bilig
SUMMER 2015 / NUMBER 74
01-20

Nation-Building in Kazakhstan: Kazakh and Kazakhstani Identities Controversy

Nurken Aitymbetov[*]
Ermek Toktarov[**]
Yenlik Ormakhanova[***]

Abstract
The article dwells upon the factors impacting the process of nation-building in Kazakhstan. The question of national identity is widely discussed in Post-Soviet countries as it is directly connected to the national ideology, history, language and other issues. The authors consider the rebirth of the title nation, competition of the civil and ethnic approaches to the nation-building, and contradiction of Kazakh and Russian languages to be topical issues in the formation of national identity in modern Kazakhstan. Particularly important role is given to Kazakh language claiming the status of the main attribute of ethnic cultural symbolism of Kazakhstan. The article discusses the peculiarities of the policy of kazakhization and provides a conclusion that this is an effective solution for national and interethnic relations issues in Kazakhstan.

Keywords
nation building, national identity, Kazakhstan, nationalizing, contradiction, kazakhization

Introduction

The states which emerged in the result of the collapse great European empires in the 20th century possess certain features of nationalizing countries.[1] While nationalizing states of Post-Soviet area can be characterized

[*] Kazakh National University named after Al Farabi – Almaty / Kazakhstan
nurken.aitymbetov@gmail.com
[**] Kazakh National University named after Al Farabi – Almaty / Kazakhstan
ermekuss@mail.ru
[***] Kazakh National University named after Al Farabi – Almaty / Kazakhstan
enlik.ormahanova@mail.ru

by the following: a) national rebirth of title nations; b) compensatory policy of the government; c) principle of national equality. In this respect, Kazakhstan is not an exception.

In 2004 Assembly of People of Kazakhstan[2] proposed a doctrine of "National Unity" ("Kazakhstani Nation") announced by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev. However, the new idea of "Kazakhstani nation" cardinally changes the position of the indigenous Kazakh nation in the country. The concept of "Kazakh nation" together with the status of title nation, autochthons and owners of Kazakh land is now abolished. That is all other peoples (more than 120 ethnic groups) become autochthons and owners of the common "kazakhstani land" (Kazakhstan's National Unity Doctrine, 2009).

Some Kazakh cultural entrepreneurs opposed the doctrine of "Kazakhstani nation". They claimed that Kazakhstan is a state of the Kazakhs and only of Kazakhs. For example, a prominent Kazakh politician, poet, activist, journalist Mukhtar Shakhanov (2009: 4) expressed his objection as the following: "Ultty zhoyudyŋ tote zholy – kazakhstandyk ult (The direct way to the destruction of a nation – Kazakhstani nation)".

An American polytologist, PhD, professor of Indiana University, William Fierman (2005: 396), who studies Kazakh language and its prospects for its role in Kazakh, announced that "the president's introduction of the term "Kazakhstani nation," however, also evoked a very negative reaction from some Kazakh nationalists, i.e., those who see Kazakhstan above all as the homeland of the Kazakhs, and who insist that Kazakhstan must make Kazakh culture the "first among equals".

This shows that formation of national identity of modern Kazakhstan is taking place in challenging conditions. Every Post-Soviet state underwent a complex process of self-identification of the people, but in Kazakhstan this phenomenon was accompanied by the biggest controversies. The controversies were connected to the fact that after the country received independence there appeared a world view conflict between the two major nations – Kazakh and Russian. Growth of Kazakh nationalism and opposition of the Russian ethnos to the new processes in the sphere of national policy demanded the conflict management. The issue can be resolved only with the help of the nation and nationalism research theories.

Today the scientists like Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Anthony D. Smith, and E.J. Hobsbawm contributed into development of the nation and nationality theory. Anthony D. Smith characterizes a nation as an

abstract, poly-dimensional construction connected to various spheres of life and predisposed to multiple transformations and combinations. Its basic peculiarities are historical territory, common myths and historical memory, common culture, unified legal rights and obligations for all the members, common economy. The concept of national identity embraces, first of all, originality, historical individuality, national idea present among the people (Smith 2004: 466). Agreeing with this statement, Benedict Anderson (1991: 6) in his classic "Imagined Communities" proposes substitution of the phrase "consider oneself" with "imagine oneself" and this way he identifies the nation as "imagined community". Thus, a nation can be defined as a collective individuality containing and being a reflection of the national identity. This definition provides unification of personal and collective elements in the concept of nation. An individual identifying one with collective distinctiveness identifies themselves with the nation.

The situation in Kazakhstan where national identity is formed in controversial interaction of two identities – Kazakh and Kazakhstani – can be described as the process of kazakhization. Theoretical analysis of kazakhization will include application of the method "center – periphery". This is not geographical, but sociological conception revealing social and cultural structure of the society. The center of the society is made up of two social groups defining the basic symbols of the society. The symbols of the society, nation, ethnicity, class, and any other social group mean ideological and material objects, persons, historical events reflecting and representing the social group. The term "kazakhization" is recently increasing use in journalism, especially in the relation between Kazakh and Russian languages. Kazakhization is interpreted as the introduction of Kazakh language in the spheres with dominance of Russian and thus elimination or significant reduce in the application of Russian.

