriptions on other countries. The policy prescriptions are based on the “good practices” of the developed countries and are often presented as universal solutions to the development (ibid). Likewise, Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe (2006) assert that the education reforms or overall reforms in Mongolia were not made by the will of the country (pp.73-74). The reforms and policy implementations were accepted by Mongolia, because of the loan conditionality that international financial organizations will import the good practices of the Western countries to secure repayment of the loan (ibid). That suggests that either socialism or neoliberalism as an ideology serves to dominate of respective ideologies. “*All Ideological State Apparatuses contribute to the same result: the reproduction of the relations of production, i.e. of capitalist relations of exploitation*” (Althusser, 1970a, p.210). In that sense, educational institutions and the education system in society function to reproduce the constructed reality by the dominant ideology and their role is the maintenance of ideology and control (Erben & Gleeson, 1975, p.121). Therefore, ‘education is a process of capitalist subjection to dominant ideology, norms, and attitudes, or, in other words, education as a process of indoctrination to the capitalist society’ (Ruuska, 2023, p.243).

5.3.1. Educational Reforms in Formal Education: Change of Educational Structure and Curriculum

The neoliberal reforms covered not only the economy but also educational reforms in line with neoliberal principles. These reforms have been made in two general directions, structural reform and content-oriented reform. In the framework of structural reformation, the *Master Plan for Development of Education in Mongolia 2006-2015* was initiated to align its general

education with the global standard of 12 years of education from 10 years of the socialist model structure (UNESCO, 2019, p.39). Between 2006-2008, in only two years, two major reforms took place. In 2006, the school enrollment age became 7-year-old from 8-year-old and the duration of schooling became 11 years instead of 10 years. In 2008, the reform was finished, and the standard schooling became 12 years by law and the school age of a child starts from 6 years old. In 2020, the first pupils to complete 12 years of schooling graduated. Moreover, the Law on Education states the completion of 9-Grade is an obligatory basic education that all citizen is required to obtain free of charge by law.

Table 4. *Structural Change in the Mongolian Education System during Neoliberalism.*

Academic year	To 2006	2006-2008	Since 2008
Grade level	10	11	12
Primary education	4	5	5
Lower secondary	4	4	4
Upper secondary	2	2	3
Start age	8	7	6

Note. Table adapted from. Khurelbaatar, S. (2020). Experience of the Mongolian Education Reform and Main Issues. In Review of Socio-Economic Perspectives Vol. 5 Issue: 4 December 2020 pp. 121-140.

Mongolian Law on Education (MLE, 2023) defines goal of education as “*the goal of education of Mongolia is to provide equal opportunities for everyone to obtain quality education and cultivate citizens with morals and good characters to learn and work throughout their lives*” (MLE, 2023, 4.1). The law emphasized that education is the leading sector of development, and a basic principle of the education policies and activities is ‘to cherish human rights, freedom, statehood, history, cultural traditions, and values and to respect democratic and humanistic values’ (MLE, 2023, 5.1.8). Furthermore, the learners in Mongolian educational institutions’ right to ‘inherit traditional culture and customs’ is secured by the law too (MLE, 2023, 10.1.2). This policy principle enables Mongolian education to combine liberal, democratic principles with nationalism in the cultivation of modern citizens.

The latter reflects the contents of the National Curriculum (2019) of the general education of Mongolia. Compared to the old curriculum of the socialist period, today Mongolian pupils

learn Mongolian historiography in high school. Also, ethics class is taken at every level of education following its educational goal of preparing modern citizens. Moreover, the implementation of the *National Programme for Promoting Mongolian Script II (2008)* is reflected in the National Curriculum and today the pupils of middle and upper secondary education take Mongolian Old Script class 66 hours a year.

In addition, another expression of the Mongolian education system functioning in line with the principles of neoliberalism and globalism could be a section on the language of the *Law on Education*. The section emphasises that the official language of education is Mongolian, and the second language of education is English. In this regard, the Mongolian language is a compulsory subject at all levels of schooling. Despite the old Mongolian script having been reintroduced and taught in schools, Cyrillic remains an official letter until today. Moreover, in the National Curriculum (2019), it is stated that the subject of foreign language is compulsory, but the choice of language is optional. From middle school, pupils can choose either English or Russian as a foreign language.

Education sector reformation made since 1990 has changed the Mongolian education system in line with global standards based on the laws and policies made in accordance with neoliberal principles. As a result of the reformations, education content is improvised and the number of subjects in all levels of general education is increased (see *Table 5, 6, 7*). Most importantly, the decentralized new liberal system that was established in Mongolia enabled the restoration of national history and traditional old script by including these in the National Curriculum.

Table 5. *Primary Education Curriculum of the MPR (1982) and the present Mongolia (2019)*

Soviet Curriculum of 1-4 th grade	National Curriculum 2019 of 1-5 th grade
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mongolian language - Mathematics - Literature - Art - Music 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mongolian language - Civic ethics education - Mathematics - Human and environment - Human and nature - Human and society - Art, technology - Music - Gym - Health (4-5th grade) - English (5th grade)

Note. Source of the Primary Education Curriculum of the MPR (1982) from the Archives of the First Complete Education School of Arvaikheer, Uvurkhangai Aimag. Source of the National Curriculum 2019 from MES (2019). The Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Sports. Curriculum for primary education. Mongolian Institute of Education. UB. 2019.

Table 6. *Lower Secondary Education Curriculum of the MPR (1982) and the present Mongolia (2019)*

Soviet Curriculum 5-8 th grade	National Curriculum 2019 of 6-9 th grade
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mongolian language - Mathematics - Chemistry - Biology - Physics - History - Geography - Literature - Gym - Technology - Art - Music 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mongolian language - Mongolian old script - Literature - Mathematics - Informatics - Physics - Biology Chemistry - Civic ethics education - Geography - History - Social science - Art - Music - Drawing - Technology - Gym - Health - English/Russian (optional)

Note. Source of the Lower Secondary Education Curriculum of the MPR (1982) from the Archives of the First Complete Education School of Arvaikheer, Uvurkhangai Aimag. Source of the National Curriculum 2019 from MES (2019). The Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Sports. Curriculum for Lower Secondary Education. Mongolian Institute of Education. Ulaanbaatar.

Table 7. *Upper Secondary Education Curriculum of the MPR (1982) and the present Mongolia (2019)*

Soviet Curriculum 9-10 th grade	National Curriculum 2019 of 10-12 th grade
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mongolian language - Mathematics - Chemistry - Biology - Physics - History - Geography - Literature - Gym - Technology - Geometry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mongolian language - Mongolian old script - Literature - Civic ethics education - Mathematics - Informatics - Physics - Biology - Chemistry - Mongolian history - Geography - Social science - English/Russian (optional) - Gym - Health - Design/Art, technology

Note. Source of the Upper Secondary Education Curriculum of the MPR (1982) from the Archives of the First Complete Education School of Arvaikheer, Uvurkhangai Aimag. Source of the National Curriculum 2019 from MES (2019). The Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Sports. Curriculum for Upper Secondary Education. Mongolian Institute of Education. Ulaanbaatar.

However, the practical extracurricular activities of upper secondary school pupils during socialism was eliminated at the beginning of 1990 completely. In the framework of socialist education’s goal of preparing physically and mentally prepared socialist citizens, high school pupils used to be appointed in rural areas as assistance to the older herders. That enabled pupils to get to know the Mongolian nomadic way of life and inherit the tradition by learning in practice. Although today Mongolian pupils and students have a right to “inherit traditional culture and customs” by law, methods of practical implementation are not reflected in any law and regulations. It is to remind that without practice nomadic culture can’t be passed down. Above, the correlation between the direct effect of education policy reformation made in Mongolia after 1990 and the inclusion of nomadism in educational restructuring was discussed.

Compared to the socialist regime, a new democratic government with a multi-party system may not be instrumentalizing the education system and education content for political purposes and undermining traditional culture and history by policy as it was during the governance of the MPRP. However, to certain extent the influence of western values could be embedded in general school curriculums as it newly includes English and ethics classes.

Nevertheless, decentralization of education enabled the education sector to pursue and implement policies to restore national culture and tradition. In this regard, the inclusion and restoration of national culture and history were reflected in laws and implemented through school curriculums. Although there isn't practical instruction or school program for practising the traditional culture and customs as an activity of the school.

5.4. Indirect Effects of Neoliberal Policy Reforms on Nomadism through Education

In the previous part, the direct effect of general policy reforms and their implications in the educational field on Mongolian culture was considered. In addition to the direct effects, there are indirect effects of the neoliberal transition in Mongolia on nomadism through the education sector. Indirect effect means not the policy reformation on education directly has an impact on nomadism, but the policy reformation in other sectors has an impact on education restructure and this affects the nomadic way of life. In particular, "finance-driven reforms" (Carnoy, 1995: 661-663) in the economic sector by the instruction of foreign experts of the international financial institutions and their suggested policies had an enormous impact on Mongolian nomads and nomadism through education sector reforms.

