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**Political and Cultural Aspects of the Formation of National State Identity in the Republic of
Kazakhstan**

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INTRODUCTION

The relevance of the research topic. National-state identity is a concept associated with the fact that citizens of a state share a common cultural heritage, historical past, language, and values. Identity is an element that ensures unity and solidarity among citizens. Furthermore, national identity is important for the recognition of a state on the international stage and the protection of its reputation.

The process of constructing national-state identity in Kazakhstan is closely monitored by researchers, journalists, and the public not only within the Republic of Kazakhstan but also beyond its borders. Internal political processes taking place in Kazakhstan receive particular attention from the Russian public, political elites, and the scientific community. This can be attributed to the shared historical past of the two countries, the common border, and close interactions in the economic and political fields. The relevance of studying this topic arises from the following components:

Firstly, national identity holds special significance in Kazakhstan due to the country being multi-ethnic, with Kazakhs forming the majority of the population, but also with a significant number of Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars, Uzbeks, and other ethnic groups. Additionally, Kazakhstan is a country where Islam is the predominant religion, but a quarter of the religious population adheres to Christian beliefs, which also influences the formation of national identity. Therefore, state identity policies in the context of the dominance of the titular nation are of interest to the scientific community.

Secondly, the example of Kazakhstan demonstrates that the factor of national identity has played a significant role in Kazakhstani society due to the necessity of implementing a new cultural policy. The independence of Kazakhstan has made the unification of the country's population into one nation a priority for the state and society within a short period of time. In this sense, nation-building is not only the result of long historical development but also the deliberate actions of elites in the state and society to shape the nation. The process of elite interaction in the context of sovereigntization and their specific actions in the abandonment of Soviet ideology and the need for a new cultural policy to foster national unity remain relevant for other multiethnic communities as well.

Thirdly, during the implementation of nation-building policies in Kazakhstan, the definition of national identity has been accompanied by complex contradictions. In other words, the competition in defining identity between the titular nation and other ethnic groups, which became relevant after the dissolution of the USSR, has manifested in the tensions between "Kazakh" and "Kazakhstan" identities. In this context, the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, played a key role in shaping national identity in Kazakhstan, and the current President of Kazakhstan, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, is also working towards maintaining the unity and integrity of the country and continuing the formation of national identity. He is also initiating efforts to protect and promote Kazakhstan's cultural

heritage. As part of the implementation of the "Kazakhstan 2050" strategy, special attention is given to five institutional reforms in accordance with the "100 Concrete Steps" national program¹. One of the five institutional reforms is the strengthening of Kazakhstan's identity with the aim of preserving the integrity of civil society. While it is premature to draw a final conclusion on the success of its implementation, the current situation does not hinder research on this topic. Moreover, these government programs indicate that the process of forming the national identity of the Kazakh people is still ongoing and remains a focal point of attention for the political elites of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The relevance of the research is also related to the diversity of discourses on national and national-state identity, accompanied by a reduction in the influence of the nation-state, which nevertheless remains a key political actor in the era of globalization. Considering numerous ethnic-based civil wars, it can be said that the issue of identity is caused by the emergence of various opposition movements through discourses based on identity, which is relevant for Kazakhstani society in light of the events of 1989².

The fact that the process of constructing the national identity of the Kazakhstani people is influenced by various political, national, and cultural factors makes this process relevant and interesting for scientific research. The role of the researcher lies in the decomposition of complex factors that influence this process, identifying the most significant ones at different stages of national-state identity formation, and attempting to propose the most optimal model for the conditions of Kazakhstani society.

This dissertation, dedicated to the political and cultural aspects of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the formation of national-state identity, will examine the political and cultural changes that Kazakhstan has undergone since gaining independence and the influence of these changes on national-state identity. The dissertation will also explore how factors such as ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity in Kazakhstan play a role in shaping national-state identity. This is related to the fact that preserving and developing national identity is a key task for many states in the face of contemporary challenges, including migration processes, the rise of terrorism and extremism, the spread of nationalist ideologies, and so on.

This work attempts to address existing gaps. Our main argument regarding Kazakhstan's national policy is its continuity with its Soviet past. The assessment of Kazakhstan's national policy can be seen as continuity rather than a rupture with the Soviet legacy. There are approaches that equate Soviet heritage with colonial rule and perceive post-Soviet nation-building as a process emerging from its ashes.

¹ Plan natsii - 100 konkretnykh shagov. Programma Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 20 maya 2015 goda // Informatsionno-pravovaya sistema normativnykh pravovykh aktov Respubliki Kazakhstan. URL: <https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/K1500000100> (date of access: 16.04.2023).

² On June 16, 1989, in the Kazakh city of Novy Uzen, a conflict occurred between Kazakhs and natives of the Caucasus. The unrest lasted for 12 days, resulting in casualties, and over three thousand Caucasus natives left Kazakhstan.

In other words, these approaches highlight the negative influence of Soviet heritage on titular nationalism due to the suppression of national culture, language, and history. Undoubtedly, these approaches are somewhat valid. For example, culture and art were dependent on socialist ideology in the Soviet Union. National heroes and important figures were integrated into the system while their national essence was distorted. At the same time, Western anti-Soviet discourse during the Cold War influenced negative perspectives, resulting in the presence of stereotypes and problematic political evaluations in these works. In this context, academic aspects of the works supporting negative impact are also contradictory.

In contrast to the negative views, this work conducts an analysis of the influence of Soviet national policy on the creation and establishment of titular nationalism. Additionally, it examines the process of adaptation and maintenance of the Soviet national policy template by Kazakhstan in the post-Soviet period.

The study of the political and cultural aspects of national-state identity formation in the Republic of Kazakhstan holds practical significance for the development of socio-cultural programs and strategies aimed at maintaining and strengthening national identity in the country. Furthermore, studying this topic will help formulate effective measures to overcome challenges associated with preserving national identity in the context of globalization and rapid technological development.

The degree of scientific development of the problem. Numerous books, articles, and other materials that reveal the structural features, ideologies, concepts, key actors, and facts of the state-building process have found their place in scientific literature both in Russian and foreign languages. However, the topic of nationalism, national identity, and cultural policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan has not been fully studied and leaves room for political discourse in the context of contemporary events.

In Western literature, the issue of identity is discussed by representatives of various schools and directions. It should be noted that the problem of understanding the role of the 'historical factor' in the system of national-state identity enjoys wide scientific interest in global and Russian political science. One of them is B. Anderson³. Among his most well-known works is the book "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism," published in 1983. In this book, Anderson explores the origins of national identities and nationalism, considering them as "imagined communities," that is, social constructs that exist in people's imagination and are connected to specific cultural and historical traditions.

E.D. Smith⁴ – He is the author of numerous works in the field of nationalism, ethnicity, and

³ Anderson B. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Translated into Turkish by: Savaşır İ, Metis Publ, Istanbul, 2011.

⁴ Smith A. D. National identity. – Reno: «University of Nevada Press», 1991. – 280 p.

history. Among his most notable works is the book "National Identity," in which he explores the origin and development of national identity in various countries around the world. Smith believes that national identity is the product of a lengthy historical process associated with the formation of nations and nation-states. He emphasizes that national identity is formed not only based on ethnic, linguistic, and religious ties but also through shared historical and cultural traditions that bind people living in a specific territory.

E. Gellner⁵ is known for his works in the field of nationalism, ethnic, and social theory. In his works, Gellner analyzes the process of forming national identities and connects it with the development of industrial society. He argues that nationalism arises as a result of the process of modernization and industrialization, where peoples begin to realize their essential difference from other cultures and strive to create their own state. Gellner also emphasizes the role of language in shaping national identities and asserts that national languages serve not only as a means of communication but also symbolize national culture and identity.

Eric Hobsbawm⁶, analyzes the process of forming national identities and nationalism in Europe and other regions of the world. Hobsbawm argues that nationalism emerged in Europe during the era of industrial revolution and rapid capitalist development, when peoples began to recognize their economic, political, and cultural differences from other nations and sought to create their own nation-states. In his works, Hobsbawm also highlights the role of cultural and educational institutions, such as schools and universities, in shaping national identities.

K. Deutsch⁷ offers a unique approach to understanding how nationalism is formed and sustained. He views nationalism as a social phenomenon that develops through communication and interaction among members of society. Accordingly, nationalism is formed through shared language, culture, history, and similar factors among a group of people, and these factors spread through communication among members of society. Deutsch also asserts that nationalism can be a source of conflicts, so caution should be exercised with nationalism. However, at the same time, he emphasizes that nationalism can foster a sense of common identity and solidarity in society, and therefore, it can have positive consequences.

R. Brubaker⁸, argues that ethnic belonging is formed through the interactions and connections between individuals rather than between groups. In this context, he asserts that ethnic identity should be seen more as categories and characteristics. He also discusses how ethnic identities are utilized in

⁵ Gellner E. *Nationalism in the Vacuum*, ed. Alexander J. Motyl, *Thinking Theoretically about Soviet nationalities: history and comparison in the study of the USSR*. – New York: «Columbia University Press», 1992.

⁶ Hobsbawm E. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1991.

⁷ Deutsch K. *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*, The MIT Press, 1953.

⁸ Brubaker R. *Ethnicity without Groups*, *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie*, Vol. 43, N. 2, 2002, pp. 163–89.

political struggles, their role in political and social inequalities, and how ethnic identities interact with contemporary issues such as globalization and migration.

Ernest Renan, in his work "What is a Nation?" (Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?⁹) defines a nation as "a unity created by historical sacrifices, which it preserves by shared memory and continues through common will." Renan argues that national identity is not tied to ethnic belonging or religious community but is the result of a shared history and cultural traditions. He also emphasizes that national identity is not static but rather changeable and evolving. Renan notes that national identity requires constant maintenance and development, which is achieved through shared culture and education.

Alexander Wendt¹⁰, argues that the behavior of states in the international system is not only determined by the structure of the international system but is also linked to the identity of the states themselves. According to Wendt, the behavior of states in the international system is a result of their identity, which influences their relations with one another. States that are aware of their identity behave differently in their interactions with other states. Therefore, the nature of relationships between states depends on how states define themselves and how they relate to other states. Wendt emphasizes the determinism of how states define themselves. States define themselves as possessing different identities, and these identities play a crucial role in their relations with other states. States that are aware of their own identity also shape their behavior according to the identity of other states.

Samuel Huntington¹¹ asserts that the United States is experiencing a crisis of national identity, with its core values, institutions, and culture being undermined by mass immigration, multiculturalism, and the rejection of assimilation. Huntington claims that the United States was founded on a set of cultural and political principles rooted in Anglo-Protestantism, and that these principles shaped American identity and institutions. However, he argues that the traditional identity of the country is under threat due to large-scale immigration from non-Western peoples and the promotion of multiculturalism and diversity.

Michael Billig¹², analyzes the role of language in the creation and maintenance of national and

⁹ Renan E. Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? Conférence d'Ernest Renan. 1882. (The lecture by Ernest Renan, titled "What is a Nation?" In reference to the free right of peoples to self-determination, he offers a splendid definition of a nation based on "two things, which, truth be told, are one and the same [...]. One is in the past, the other in the present. One is the common possession of a rich heritage of memories; the other is the present consensus, the desire to live together, the will to continue to enjoy the inheritance that has been shared. Therefore, a nation is a great solidarity formed by the feeling of sacrifices made and those we are ready to make again. [...] «Allow me to summarize, ladies and gentlemen. 'Man is not a slave to his race or language, not a slave to his religion, not a slave to the flow of rivers or the direction of mountain ranges. A great assembly of people, sound in mind and warm at heart, creates a moral consciousness known as a nation.»