The framework of nationalizing state plays a great role among the theoretical conceptions applicable to the research of national identity in Kazakhstan in the context of Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities controversy. This framework assists understanding of the condition of the countries, as Kazakhstan, which appeared in the place of collapsed empire. Formation of the state succeeded the nation formation, and consequently, national identity formation, which questions the society: what kind of a community does this state represent? Concerning Kazakhstan the following questions are raised: What are the peculiarities of national identity construction in Kazakhstan? What are the features of the basic subjects of national identity construction in Kazakhstan – the state, Kazakh and Russian elites? What

are social, political and demographical foundations for realization of kazakhization policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan? What is the essence of ethnic and civil conceptions controversy in the issue of nation building in Kazakhstan?

The article discusses the process of national identity formation in Kazakhstan on the basis of the nation and national identity theory through situational analysis of the Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities controversy. In addition, the article uses the opinion poll results and content analysis of mass media in the frames of research project conducted in the Institute of Philosophy, Political Sciences, and Religious Studies of the Committee of Science of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Formation of nationalizing state in Kazakhstan

Nation state represents one nation. However, if there exist two nations, and both of them purport to the state to represent only one of them through their cultural entrepreneurs, what we encounter in Kazakhstan, that will mean that the nation state does not fully correspond the definition. Brubaker Rogers (1996: 63) introduces the concept of nationalizing nationalism and corresponding nationalizing state into scientific circulation to determine this kind of national situations and national states. What is a nationalizing state? Brubaker defines it as a state perceived by its leading elites (including cultural entrepreneurs) as a nation-state with a certain nation, but at the same time as "incomplete" and "unaccomplished" nation-state which is not "national" enough in certain important from the perspectives of the elites aspects. All of the new independent states of the post-communist world can be defined in this context as nationalizing. These concepts are used to describe the relationship between the indigenous nation and the state in terms of its "identity" to this nation in the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union and in the inter-war Europe.

Nationalizing nationalism arises in situations where a state with the indigenous title nation has already been created, but the people due to certain reasons cannot approve their sovereignty and dominance in the political, cultural and other spheres, and other non-indigenous peoples of the state would unconditionally accept this domination. This is the main difference from nationalizing nationalism form the separatist nationalism in the form of national self-determination, well-described in the classic book of Ernest Gellner *"Nations and Nationalism"* (1991: 320) in the form of a "conflict of Ruritania and Megalomania". The book reveals the scheme of national-

ism where there appears nationalism in Ruritania, the rural outskirts of multinational Megalomania, and its elite is leading the fight against the center for their own state Ruritania.

Each nationalizing State has its own features determined by its cultural and historical development. This is also true for the post-Soviet nationalizing states. Despite the common Soviet past, each post-Soviet country had its own way to independence and its own characteristics of nationalization policies implementation. That is, nationalization policy of Kazakhstan is characterized by the opposition Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities expressed by the confrontation of Kazakh and Russian-Slavic cultural entrepreneurs concerning the terms "Kazakh" and "Kazakhstani".

This confrontation, as it has already been mentioned, in modern Kazakhstan is expressed by the controversy of the two concepts of the nation, the rivalry of the two main national identities - Kazakh and Russian-Slavic. Simultaneously this is a confrontation between the two main policies and practices – ethno-cultural, nationalizing nationalism promoted by the Kazakh cultural entrepreneurs, on the one hand, and territorial, 'civil' nationalism, promoted by Russian-Slavic and non-indigenous cultural entrepreneurs, on the other hand. We can see a peculiar situation. Therefore, today Kazakhstan has two national identities and, accordingly, the two nations - Kazakh and Kazakhstani. However, those who belong to Kazakh nation deny the existence of the Kazakhstani nation, and vice versa. Nevertheless, many people consider themselves Kazakh, and the number of those who consider themselves members of the Kazakhstani nation is also big. This allows us to assert that there are two nations in modern Kazakhstan. This is also true of the feature of a nationalizing state as the perception of it by the leading elite as somewhat "incomplete" or "unfinished" nation-state.

This is a perspective of modern Kazakhstan by Kazakh national-patriots, that is, as a national state as it should belong to Kazakhs and only to Kazakhs. In Kazakhstan, unfortunately, the approval of the national state encounters resistance from the non-indigenous nationalities, primarily Russian-Slavic, which hinders its approval as the state of Kazakhs. But this very relationship between Kazakh and Russian cultural entrepreneurs determines Kazakhstan as a nationalizing state. Aliya S. Kuzhabekova (2000: 7-8) thinks that "nation building requires unimpeded communication, especially, in the areas of government interaction and education. It encourages the use of a single language that everyone in a nation can understand. Nationalism, on the other hand, requires language as an important

component of a group identity in the same way as it does with culture, religion and history. As such, language plays a major role in the contrastive self-identification of a nationality".

The national situation in Kazakhstan is characterized by noticeable confrontation between indigenous peoples, who gave the name to the state, and the remaining, non-indigenous segment of the population. Kazakh title nationalism has not approved its dominance in the national sphere of Kazakhstan. Therefore, any of the attempts in this sphere face counter stand of the non-Kazakh population.