As mentioned before, Mongolia pursued shock therapy to overcome the financial difficulties that it encountered in the 1990s. Mongolia's dependency on funding from the CMEA shifted to the dependency on international financial institutions, predominantly on the Asian Development Bank. The foreign experts who worked on the economic recession at the beginning of the transitioning period advised the Mongolian government to reduce education expenditure of the State budget to overcome the financial difficulties that Mongolia faced in the early transition period (Carnoy, 1995; Baterdene, 1996; Weidman et. Al. 1998, Steiner-Khamsi&Stolpe, 2006).

Mongolia was criticized by international financial experts for spending too much on education (Steiner-Khamsi&Stolpe, 2006, p.88). The total expenditure of Mongolia on education in 1997 was 5.7% of GDP, while low-income economies in the East Asian and Pacific region was 3.7% and in OECD countries was 5% (World Bank, 2002: 127). Thus, in the eyes of foreign experts, Mongolia was spending above the average of the OECD countries.

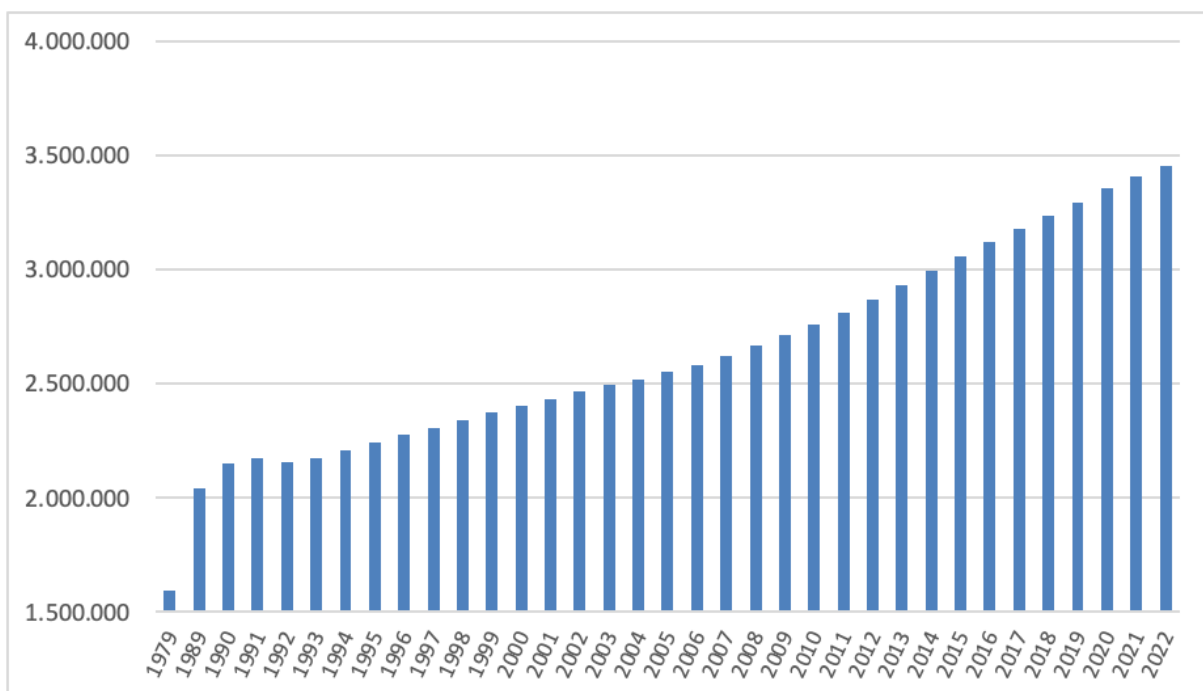
As a result of a decrease in expenditure on education, rural schools were closed, thus decreasing enrolment in rural areas in the late 1990s (Shagdar, 2000). Furthermore, the closure of rural schools required nomadic herders' children to move to the central areas for education (Steiner-Khamsi, 2003). Ever since the educational purpose has become one of the leading reasons that nomadic herders started to leave the nomadic way of life for the urban centres.

In addition, the decentralized market economy and privatization policy opened Mongolian people opportunities to shift their residence within the country and start their businesses. However, Ulaanbaatar (UB), the capital city of Mongolia has been the only city that contains all the modern institutions, administrative offices, and commercial centres since the 1990s until today. For this reason, migration flow to the capital city increased drastically. And the leading reason for migration flow to Ulaanbaatar is education purposes.

5.4.1. Neoliberalism and Urbanization

The administrative organization of Mongolian territory consists of one capital city (Ulaanbaatar) that is divided into 9 districts; and 21 provinces (aimag) that are divided into 330 district units (soum).

Figure 1. Population Growth of Mongolia, 1979, 1989-2022



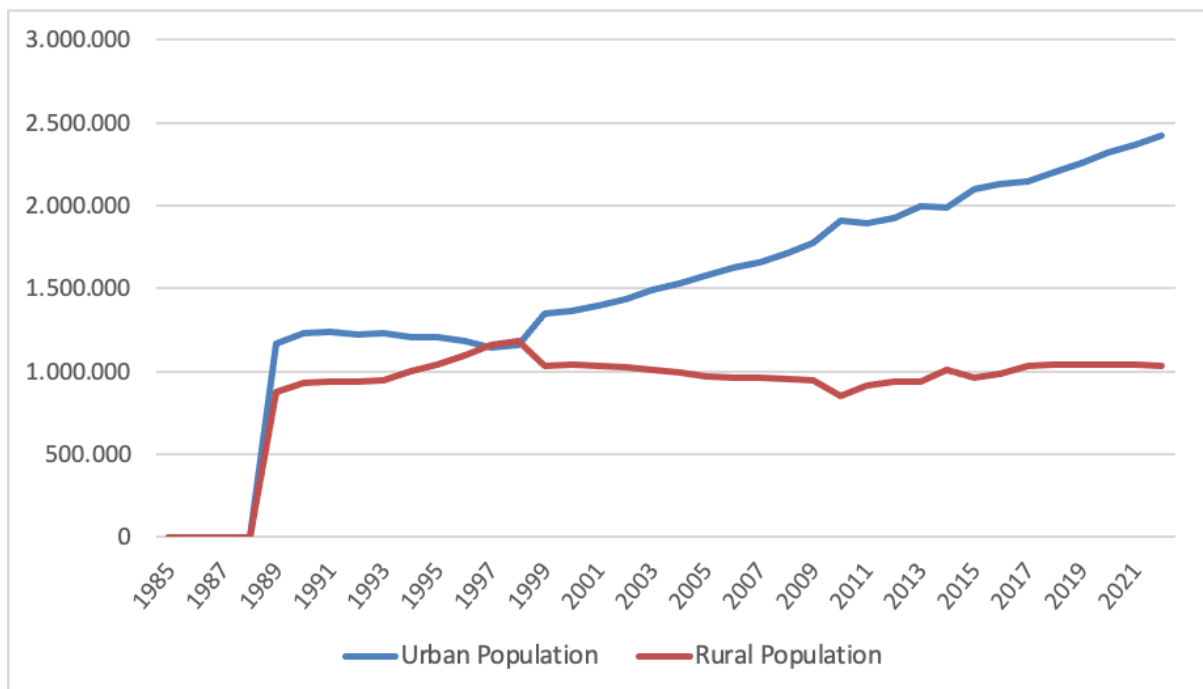
Note. Data source National Statistics Office (NOS).

<https://www.nso.mn/mn/statistic/fun-statistic/population>

In *Figure 1*, the growth of the Mongolian population is shown. The population growth has been increasing since the democratic revolution of 1990. In 1979, the population was 1,5 Mio. which increased to 2 Mio. at the end of socialism in 1989. At the beginning of the 1990s, during the early transitional period, the population growth tended to stay stable or slightly decreased in 1992 which was associated with financial crises that occurred during the early transition of the economic system (Shagdar, 2007). However, since 1994 the population rate has shown stable growth and according to the report of the National Statistics Office of Mongolia (NSO), in 2022 total population of Mongolia is reported 3,4 Mio.

Mongolian total population of 3,457,548 is nearly as much as the population of Berlin (3,6 Mio.). Mongolian territory comprises 1,564,100 square kilometres and is the 19th largest country in the world. However, despite the vast land of the country, 2,4 Mio. of the population reside in only three cities of the country. 1,5 million live in the capital city which comprises 470,4 square kilometres.