¹⁰ Wendt A. Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics // International Organizations. 1992. V 46, N 2. P. 391- 425. Wendt A. Collective identity formation and the international state // American Political Science Review. 1994. V 88, N 2. P. 384-396.

¹¹ Huntington S. Who Are We? The Challenge to America's National Identity. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004.

¹² Billig M. Banal Nationalism. London: Sage Publications, 1995.

ethnic identities. He believes that language plays a crucial role in shaping national stereotypes and perceptions of other cultures and peoples. He has also studied the phenomenon of "banal nationalism," which refers to subtle and unnoticed expressions of nationalism in everyday life, such as national symbols on the streets, in stores, and in mass culture. Billig argues that these subtle manifestations of nationalism support and reinforce national identities, often without people being consciously aware of it.

Manuel Castells¹³ examines how globalization influences people's identity and culture, and explains the emergence of new forms of identity. He also discusses the influence of social movements and political struggles on identity and culture. Castells explains how the politics of culture and identity, which emerged worldwide, especially since the late 1980s, have reconstructed people's identities and cultures and shaped political struggles.

Anthony Giddens¹⁴ is known for developing leading theories on topics such as modernism, globalization, identity, social changes, power, and politics. He analyzes the influence of the modern world on human identity and highlights how identity is constantly reconfigured and reinvented. He also emphasizes that with the growth of cultural diversity and individual differences, identity politics and cultural policies are becoming increasingly important. On the other hand, P. Marden¹⁵, theorizes about culture and identity in relation to the forces of globalization on one hand, and the spatial politics of contemporary nationalisms on the other hand. He advocates for the reconstruction of the nation-state rather than its destruction.

In general, these scholars examine the phenomenon of national identity within the framework of three main approaches: primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism, focusing on the concepts of nation and ethnicity in political science.

Alongside history, culture represents one of the fundamental aspects of the fabric of everyday life, providing us with a sense of identity and indicating who we are, where we come from, and where we are headed. Among the works that address current research on culture, it is necessary to mention the contributions of V.I. Ger'ye¹⁶, A.Ya. Filer¹⁷, O. Spengler,¹⁸ T. Todorov and Ilan H.¹⁹ and others.

Among the post-Soviet and Russian researchers who have examined the history of nation-building and national identity in post-Soviet countries within the context of the processes of

¹³ Castells M. *The Power of Identity*, 2nd ed. – Oxford, U.K.; Malden, Mass.: «Blackwell Publishing», 2004. – 537 p.

¹⁴ Giddens A. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford University Press. 1991.

¹⁵ Marden P. *Geographies of dissent: globalization, identity and the nation // Political Geography*. 1997. V 16, N 1. P. 37-64.

¹⁶ Ger'ye V.I. *Respublika ili monarkhiya ustanovitsya vo Frantsii? // Sbornik gosudarstvennykh znaniy / Pod. red. V.M. Bezobrazova*. SPb., 1877. T. 3.

¹⁷ Filer A.YA. *Kul'tura. Kul'turologiya. KHKH vek // Entsiklopediya*. – SPB., 1998. T. 1. – 448 c.

¹⁸ Shpengler O. *The decline of the west: perspectives of worldhistory 1918 / Translated from Eng. by Giovanni S.. – İstanbul: «Dergâh Yayinevi», 1978.*

¹⁹ Todorov T., Ilan G. *The coexistence of cultures // Policy Futures in Education*. 2011. V 8, N 3. P. 223-232.

politicization or nationalist ideology, notable scholars include V.A. Achkasov²⁰, N.A. Baranov²¹, V.V. Bushuev²², L.M. Drobizheva, O.Yu. Malinova²³, O.V. Popova²⁴, Ryzhova S.V.²⁵, T.V. Evgenyeva, V.V. Titov²⁶, V.A. Tishkov²⁷ and other authors.

The recently published monograph²⁸ consists of articles written by various Russian authors who examine the contemporary political concept of civil identity among Russians. The monograph explores the theoretical and scientific-methodological aspects of individual civil identity within the context of current geopolitical situations and the challenges of consolidating Russian society. Based on the analysis

²⁰ Achkasov V. A. Rossiyskaya dilemma: imperiya ili natsiya-gosudarstvo: monografiya. – M.: Izdatel'stvo «Yurayt», 2019. – 373 p.; Achkasov V.A. Politika identichnosti mul'tietnichnykh gosudarstv v kontekste resheniya problemy bezopasnosti. Monografiya. – SPb.: Izd-vo «Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta». 2012. – 232 p.; Achkasov V. A. Politika identichnosti v sovremennom mire. // Vestnik SPbGU. 2013. Ser. 6. Vyp. 4. p. 71-77.; Achkasov V.A. Natsional'naya identichnost' kak istoricheskiy narrativ // Upravlencheskoye konsul'tirovaniye. 2018. N. 10. P. 19-26; Achkasov V.A. YAzyk kak instrument «stroitel'stva natsii»: postsovet'skiy kontekst // Politicheskaya nauka. 2011. N. 1. P. 204-218

²¹ Baranov N. The politics and culture interaction in the context of narrative practices as a mechanism of the identity social construction // Balkan Social Science Review. 2019. V 14. N 14. P. 99-115; Baranov N.A. Krymskiy faktor v formirovani obshcherossiyskoy grazhdanskoy identichnosti // Kaspiyskiy region: politika, ekonomika, kultura. 2019. N.3. P.59-65; Baranov N.A. Obshcherossiyskaya grazhdanskaya identichnost' v kontekste sovremennykh geopoliticheskikh problem // Grazhdanskaya identichnost' rossiyan: Sovremennyy politicheskiy kontsept: kollektivnaya monografiya / pod nauch. red. O. A. Koryakovtsevov. – Yaroslavl' : RIO YAGPU, 2022. P. 9-28; Baranov N.A., Kok S. Trudnyy put' k grazhdanskoy natsii: opyt natsiyestroitel'stva sovremennogo Kazakhstana // Problemy postsovet'skogo prostranstva. 2021. T.8. N.1. P.136-151; Baranov N. A. Evolyutsiya sovremennoy demokratii: politicheskiy opyt Rossii: dis... d-ra polit. nauk, Sankt-Peterburgskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet. SPb., 2009.

²² Bushuev V.V., Titov V.V. Natsional'no-gosudarstvennaya identichnost' v sovremennom mire i rol' istoricheskoy politiki v yeye formirovani (teoretiko-metodologicheskii analiz) // Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta im. M.A. Sholokhova. Istoriya i politologiya. 2011. N.4. P.77-93.

²³ Malinova O.YU. Konstruirovaniye makropoliticheskoy identichnosti v postsovet'skoy Rossii: simvolicheskaya politika v transformiruyushcheysya publichnoy sfere // POLITEKS. 2010. Tom 6. N. 1: 5-28.; Malinova O. YU. Simvolicheskaya politika i konstruirovaniye makropoliticheskoy identichnosti v postsovet'skoy Rossii // Politicheskiye issledovaniya. 2010. N. 2. P. 90-105.; Malinova O.YU. Konstruirovaniye smyslov: Issledovaniye simvolicheskoy politiki v sovremennoy Rossii: Monografiya /RAN.INION. Tsentr Sotsial'nykh nauch.-inform.issled. Otd.polit.nauki. –M., 2013. – 421p

²⁴ Popova O.V. O nereshennykh problemakh teorii gosudarstvennoy politiki identichnosti v rossiyskoy politologii // Politicheskaya nauka. 2020. N. 4. P. 86-110.; Popova O.V. Modeli i tekhnologii formirovaniya politiki identichnosti v «novykh» gosudarstvakh // Sotsial'nyye izmeneniya v global'nom mire: Shestaya mezhdunarodnaya nauchnaya konferentsiya: sbornik materialov. Shtip: Izdatel'stvo universiteta Gotse Delcheva, 2019 p. P. 757–772; Popova O.V. Osobennosti politicheskoy identichnosti v Rossii i stranakh Yevropy // Polis. 2009. N. 1. P. 143–157; Popova O.V. Razvitiye teorii politicheskoy identichnosti v zarubezhnoy i otechestvennoy politicheskoy nauke // Identichnost' kak predmet politicheskogo analiza: Sb. statey / Otv. red. I.S. Semenenko, L.A. Fadeyeva. M.: IMEMO RAN, 2011. P. 13–29.

²⁵ Drobizheva L. M., Ryzhova S. V. Grazhdanskaya i etnicheskaya identichnost' i obraz zhelayemogo gosudarstva v Rossii // Polis. Politicheskiye issledovaniya. 2015. N. 5. S. 9-24. 190. Drobizheva L. M., Ryzhova S. V., Rossiyskaya identichnost' i mezhetnicheskaya tolerantnost', Elektronnyy resurs, URL: <https://www.civisbook.ru/publ.html?id=805> (Date of access: 31.12.2021)

²⁶ Yevgen'yeva T.V., Khametov E.SH. Formirovaniye natsional'no-gosudarstvennoy identichnosti cherez sport vysshikh dostizheniy (na materialakh issledovaniya v respublike severnaya osetiya - alaniya) // Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo oblastnogo universiteta. 2020. N.1. P. 38-51. Yevgen'yeva T. V., Titov V. V. Formirovaniye natsional'no-gosudarstvennoy identichnosti rossiyskoy molodezhi // Polis. Politicheskiye issledovaniya. 2010. N. 4. P. 122–134.; Titov V.V. Politika pamyati i formirovaniye natsional'no-gosudarstvennoy identichnosti: rossiyskiy opyt i novyye tendentsii. – M.: «Vash format», 2017. – 184 p.

²⁷ Tishkov V. A. Russkiy narod: kniga dlya uchitelya. – M.: Prosveshcheniya, 2010. – 192 p.; Tishkov V.A. Etnologiya i politika: stat'i, 1989–2004 – M.: Nauka, 2005. – 359 p.; Tishkov V.A., Shabayev YU.P. Etnopolitologiya: Politicheskiye funktsii etnichnosti. 2-ye izd., ispr. i dop. – M.: Izdatel'stvo «Moskovskogo universiteta», 2013. – 413 p.

²⁸ Grazhdanskaya identichnost' rossiyan: Sovremennyy politicheskiy kontsept : kollektivnaya monografiya / pod nauch. red. O. A. Koryakovtsevov. – Yaroslavl' : RIO YAGPU, 2022. Avtorami kollektivnoy monografii yavlyayutsya: N. A. Baranov (Chapter 1), L. I. Nikovskaya (Chapter 2), O. A. Koryakovtseva (Introduction, Chapter 3, Chapter 7), O. V. Popova (Chapter 4), S. I. Kuzina (Chapter 5), T. V. Bugaychuk (Chapter 6, Chapter 7).

of domestic and foreign approaches to the formation of civil identity, the monograph presents both traditional mechanisms of its formation and development in different historical periods and in different political systems, as well as contemporary models, taking into account the constraints imposed by internet identity.

V.A. Tishkov has developed his own concept of ethnocultural identity, based on understanding it as a multi-level and multifaceted category that encompasses elements of culture, language, history, religion, and so on. He actively explores issues of ethnic politics, ethnic conflicts, ethnodemography, and the relationships between ethnic groups in multicultural environments. In his works, Tishkov argues that in the context of globalization and accelerated socio-economic changes, affirming one's ethnic identity can become one of the most important factors for social stability and national unity. He calls for the preservation and development of ethnic cultures and traditions but rejects the need for isolation and closedness of national communities.