Uncompromising attitude to self-identifications means intransigence to many other aspects. It is the opposition of "Kazakh nation – Kazakhstani nation". This may be referred to the contradiction of the names of the state: "The Republic of Kazakhstan" or "The Kazakh Republic". Identification confrontation links to linguistic controversy as well. Such perception is, first of all, manifested in the language issue. As in many other nationalizing states, and, perhaps, to a greater extent, the language of the indigenous nation is considered as the main element of nation-building in Kazakhstan. Mukhtar Kul-Muhammed (2004: 186-187), present advisor of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, stated that language is the basis of national existence, that the revival of the language is the revival of the nation, and that Kazakh language is the national idea of Kazakhstan.

As it is known, those in positions for Kazakh identity, struggling for Kazakh language present not only in the Constitution, but in the real daily life would be the official language, spoken by all peoples living in Kazakhstan. While the carriers of Kazakhstani identity advocate the positions of Russian language in certain ways.

Authors consider that determining significance of national identity separation in Kazakhstan through opposition "Kazakh identity" – "Kazakhstani identity" is based on the fact that it is connected to definition of the nation in Kazakhstan. We are talking about the cultural definition of the nation, namely, what culture, what language is, ultimately, the symbols of the ethnic group should dominate in Kazakhstan, in other words, be shared by all ethnic groups of the country? This is the basic question of national and social life of Kazakhstan today and for the long term.

Which nation should dominate in Kazakhstan? As we refer to the cultural definition of the nation, its culture, language and symbols particularly, the symbols of which ethnic group should be shared by all ethnic groups of

the country? These are basic questions of national and social life of Kazakhstan today and for the long-term perspective.

The society of Kazakhstan perceives the contradiction of Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities. Evidence of this can be found in numerous publications about this and related issues. Terminological oppositions "Kazakh" – "Kazakhstani", "Kazakh nation" – "Kazakhstani nation" are particularly disclosed in numerous publications in Kazakh- and Russian-language press which conceal contradictions Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities and other controversies.

Discussion on the definition of national identity in Kazakhstan

Media deserve special attention in the investigation of nation-building in Kazakhstan. The media are a powerful tool of national mobilization. Thus, it is no accident that the newspapers today present public discourse between those who support ethno-cultural model and those who are for civil model of nation-building in Kazakhstan. The media field in Kazakhstan is peculiar for the clear division on the Kazakh and Russian media which, according to the experts, exist in the "parallel worlds". Kazakh media advocate ethno-cultural model, while Russian media support the civil model of nation-building. The Internet is becoming an important means of mass communication and as it is less controlled by the government the arguments between the opposing nation-building models supporters grow fierce here. That is why the analysis (including content analysis), media and the Internet might provide insights to better understanding of nation-building issues in Kazakhstan.

Identity can be considered as an answer to the question "Who are we?". In discussion of national identity in Kazakhstan today most common answers to this question are "We are Kazakhs" and "We are Kazakhstanis". Intransigence of these definitions can be frequently followed in the debate on national issue. Those who define themselves as "Kazakhs" do not want to be considered "Kazakhstanis", and vice versa, those defining themselves "Kazakhstanis" do not wish to be "Kazakhs" (Kadyrzhanov 2012: 4). This opposition exists primarily in the public discourse, when representatives of the title and non-title elites appear in the media and other institutions of public opinion expression oppose interaction of languages, cultures, representation in government bodies, etc.

In this respect Alex Danilovich (2010: 1), the professor of the University of Kurdistan, states that "typically, the process of rediscovering national or ethnic identity unfolds through distinguishing "us" from "them" by singling out one

trait or feature of a national or ethnic group in order to codify a distinct identity, "turning relative differences between the majority and minorities, the colonizer and the colonized," into absolute ones.

The terms "Kazakh" and "Kazakhstani", similarly to Soviet times, continue to carry the ethnic content ("Kazakh") and the territorial, administrative, political and ideological significance ("Kazakhstani"). Today, however, not everyone agrees with the existing division of spheres of application of the terms "Kazakh" and "Kazakhstani". The dissenters are mainly so-called "national-patriotic sector". This sector includes supporters of Kazakh identity and neglects the existence of Kazakhstani identity. "We are tired of hearing the epithet "Kazakhstani" collocating with all the concepts. Kazakhstani people, Kazakhstani steppe, Kazakhstani border ... We consider the people, the land, and everything else to be Kazakh (Kozyrev 2009: 24).

Bolatkhan Taizhan (2009), one of the leaders of the national-patriotic sector, bitterly remarked that today the clichés "Kazakhstani land", "Kazakhstani literature", "Kazakhstani culture" became widespread, while the concepts "Kazakh land", "Kazakh people" are almost withdrawn from use.

"A call for Kazakh Community" (Bayaliyev 2009: 215) highlights the artificial character of the terms "Kazakhstanis" and "Kazakhstani nation": "Our nation must and can only be called Kazakh nation. In terms of citizenship all of us are Kazakhs. What about the term Kazakhstanis? Artificially contrived, insipid, ugly ... But the main thing it is unfair".