Figure 2. *Population of Urban Centres and the rest of Rural Areas from 1985-2022*



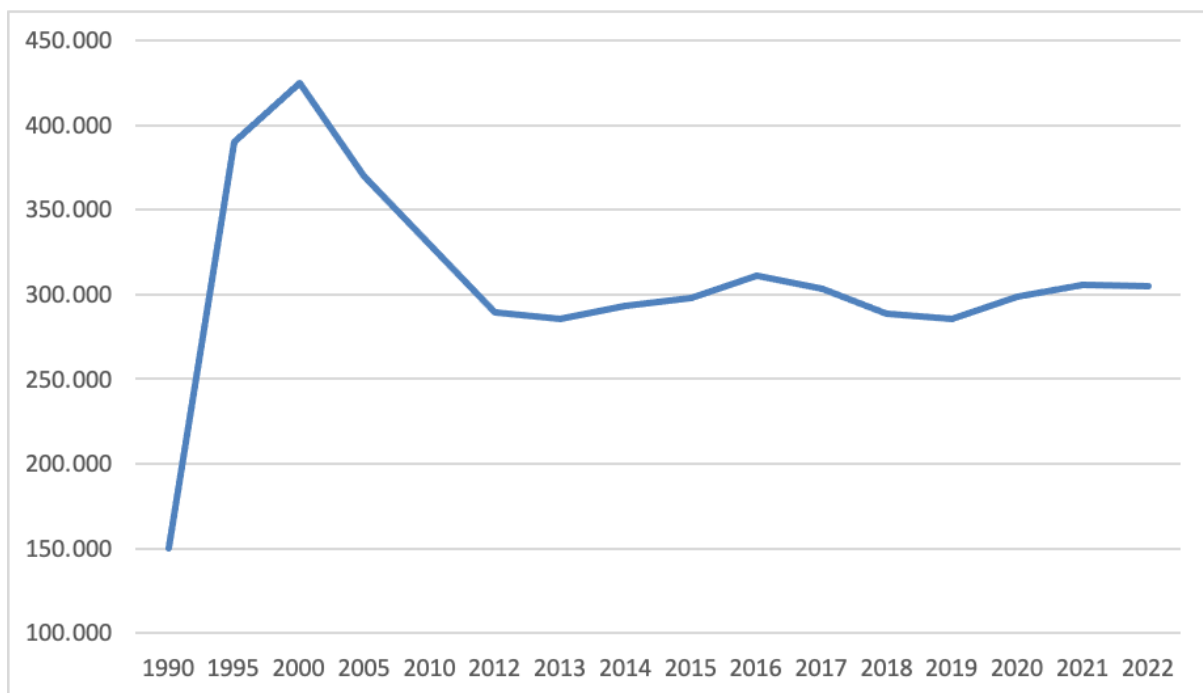
Note. Data source National Statistics Office (NOS). Integrated Data Base of Statistics Online. https://www2.1212.mn/tables.aspx?tbl_id=DT_NSO_0300_027V1&RESIDENT_select_all=0&RESIDENTSsingleSelect=_2&YearY_select_all=0&YearYsingleSelect=_2022&viewtype

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In *Figure 2*, it is shown that the trend of drastic growth of the urban population starts from the early transition period of 1990. Since then, the population growth of the urban areas has increased continuously, while the rural population has been slowly decreasing with slight volatilities. While 1,5 Mio. reside in the capital city, the rest 1,5 Mio. Mongolians reside in the other 21 rural administrative units which of 305,079 are herders (*Figure 3*).

In *Figure 3*, it is shown that from the beginning of the 1990s, the number of herders has increased drastically which was the effect of decentralization and privatization. However, the trend started to slow down starting from the early 2000s when the number of inland mobility to urban areas increased.

Figure 3. Herder Population of Mongolia from 1990-2020



Note. Data Source from National Statistics Office (NSO, 2022). Livestock Census and Industry Report 2022. Retrieved from. www.forum.parliament.mn

On the other hand, as privatization policy enabled herders to own livestock again, the number of livestock has increased enormously. The *table 8* shows that in less than 40 years, the number of livestock almost tripled until 2022 compared to the late socialism in 1985 when the number of livestock nationwide was counted 22,4 million. This increased to 30,3 million in 2005 which is the beginning of continuous intensive growth of livestock. By the statistics of 2022, the number of livestock is 71,1 million which takes up 11,6% of the GDP (UDS, 2024).

Table 8. *Growth of Livestock nationwide by 10 years from 1985-2023, in million.*

Year	1985	1995	2005	2015	2022
Livestock	22,4	28,5	30,3	55,9	71,1

Source. Unified Database of Statistics (UDS, 2024)

https://www2.1212.mn/tables.aspx?tbl_id=DT_NSO_0500_021V1&SOUM_select_all=0&SOUMSingleSelect= 0&IND_select_all=0&INDSingleSelect= 12&YearY_select_all=0&YearYSingleSelect= 2022 2002 2007 2012 2017&viewtype=table

“... the land is degraded by polluting activities and overgrazing, the continued feasibility of pastoralism as a lifestyle will be threatened and along with it the Mongolian nomadic identity projected upon it”.

(Myadar, 2011, p.356).

Table 8 shows as if herders’ freedom to ownership has a positive impact on the national economy as the number of livestock nationwide increased intensively, despite the decrease in a number of nomadic herders. However, the exaggerated increase of pasture livestock makes the herders ‘the most vulnerable group in the country’ (ADB, 2016; UN, 2023). As a result of industrial activities and climate change caused by the modern way of life that is regulated by the policy directed to economic growth, Mongolian herders are at risk of losing their pastureland (ADB, 2016; UN, 2023; Myadar, 2011). Climate change and livestock overpopulation together cause severe land degradation in Mongolian steppe land which could lead to the extinction of the nomadic way of life in the long run.

The causes of the neoliberal transition that resulted in the abandonment and undermining of the nomadic way of life is examined and discussed above. It could be concluded that neoliberal modernization has not only carried on but also intensified the operational impact of socialist modernization of undermining traditional nomadic way of life through its neoliberal, economic growth-directed policies which has a negative impact on sustainability of nomadic way of life and herders. Furthermore, the neoliberal transition in Mongolia intensified internal migration flow from the rural regions to the capital city, which began during socialism, which led to the desolation of some rural areas and overconcentration of urban areas which follows many

modern issues in Ulaanbaatar such as air pollution and overcrowding. In the next part, the reasons for internal migration towards the capital city will be considered.

5.4.2. Reasons for Mobility towards Ulaanbaatar

Steiner-Khamsi's (2003) study result shows the main three reasons why rural population moved to the central area. Firstly, unemployment in the rural areas, secondly, lack of all levels of educational institutions in the rural areas, and thirdly, for a better future for the children (p.10).

Two decades after the above-mentioned study was conducted, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) of the UN (2023) conducted quantitative and qualitative research to clarify the reasons for the high number of internal migrations flows to Ulaanbaatar. The results of the two similar studies are nearly the same. In the study of IOM (2023), there were 3,715 individuals from 1001 households participated. The participants were asked their reasons for migrating to Ulaanbaatar. The result shows that:

- 35% of the participants said they migrated because of 'better employment or business opportunities in Ulaanbaatar'
- 22,4% of the participants answered because of 'better living conditions in Ulaanbaatar' (infrastructure and centralization of administrative offices, business, and commercial centres)
- 20,3 % of participants migrated to Ulaanbaatar for education purposes (i.e. to study). (IOM, 2003, p.9).