Since gaining independence, the issue of national identity has been widely discussed and thoroughly studied in Kazakhstani society. In addition, dissertations on topics related to state and nation-building, the formation of civil and national identity, and a large number of scientific works have been defended and published. The study of the political culture of emerging nation-states necessarily includes their emerging national and state structure, as well as the history of the nation and its national distinctiveness. Therefore, the state of formation of the national state in post-Soviet countries is closely related to common questions of national and civil distinctiveness, national ideals, national language, and history.

Cultural policy determines the significance of social practice and affects subjectivity and identity, thereby playing a central role in shaping self-identity. In the era of globalization, culture transcends national boundaries and can serve as the connecting fabric of an "imagined nation." It is employed in a voluntary and organic approach to defining a nation. While the organic approach emphasizes the role of culture in highlighting the specificity of a nation, the voluntary discourse focuses on the universal value of culture. This work analyzes how culture is utilized as a resource in the construction of the modern Kazakhstani nation.

In the history of independence of emerging nation-states in the post-Soviet space, questions of national and civic identity were not isolated from the public. In this context, the study of nation formation and consolidation in post-Soviet countries, including Kazakhstan, is of special interest. To examine the issue of national identity within the context of forming the political culture of Kazakhstan, the works of renowned foreign and domestic scholars on this topic were carefully analyzed and enriched. Through a critical analysis of the scientific work of world-level researchers, it was established that many scholars consider the concept of national identity closely linked to the emergence of concepts of nationhood and

ethnic belonging. M.B. Olcott²⁹, analyzes the political, economic, and social changes in Kazakhstan after gaining independence from the Soviet Union. He examines the challenges faced by Kazakhstan after gaining independence, the reforms implemented, and their impact on the country. The book also discusses the rich natural resources of Kazakhstan, particularly its oil and natural gas reserves, and the role of these resources in the country's economy. Olcott also highlights the authoritarian tendencies in the government following Kazakhstan's independence. The book analyzes the political system of Kazakhstan, human rights and freedom of speech, and discusses the implications of these issues for the country's future. The monograph "Kazakhstan: The Unfulfilled Promise?" holds significant value as it addresses many important questions related to the period after Kazakhstan gained independence and presents a perspective on the geopolitical significance of Kazakhstan.

The relationship between national identity and civic identity has been studied by domestic scholars who conducted fundamental research based on civil society and interethnic harmony as the foundation of ethnic stability in the country. R.K. Kadyrzhanov³⁰ analyzes the diversity of ethnocultural symbols associated with Kazakh culture and their role in shaping Kazakh national identity. He examines symbols related to history, religion, mythology, and traditions of the Kazakh people, explaining their significance for national self-identification and self-determination. S.Z. Baymagambetov³¹ considers the historical context of cultural policy development in Kazakhstan, starting from the colonial period, then transitioning to the Soviet era, and finally to the contemporary period of independence. The author analyzes various aspects of cultural policy, including state support for culture, language policy, national cultural programs, and the interaction of cultural institutions, among others. M.M. Nurgaliyeva³² analyzes how the state policy of nationalization in Kazakhstan influences the formation of ethnic identity among the population. Nurgaliyeva notes that Kazakhstan's national identity prior to independence consisted of various cultural and ethnic elements, and that the state policy of nationalization in the post-Soviet period has become one of the factors contributing to the formation of a new, more homogeneous ethnic identity. Other authors³³ have also made significant contributions to the discussion of this issue.

²⁹ Olcott M. B. *Kazakhstan. Unfulfilled promise?* – Washington DC: «Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*» (2nd edn.), 2010. – 322 p. *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was recognized as a foreign agent No. 578 in the relevant register; the representative office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in the Russian Federation was excluded by the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation from the register of branches and representative offices of international organizations and foreign non-profit non-governmental organizations.

³⁰ Kadyrzhanov R.K. *Konstruktivizm, primordializm i opredeleniye natsional'noy identichnosti Kazakhstana // Al'-Farabi*. 2012. N.4 (40). P. 86-94.

³¹ Baymagambetov S. Z. *Kul'turnaya politika: razrabotka, realizatsiya, problemy (istoricheskiy analiz)*. – Almaty. 1998. – 160 p.

³² Nurgaliyeva ZH. K. *Poiski novoy etnicheskoy identichnosti v Respublike Kazakhstan kak natsionaliziruyushchem gosudarstve // Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta. Sotsiologiya*. 2009. T. 3. N.12. P. 115-123.

³³ Nurtazina R. A. *Diskurs po teoretiko-metodologicheskim podkhodam issledovaniya natsional'nykh idey v Kazakhstane // Molodoy uchenyy*. 2015. N. 6 (86). P. 21-31. Narbekova G. *Natsional'noye stroitel'stvo i kul'turnaya identichnost' Kazakhstana // Mir cheloveka*. 2012. N. 3 (53). P. 43-50. Kolbachayeva ZH. Ye. *Osobennosti formirovaniya natsional'noy*

Additionally, the emergence of the nation and its historical aspects in shaping national identity in Kazakhstan have been studied by Kazakh scholars. One of them, M.S. Shaykemelov³⁴ examines the process of forming Kazakh identity and explores its interaction with other identities based on religion, ethnicity, political beliefs, and social values. Shaykemelov investigates various aspects of Kazakh identity, such as historical roots, language, culture, and traditions, as well as the role of state policy in its formation. He also analyzes the contemporary political and social situation in Kazakhstan and its influence on Kazakh identity. J.O. Artykbaev³⁵ takes a broad perspective on the history of Kazakhstan, including the influence of various peoples and civilizations on the region's development. He also analyzes key moments in the history of Kazakhstan, such as the formation of a nomadic way of life, the period of the Kazakh Khanate, the region's annexation by the Russian Empire, the Soviet period, and Kazakhstan's independence. J. Nazpari³⁶, in his work, explores the post-Soviet period in Kazakhstan following the dissolution of the Soviet Union and its impact on the country's society, politics, and economy. Nazpari analyzes the violence and turmoil that occurred in Kazakhstan during the post-Soviet period, including political conflicts, civil wars, and economic instability. He also examines the socio-economic development of Kazakhstan, migration issues, inequality, and the role of the state in the country's development.

And finally, prior to the start of the research, Russian and Turkish dissertations with similar topics were reviewed in order to gain an understanding and thereby establish a foundation for the upcoming study³⁷.

identichnosti Kazakhstana v sovremennykh usloviyakh // Problemy postsovetskogo prostranstva. 2018. N. 5(1). P. 101-107., Zhurasova A., Yeseyeva G. Voprosy natsional'noy identichnosti v Kazakhstane // Świat Idei i Polityki. 2021. N. 2. P. 77-91. Semenenko I.S., Lapkin V.V., Bardin A.L., Pantin V.I. Mezhdru gosudarstvom i natsiyey: dilemmy politiki identichnosti na postsovetskom prostranstve Polis. Politicheskoye issledovaniya. N. 5. 2017. P. 54-78. Aitymbetov N., Toktarov Y., Ormakhanova Y. Nation-Building in Kazakhstan: Kazakh and Kazakhstani Identities Controversy // Bilig - Turk Dunyasal Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi. 2015. V 74, N 74. P. 1-20. Boranbayeva G. S. SSCB Dönemi ve Bağımsızlık Sonrası Kazakistan Cumhuriyeti'nde Kazak Dilinin Genel Durumu // Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi. 2004. V 1, N 1. P. 20-41. Kudaibergenova D. T. Imagining community in Soviet Kazakhstan. An historical analysis of narrative on nationalism in Kazakh-Soviet literature // Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity. 2013. V 41, N 5. P. 1-16. Duman L. Kazakistan'da Değişim ve Dönüşüm: Yeni Bir Uluslaştırma "Başarısı" mı? // OPUS Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi. 2019. V 10, N 17. P. 1993-2026. Kaya A. SSCB sonrası coğrafyada ulus inşa süreci: Kazakistan örneği // Alternatif Politika. 2012. V 4, N 3. P. 354-378. Kesici Ö. The Dilemma in the Nation-Building Process: The Kazakh or Kazakhstani Nation? // Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe. 2011. V.10, N 1. P. 31-58. Kolsto P. Anticipating demographic superiority: Kazakh thinking on integration and nation building // Europe Asia Studies. 1998. V 50, N 1. P. 51-69. Melich J., Adibayeva A. Nation-Building and Cultural Policy in Kazakhstan // European Scientific Journal. 2013. V 2. P. 265-279.

³⁴ Shaykemelev M.S. «Kazakhskaya identichnost'». Monografiya / Pod obshch. red. Z.K. Shaukenovoy. Almaty: Institut filosofii, politologii i religiovedeniya, KN MON RK, 2013.

³⁵ Artykbaev J.O. Istoriya Kazakhstana. – Kostanay: TOO «Tsentral'no-Aziatskoye knizhnoye izdatel'stvo», 2007. – 316 p.

³⁶ Nazpary J. Sovyet sonrası karmaşa: Kazakistan'da şiddet ve mülksüzleşme. – İstanbul: «İletişim Yayınları», 2003.

³⁷ Ospanov T.T. Natsional'naya identichnost' kazakhov: sotsial'no-filosofskiy analiz / Kazakhskiy natsional'nyy universitet imeni al-Farabi, kandidatskaya dissertatsiya, 2016. Spitsyna T. V. Natsional'naya identichnost' v kontekste sotsiokul'turnogo krizisa v Rossii (konets XIX - nachalo XX veka). kandidatskaya dissertatsiya. Belgorod, 2005. 146 c. Düğen T. History,

The aforementioned studies demonstrate that the issues of national, ethnic, and civic identity in shaping the cultural policy for nation-building in Kazakhstan are becoming increasingly important in Kazakhstani society.

The research hypothesis suggests that the political and cultural legacy of the USSR inherited by Kazakhstan continues to have a significant influence on the formation of national identity and cultural values in society. Furthermore, the Soviet period has also left its mark on language and education, establishing Russian as the second official language and promoting the Soviet education system, which is still utilized in certain areas. All these factors continue to impact Kazakhstan's national identity and culture at present, despite the endeavor to develop its own culture and identity.

The aim of this dissertation is to identify the mechanism, specificity, and trends in the formation of national-state identity in contemporary Kazakhstan.

To achieve the stated objective, the following tasks were set:

1. Analyze the theoretical and methodological foundations of identity.
2. Characterize the influence of globalization processes on national identity.
3. Determine the stages of formation and development of Kazakh identity and identify the features of the process shaping their contemporary identity.
4. Identify the role of cultural policy in nation-building.
5. Explore the influence of the Soviet political and cultural heritage on the consolidation of the Kazakh nation.
6. Highlight the domestic and foreign policy factors influencing the formation of Kazakhstan's national identity in the 21st century.

Research Object: National-state identity in modern Kazakhstan.

Research Subject: Cultural aspects, actors, and key factors influencing the process of constructing national-state identity in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Chronological Framework of the Study: From 1991 to April 30, 2023. In order to analyze the foundations of Kazakh national identity, the author refers to the past, primarily the Soviet period of Kazakhstan's development.

Theoretical and Methodological Basis of the Study: The study utilizes theories of nationhood origin, including the **primordialist theory** based on natural characteristics relevant to social life such as blood ties, language, and religion; the **the constructivist** theory that assumes purposeful actions by state and societal institutions and political elites aimed at nation-building; and **the instrumentalist** theory that implies the utilization of national identity for the interests of specific political forces.