As it has already been mentioned, many Kazakhs define their national identity as Kazakh ("we are the Kazakhs"), while other nationalities do not want to be called Kazakhs and identify themselves as Kazakhstanis ("we are Kazakhstanis"). On this occasion a famous journalist and human rights activist Sergei Duvanov (2011: 8) indicates methods of population identification existing in society today described as extra-ethnic and ethnic variations of statehood of Kazakhstan. Extra-ethnic version is based on the consideration of Kazakhstan as "a state of all its citizens living there regardless of their ethnicity". Russian population and its elite adhere to this approach and the entire population of the country is referred to as 'Kazakhstanis'. Ethnic identification version is based on the understanding of Kazakhstan as a "state of Kazakhs where all the other ethnic groups can live".

However, Vsevolod Lukashev and Stanislav Yepifantsev (2009) in their article "Can a Russian citizen of Kazakhstan become a Kazakh?" say that rhetorical as it can be, this question is not truant. The question is rhetori-

cal for the authors because it supposes only a negative response. As for "not truant" feature of the question, it refers to assimilation threaten for Russian population, which is actively discussed by the representatives of the title nation.

At the same time, many of those who define their identity as Kazakh, deny, in turn, Kazakhstani identity and do not wish to be called Kazakhstanis. The headline of Kazakh press review "Kazakhs do not want to be Kazakhstanis" published in Russian-language newspaper "Megapolis" by a journalist Serik Maleev (2007: 5) speaks for itself. However, the non-indigenous ethnic groups declare "We are Kazakhstanis", "Kazakhstan is our common home". But why is it a "common home"? This is the home of Kazakhs where others can live. And we have to state this openly.

Despite of their integrative purpose the terms "Kazakhs" and "Kazakhstanis", as it can be seen, cannot unite, but rather divide modern Kazakhstan into two parts: the national-patriotic sector and the rest of the population of the country. Therefore, as Taizhan (2009) considers, Kazakhs and representatives of other nations should be raised with clear awareness of the truth that we all live in the state of Kazakhs. Only in this case international harmony and ethnic relations will gain stability and right basis. This is the logic of the nation state and Kazakhstan in this sense is not an exception.

As has already been pointed out, the confrontation between indigenous and non-indigenous parts of population of Kazakhstan is reflected in the terminology in confrontation of words "Kazakh" on the one hand and "Kazakhstani" from other hand. This refers, for example, to the official name of our country "The Republic of Kazakhstan" taken after the declaration of independence on December 16, 1991. It should be noted, however, that with the adoption of the Constitution the issue with the name of the country has not settled yet. Elites acting on behalf of Kazakh people from time to time raise the question of the necessity of renaming of the state into "Kazakh Republic".

Thus, the author of the "Keynotes of national-patriots", Aldan Aiymbetov (2003: 6) states that because our country was called the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic until 1991, and after the collapse of the Soviet Union ceased to be Soviet and socialist country, it should be now called – Kazakh Republic. In the discussion of the current Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan in summer of 1995, the initial draft proposal was to rename the state into "Kazakh Republic". However, this proposal encountered resentment and resistance both of the developers of the basic law and the

rest of population of non-Kazakh population. Eventually, the official name 'The Republic of Kazakhstan' remained in the final version of the Constitution.

A situation where a part of Kazakh nationalists refuses to use "Kazakhstan" as a name of their country is not a surprise. This word, as it was mentioned before, is translated from Persian as "the country of Kazakhs", "land of Kazakhs", and was firmly established in Kazakh language and international usage since the 1930s, when Kazakh SSR was formed in 1936. The name "Kazakhstan" was together with "Kazakh SSR", similarly to modern "Republic of Kazakhstan" and "Kazakhstan" and these, as indicated by paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan (2011), are equivalent.

In this respect, the name of Kazakhstan is different from the names of other Turkic republics of the USSR, for example, Kirgiziya, Turkmeniya, Tatariya and Bashkiriya which have a way of Russian naming for the country. In the late 1980s and early 1990s in the wake of ethnic mobilization, these republics, being a part of the USSR, changed their names officially in accordance with the Turkic canon to "Kyrgyzstan", "Turkmenistan", "Tatarstan", "Bashkortostan". It is interesting to note, in this regard, that ethnic national mobilization in these republics led to the inclusion into their names of '-stan' suffix, while the subsequent mobilization in modern Kazakhstan leads to the exclusion of this suffix form its name and to renaming closer to the Russified version of the country name.

Concluding, we can say that the symbols within the constructivist approach are crucial in determining (construction of) the national identity. Any identity has symbolic essence. Ethnicity with dominate symbols in the society, dominates in cultural, social and, ultimately, in political spheres. This logic guides the opposition of Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities in modern Kazakhstan. Since the Soviet era the symbols of Russian culture have dominated in Kazakhstan. Sovereignty and related social and political changes in Kazakhstan provide freedom of speech to Kazakh cultural entrepreneurs with the requirements of highlighting of Kazakh symbols. This requirement can be defined as "kazakhization".

Kazakhization as a way of identity issue solution

The language issue is central in the process of nation building and identity in the post-Soviet area. In Kazakhstan the problem is objectified by the process of so-called kazakhization. It implies access to the leading position in any sphere of social life of Kazakh people and their language, culture

and symbols. Kazakhization to some extent is a reaction to the processes that took place in the national sphere of Kazakhstan during the Soviet period, characterized by russification. In this extent kazakhization involves the introduction of Kazakh language in the areas of social life, dominated by Russian, as well as a substantial reduction in its use.