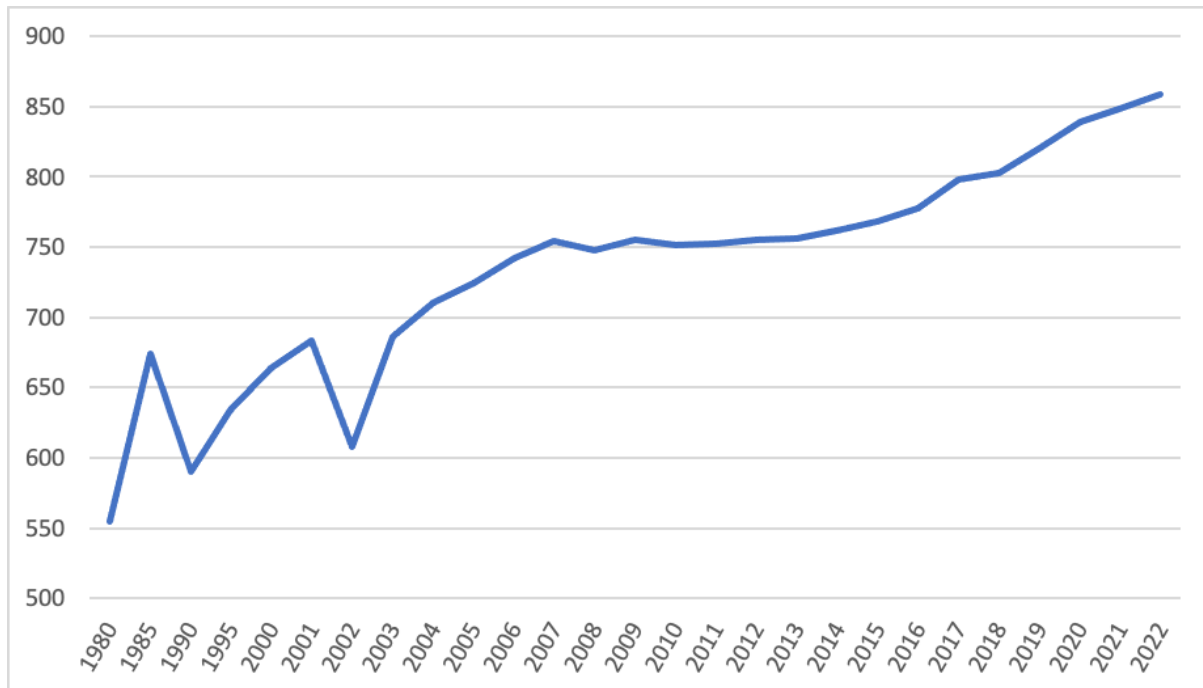
Also, 7,4% of the participants' reason for migration to Ulaanbaatar is because they wanted a 'better life for their children' (ibid). After all, they believe that schools in Ulaanbaatar have better quality than those in rural areas. General education quality between urban schools and rural schools has a big difference in that the quality of the urban schools (most of them private schools) is higher than those in the rural areas (World Bank, 2006).

5.4.3. Why does education cause migration flow to the capital city?

A new Constitution of Mongolia came into force in 1992 that legalized privatization. As a result of neoliberal policy reforms that led to decentralization and privatization, the education sector is also commercialized which enabled the establishment of educational institutions by

private owners. Consequently, the number of private general education institutions, higher education institutions and informal education/learning centres increased drastically since the 1990s.

Figure 4. Growth number of General Education Schools nationwide from 1980-2022



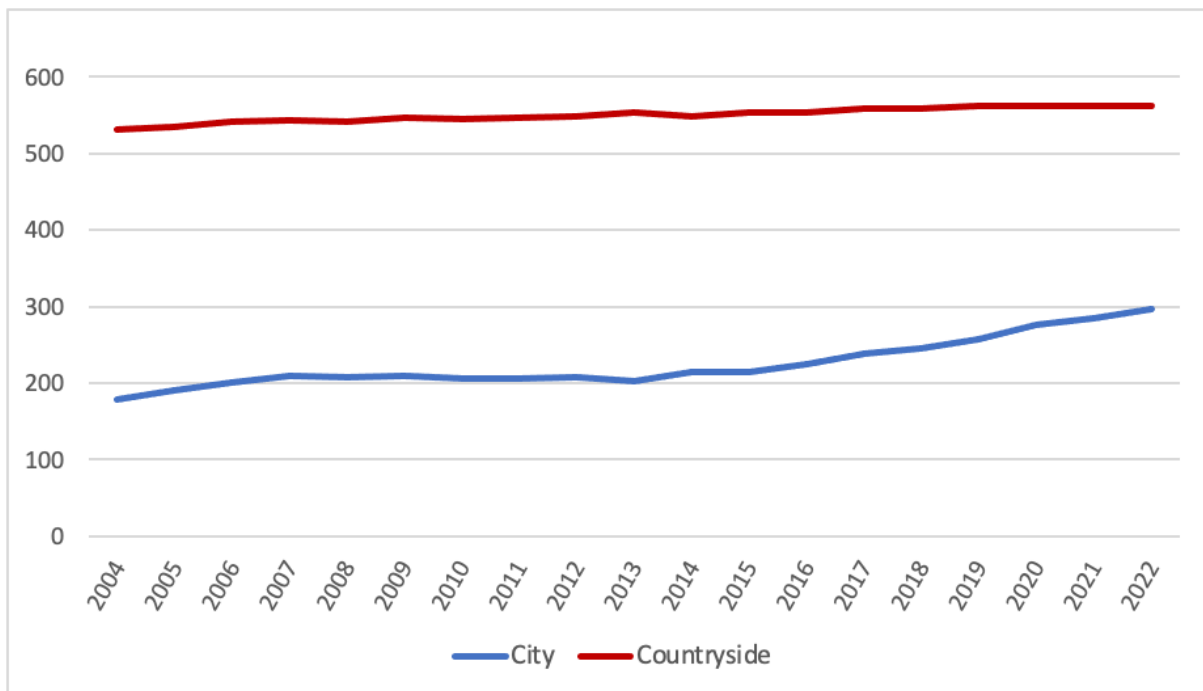
Note. Source 1980-2000 NOS: <https://downloads.1212.mn/education-2017.pdf>. Source 2000-2022 Ministry of Education. <https://www.meds.gov.mn/post/124204>

The number of general education institutions during the late socialism of the 1980s and since the democratic transition of 1990 until 2022 is shown in *Figure 4*. After the democratic transition of 1990, the number of general education institutions has increased nationwide. However, as seen in *Figure 4*, there are some volatilities from the 1980s to 2003. The increase of schools that achieved late socialism was its fulfilment of the goal of basic education for the entire population. However, financial crises in the early post-transition period and the policies generated to solve the recession led to a decrease in the state budget for education causing a reduction of schools in the early 1990s (Carnoy, 1995; Baterdene, 1996; Weidman et. Al. 1998, Steiner-Khamsi&Stolpe, 2006). Moreover, beginning of the 2000s, the government’s decision to reduce the state budget in the state administrative provinces led to the closure of schools in the countryside, especially smaller boarding schools in the rural areas (Dyer et al. 2022, p.314). This left two options for the nomadic herders’ children, whether to drop out of school or to

move to central areas where schools were located. This did not only burden nomadic children but also their families. In other words, to educate their children, nomadic herders should organize accommodations and caretakers for their children during their schooling in the central areas or move to the central regions for their children’s education.

Steiner-Khamsi (2003) conducted a study to answer how nomadic herder parents cope with this situation of educating their children. The study emphasized that the most remote-located nomadic families usually situate near the border, and they face the most difficulties as the distance from the school is furthest. The solutions of the herder families have been mostly sending their children to boarding schools or letting their children stay at a relative’s place during the school semesters. In the late 1900s and early 2000s, a new solution was added which was the wealthier families to buy or rent land or accommodation in the central area (Steiner-Khamsi, 2003, p.25). When the oldest child reaches kindergarten age, the herder parents come together to live in the central area temporarily, then when the second child reaches school age, the parents leave the siblings in the central home, and they go back to their nomadic way of life (ibid). The latter is termed by Otgonkhoo (2020) ‘living as split’.

Figure 5. *Concentration of Schools for General Education in Ulaanbaatar and the rest Rural Provinces*



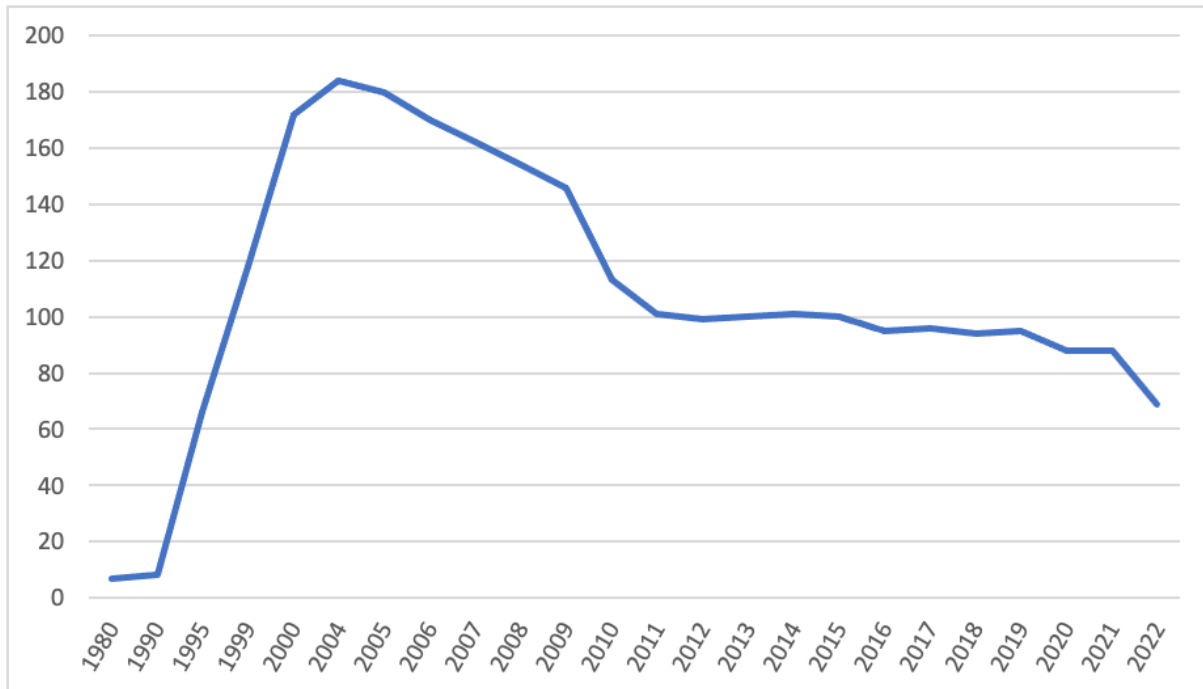
Note. Source. Ministry of Education. Retrieved from <https://www.meds.gov.mn/post/124204>