To identify and differentiate the interconnections between the concepts of nation and ethnicity in the public consciousness of Kazakhstan, the **method of historical institutionalism** was employed. This method focuses on analyzing existing political institutions from the perspective of potential unrealized possibilities in the past.. **The structural-functional** approach allowed for an analysis of the structure and functions of both state and non-state institutions in the process of forming national-state identity.

The politico-cultural approach utilized in this study is based on identifying the influence of Kazakh culture and the Kazakh people's mentality on the formation of statehood.

The survey section was conducted using a **quantitative research method**. The data collection employed the Computer-Aided Web Interviewing (CAWI) method, which is a quantitative data collection method carried out through a pre-designed online questionnaire. Within this method, interviews were conducted using computer-based web surveys. Participants independently completed the survey questionnaire through a web page without the assistance of robots, interviewers, or external support.

In the context of the research, links to the survey questionnaires were created on two different online platforms, which were used to gather participants' opinions. This method was chosen to ensure convenience and easy access for participants. The collected data are based on the responses of participants who completed the survey questionnaires and were recorded for subsequent analysis.

The empirical basis of the dissertation includes types of sources categorized based on criteria of common origin, content, and purpose of the texts.:

- Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- Analytical materials related to the research problem;
- Official electronic resources of the state authorities of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- Archive data (Central State Archive of Almaty);
- Library resources (Russian National Library, M. Gorky Scientific Library of St. Petersburg State University, Russian State Library, Scientific Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences; National Library of Kazakhstan in Almaty, Istanbul University Library);
- Public speeches of political figures;
- Periodical publications and journalism (journal articles and newspaper articles);
- Materials from sociological research;
- Statistical data.

The scientific novelty of the research is determined by its aim and objectives and can be summarized as follows:

1. The study represents the first comprehensive research on the formation of national-state identity in Kazakhstan, taking into account political and cultural aspects. Despite the years of the

republican period of nation-building, the search for defining national identity in the intellectual sphere and the projection of nationalism in this context, "cultural policy" remains an area that has not been adequately studied by political scientists. In this study, cultural policy is examined in the context of processes that contribute to the development of nationalism and the formation of national identity against the backdrop of modern history in Kazakhstan.

2. The dissertation presents a new perspective on Kazakhstan's national policy, taking into account its continuity with the Soviet past. The research analyzes the influence of Soviet national policy on the establishment and promotion of titular nationalism, as well as explores the process of adaptation and maintenance of the Soviet national policy model by Kazakhstan in the post-Soviet period. This approach differs from negative views that reduce the Soviet legacy to colonial rule and emphasize the negative impact of the Soviet heritage on titular nationalism due to the suppression of national culture, language, and history.

3. The dissertation conducts a systematic analysis of theoretical concepts of identity and nation-building and applies them to the analysis of national identity in Kazakhstan. The research synthesizes the experience of nation-building and analyzes the phenomenon of nationalism in Kazakhstan. A comprehensive study of ethno-political processes in contemporary Kazakhstan is conducted, and the activities of key actors in the formation of ethnic and civic identity are characterized. The peculiarities of the formation of nation-building strategies in the activities of political and intellectual elites in Kazakhstan are revealed.

4. The research proposes preventive mechanisms for conflict resolution, taking into account international experience and the mentality of the people of the republic.

5. The application of this quantitative data collection method provides significant advantages for studying the influence of cultural policies on the formation of national identity in Kazakhstan. This method allows for a wide coverage of participants and systematic data collection, which contributes to obtaining reliable and representative results. The data obtained using this method will undergo statistical analysis to assess the impact of cultural policies on the formation of national identity. This analysis will help identify key factors and trends, as well as determine necessary measures and recommendations to support and develop national identity in Kazakhstan. In light of this, the obtained results represent valuable research material that can serve as an important source for determining measures aimed at assessing the influence of cultural policies and shaping national identity. They can be used to develop strategies and policies that contribute to strengthening and supporting cultural heritage and creating conditions for sustainable development of national identity in Kazakhstan.

6. The use of Russian, Kazakh, English, and Turkish sources is also important for synthesizing different perspectives, thus introducing them into the Russian scientific discourse. It is worth noting that

this work contributes new scientific knowledge and enriches the existing scientific discourse in the field of national identity and the formation of nation-states. This research represents an important step towards understanding the process taking place in Kazakhstan since gaining independence, including the formation of identity and regional stability. It will also shed light on future research on the political and cultural aspects of identity formation in the nation-state.

The following main points are **defended**:

1. After Kazakhstan's separation from the Soviet Union, the country faced significant risks in the process of forming a new national-state identity compared to neighboring states, as nearly half of its population did not have Kazakh identity. The country's leaders exerted significant efforts to shape their national identity. Political reforms, such as constitutional structure, political system, and state policies implemented in Kazakhstan in the 1990s, were crucial stages in the formation of the national-state identity.

2. Furthermore, the adoption of the Kazakh language as the official language, emphasis on Kazakh culture and history, celebration of national holidays, promotion of the use of national symbols, and the transition to the Latin alphabet establish closer ties with Turkic culture and identity. The historiography of the Soviet period has been revised, adopting an approach that highlights Turkic, Islamic, and Central Asian elements in the country's history. Kazakh folk music, traditional crafts, culinary culture, and vibrant traditional attire are considered cultural heritage of the country and recognized as part of national identity.

3. An important factor influencing the formation and strengthening of national identity in Kazakhstan is religion. The majority of the population in Kazakhstan practices Islam, which intertwines with Kazakh culture and traditions. Therefore, the preservation and promotion of Islamic values and traditions are crucial for the formation of national identity.

4. For the successful formation of a national-state identity in the Republic of Kazakhstan, it is necessary to take into account the plurality of ethnic groups, linguistic, religious and cultural differences, as well as to create conditions for the convergence and integration of these groups. The multinational nature of Kazakhstan's society creates a unique opportunity for the formation of a national-state identity that unites different ethnic groups into a single nation.

5. The completion of the formation of a nation-state identity could help Kazakhstan become more influential on the world stage and have a stronger position in international relations.

The theoretical significance of the study lies in the reinterpretation and author's interpretation of contemporary works on identity and nation-building. The revelation of the Soviet political and cultural heritage, the influence on the formation of the modern Kazakh nation, internal and external political factors in the formation of the Kazakhstani national identity can become an object of scientific discussion

both in the Kazakhstani scientific discourse, and in the discourse of those peoples who are undergoing the formation of national statehood.

The practical significance of the study is determined by the possibility of applying the main conclusions of the work in the preparation of scientific research, for the development of national, linguistic and historical policy in Kazakhstan. The results of the secondary analysis of sociological surveys will help to understand the attitudes of citizens and the attitudes of various ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan to the national policy of the state, and the specifics of their perception of their national identity. The important questions raised will allow further in-depth study of the problems of inter-ethnic unity and harmony.

The dissertation research was approbated during 2017-2023. The main provisions and conclusions of the thesis are argued by the author in three scientific publications in journals included in the VAK list. Materials and provisions of the thesis have been approbated in the author's speeches at the following scientific forums:

1. "The Significance of Cultural Policy in the Process of Nation Building: The Case of Kazakhstan". (XI International Scientific Conference "Global and Regional Problems of Modernity: Origins and Prospects East and West", Ekaterinburg, 19 April 2019).

2. "Globalisation and Identity: the Role of Politics in the Preparation of Modern Cultural Policy". (All-Russian scientific conference RAPN (with international participation) "Trajectories of Russia's political development: institutions, projects, actors". Moscow, Moscow State Pedagogical University, 6-7 December 2019).

3. "Kazakhstan's Experience in Nation-State Building: Theoretical Foundations and Political Practices". (II Eurasian Analytical Forum "Analytics of Sustainable Development and Security of Greater Eurasia. The Image of the Future: Threats, Challenges and Risks". Moscow, Eurasian Information and Analytical Consortium, November 12, 2021).

4. Internal and External Factors in the Formation of National Identity in Contemporary Kazakhstan" (All-Russian Scientific Conference with International Participation "Ethnic Politics in the Modern Global World," St. Petersburg State University, May 25-27, 2023).

5. The Influence of Cultural Policy in Kazakhstan on the Formation of National Identity" (VII International Nevsky Forum "The Role of Russia in Shaping a Multipolar World: Challenges, Opportunities, Perspectives, Managerial Solutions," St. Petersburg, June 21-23, 2023).

Three works reflecting the main findings and proposals of the applicant's dissertation research have been published in peer-reviewed journals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission of the Russian Federation.

1. Kok, S. The Phenomenon of Globalization and Cultural Policy // Issues of Political Science.

2020. Vol. 10. No. 1(53). pp. 106-115.

2. Baranov, N.A., Kok, S. The Challenging Path to a Civil Nation: Experience of Nation-Building in Contemporary Kazakhstan // *Problems of the Post-Soviet Space*. 2021. Vol. 8. No. 1. pp. 136-151.

3. Kok, S. Cultural Policy at the Urban Level in the Context of National Identity Formation (on the Example of Nur-Sultan) // *Eurasian Integration: Economics, Law, Politics*. 2022. Vol. 16. No. 2. pp. 107-117.

Structure and Scope of the Study. The research consists of an introduction, two chapters divided into 6 sections, a conclusion, and a bibliography.

The first chapter comprises three sections and is dedicated to the theoretical foundations, which include identity, Kazakhs, and the role of globalization in nation-building.

The second chapter is divided into three sections, focusing on cultural policy in the context of nation-building, as well as national policy during the Soviet era, taking into account its historical perspective and its reflection in Kazakhstan. The chapter specifies the measures of national policy in independent Kazakhstan, the general features of which are described in the first section. The most significant aspects of nation-building, such as language, demographics, citizenship, state symbols, control over minorities, and their influence on the formation of national-state identity, are analyzed.

The conclusion concludes the review of the evolution of national identity in Kazakhstan, highlighting the most significant theoretical points.

CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF KAZAKH IDENTITY

1.1 Genesis and specifics of the category of identity

Regardless of the researcher's specialization, the question of self-understanding, individuality, society, or, on a more abstract level, the world, remains at the center of their attention. The question "what is identity?" takes responsibility for such a problem.

Fifty years ago, "identity" did not occupy a central place in sociological thought and remained the object of philosophical thinking. According to Benedetto Vecchi, identity did not arise naturally but as a fiction imposed on the lives of contemporary people. The idea of identity emerged from a crisis of belonging and the efforts to bridge the gap between what should be and what exists, bringing reality to the standards established by this idea³⁸. It can be said that identity as a social and cultural reality began to be discussed more intensively when debates on globalization, the rise of social movements instead of social classes, and culture, cultural rights, and property took center stage in discussions on citizenship. Identity is constructed within a complex network of relationships between the individual, society, and elements of the macro-level. In the future, identity will be discussed through a literature review and conceptual analysis.

The term "identity" derives from the Latin root "idem," which means "the same." Identity is one of the most effective mechanisms of mobilization, prompting people to collective actions, so the relevance of this concept for political practice is hardly questionable. In the social sciences and humanities in the West, identity began to be studied from the second half of the 1950s to discuss the relationship between the individual and society³⁹. "Identity politics," which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s within the constructivist paradigm of analyzing socio-political changes (P. Bourdieu) amidst the rise of mass social movements for the rights of discriminated social groups, was initially used to mean "the practice of asserting the rights of marginalized minorities and groups that unite as bearers of a distinct identity (racial, ethnic, gender) to social recognition and legitimacy"⁴⁰. Thus, according to V.A. Achkasov, it should be noted that in Western countries, the concept of "identity politics" primarily characterizes the processes of consolidation of underprivileged or self-perceived oppressed groups, their

³⁸ Qtd. in: Bauman Z., *Identity: Conversations with Benedetto Vecchi*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2004. P. 25, 30.