Ozgecan Kesici (2011: 32), who researches the issue of national identity, called the phenomenon of kazakhization differently, stating that "in the wake of independence, the government of Kazakhstan endeavoured to legitimize the sovereignty of the nation state by taking measures to increase the ethnic Kazakh population above a 50% threshold, rewriting Kazakh history and emphasizing the continuity of Kazakh rule in indigenous lands. In this sense, Kazakhstan's nation building process brought about a "Kazakhification" of the state, which included Kazakh ethnicity and excluded other ethnic groups".

Renata Matuszkiewicz (2010: 216) pointed out that "Kazakhization was the process of ascendance of Kazakhs as a national group on the expense of other national groups, mainly Russians. This process was perceived by many Kazakhs as a way to "pay back" for the years of Russian domination".

Kazakhization as a leading tendency in the field of national policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan has political and demographic dimensions. The major players in the area of national policy (cultural entrepreneurs) are the state, Kazakh and Russian elites. Accordingly, their attitude to kazakhization will impact future of the process, as well as solution of national identity issue.

It is known that the Kazakh elites (Taizhan 2009, Shakhanov 2009, Bayaliyev 2009 etc.) are in the position of intensification of implementation process of Kazakh language as the central symbol of Kazakh culture, in all the spheres of social life of Kazakhstan, as well as support an ethnic approach to national identity. Moreover, some nationalists take an extreme position, calling for the elimination of the Russian language and criticizing the government for the slow speed of kazakhization. Another part of Kazakh elite (Kadyrzhanov 2012, Aiymbetov 2003, Kozyrev 2009 etc.) takes a more moderate position, urging both Russian-speaking Kazakhs and representatives of other ethnic groups to study the language and implement it in everyday life actively.

Russian elites (Duvanov 2011, Lukashev 2009, Yepifantsev 2009 etc.) year) aggregate interest of the members and other, mostly European, ethnic groups in the sphere of national policy. They, in turn, favor preservation of

the status of the Russian language and Russian-Soviet symbols and insist on civil identification. Thus, the Russian elites inhibit rebalancing of Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities, preventing the process of kazakhization.

The government supports and promotes the implementation of Kazakh language in all spheres of social life by implementation of the language policy. However, the authorities conduct the policy of trinity of languages, preserving the conditions for the application and development of English as well as Kazakh and Russian. National language policy is the natural reaction of the government on the globalization processes and it corresponds to the real ethnic and demographic structure of Kazakhstani society. But the state formed mostly due to the nationalist movement is to and does fulfill its duties of the development of culture of the title ethnos.

The speed of kazakhization confirmed by the position of the state in the language issue and demographic trends established during independence period in the Republic of Kazakhstan will definitely increase. Ethnic composition of the population determines the nature of interethnic relations in the country. The data of the Statistics Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan show that the majority of European ethnic groups (Russian, Ukrainian, and German) is concentrated in the Northern and Central regions of Kazakhstan. And ethnic Kazakhs, as well as repatriates and immigrants from Central Asia mainly live in the South and West Kazakhstan, Astana and Almaty (UNDP Review 2006: 15). According to the structure of the settlement of ethnic groups, kazakhization process is certainly efficient.

In addition migration processes on the territory of Kazakhstan are characterized by deflux of the representatives of European nations and influx of the Turkic peoples (Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Uigurs). The cumulative negative balance of migration of European ethnic groups in 2011 was -22 630 people, while the positive net migration of Turkic peoples at the period was 25 888 people. And this dynamics is preserved since 1999 (Statistical Compendium, 2006). The rate of natural increase among the Turkic ethnic groups is positive, whereas among Russians and Ukrainians it is negative (Demographic Yearbook of Kazakhstan 2012). Dynamics of ethnodemographic changes reflected in Table 1 shows the formation process of the ethnic structure of the population in which implementation of the national policy with the dominance of the process of kazakhization became possible.

Table 1. *Population of Ethnic Groups (% from the total population)*

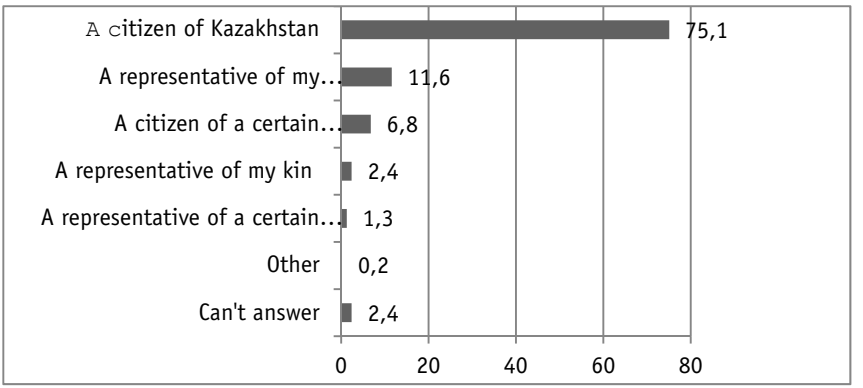
Year / Nationality	1989	1999	2009
Kazakh	40,1	53,3	62,98
Russian	37,4	30,02	23,76
Uzbek	2,0	2,47	2,85
Ukrainian	5,4	3,68	2,09
Uigur	1,1	1,41	1,4
Tatar	1,7	1,67	1,28
German	2,4	2,38	1,12
Other	5,1	5,07	4,51

Data of RK Statistics Agency

On the basis of the data presented it can be stated that there is a stable tendency of decrease of the amount of representatives of European nations and increase in number of people of Turkic nations. The latter are the speakers of languages relative to Kazakh. This is one more argument for kazakhization as a linguistic process. In addition, the absolute and relative growth of population of Kazakh nationality in the period of independence defines kazakhization in demographic sphere which is to certain extent is the foundation for further strengthening of the positions of Kazakh language.