As a result of policy improvements, since 2004, the growth of general educational schools has stabilized, and the distribution is relatively equalized nationwide. The Ministry of Education (2022) reported that there are 848 general education institutions nationwide. 562 of them are located in the countryside, and 297 of them are located in Ulaanbaatar. However, it still does not solve the easy accessibility of the nomadic herders' children to schooling, especially herders and their children who live in remote rural areas.

One of the latest studies on nomadic herders' settlement patterns by Otgonkhoo (2020) identified three kinds of semi-settlement forms of nomadic herders that formed during the neoliberal transition. Firstly, herders' households with long-term settlements in the same area with reduced mobility and distance (Otgonkhoo, 2020, p.49). Secondly, the herders' households who live in split or those who have residences in the pastureland for herding and own land or accommodation central areas (ibid). Thirdly, the herders who settled in semi-urban areas established a new form of farming and labour organization while abandoning the nomadic way of life (ibid). One of the reasons these nomadic households pursue such semi-settlement forms of life is general education for their children. The study result shows that 22,1% of participant households live in split and 65,5% of them chose this form of settlement because of their children's general education (p.52). That suggests that because of general education, nomadic families and their children migrate within their region, from the remote pastureland to the central area of the local province rather than migrating to the capital city (ibid). Thus, the migration flow to Ulaanbaatar because of general education purposes is not necessarily considered the leading reason.

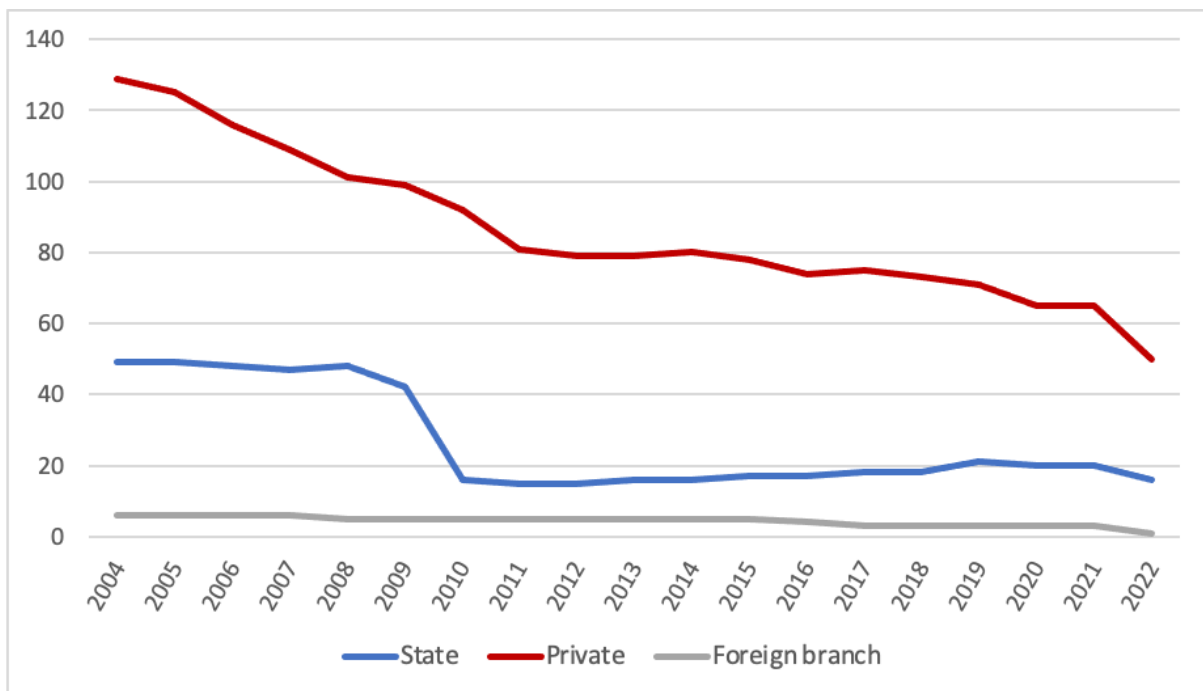
Contrary to general education, the growth number of higher education institutions and their concentration in Ulaanbaatar could be affecting the nomadic way of life negatively. *Figure 6* shows the development of the establishment of higher education institutions nationwide since 1980.

Figure 6. *Census of Higher Education Institutions from 1989-2017*



Note. Source. Ministry of Education. <https://www.meds.gov.mn/post/124204>

Figure 7. *Census of Higher Education Institutions nationwide by ownership status*



Note. Source. Ministry of Education. <https://www.meds.gov.mn/post/124204>

According to the statistics provided by the Ministry of Education and Science (2023), there are 69 higher education institutions nationwide currently. This constitutes 16 state-owned, 50 private, 3 public/religious higher education institutions and one foreign branch higher education school. Out of a total of 69 higher education institutions, 64 are located in Ulaanbaatar. The rest 5 universities are in rural regions as shown in the *table 9*:

Table 9. Concentration of Higher Education Institutions in Mongolia in 2022, by region

Ulaanbaatar	West	North	Centre	East
64	1	1	3	0

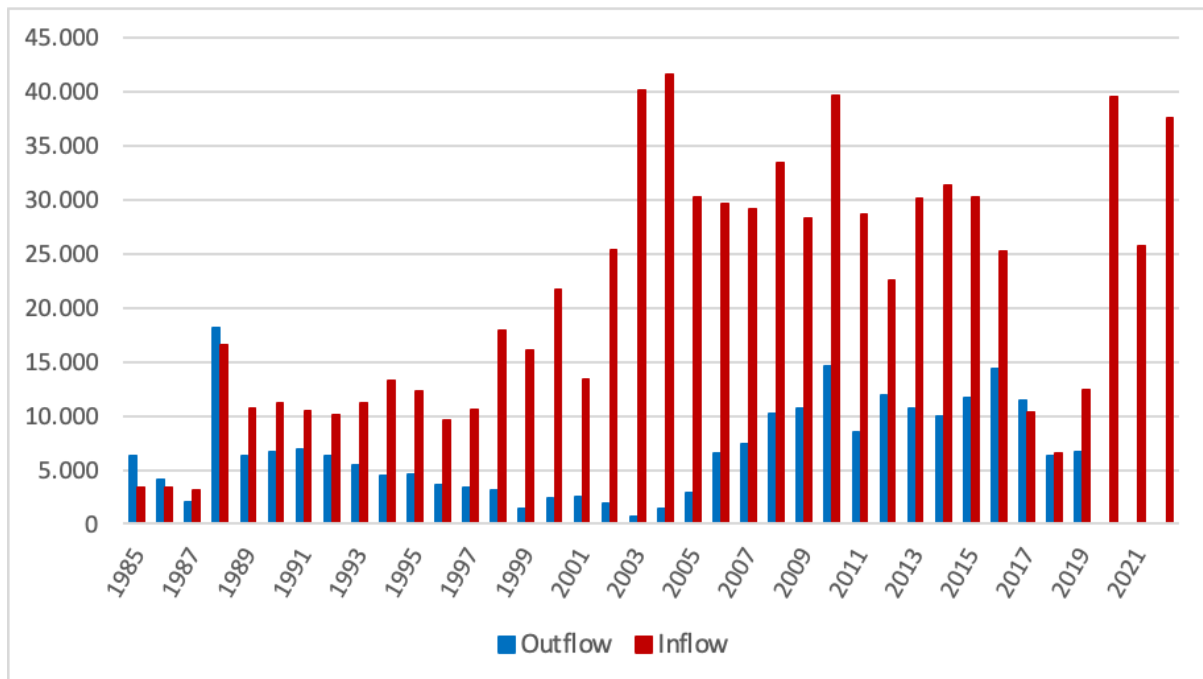
Note. Data Source: The Ministry of Education (ME, 2022). Retrieved from

<https://www.meds.gov.mn/post/125506>

Table 9 shows the unequal distribution of higher education institutions in the country. Mongolia is divided into 1 capital, and 21 administrative provinces (aimag). According to ME (2022), there are 64 higher education institutions in Ulaanbaatar and only 5 higher education institutions in the rest 21 provinces. This unequal distribution of higher education institutions is caused by the neoliberal policy reforms as it enabled privatization and freedom to choose to conduct private businesses in the location of the owner’s will (Otgonkhoo, 2020, p.50). Therefore, the concentration of higher education institutions in Ulaanbaatar became the second-leading reason for migration from rural areas to the capital city (IOM, 2023).