³⁹ Gleason, P., "Identifying Identity", B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, H. Tiffin (Ed) into, *The post-colonial studies reader* (2nd Edition) Oxford: Routledge, 2006. P. 194.

⁴⁰ Achkasov V. A. *Politika identichnosti v sovremennom mire. // Vestnik SPbGU. 2013. Ser. 6. Vyp. 4. P. 72.*

self-determination in the national political community, and resistance to the homogenizing, unifying, and centralizing claims of the modern nation-state... Success or failure in the "production" of a common agenda and national identity for those in power and those being governed strengthens or undermines the existing order⁴¹.

Identity has been subject to various definitions in almost all disciplines, such as philosophy, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and political science. Identity, when considered in a political context, is used to denote the integration of the self with the whole (self-identification)⁴².

The fact that the problem of identity, often referred to as the ailment of the century, is becoming an increasingly central concept in political science, must be associated with its central role in all these debates surrounding fundamental issues such as identity politics, minority rights, war, migration, multiculturalism, state/citizen relations, globalization/localization relations, ethnic identity, and nationalism.

This term has become central in modern science thanks to the research of American social psychologist E. Erikson. It was he who first proposed a comprehensive theoretical justification of the concept of "identity," making it the core of his socio-psychological framework. According to E. Erikson, the interaction between individuals and the social environment plays a decisive role in the formation of identity. Identity is social in its origin, as it is formed through interaction with people and the internalization of the language developed through social communication⁴³.

The first to introduce a conceptual definition of identity was the English scholar John Locke. According to Locke, identity is a state of cognition, memory, and consciousness. While conceptual explanations of identity were considered within the framework of the term "self" since the time of John Locke, the concept of "identity" gained prominence in the 20th century. Firstly, identity is a concept specific to humans. Identity encompasses all the material and spiritual values that a person possesses⁴⁴.

Identity is a source of meaning and experience for individuals. As D. Kellner writes, "We do not know people without names, without languages or cultures in which some distinctions between themselves and others are not drawn, by them or by others." Self-awareness is always a construction, regardless of how closely it resembles discovery, it is never completely separable from statements about what others know about it in certain ways⁴⁵. Identity is the internalization of an individual's civilization. The more civilization is internalized, the more identity becomes pronounced. Thus, identity is less

⁴¹ Ibid. P. 72-73.

⁴² Sosnovskaya A. M., Potapova E.B. Transformatsiya identichnosti: makro- i mikrourovni issledovaniya // Upravlencheskoe konsul'tirovanie. 2021. N. 11. P. 126.

⁴³ Spitsyna T. V., Natsional'naya identichnost' v kontekste sotsiokul'turnogo krizisa v Rossii (konets XIX - nachalo XX veka), kandidatskaya Dissertatsiya, 2005. P. 17.

⁴⁴ Aydın S., Kimlik sorunu, Ulusallık ve Türk kimliği. – Ankara: «Öteki», 1999. P. 24.

⁴⁵ Castells M. The Power of Identity, 2nd ed. – Oxford, U.K.; Malden, Mass.: «Blackwell Publishing», 2004. P. 58.

pronounced in infants compared to adolescents. We do not constantly reflect on our identity; its awareness only occurs in contact with other people⁴⁶.

M. Castells interprets identity as "the process of constructing individual meaning based on a cultural trait or a related set of cultural traits that are given preference over other sources of individual meaning." The researcher distinguishes three types of identity. The first type is legitimizing identity, which is associated with the direct rationalization by social actors of their conformity to dominant social institutions. "Resistance identity" represents a mechanism for preserving selfhood in the presence of "others," dominating alternative identification imperatives. "Projecting identity" reflects the constructivist potential of social and political actors to the greatest extent and is the product of purposeful formation (construction). Undoubtedly, one of the key subjects of such construction in the modern world is the state, and the mechanism is its implemented historical policy⁴⁷.

The concept of identity plays an important role in constructivism, which stems from the defining influence of actors in the construction of identity, cultural values, and political institutions. Several directions can be distinguished in constructivist theory. For example, Maya Zehfus claims that there are three types of constructivism linked to the contribution of a number of personalities to the development of this theory: Nicholas Onuf's constructivism, Alexander Wendt's constructivism, and Friedrich Kratochwil's constructivism. While Onuf and Kratochwil's constructivism focuses on "rules" and "speech act theory," Wendt focuses on the sociological tradition formed around "identity"⁴⁸.

Alexander Wendt developed a general and evolutionary model of identity formation. The American political scientist believes that identity formation has two logics: natural selection and cultural selection. Wendt explains cultural selection through two mechanisms: mimicry and social learning. According to Wendt, identities and interests arise and are acquired when subjects recognize other subjects or situations as successful because these subjects mimic the "others" they consider successful. Thus, it can be said that identities and interests acquired through "mimicry" lead to the population remaining homogeneous. In real life, mimicry can play a more important role than natural selection since it can have a much faster impact on communities. While natural selection can change the defining characteristics of a community only over several generations, mimicry can accomplish this within the lifespan of a single generation because it is important for the success of an idea to be demonstrated. The common understanding accepted as successful is acquired through mimicry and contributes to the

⁴⁶ Frede de E. *Kultura, tsivilizatsiya i identichnost'* // *Politicheskie issledovaniya*. 2012. N. 5. P. 18.

⁴⁷ Bushuev V.V., Titov V.V. *Nacional'no-gosudarstvennaya identichnost' v sovremennom mire i rol' istoricheskoy politiki v ee formirovanii (teoretiko-metodologicheskii analiz)* // *Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta im. M.A. Sholokhova. Istoriya i politologiya*. 2011. N.4. P. 85.

⁴⁸ Zehfuss M. *Constructivism in International Relations: The Politics of Reality*, –Cambridge: «Cambridge University Press», 2002. P. 11.

mechanism of identity formation⁴⁹.

Identity politics encompasses key areas such as symbolic politics, education and cultural policies, language policies, and memory policies. In its advancement, particularly in deeply divided societies, social policy and policies in the field of interethnic relations (considered as the interaction between cultural communities in achieving civic concord) play a significant role. The concept of "identity," which answers the question "who you are," is a phenomenon that shapes and mutually constructs the interests and relationships of states and international actors in accordance with a constructivist approach. According to constructivists, who regard identity as the central starting point, there is a distinction between the organizational identity of states and social identity⁵⁰. State-led identity politics shape the "macro-political identity" of a country's population, ensure the integration of communities aligned with the state, encourage solidarity, and form specific notions of "us," which are based on consciously constructed interpretations of history and culture⁵¹. According to O.V. Popova, the state claims the role of a key actor in shaping identity politics, entrusting its implementation (under its control) to other political actors, political institutions, and civil society institutions. The successful implementation of state identity politics aimed at ensuring the stability and political system of the state and its regime is impossible without careful elaboration of a relatively consistent and nationally myth-based identification matrix, underlying the proposed vision of "us" and "them" by the political elite⁵². A serious identity crisis usually occurs when the disintegration of ideals and values that previously underpinned the dominant culture, under the influence of a deep social crisis, compels people to seek new spiritual orientations to understand their place in the changing society, their connections with the state, and the surrounding social environment⁵³.

In the socialist bloc society, communist ideology, which defined the political identity of individuals, and the political institutions that were effective in shaping this ideology, suddenly disappeared. This situation can be described as a sudden rupture in the process of socialization. In this case, it is important in which group an individual identifies oneself and what collective identity one acquires. At this stage, elites in society play an important role in shaping new identities. During periods of political and social transformation, elites seek to direct the formation of social identities according to

⁴⁹ Wendt A. Uluslararası siyasetin sosyal teorisi / (Translated into Turkish by) Ertem H. S., Gülfer S., Öner I. – İstanbul: «Küre Yayınları», 2012. P. 392-398.

⁵⁰ Semenenko I.S., Lapkin V.V., Bardin A.L., Pantin V.I. Mezhdunarodnyy gosudarstvennyy i natsionalnyy dilemmy politiki identichnosti na postsovetstvom prostranstve Poliss. Politicheskaya issledovaniya - Polis. Political research. 2017. N. 5. P. 61.

⁵¹ Popova O.V. O nereshennykh problemakh teorii gosudarstvennoy politiki identichnosti v rossiyskoy politologii // Politicheskaya nauka. 2020. N. 4. P. 93-94.

⁵² Popova O.V. Modeli i tekhnologii formirovaniya politiki identichnosti v 'novykh' gosudarstvakh // Sotsial'nye izmeneniya v global'nom mire: Shestaya mezhdunarodnaya nauchnaya konferentsiya: sbornik materialov. Shtip: Izdatel'stvo universiteta Gotse Delcheva, 2019. P. 768.

⁵³ Achkasov V.A. Politika identichnosti mul'tietnichnykh gosudarstv v kontekste resheniya problemy bezopasnosti. Monografiya. - SPb: Izd-vo 'Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta'. 2012. C. 20.

their interests. Therefore, elites, interests, and identities will be interrelated concepts. In particular, it can be argued that ruling elites steer social and political changes during these transitional stages, including social rights, relations with foreigners, property ownership, and legitimize them in an international context. From this perspective, it can be claimed that in post-Soviet states, elites have formed institutions that construct identity. These include changes in social life that shape identity, such as the replacement of communist institutions and ceremonies with church and religious rituals, the replacement of class as a social designation with the concept of nation, as well as consumption as a choice of lifestyle⁵⁴.

The result of identity politics is the assimilation by individuals of the attitudes, stereotypes, and value orientations that elites attempt to transmit. In this sense, political socialization is an extremely important process in which individuals "immerse" themselves in the discursive field of traditions, myths, and symbols that provide them with an understanding of the reference group and their position within it. Thus, the main directions of implementing identity politics can be considered as follows: 1) the formation of public discourse on the "nation" (transforming existing discourse) and its "fundamental" characteristics (national language, culture); 2) symbolic politics, which involves the reinterpretation of the past and the construction of new traditions or the reconstruction of old ones (forming a national image for oneself); 3) determining the status of ethnic groups and the territorial organization of the state as a reflection of this status; 4) external representation of the group - shaping the image of the nation-state in the world (the nation's image for others), understanding one's place and historical mission in the world⁵⁵.

One of the new definitions associated with the term "identity" is the concept of a "nation." According to E. de Fred, "a nation is the political expression of a society within its geographical boundaries⁵⁶." According to primordialism theory, nations give rise to nationalism, and modern nations are a continuation of associations that have existed for centuries. Nations can be traced back to ancient times. Although the historical process undergoes changes in time, space, and means, the essential characteristics that constitute a nation remain unchanged. Only the form that nations take changes, while the "national essence" remains constant. According to proponents of this view, even if nations experience periods of decline, the national essence remains unchanged, and if national consciousness is created, nations will once again assume their place on the stage of history. According to this perspective, a nation is a community of people who share a common culture, history, language, and territory. When we discuss national identity, we primarily refer to elements such as a shared language, religion, culture, history, and

⁵⁴ Lane D. Identity formation and political elites in the post-socialist states // *Europe – Asia Studies*. 2011. V 63, N 6. P. 925-926.