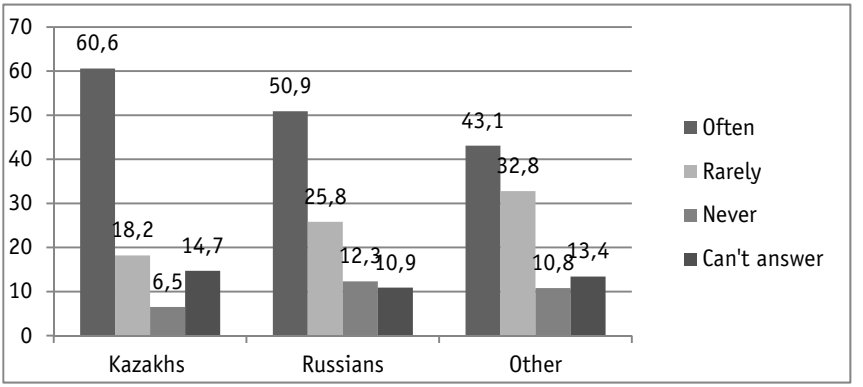
The results of the research conducted by social fund "Strategy" (2009: 15) describe the peculiarities of the identification of population of the Republic of Kazakhstan. We conducted an independent analysis of the results of the research in order to investigate the issue more profoundly. 75,1% of the respondents define civil identity as primary among other forms of self-identification. Ethnic self-identification is the second taking 12% of responses (see Figure 1). And the place of residence, education and material status had a great impact on the civil identity of the respondent. Ethnicity had a small impact on civil identity – there was no big difference between the Kazakh and Russian groups in the responses for this question.

Figure 1. *Responses for the Question "You Consider Yourself First Of All..." (% from the total number of respondents)*



At the same time the results show that Kazakh people have a higher level of ethnic self-identification than the representatives of other groups. Thus, 61% of Kazakhs feel belonging to the ethnic group, Russians – 51%, and other nations – 43%.

Figure 2. *Responses for the Question "How Often Do You Feel Belonging To The Representatives Of Your Nationality" (ethnic cut) (% from the total number of respondents)*



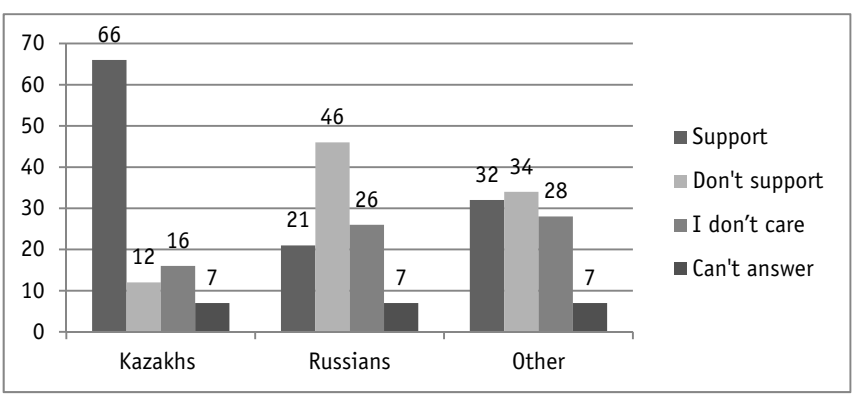
Ethnicity is most important in the extent of self-perception, especially among the representatives of older generation. Ethnic self-identification grows from the younger to the older age group. And also this form of identity prevails among the representatives with not finished secondary education. And the major possessors of civil identifications are more "advanced", conscious sector of the society.

As we see the sum total of the respondents perceiving to certain extent their identification to a certain ethnic group in both Kazakh and Russian groups was higher than 75% (Kazakhs – 78,8%, Russians – 76,7%). Consequently, ethnic self-identification is considerably strong. However, the index civil identification on Figure 1 does not contradict these indexes; they reflect the difference in understanding of identity and the state. For Russians Kazakhstan is, first of all, is motherland and place of residence, while for Kazakhs Kazakhstan is historical homeland, their nation state, present and future place of residence.

Thus, on the basis of the mentioned data we can conclude that the social and political processes, interethnic relations in the society are realized by the subjects whose ethnic identity is considerably high. This implies connection of the representatives of large ethnic group with the languages of their nations (Kazakhs with Kazakh language, Russians with Russian language). This fact also explains negative attitude of Russians towards certain aspects of the process of kazakhization (see Figure 3).