In addition, there is also a trend that the majority of the people who came to Ulaanbaatar for higher education purposes stayed in the city instead of going back to their origin (see *Figure 8, 9*). This reason could be contributing greatly to the abandonment of nomadism. Also, an increase in the urban population means a decrease in the nomadic population. It can be concluded that obtaining higher education equals fewer nomadic herders in rural areas.

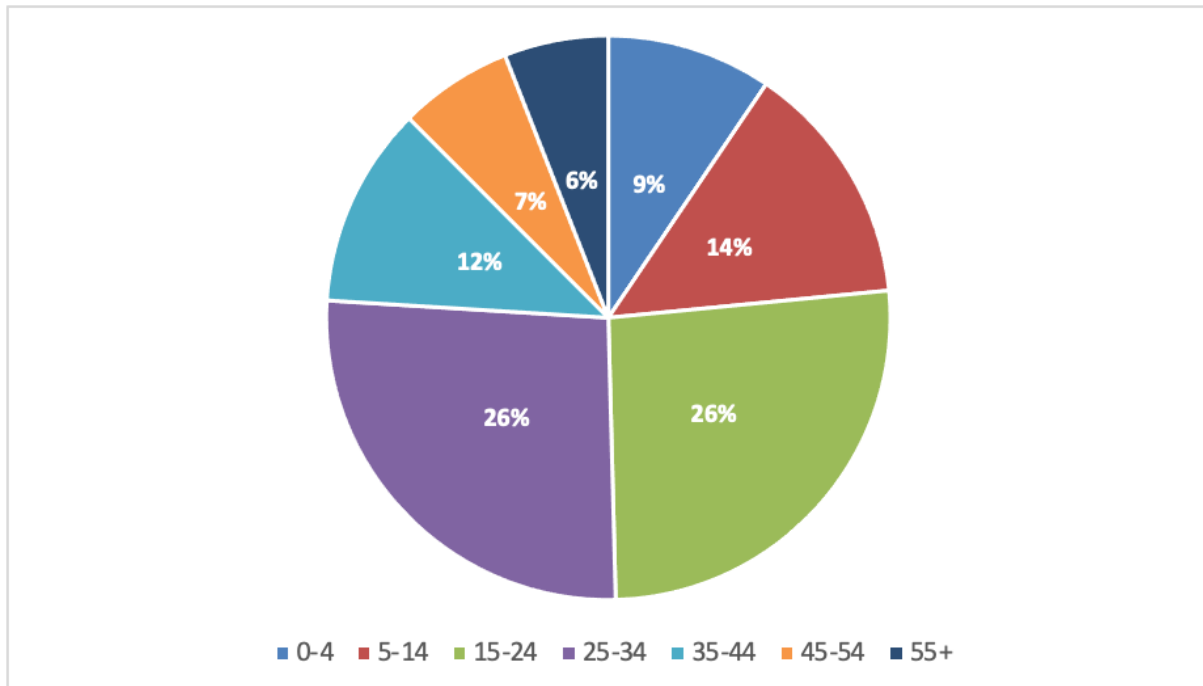
Figure 8. Migration in and out flow of Ulaanbaatar from 1985-2022



Note. Source. UDS. https://www2.1212.mn/tables.aspx?TBL_ID=DT_NSO_0300_040V1

In *Figure 8*, it is visible that the inward migration flow to Ulaanbaatar has been more than the outward migration flow. The migration flow to the capital city has been always higher than the outflow from the city. That suggests people who came to Ulaanbaatar tend to stay in Ulaanbaatar rather than go back to their original rural areas. Furthermore, the age of inflow migrants to Ulaanbaatar mostly constitutes 15–34-year-olds in the last 20 years (*Figure 9*). This could be indicating that young people who are educated and who have the ability to develop their native land tend to stay in Ulaanbaatar after graduating from higher education, instead of returning to their homeland. This could be the cause of the development gap between urban and rural areas and the lack of development due to neglect of rural areas.

Figure 9. *Age of Rural Migrants to Ulaanbaatar*



Note. The age group of the rural migrants to Ulaanbaatar sum average from 2003-2022.

Data Source: Statistics Office of Ulaanbaatar city. <http://ubstat.mn>

The previous studies (Steiner-Khamsi, 2003; Otgonkhoo, 2020; NOS, 2020; IOM, 2023) conducted on internal mobility show education is the second most common reason that Mongolian rural populations head to the capital city. The trend of moving to Ulaanbaatar because of general education purposes remains a low-impact factor. But, at the same time, the concentration of higher education institutions in Ulaanbaatar and the scarcity of those in the rural areas may have a huge impact on the migration decisions of rural young people who want to pursue higher education. This flow to the city results in unequal distribution of population, disparities in the development of the urban and rural areas, and the abandonment of the nomadic way of life (ADB, 2008; UNDP, 2003; Myadar, 2011).

The above-mentioned studies were conducted to identify the top reasons for migration flow to Ulaanbaatar. The statistical data provide the numbers that indicate the distribution of educational institutions nationwide and migration flow to Ulaanbaatar as an expression of urban expansion. However, neither of the sources provides with answer to the question of why the youths from the herders' families came to Ulaanbaatar to study from their perspectives. Whether they plan to stay in the city? In what condition they would go back home? Therefore, to contribute to filling this gap, in the framework of this thesis, seven people who moved from

the countryside to Ulaanbaatar for higher education participated in semi-structured interviews. All interviewees came to Ulaanbaatar from the countryside between 2004 and 2019 for higher education purposes and stayed in Ulaanbaatar. All seven interviewees originated from the nomadic herder's family and were born in the countryside and grew up there until they migrated to the city. It is intended that the voices of the interviewees as representatives of the Mongolian young generation will give a hint of rural development ideas based on their needs by listening to their voices, for making rural areas more attractive for younger generations which could decrease urban concentration and improve preconditions of the equal development of the rural and urban areas.

5.5. Why do nomadic herders' children who migrated to Ulaanbaatar for education purposes not return to nomadic pastoralism?

The reasons of the interviewees for deciding to study in the capital city are different. Some decided on their own and for some their parents' decided for them to move to Ulaanbaatar. However, there is one factor that influences the decision of either the parents or the interviewee is the hardship of herding in a nomadic way of life. This hardship is caused usually by climate and weather conditions. That concludes that the main reason for the interviewees to not become nomadic herders is the hardship of herding.

The part of interviews of some of the interviewees:

"I came to Ulaanbaatar to study in 2004. I did not think of coming to UB to study, it was not my idea, but my mother said "You are a girl. If you don't get an education, it is hard to live as a woman. It is hard to be herder too. So go and get educated and work something easier than herding". My mother was devastated back then because, shortly before my father died and the previous winter, we lost most of our herds during Dzud⁷. And the year I turned 17 and my brother turned 13, my mother decided to sell the rest of the herd and move to the centre of the province. My mother and my brother settled down there and my mother found a job as a butcher at the market. And she sent me to the city for education. ...

After my university graduation, I had no plan to go back to herding life but had a plan to go back to my mother and brother. But I found a job in Ulaanbaatar easily after my graduation, thus I decided to stay".

Interviewee 3 (female, 37)

⁷ Dzud is a natural disaster caused by snowstorm.

“I came to Ulaanbaatar in 2019 to study. My parents are herders still, but I did not want to become a herder, because I wanted to become a teacher. My parents were happy with my decision to become a teacher instead of a herder. Because my two older siblings are both herders in the countryside with my parents. Therefore, my family members gave their full support to my decision to become a teacher. Because my parents thought it was better at least one of their children to be educated. ...