⁵⁵ Achkasov V.A. *Politika identichnosti multietnichnykh gosudarstv v kontekste resheniya problemy bezopasnosti*. Monografiya. - SPb: Izd-vo 'Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta'. 2012. P. 20.

⁵⁶ Frede de E. *Kultura, tsivilizatsiya i identichnost'*. - *Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya*. 2012. N. 5. P. 19.

geography. At the same time, it is important to understand that national identity is the result of relationships established with "others."

The beginning of national identity can be attributed to the formation of the nation-state order. The statement by Massimo d'Azeglio, founder of the Italian Union, "We have made Italy, now we must make Italians," is an important historical situation that explains how national identity is formed after and within the national structure. National identity differs from the commonly accepted type of identity. No matter how prevalent an element of identity may be, it is not considered an element of national identity unless it is nationalized by a unique national character or culture. National identity can be interpreted as self-identification with a complex of beliefs associated with the national-community state, with obligations and rights towards other members of that community and the state, allowing individuals to relate themselves to it⁵⁷.

Anthony D. Smith identified the key features of this structure as national identity, which include:

- General understanding of historical land or homeland;
- General myths and historical memory;
- General mass public culture;
- A system of obligatory rights and duties for all people;
- General economy⁵⁸.

History, culture, traditions, folklore, symbols, and a common language of the nation create bonds among people. National identity is a combination of qualities, beliefs, and ideas that citizens have towards their nation or state. It is associated with patriotism or loyalty and devotion to one's country. It comes to the forefront when there are grounds for pride in one's country. Awareness of threats to the nation/state can also serve as a catalyst for turning to national identity⁵⁹.

The emergence of modern national identity is often the result of wars. According to Hegel, war is presented as a dialectic necessary for the evolution of nations. Thus, individual identity is transformed into collective identity, and the individual creates a common point of convergence between the nation and the state. For example, the Hundred Years' War played a significant role in shaping British and French national identities, the Napoleonic Wars contributed to the formation of Russian national identity, and the Turkish War of Independence played a role in shaping Turkish national identity. These wars can also be seen as a kind of process of creating national identity. In other words, war plays a constitutive role in the formation and consolidation of national identities through relationships with others⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ Semenenko I.S. Dilemmy natsional'noy identichnosti: politicheskie riski i sotsial'nye priobreteniya // Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya. 2009. N. 6. P. 11.

⁵⁸ Smith A. D. National identity. – Reno: «University of Nevada Press», 1991. P.32

⁵⁹ Frede de E. Kultura, tsivilizatsiya i identichnost'. - Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya. 2012. N. 5. C. 19.

⁶⁰ Dağı Z. Rusya'nın dönüştürümü: kimlik, milliyetçilik ve dış politika. – İstanbul: «Boyut». 2002. P. 50.

National identity implies "the presence of a certain mental disposition, a sense of belonging to a large political entity, to the state in most cases, more often defined as a collective sentiment⁶¹, based on a belief in belonging to the same nation and agreement on the majority of attributes that distinguish it from other nations." Research and analysis on identity construction have shown that political actors play an active role in constructing collective identity. These studies have demonstrated that collective identity does not have a fixed content; it is socially reconstructed by both in-group and out-group actors. Elites from both in-group and out-group engage in constructing collective identity, and ultimately, collective identity can be formed through the adoption of this identity by in-group members. In other words, identity constructed by political elites can become a collective identity when it is internalized by the target group. According to V.A. Achkasova, political elites play a special role in shaping national identity because they have access to the most influential forms of public discourse, including mass media, politics, science, education, and state bureaucracy. This means they have "access to the consciousness" of the masses⁶². National identity is no less important for a state than protected borders, constitution, military, and other institutions. According to V.A. Tishkov, the process of reproducing and preserving national identity in the ideological sphere, and in politics, defending the national interests of a country and its people largely constitute what is commonly referred to as nationalism in the broad sense of the word⁶³. The process of reproducing and preserving national identity in the ideological sphere, and in politics, defending the national interests of a country and its people, largely constitute what is often called identity politics. However, since different answers can be given to the question "Who are we as a nation?", the construction of a nation's image – national identity – often becomes a subject of intense political struggle⁶⁴.

The national identity maintained and attempted to be preserved by modern nation-states does not encompass all the cultural resources of the society to which it belongs. The term "nation" is used to refer to people of the same race, as well as citizens of the same state belonging to different races. In this regard, national identity is seen to act as a barrier, protecting countries that contain diverse ethnic elements from disintegration and destruction. However, on the other hand, national identity is complicated by immigration and the growing ethnic and cultural diversity within nations. Members of different groups living in a country may maintain strong attachments to their countries of origin. Immigration is accompanied by an increase in bilingualism, dual citizenship, and religious pluralism. Samuel

⁶¹ Achkasov V.A. *Politika identichnosti mul'tietnichnykh gosudarstv v kontekste resheniya problemy bezopasnosti. Monografiya.* – SPb: Izd-vo 'Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta'. 2012. P. 73.

⁶² Achkasov V.A. *Natsional'naya identichnost' kak istoricheskiy narrativ // Upravlencheskoe konsul'tirovanie.* 2018. N. 10. P. 19, 21.

⁶³ Tishkov V. A. *Rossiyskiy narod: kniga dlya uchitelya.* – M.: Prosveshcheniya, 2010. P. 45.

⁶⁴ Achkasov V. A. *Politika identichnosti v sovremennom mire. // Vestnik SPbGU.* 2013. Ser. 6. Vyp. 4. P. 75.

Huntington (2004) controversially argues that American national identity is undermined because immigrants, particularly from Mexico, create communities within the country whose values diverge from the American creed. He claims that these communities will form a separate cultural bloc with their own language, educational system, and business practices, which will divide the United States and pose a threat to the established democratic system of governance⁶⁵.

In Soviet and Russian socio-political and scientific discourse, national identity is attributed to ethnic identity, which relates a person to a specific ethnonation and the collective image of ethnic community and its culture. In the global context, this term represents one type of group identity based on belonging to a nation. The latter is understood as a state-territorial, politico-legal community based on a complex of political, historical-cultural, and moral-legal characteristics⁶⁶. The creation of national identities in Central Asia was initially carried out by the Soviet elites, who believed that dividing the Central Asian region along national lines would facilitate the management of the region and accelerate the process of modernization. Stalin, who was responsible for the national question in the Soviet Union, believed that a modern nation could consist of four mandatory elements: territorial unity, linguistic unity, cultural unity, and economic unity⁶⁷. During the Soviet period, people developed an all-encompassing Soviet identity, which can be characterized as a strong sense of belonging to the great multiethnic communist "world superpower." Soviet identity served as a powerful mechanism that fostered a unified mindset among all people in the Union, uniting individuals of all nationalities and religions. This kind of thinking led people to perceive themselves primarily as Soviet citizens and "hindered the consolidation of ethnic and national identity.

The changes on the political map that have occurred within a short period of historical time after the collapse of the Soviet system are unparalleled in world history and present the newly established countries and their citizens with the challenge of self-determination. The countries of Central Asia find themselves in a situation of serious identity crisis. The rise of ethnonational and ethnoconfessional conflicts within "national states" creates a divide between the "national" and "state" elements in the system of citizens' value orientations. Thus, the issue of national identity takes on both macro-social and personal dimensions⁶⁸. The five Central Asian states inherited the legacy of the Soviet past, including secularization, Russification, and artificial borders. Internal migrants rarely mixed with the local population: few intermarried or attempted to learn local languages. Their activities were based on the social practices of the former USSR, rather than on the traditions of the republic in which they lived. As

⁶⁵ Huntington S. *Who Are We? The Challenge to America's National Identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004.

⁶⁶ Tishkov V. A. *Rossiyskiy narod: kniga dlya uchitelya*. – M.: Prosveshcheniya, 2010. P. 42-43.

⁶⁷ Federenko V. *Central Asia: from ethnic to civic nationalism* // Pethink Paper. 2012. V 3. P. 8.

⁶⁸ Semenenko I.S. *Dilemmy natsional'noy identichnosti: politicheskie riski i sotsial'nye priobreteniya* // Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya. 2009. N. 6. P. 12.

T. Kuzio writes, "in Kazakhstan, the ethnic bifurcation of the titular nation hindered national consolidation"⁶⁹.

The state (or "authority," "elites," etc.) is more precisely the governmental apparatus that governs a nation. Max Weber provided a classical definition of the state:

"However, today we must say that the state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. Note that 'territory' is one of the characteristics of the state. In particular, at present, the right to use physical force is ascribed to other institutions or private individuals only to the extent that the state allows it"⁷⁰.

As can be understood from the above definitions, although a nation characterizes a group of people with common cultural attributes, and a state characterizes the organized power of any community, these two entities are closely interconnected. Historically, these two entities, in the sense we use them today, emerged simultaneously and contributed to the formation of each other, mutually influencing one another.

The phenomenon of the nation-state emerged within the framework of the modernity project, which developed alongside the enlightenment in human history. According to Giorgio Agamben, the nation-state is *"a state that considers its birth as the foundation of its sovereignty"⁷¹.* The political organization of the nation-state views the state as a territorial subject with unlimited, indivisible, and maximum authority within its borders⁷². National states must attribute identity to the borders on which they are situated.

National-state identity can be characterized as a crystallized integrated image of "us" or "our own" in the collective consciousness. It encompasses value-psychological, temporal, and symbolic dimensions and represents a complex political-psychological and socio-cultural construct. The dynamics of this construct are influenced by both the transformation of the political system of a modern country and a broader spectrum of factors related to national history and culture⁷³. Thus, it can be stated that historical policies aimed at shaping national-state identity constitute a purposeful process of combined influence on the fundamental (meaningful, emotional, symbolic) components of society's identification patterns⁷⁴.

⁶⁹ Kuzio T. Theoretical and comparative perspectives on nationalism, *New Directions in cross-cultural and Post-Communist Studies*. – Stuttgart: «Ibidem Press», 2014. P. 360.

⁷⁰ Weber M. *Politics as a Vocation*, in Gerth and Mills. (From) Weber M. New York, 1946. P. 48.

⁷¹ Bauman Z. *Identity. Conversations with Benedetto Vecchi*. Cambridge: «Polity Press», 2004. P. 29.

⁷² Alakel M. İlk Dönem Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si Ulus İnşası Sürecinde Milliyetçilik ve Sivil-Etnik İkilemine Dair Teorik Tartışmalar // *Akademik Bakış*. 2011. V 5, N 9. P. 5.

⁷³ Titov V.V. Rossiyskaya natsional'no-gosudarstvennaya identichnost': sotsiokul'turnye imperativy transformatsii // *Vestnik Finansovogo universiteta. Gumanitarnye nauki*. 2019. N.9 (3). P. 14.

⁷⁴ Bushuev V.V., Titov V.V. Natsionalno-gosudarstvennaya identichnost' v sovremennom mire i rol' istoricheskoy politiki v ee formirovani (teoretiko-metodologicheskii analiz) // *Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta im. M.A. Sholokhova. Istoriya i politologiya*. 2011. N.4. P. 91.

The structure of the nation-state identity, however, is a heterogeneous space within which different dimensions and levels of identity are combined⁷⁵. National-state identity is understood as the image of the state, with which the basic strata of the population and large social groups identify themselves. Its formation process is determined by the dynamic interaction of the triad "images - values - symbols"⁷⁶.