The answers for the question 'How do you feel about the innovation in the government meetings conducted in state Kazakh language?' in the ethnic cut were divided in the following way: the innovation is approved by 66% of Kazakhs, 21% of Russians; disapproved by 12% of Kazakhs and 46% of Russians. As we see, the innovations in the language sphere are approved by Kazakhs, but harshly denied by Russians. Consequently, despite the vital importance of language issue, it is one of the differentiating factors in the sphere of interethnic relations.

Figure 3. *Responses for the Question "How Do You Feel About The New Introduction To The Parliament Meetings Conducted In Kazakh?" (ethnic cut) (% from the total number of respondents)*



The data show negative attitude of the representatives of Russian ethnic group towards the introduction of Kazakh language into actual practice at the domestic level. Similar data is presented in the materials of mass media. Consequently, there can be followed disapproving perspective on the process of kazakhization, among Russians the amount of people 'approving' and those who 'don't care' is approximately equal to the number of those who 'disapprove' (47% to 46%). The amount of the people who couldn't come up with a decision was the biggest among the representatives of other nations.

Summing up, we can state that the process of kazakhization has both demographic groundings (the growing amount of language speakers) and positive attitude of the population to the introduction of Kazakh language on state level in general. Taking into consideration the peculiarities of the national politics sphere characterized by excessive conflictogenity, we can assert that kazakhization is potentially productive in the improvement of the country and the society.

Conclusion

Summing up, Kazakhstan possesses all the features of a nationalizing state. Yet, regardless the government sovereignty and independence, Kazakh language, Kazakh culture and Kazakh symbols did not occupy the central position in the society. The real situation in the sphere of national policy and interethnic communications is characterized by the opinion clash among the big ethnic groups (Kazakh and Russian).

The conflicts occur in the sphere of the language application, onomastic and representations of authority structures. Assembly of the people of Kazakhstan as an establishment assisting the stability of interethnic relations successfully functioning for 20 years so far has a big potential.

Kazakhization as a process of national identity construction process takes place in the conditions of post totalitarian transit, integration projects activation, especially in the framework of Eurasian union. National elites have to promote their interests intensively in the conduct of national politics in the conditions of globalization and regional integration. This leads to the intensification of the process of kazakhization. Also kazakhization will assist the resolving of the issues of preservation of interethnic agreement and Kazakh-Russian opposition. At the same time there formed a social foundation sustaining government policy on the broadening of application sphere for Kazakh language as a state language, development of Kazakh culture and replacement of Russian and Soviet symbols with Kazakh.

Despite the fact that state policy is directed at the Kazakhstani nation formation, Kazakh elites insist on elimination of '-stan' suffix from the

usage. At the same time the representatives of other nations find it difficult to apply the word 'Kazakh' referring to themselves. This is caused by the ethnic essence of this ethnonym. Thus, nation building on the basis of civil conception requires admission of the 'Kazakh' ethnonym with more universal content. However, these processes can blur Kazakh identity intensively constructed by the national elite.

Analysis of social, political and cultural conditions of the processes in the sphere of national policy showed that kazakhization is established as a leading tendency in the nation building. And growing speed of the process is peculiar to nationalizing Kazakhstan. Realization of government national policy assists formation of national self-consciousness of the new quality condition. This, in turn, will bring changes in the image of Kazakhstani people in social awareness; will create prerequisites for reconsideration of Kazakhs of their place in the world community, their competitiveness on the world arena.

Notes

[1] To identify this national situation and national states Rogers Brubaker introduces the notions of nationalizing nationalism and nationalizing state corresponding to it (1996: 4-5).

[2] Assembly of people of Kazakhstan – is the establishment without company formation organized by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan which aims at realization of state national policy, provision of social and political stability in the Republic of Kazakhstan and improvement of interaction effectiveness of government and civil institutes of the society in the sphere of interethnic relations: http://www.akorda.kz/ru/page/page_assambleya-naroda-kazakhstana_1352453861 (Accessed 12.12.2014)

References

Anderson, Benedict (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso.

Aiymbetov, Aldan (2003). *Tezisy national-patriotov* (Тезисы национал-патриотов – Keynotes of National- patriots). Almaty.

Bayaliyev, Alim (2009). "Vozzvaniye k kazahskoi obshchestvennosti". *Kazak Almanagy* (Kazakh Almanac). № 4 (4), November-December 2009: 214.

Brubaker, Rogers (1996). *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Official edition (2011). Almaty.

Danilovich, Alex (2010). "Kazakhstan, a Nation of Two Identities Politics and Revived Tradition". *Problems of Post-Communism* 57 (1): 1–8.

Demographical annual of Kazakhstan (2012) Statistics digest. RK Statistics Agency. Astana.

Duvanov, Sergey (2011). "Mozhno li pobedit bez flaga?". *Golos Respubliki* 4. 4 February 2011.

Ethnic demographical annual of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Statistics digest (2006). Almaty.

Fierman, W. "Kazakh language and its prospects for its role in Kazakh 'Groupness'". *Ab Imperio* 2 (2005): 393–423.

Gellner, E. *Natsii i Natsionalism* (1991). Transl. from English. Moskva: Progress.

Kadyrzhanov, Rustem (2012). "My kazahi? Ili kazahstantsy?" *Ves mir* (newspaper. № 37, June 2012.

Kazakhstan's National Unity Doctrine. http://www.inform.kz/kaz/article/ 2210265 (05.11.2009).