When I left the countryside to study at the University of Education in Ulaanbaatar, I knew that I would not come back to my home to live. Maybe it was what I wanted to not become a herder”.

Interviewee 4 (female, 23)

“I came to Ulaanbaatar in 2009 to study. My parents abandoned herding when I was 10, We are 8 of us from our parents. That means 8 children to go to school. That is why my parents sold all our livestock and came to Tsetserleg (center of Arkhangai province) for a living. Only my oldest brother now lives in Tsetserleg, one lives in Germany and the rest of us in Ulaanbaatar.

My older siblings all went to Ulaanbaatar to study after their high school graduation. Me and my younger sister too. After we finished school, we came to Ulaanbaatar to study and started to live with our older sisters and brothers. ...

When I came to Ulaanbaatar, I did not think I would come back to my hometown, because all of my siblings are here in Ulaanbaatar.”

Interviewee 5 (male, 33)

“I came to Ub to study in 2009. Because the only University in our region does not offer many fields of study. My parents are still herders. We are herders of generations. But I decided to not become a herder because of the harsh weather. Animal husbandry or pastoralism is dependent too much on weather conditions and it was not a secure income source for me. I mean, with herding you never get a stable income. It is dependent on many factors. But for me what is exhausting is weather conditions and pasturing a herd in the open steppe, especially in winter. ... We are five of us from our parents and I am the youngest one. But only my oldest brother is now a herder like my parents. All other siblings of mine are not herders, because of the same reason.”

Interviewee 6 (male, 33)

In addition, the result also suggests when the decision to study to obtain higher education was made, the decision to not become a herder was made by the participants at the same time. So, the question is not if they would have gone back to the nomadic way of life to maintain nomadism. But to contribute to that nomadic way of life to be maintained while using the

knowledge of those educated people for the sustainable development of their homeland and sustainable nomadic way of life, the question is if they want to go back to their homeland in general and in what conditions they would go their homeland as an educated workforce and development actor.

The following are the most repeated reasons that influenced the interviewees' decision to stay in Ulaanbaatar after their graduation:

- low range of job offers in rural areas.
- low to no career chances in rural areas.
- lower wage offers in rural areas compared to the city.
- lack of self-development opportunities because of the lack of education institutions in rural areas.
- shortage of entertainment centres for children and young people in rural areas.
- worse education opportunities in rural areas for the interviewee's children compared to UB.
- bad rural infrastructure.

The result suggests that to make rural areas attractive for young Mongolians, the above listed issues should be solved.

The part of interviews of some of the interviewees:

“I was actually thinking of going back to Arvaikheer (centre of the Uvurkhangai province) after my graduation, but not my home. My home is middle of nowhere. Approximately 260 km from Arvaikheer and 80 km from the Soum centre. So, for educated people like me, there is no way to find a job that develops me as a young person and get paid enough in my hometown. Also, in my soum, there are no commercial centres or any kind of entertainment places like in the city.”

Interviewee 6 (male, 33)

“If all of my family would live in my hometown, I would have gone back. But now I do not even consider to back to the countryside, because there are no good schools for my children. Also, there are not many places to spend our leisure time. Especially for my children, there are not many institutions that provide their educational needs, like English courses with good teachers, swimming courses etc. There are as good as no entertainment centres too. One or two entertainment centres are too old in Tsetserleg.”

Interviewee 5 (male, 33)

“It is only recently that I want to move somewhere else than Ulaanbaatar, maybe a different city. If my province has enough workplaces with appropriate wages I would move there now. Now Ulaanbaatar is too dirty, air is polluted, especially in winter. In summer too, it stinks after dirt-pipe. In addition, it is too stressful because of traffic jams and grumpy people etc.”

Interviewee 7 (female, 32)

“If there were a stable job with enough salary and the better infrastructure such as services and road etc. I would move back to my hometown. I think it would be nice to live closer to my parents.”

Interviewee 8 (female, 30)

“I used to live by urban way of life now and I don't want to change it, because everything is easier than living in a ger. If I go to my home now to live as a herder, I must live in a ger. There is no electricity. We use a generator for electricity to function our refrigerator. Also, there is no standard toilet and shower. Additionally, I have to bring water from the well, prepare wood or collect dried dung for heating. It is all too much work, compared to city life. I think, for young people who already have seen urban life, the nomadic way of life is hard and boring.”

Interviewee 9 (male, 27)

Discussion

The Mongolian National Statistical Office defines a herder as a citizens who herd their livestock during the four seasons of the year and whose livestock is the source of their livelihood. It does not define herders as people who move all around a year as nomads do, instead, the basic criteria of a herder is, today, owning livestock, thus it is considered as their economic means of subsistence and financial source. That suggests that modern herders in Mongolia do not automatically represent authentic nomads. Myadar (2011) argues that genuine or authentic nomadism is defined by ‘perpetual mobility, freedom, and political independence’, however, this imagery hardly describes contemporary Mongolian society (p.339). It is because, firstly, the majority of the population lives in urban areas, therefore nomadic way of life is not maintained by them. Secondly, herders no longer practice a genuine nomadic way of life as seasonal mobility is not possible as lands are occupied and privatized (ibid). Thus, Myadar concluded that nomadism in Mongolia today is not a genuine nomadic way of life, instead, it is an altered version of the pastoralist way of life by neoliberal modernization.

However, every civilization go through its evolutionary process and today’s nomadic way of life has also gone through its evolution and altered by the impacts of transitions. Whether

socialism or neoliberalism influenced and altered the nomadic way of life and decreased the number of authentic nomads. Even though the nomads are altered due to the social evolutionary process, there are still herders who maintain the nomadic way of life as closely as the genuine nomadic way of life. The herders today may not mobilize four times a year for pastureland, they could own refrigerators in their gers and pasture their animals with a country truck. But they still move at least twice a year, and pasture their livestock based on the traditional method of pasteurization not the method of animal farming. In this regard, even though genuine nomadism has altered throughout the last century, the nomads are still in existence in Mongolia. And the maintenance of this tradition as a unique culture and identity of Mongolia while coping it with sustainable pastoralism based on modern science and technology is in the hands of the young generation and the intellectuals derived in the neoliberal society of Mongolia.

In order to increase the participation of those organic intellectuals in national, urban and rural development, policymakers and decision-makers of the country should take the initiative which could start with structural reform of higher education institutions and distribution of their location equally while focusing on the quality issues.

Furthermore, considering Mongolia as a liberal democratic country, this development path is possible. Compared to the centrally planned, authoritative and closed regime of socialism, liberal democratic governance enables the country and its people opportunities. Opportunities to balance tradition and modernization if the country makes an effort. It does not mean there would not be any complications. As tradition and modernity are controversial concepts, these can clash. Also, in the level of international relations, there will be always a clash of interests and imbalance of power which lead to inferior and superior positions of the wealthy, developed countries and poor developing countries. As long as national interests exist, power imbalance and inequality between these countries will always be there. But the point is that the liberal democratic system that dominates world governance, allows the poorer countries to grow and keep their traditions and culture which was impossible during authoritative regimes of socialism. The opportunity is there if the country can make an effort with the help of its organic intellectuals and overcome internal issues such as corruption.

Conclusion

In the framework of this thesis, the dominant ideologies that have existed in Mongolia, their ideological operations and their impacts on local culture and tradition are examined. The transition of socialist modernization founded the foundation of modern Mongolia as it fundamentally transformed Mongolia from a traditional society based on a nomadic lifestyle to a modern nation-state. Socialist modernization transformed Mongolia's political, economic and societal structure radically following the values and principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology. As a result of socialist modernization, industrialization was introduced, and urban cities expanded and developed.

However political structure of socialism in Mongolia was established based on the authoritative governance of a single political party. The only party was the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and it defined and implemented the political, economic and social policies of Mongolia for over 70 years. These policies were produced in accordance with socialist ideological principles of collective ownership of means of production.

However, the single-party governance of socialist Mongolia enabled the operation of the Repressive State Apparatus. This means, that in the course of building modern socialist Mongolia, the operations of undermining local values and traditions took place under the instruction of the communist party (MPRP). This took place in two fields. Firstly, the Stalinist purge was conducted to eliminate national intellectuals who could be a potential threat to socialism in Mongolia by eventually reaching the consciousness of nationalism. Secondly, the collectivization movement was an introduction of socialist means of production. It directed to transform traditional nomadic pastoralism into modern industrial animal husbandry to increase economic outcomes.

The transitional policies of the communist government were instructed by Soviet Russia; thus, some argue that it was the ideological operation of Soviet Russia to exploit Mongolia.