Directly under the national-state identity we understand "the relationship of man with the national community (ethnically homogeneous and not homogeneous), the representation of which is the image of "we" as an imagined community, supported by the institution of the state and the political and cultural tradition of statehood"⁷⁷. At the core of the nation-state identity are:

- *Unconscious components of the socio-political cultural matrix (stereotypes, unconscious identification elements of a person's group affiliation).*
- *Cultural-symbolic components (images, values, symbols).*
- *Constructed components (the state as the main element of the political system capable of influencing citizens' political identification through information policy)⁷⁸.*

An individual aspect that deserves attention in this regard is the genetic interconnection of national-state identity, not only with the institution of the state in all its diversity of manifestations but also with the politico-cultural tradition of statehood, which exerts a significant influence on the historical and value-symbolic content of mass consciousness (and consequently, on the dominant macro-political self-identification orientations in society)⁷⁹.

Based on the "dual" understanding of the nature of socio-political identification in the modern world, national-state identity can be defined as the "outcome of construction" of socio-political meanings and their interiorization into collective consciousness. It is important to note that the process of construction (the formation of projecting identity) is oriented not towards a singular cultural attribute but towards the multiplicity of social foundations and schemes (sociocultural patterns), including those of a historical nature. In this understanding, the national-state identity of contemporary societies is a

⁷⁵ Evgen'eva T.V., Khametov E.Sh. Formirovanie natsional'no-gosudarstvennoy identichnosti cherez sport vysokikh dostizheniy (na materialakh issledovaniya v respublike severnaya osetiya - alaniya) // Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo oblastnogo universiteta. 2020. N.1. P. 42.

⁷⁶ Regnatskiy V.V. Nacional'no-gosudarstvennaya identichnost' v Rossii: teoreticheskaya model' izucheniya // Srednerusskiy vestnik obshchestvennykh nauk. 2015. N. 1 (37). P. 40.

⁷⁷ Evgen'eva T.V., Khametov E.Sh. Formirovanie natsional'no-gosudarstvennoy identichnosti cherez sport vysokikh dostizheniy (na materialakh issledovaniya v respublike severnaya osetiya - alaniya) // Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo oblastnogo universiteta. 2020. N.1. P. 40.

⁷⁸ Evgen'eva T. V., Titov V. V. Formirovanie nacional'no-gosudarstvennoy identichnosti rossiyskoy molodezhi // Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya. 2010. N. 4. P. 123.

⁷⁹ Titov V.V. Rossiyskaya nacional'no-gosudarstvennaya identichnost': sotsiokul'turnye imperativy transformatsii // Vestnik Finansovogo universiteta. Gumanitarnye nauki. 2019. N.9 (3). P. 14.

product of "identity politics," within which a historical component can be identified⁸⁰. The experience of Finland, one of the most successful social states in Europe on the threshold of the 21st century, in shaping its national identity after 1917, and particularly in the post-war period, has been the driving force behind its economic success in recent decades, when the interests of national development were realized and integrated into the civilizational sphere of Northern Europe⁸¹.

Civil identity is one form of identity in politics and is subject to general patterns of formation in individual, group, and collective (mass) political consciousness. The dominant understanding of the interrelationship between the formation of different forms of political identity and social forms of identity, including politicized ones, is based on the theory of political socialization and resocialization. According to this concept, the formation of identity is based on the establishment of a sense of identity in individuals with certain objects that are marked in their consciousness as political or related to the sphere of politics. At the same time, belonging to a specific group with features associated with ideological values and political behavior is established (forming the image of "we"⁸²). The main mechanism for the formation of all variants of political identity is political self-identification, the process of relating oneself to a particular group (supporters of a specific organization, movement, party, political ideology, or political figure, adherents of a particular ideological trend), which involves a definite awareness of one's relationship to the state of residence as either "ours" or, conversely, not accepted in that capacity⁸³.

Civic identity encompasses cognitive and emotional components, as well as regulatory aspects stimulated by political, social, and personal interests. The integral indicator of civic identity is the image of the homeland, which encapsulates and synthesizes everything related to the life of civil society. According to Baranov, the democratic vector of development, which has become a priority for the majority of modern states, entails the formation of individuals with an active civic position, which significantly influences the politics of identity. Civic identity manifests in citizens' adherence to the principles and norms of the rule of law and democratic political representation, awareness of their civic rights and responsibilities, individual freedom, and recognition of the primacy of public interests over

⁸⁰ Bushuev V.V., Titov V.V. Natsionalno-gosudarstvennaya identichnost' v sovremennom mire i rol' istoricheskoy politiki v ee formirovani (teoretiko-metodologicheskii analiz) // Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta im. M.A. Sholokhova. Istoriya i politologiya. 2011. N.4. P. 85.

⁸¹ Semenenko I.S. Dilemmy natsional'noy identichnosti: politicheskie riski i sotsial'nye priobreteniya // Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya. 2009. N. 6. P. 17.

⁸² Drobizheva L.M., Ryzhova S.V. Grazhdanskaya i etnicheskaya identichnost' i obraz zhelaemogo gosudarstva v Rossii // Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya. 2015. N.5. S. 9-24. P. 9.

⁸³ Popova O.V. Mekhanizmy formirovaniya grazhdanskoy identichnosti: traditsionnye modeli i nalagaemye internet-identichnost'yu ogranicheniya u 'transmigrantov' i 'tsifrovyykh kochevnikov' // Grazhdanskaya identichnost' rossiyan: Sovremennyy politicheskii kontsept : kollektivnaya monografiya / pod nauch. red. O.A. Koryakovtsevov. – Yaroslavl : RIO YAGPU, 2022. P. 66.

narrow group interests⁸⁴. The integral indicator of civic identity is the image of the Motherland, which concentrates and generalizes everything that is connected with the life of the civic community⁸⁵. According to Baranov, the democratic vector of development, which has become a priority for most modern states, presupposes the formation of a person with an active civic position, which cardinally affects identity politics. Civic identity is manifested in citizens' adherence to the principles and norms of the rule of law and democratic political representation, awareness of their civil rights and duties, responsibility, individual freedom, recognition of the priority of public interests over narrow group interests⁸⁶.

State-civic identity is rarely considered in relation to group identities such as social or generational identities, and much more often compared to regional and ethnic identities, as it is implicitly assumed that the latter are capable of "resisting" and fueling territorial separatism. Therefore, special attention is paid to the correlation between state-civic identity and the latter⁸⁷.

Civic identity refers to a type of social identity based on identification with a specific society, state, or country. It serves as the foundation for the development of mass social practices that constitute and reproduce a given society as an independent and distinct sociocultural system⁸⁸.

Civic identity represents the sense of self-definition of individuals within a broader community, including their attachment to this community and their perception of their role in political and civic life. Traditional notions of civil identity assume an association with geographic areas such as a district, city, state, or nation. Civic identity also encompasses connection to a community defined by proximity, such as school students, members of a political organization, or participants in a social club. Other forms of community attachment are based on race, ethnic belonging, regional identity, religious affiliation, party membership, ideology, class, socioeconomic status, and other deeply rooted characteristics. Additionally, civil identity involves duties and rights associated with community membership. Duties contribute to the well-being of society and include voting, participation in public organizations, jury membership, and military service. Rights are the entitlements and privileges associated with belonging to a community,

⁸⁴ Baranov N.A., Kok S. Trudnyy put' k grazhdanskoy natsii: opyt natsiyestroitel'stva sovremennogo Kazakhstana // Problemy postsovetского prostranstva. 2021. T.8. P. 139.

⁸⁵ Monastyrskiy D. V. Grazhdanskaya identichnost': teoreticheskiye podkhody k issledovaniyu i formiruyushchiye yeye factory // Gumanitarniy Yuga Rossii. 2017. V. 23. N. 1. P. 185.

⁸⁶ Baranov N.A. Obshecherossiyskaya grazhdanskaya identichnost' v politiko-kul'turnom kontekste // Pitirim Sorokin i paradigmy global'nogo razvitiya XXI veka (k 130-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya): Mezhdunarodnaya nauchnaya konferentsiya, Syktyvkar, 10–12 oktyabrya 2019 sbornik nauchnykh trudov / gl. red. O.A. Sotnikova. Syktyvkar: Izd-vo SGU im. Pitirima Sorokina, 2019. P. 89.

⁸⁷ Drobizheva L. M., Ryzhova S. V., Rossiyskaya identichnost' i mezhetnicheskaya tolerantnost', Elektronnyy resurs, URL: <https://www.civisbook.ru/publ.html?id=805> (Date of access: 31.12.2021)

⁸⁸ Shakhbanova M.M., Lysenko Yu.M., Mamarayev M.R. Gosudarstvenno-grazhdanskaya identichnost' v massovom soznanii Dagestanskikh Russkikh. P. 8.

such as freedom of speech, the right to a fair trial, and the opportunity to have a driver's license⁸⁹. Categories of moral, legal, and political consciousness are particularly significant for the formation and development of civil consciousness. Social consciousness depends on the spiritual maturity and ability of individuals to assess and manage the accumulated spiritual wealth for their own benefit and that of society⁹⁰.

The question of how to stimulate and sustain a positive civil identity becomes a key resource for the development of the national-state community in these circumstances⁹¹. Civic identity denotes an individual's respect for common humanity. People with a strong civic identity tend to work together to achieve common goals. They actively participate in public initiatives and often possess a high level of interpersonal trust and tolerance for those whose opinions differ from their own. Civic identity can foster mutual reciprocity and respect for the common good, which are essential for the civic health and stability of nations and communities⁹².

The formation of civil identity requires people to have knowledge about their community and how it operates, engage in community affairs, and embrace the foundational principles of the community. Civic identity can evolve over time as people's experiences broaden and their social status changes. College students disengaged from politics may become involved adults as they become rooted in society, start families, and pursue stable employment. People develop their civil identity not in isolation but through interaction with others who have different personal characteristics, life experiences, and views on society. Individuals whose civil identity is rooted in environmental protection may come together and work collectively to combat global warming⁹³.

Civil nation is defined as "... the moral and political commitment to one's national community, shared civil identity, and the sharing of a common cultural heritage with other members of that national community⁹⁴." Special attention is given to the constitutional status of the political community regarding state power, the formation of a common cultural space with symbols and narratives that go beyond individual ethnic cultures. This concept is considered important because the absence of the development of a civil nation hinders "the development of democracy: without national identity, civic activity, and a sense of belonging for ordinary citizens and the elite in achieving national consensus and prosperity, democratic institutions cease to function, and the values of freedom and equality lose their social

⁸⁹ Owen D. Civic Identity. URL: https://reference.jrank.org/governance/Civic_Identity.html (Date of access: 02.2023).

⁹⁰ Koryakovtseva O.A. Fenomenologiya stanovleniya grazhdanskoy identichnosti na sovremennom etape razvitiya rossiyskogo obshchestva // Grazhdanskaya identichnost' rossiyan: Sovremennyy politicheskiy kontsept: kollektivnaya monografiya / pod nauch. red. O.A. Koryakovtsevov. Yaroslavl: RIO YAGPU, 2022.P. 48.

⁹¹ Semenenko I.S. Dilemmy natsionalnoy identichnosti: politicheskie riski i sotsialnye priobreteniya // Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya. 2009. N. 6. P. 17.

⁹² Owen D. Civic Identity. URL: https://reference.jrank.org/governance/Civic_Identity.html (Date of access 15.02.2023).

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Pain E., Fedyunin S. Natsiya i demokratiya: perspektivy upravleniya kulturnym raznoobraziem. – M.: 'Mysl', 2017. P. 49.

foundation⁹⁵".