Kesici, Özgecan (2011). "The Dilemma in the Nation-Building Process: The Kazakh or Kazakhstani Nation?" *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*. Vol 10, No 1 (2011): 31-58.

Kozyrev, Timur (2009). "Natsiestroitelstvo v sovremennom Kazahstane: vyzovy i perspektivy". *Kazakhstan - Spectr* 2: 24-38.

Kul-Mukhamed, Mukhtar (2004). "Osnova natsionalnogo bytiya". *Kazahstanskaya Pravda*. 20 August 2004.

Kuzhabekova, Aliya S. (2000). *Past, present and future of language policy in Kazakhstan*. Bachelor of Arts, University of North Dakota.

Lukashev, Vsevolod, Stanislav Yepifanstev (2009). "Mozhet li russkiy kazahstanets stat kazahom?!" *Kazakhstan Internet newspaper*. http://zonakz.net/articles/25408 (01.07.2009)

Maleyev, Serik (2007). "Kazahi ne zhelayut byt kazahstantsami". *Megapolis newspaper* 43 (358). 05.11.2007.

Matuszkiewicz, Renata (2010). "The language issue in Kazakhstan – institutionalizing new ethnic relations after independence". *Economic and environmental studies* 10/2. June 2010: 211-227.

Shakhanov, Mukhtar (2009). "Ultti zhoyudin tote zholy – kazakstandyk ult". *Zhas Alash* 75, 17 September 2009.

Smith, Anthony D. (2004). *Natsionalism i Modernism: Kriticheskiy obzor teoriy sovremennih natsiy i natsionalizma.* Moskva: Praxis.

Social fund "Strategy" (2009). Ideological orientation and features of identification of the population of Kazakhstan. Almaty.

Taizhan, Bolatkhan. "Kazakstanda bir gana halyk – kazak halky turady" *http://abai.kz/node/1904* (21.09.2009).

UNDP Kazakhstan Review (2006). *Condition of Repatriates in Kazakhstan.* Almaty.

bilig
YAZ 2015 / SAYI 74
01-20

Kazakistan'da Millet İnşası: Kazak ve Kazakistan Kimlikleri Tartışması

Nurken Aitymbetov[*]
Ermek Toktarov[**]
Yenlik Ormakhanova[***]

Öz

Bu makalede Kazakistan'daki millet inşası sürecine etki eden unsurlar üzerinde durulmaktadır. Milli kimlik konusu, milli ideoloji, tarih, dil ve benzeri öğelerle direk ilişkili olduğundan, Sovyet sonrası ülkelerde yaygın olarak tartışılan bir konudur. Makalenin yazarları, "millet" kavramının yeniden doğuşu, millet inşasında sivil ve etnik yaklaşımların rekabeti ve modern Kazakistan'da milli kimliğin oluşumunda Kazak ve Rus dillerinin çelişmesi gibi konulara değinmektedirler. Yazıda, Kazakistan'daki etnik kültürel sembolizmin en temel niteliği olmayı hedefleyen Kazak diline ayrıca önem verilmektedir. Ayrıca, Kazaklaşma politikasının özellikleri tartışılmakta ve bunun, Kazakistan'daki milli ve etnik gruplar arası ilişkilerin çözümünde etkin bir araç olacağı vurgulanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

millet inşası, milli kimlik, Kazakistan, millileşme, çelişme, Kazaklaşma

[*] Al Farabi Kazak Milli Üniversitesi – Almatı / Kazakistan
nurken.aitymbetov@gmail.com

[**] Al Farabi Kazak Milli Üniversitesi – Almatı / Kazakistan
ermekuss@mail.ru

[***] Al Farabi Kazak Milli Üniversitesi – Almatı / Kazakistan
enlik.ormahanova@mail.ru

билиг
Лето 2015 / Выпуск 74
01-20

Национальное строительство в Казахстане: противоречие казахской и казахстанской идентичностей

Нуркен Айтымбетов[*]
Ермек Токтаров[**]
Енлик Ормаханова[***]

Аннотация

В статье рассматриваются факторы, влияющие на формирование национального строительства в Казахстане. В постсоветских странах в той или иной степени затрагивается проблема национальной идентичности, поскольку она напрямую связана с национальной идеей, историей, языковым и другими вопросами. Авторы полагают, что возрождение титульной нации, конкуренция гражданской и этнической концепций национального строительства, противоречие казахского и русского языков являются актуальными проблемами в формировании национальной идентичности в современном Казахстане. Особенно большая роль в этих процессах принадлежит казахскому языку, который претендует на роль главного символа этнокультурного символизма Казахстана. В статье рассматриваются особенности политики казахизации и делается вывод о том, что эта политика является эффективным путем решения проблем в сфере национальных вопросов и межэтнических отношений в Казахстане.

Ключевые слова

национальное строительство, национальная идентичность, Казахстан, национализирующееся, противостояние, казахизация

[*] Казахский национальный университет им. аль-Фараби – Алматы / Казахстан
nurken.aitymbetov@gmail.com

[**] Казахский национальный университет им. аль-Фараби – Алматы / Казахстан
ermekuss@mail.ru

[***] Казахский национальный университет им. аль-Фараби – Алматы / Казахстан
enlik.ormahanova@mail.ru