Nevertheless, socialist modernization including industrialization, urbanization, and the introduction of means of production transformed Mongolia's traditional society fundamentally. In the course of the socialist transition, national intellectuals of Mongolia and nomadic herders were oppressed the most through the operations of the Repressive State Apparatus.

However, the Repressive State Apparatus was not the only ideological operation that the communist party was exercising to build socialism in Mongolia. Ideological State Apparatuses were also in operation as instructed by the social policy of the communist government. Education as an Ideological State Apparatus played an important role in enforcing and

reproducing socialism through agitation and propaganda. Education as ISA targeted two fields of education: public education and formal education. Public education was directed to educate the entire population of Mongolia regardless of age, gender and social status about socialist goals, principles and the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. In Mongolian society, public education took place in the form of lectures and seminars at the workplace and Ulaan ger that were operated by the agitators of the MPRP.

Formal education was directed to prepare socialist citizens by educating children from a young age. The ideological principles were penetrated in curriculum and textbooks and their contents were instructed by the MPRP by policy, hence the contents that evoke nationalism or exclude Marxist-Leninist principles were deliberately terminated or altered.

As a consequence of the collapse of the USSR, Mongolia encountered a second transition. The transition from centralized governance of socialism to decentralized democratic governance based on (neo)liberal principles. The neoliberal principles are founded on liberal principles and the most influential principles could be considered individualism and freedom as these shape the policies of the neoliberal societies. As a result, the main changes were made in policy reforms were decentralization and privatization. The rights to ownership and free market were perceived to lead to economic growth. Despite the recession that Mongolia faced in the early 1990s until 2000, the Mongolian economy performed growth as shown by the GDP report.

The neoliberal reforms covered not only the economy but also educational reforms in line with neoliberal principles. The new Law on education and the following documents legalized the rights of Mongolian citizens to obtain education, learn and restore national history and traditional Mongolian scripts in schools. Hence, the changes in the curriculum by extending the subjects and years of schooling to adapt the Mongolian education system to the global standards. In addition, English and ethics subjects were introduced which could be perceived as Western influence embedded in modern global schooling standards.

Although the changes made in education policy improved the legalization and standardization of the Mongolian education system, the neoliberal reform of education does not provide practical extra-curricular activities like socialist schools used to organize. In other words, the socialist goal of *preparing mentally and physically prepared socialist citizens* contributed to nomadic practices is passed down to young adults as part of school obligation. On the contrary, this practical participation in nomadism is missing in the present school curriculum for general education institutions.

Existing relations between the economy, society and education function to maintain the necessary conditions for the dominating ideology (Erben & Gleeson, 1975, p.121). In that sense, policy formulations and implementations of economy, society and education are closely related. That means the political and economic decisions made in one sector could affect the other. In the case of Mongolia, economic reform was an impactful decision that affected the structural development of education.

The first impactful economic reform was instructed by international financial organizations. The IMF suggested Mongolia reduce expenditure on education from the state budget to overcome the recession. This policy implication had a drastic impact on the children of the nomadic herder families. Because of the reduced budget for education, small rural schools closed, hence the children of those schools had to obtain their education in the nearest central location. As Mongolia is a big country with a low density, especially children and parents from remote rural areas must find a way to educate their children. Many herder families solved the problem similarly. Whether moving to the central area while abandoning a genuine nomadic way of life or owning a property in the central area only for their children's education. As a consequence, the authentic nomadic way of life has changed.

The second impactful factor is urban expansion which began during socialism and extended immensely since the neoliberal transition. Hence, the migration flow to Ulaanbaatar increased year by year since 1990. Urban development and expansion have resulted in air pollution and overcrowding that loads urban infrastructure exceedingly. Furthermore, the migration flow from the rural area to the capital city could impact unequal population distribution nationwide, hence the unequal development between urban and rural areas. In other words, urban expansion equals to reduction in rural population which also means a reduction in the number of nomadic herders who carry on and pass down the nomadic traditions. This phenomenon resulted from the neoliberal policy reforms. In particular, the privatization policy enabled private ownership since 1990. Thus, the concentration of newly established various institutions and businesses made Ulaanbaatar the centre of finance, commerce, and education.

Among all the reasons for rural migrants flowing to Ulaanbaatar, education purpose has become the second leading reason for the young rural population migrating to the city. Especially because of the high concentration of higher education institutions in Ulaanbaatar and the extreme shortage of those in the rural areas, the Mongolian countryside is abandoned and underdeveloped. The result of the study conducted in this thesis shows that one of the leading reasons for rural population heads to the city is the lack of rural development. However, rural development needs population concentration. Therefore, it is believed that the initiation

of rural development, including making rural areas attractive for younger generations and supporting nomadic herders, must be organized by the state of Mongolia.

In conclusion, regardless of the motivations of the dominant ideologies in Mongolia, the impacts of the two ideologies during their respective periods of domination on local culture are nearly the same. Because all Ideological State Apparatuses operate aiming at the same result of contributing to 'the reproduction of production' of the dominance (Althusser, 1970a, p.210). Therefore, the restoration of the national identity is in the hands of Mongolian intellectuals and decision-makers rather than international donors.

Appendices

Information of interviewees of Chapter 4: Socialism as a Dominant Ideology in Mongolia.

Interviewee 1 is 79 years old, female, and in pension. She was born in Khovd province and raised in a nomadic herder's family. She has four years of education. During socialist Mongolia, she was a herder and belonged to a local collective until she migrated to Ulaanbaatar. In 1970, she migrated to Ulaanbaatar to find a job and found a job as a factory worker in a food factory (wheat products). The interviewee used to be both a nomadic herder and a modern factory worker during the MPR.

Interview on 23.03.2023, in the residence of the interviewee, Ulaanbaatar.

Interviewee 2 is 59 years old, male, and a freelancer in journalism. He was born in Uvurkhangaï province and raised in an elite family. His father was a mayor of the province during the MPR, and his mother was a teacher in a local school. He went to school from 1972 to 1982. After high school graduation, he attended obligatory military for three years and returned home in 1985. In 1986, he started his bachelor's study in journalism at the National University of Mongolia. Since 1990, he has worked as a journalist.

Interview on 03.04.2023, in a restaurant in Ulaanbaatar.

Information of interviewees of Chapter 5: Neoliberalism as Dominant Ideology

In this part, all interviews were conducted via an online platform as the interviewer was in Vienna and the interviewees were in Ulaanbaatar.

Interviewee 3 is 37 years old and female. The interviewee was born in the Gobi Altai province and raised in a nomadic herder family. She attended school in Altai, the centre of the province. After high school graduation, she migrated to Ulaanbaatar in 2004 to study German Studies. Currently, she is working as a German teacher in a private language school in Ulaanbaatar.

Interview on 16.10.2023, online per Facebook Messenger.

Interviewee 4, 23 years old and female. The interviewee was born in Uvurkhangaï province and attended school in the centre of the province. She came to Ulaanbaatar to study in 2019. During the interview period, the interviewee has been still studying Literature Teaching at the University of Education of Mongolia.

Interview on 22.10.2023, online per Facebook Messenger.

Interviewee 5 is 33 years old and male. The interviewee was born in Arkhangai province and migrated to Ulaanbaatar to study in 2009. He graduated from law school at the National University of Mongolia. Currently, he is occupied as a manager in a private company in Ulaanbaatar.

Interview on 06.11.2023, online per Facebook Messenger.

Interviewee 6 is 33 years old and male. The interviewee was born in Uvurkhangaï province in a herder family. After his high school graduation in his soum, he moved to Ulaanbaatar to study German Studies at the University of Humanity in 2009. When the interview took place, he worked as a German teacher at a language institute in Ulaanbaatar.

Interview on 06.11.2023, online per Facebook Messenger.

Interviewee 7 is 32 years old and female. The interviewee was born in Uvs province in a nomadic herder family. She moved to Ulaanbaatar to study Educational Studies in 2009. Currently, she works as a culture agent at a private educational institution in Ulaanbaatar.

Interview on 15.11.2023, online per Facebook Messenger.

Interviewee 8 is 30 years old and female. The interviewee was born in Khentii province. She moved to Ulaanbaatar in 2007 to graduate high school in Ulaanbaatar, because she wanted to increase her chances of enrolling in the Mongolian National University of Medical Sciences. She graduated the University in 2017. Currently, she is a doctor in Ulaanbaatar.

Interview on 06.12.2023, online per Facebook Messenger.

Interviewee 9 is 27 years old and male. The interviewee was born as a family member of a nomadic herder in Uvurkhangaï province and attended school in the centre of the province. After high school graduation, he came to Ulaanbaatar to study engineering. Currently, he is an assistant to a chief in the private sector in Ulaanbaatar.

Interview on 12.12.2023, online per Facebook Messenger.

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