The formation and development of civil identity should be harmonized with personal identity and support it in balance. It is precisely the search for the most optimal combination, effective integration of the individual and the collective, that needs to direct the processes of modernization in the socio-political sphere, in the family, and especially in education, where the formation of civic identity takes place, starting from enrollment in early childhood institutions. Valli spoke about the inclusion of a person in the system of socio-political relations in accordance with an existential-phenomenological model: human existence reveals "universality, inseparable unity, or interdependence of the individual and his world... In the true sense, personality is regarded as not existing outside the world, and the world is not considered to exist outside the individual⁹⁶".

In summary, civic identity is based on identification with society, the state, and the country. Civic identity serves as an indicator of societal consolidation, solidarity among social forces, and a necessary condition for the integrity of the state, bringing together the population and serving as a cohesive foundation for social integration. The construction of civil identity is crucial for maintaining the unity of a country, ensuring it does not fragment into "ethnic enclaves," but instead, by rallying together and preserving its cultural wealth - ethnic diversity, it can secure a rightful place in a changing world⁹⁷.

In Kazakhstan, civil identity develops in the context of a multiethnic state. Civil identity in Kazakhstan means that citizens of Kazakhstan primarily identify themselves as citizens of their country rather than as followers of any specific nationality. However, this process unfolds heterogeneously and at different levels. For example, in the central regions of the country, where the Kazakh population predominates, civil identity may be more developed than in regions where minority groups reside. Overall, civic identity in Kazakhstan combines respect for the cultural and national traditions of different peoples living within the country's territory.

Macro-identity or macro-political identity⁹⁸ refers to a system of political, cultural, psychological,

⁹⁵ Baranov N.A. Obshcherossiyskaya grazhdanskaya identichnost' v kontekste sovremennykh geopoliticheskikh problem // Grazhdanskaya identichnost' rossiyan: Sovremennyy politicheskij kontsept: kollektivnaya monografiya / pod nauch. red. O.A. Koryakovtsevoy. Yaroslavl: RIO YAGPU, 2022. P. 17.

⁹⁶ Qtd. in: Koryakovtseva O.V. Fenomenologiya stanovleniya grazhdanskoy identichnosti na sovremennom etape razvitiya rossiyskogo obshchestva // Grazhdanskaya identichnost' rossiyan: Sovremennyy politicheskij kontsept: kollektivnaya monografiya / pod nauch. red. O.A. Koryakovtsevoy. Yaroslavl: RIO YAGPU, 2022. P. 57.

⁹⁷ Monastyrskiy D. V. Grazhdanskaya identichnost: teoreticheskie podkhody k issledovaniyu i formiruyushchie ye faktory // Gumanitariy Yuga Rossii. 2017. Tom 23. No. 1. P. 185-186.

⁹⁸ "Political identity is a set of ideological and political orientations and preferences that the subjects of the political process endow themselves and each other with in the process of communication, and involves the identification of the bearer of political identity with a particular political community". (Politicheskaya identichnost' i politika identichnosti. – M.: ROSSPEN. 2012 – T. 1: Slovar' terminov i ponyatiy / [Otv. red. I.S. Semenenko]. P. 71). According to O.V. Popova, "political identity is also used to study party self-identification and electoral behavior and describes the social and ideological basis for the choices made by individuals in the political process". (Popova O.V. Osobennosti politicheskoy prinadlezhnosti v stranakh Rossii i Yevropy // Polis. – M., 2009. – N. 1. – P. 143–157. Popova O.V. Razvitiye teorii politicheskoy identichnosti v zarubezhnoy i otechestvennoy politicheskoy nauke // chdomestip yeskogo analiza: Sb. statey Otv. red. I.S. Semenenko,

and institutional characteristics that reflect the relationship between political and socio-cultural elements⁹⁹, indicating identification with a broader community¹⁰⁰. Constructing macro-political identity is an important component of contemporary state politics. This term encompasses all grounds for identification within the considered community present in public discourse, enabling the analysis of emerging semantic conflicts among them¹⁰¹.

The concept of macro-political identity indicates identification with a broader community that entails solidarity beyond boundaries associated with political and ideological preferences. It is linked either to national belonging or to a supranational community (e.g., European identity)¹⁰². The close relationship between macro-identity and the national idea is evident, as they share similarities in structure, functions, and purpose. The specificity of the national idea is determined by the nature of macro-identity, as the national idea, in a broader sense, is the result of realizing not only national but also civilizational identity. At the same time, the universality of the national idea is determined, among other things, by the fact that it serves as a mechanism for seeking and acquiring macro-identity through self-reflection and self-assertion of the nation in the global space. Today, this is particularly important as the defense of state interests on the international stage from the standpoint of civilizational self-identification becomes a characteristic feature of the contemporary political process¹⁰³.

Policies aimed at shaping macro-political identity are extremely important for maintaining the viability of modern states. Such policies are intended, on the one hand, to ensure integration and solidarity among citizens beyond social, ethnic, religious, linguistic, political-ideological, and other boundaries and, on the other hand, are associated with addressing the problem of differences through various decisions¹⁰⁴.

The identity politics pursued by any state shapes the "macropolitical identity" of the country's population, ensures the integration of communities aligned with the state, promotes solidarity, and forms

L.A. Fadeyeva. – M.: IMEMO RAN, 2011. – P. 13–29). In this logic, my proposed notion of macropolitical identity indicates identification with the broader community, which implies solidarity across boundaries related to political and ideological preferences. (*Politicheskaya identichnost' i politika identichnosti*. – M.: ROSSPEN. 2012. – T. 1: Slovar' terminov i ponyatij [Otv. red. I.S. Semenenko]. P. 76). See. Malinova O.YU. *Konstruirovaniye mysli: Issledovaniye simvolicheskoy politiki v sovremennoy Rossii: Monografiya*. M.: INION RAN, 2013. P. 208.

⁹⁹ Malinova O. Yu. *Konstruirovaniye makropoliticheskoy identichnosti v postsovetskoj Rossii // Politicheskaya ekspertiza. POLITEKS*. 2010. No 1. P. 6

¹⁰⁰ Korovnikova N.A. *Ideya, ideologiya, identichnost: k opredeleniyu problemnykh polej // Rossiya: tendentsii i perspektivy razvitiya. Ezhegodnik*.2017. Ch. 3. P. 627.

¹⁰¹ Malinova O. Yu. *Konstruirovaniye makropoliticheskoy identichnosti v postsovetskoj Rossii: simvolicheskaya politika v transformiruyushchey publichnoy sfere // Politicheskaya ekspertiza: POLITEKS*. 2010. T. 6. No1. P. 6.

¹⁰² Baranov N.A., Kok S. *Trudnyy put' k grazhdanskoj natsii: opyt natsestroitel'stva sovremennogo Kazakhstana // Problemy postsovetskogo prostranstva*.2021. T.8. No.1. P. 139.

¹⁰³ Korovnikova N.A. *Ideya, ideologiya, identichnost': k opredeleniyu problemnykh polej // Rossiya: tendentsii i perspektivy razvitiya. Ezhegodnik*.2017. Ч. 3. P. 628.

¹⁰⁴ Malinova O. Yu. *Simvolicheskaya politika i konstruirovaniye makropoliticheskoy identichnosti v postsovetskoj Rossii // Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya*.2010. No 2. P. 91.

specific notions of "us" based on consciously constructed interpretations of history and culture¹⁰⁵. Perhaps an even more significant aspect of symbolic politics aimed at constructing macropolitical identity is the struggle to establish certain ideas, images, narratives, and symbols that constitute the "collective self-portrait" of the community and indicate the foundational values of its solidarity. S. Kaspe noted that *"a political nation can only arise by carving out its central value system from the entire set of values that are historically and situationally available for mobilization in nation-building purposes"*¹⁰⁶. Macropolitical identity is important for analyzing nation-building processes in post-Soviet states and implementing identity policies for the integration of people living in multiethnic communities¹⁰⁷. On the one hand, such policies aim to ensure integration and solidarity among citizens beyond social, ethnic, religious, linguistic, political-ideological, and other boundaries. On the other hand, they are associated with addressing differences (i.e., finding adequate ways to "recognize" them) or attempts to ignore or *"smooth out"* those differences¹⁰⁸.

It is absolutely true that all types of identity have their significance and interact with each other in the process of shaping societal consciousness and culture. Based on all the types of identity described above, emphasis can be placed on national-state identity as the most important for Kazakhstan in the context of its multiethnic and multicultural nature. However, in order to understand why national-state identity is particularly important for Kazakhstan, it is necessary to briefly analyze it in comparison with other types of identity.

National identity is associated with national culture and shared historical traditions, while ethnic identity is linked to belonging to a specific ethnic group. Civic identity is related to belonging to a state and its values. The concept of macropolitical identity points to identification with a broader community that involves solidarity beyond boundaries related to political and ideological preferences¹⁰⁹. In turn, national-state identity is a synthesis of national and civic identities and represents the awareness of oneself as a member of a particular nation in the context of a specific state.

In Kazakhstan, national-state identity holds particular significance as statehood was achieved through the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the construction of an independent state based on Kazakh national culture. It unites Kazakhstani citizens around common values such as the state language and the

¹⁰⁵ Popova O.V. O neresh nnykh problemakh teorii gosudarstvennoy politiki identichnosti v Rossiyskoy politologii // Politicheskaya nauka.2020. No 4. P. 93.

¹⁰⁶ Malinova O. Yu. Simvolicheskaya politika i konstruirovaniye makropoliticheskoy identichnosti v postsovetsoy Rossii // Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya. 2010. No 2. P. 99.

¹⁰⁷ Baranov N.A., Kok S. Trudnyy put' k grazhdanskoy natsii: opyt natsestroitel'stva sovremennogo Kazakhstana // Problemy postsovetsoy prostranstva. 2021. T.8. No1. P. 139.

¹⁰⁸ Malinova O.Yu. Konstruirovaniye smyslov: Issledovaniye simvolicheskoy politiki v sovremennoy Rossii: Monografiya / RAN.INION. Tsentr Sotsial'nykh nauch.-informat.issled. Otd.polit.nauki.. –M., 2013. P. 209.

¹⁰⁹ Malinova O.Yu. Simvolicheskaya politika i konstruirovaniye makropoliticheskoy identichnosti v postsovetsoy Rossii // Polis: Politicheskie issledovaniya.. 2010. No.2. P. 90.

language of interethnic communication, national emblem, flag, as well as historical and cultural traditions. National-state identity helps create unity and harmony among the various ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan, fostering the development of a multicultural society and contributing to the well-being of its citizens. It is important to preserve and respect the diversity of cultures and traditions inherent to the different ethnic groups in Kazakhstan. This will strengthen interethnic concord and create conditions for the development of Kazakhstani society based on the principles of multi-ethnicity, multiculturalism, and multipartyism.

1.2. The impact of globalisation processes on national identity

According to Z. Bauman, the deepest meaning of the idea of globalization is the undefined, uncontrollable, and autonomous nature of everything that happens in the world, the absence of a center, a control panel, a board of directors, or a head office. Globalization is simply another name for the "new world disorder"¹¹⁰.

There was significant progress in the development of relations between different regions of the world in the period following the "Cold War," which was driven by the process of globalization. The term "globalization" has gained widespread use in contemporary society and has had an impact on various aspects of everyday life. The concept of globalization first became a subject of discussion in the economic context in the 1960s. Marshall McLuhan's book, "Understanding Media" (1964), expressed the idea of the "Global Village," drawing attention to the rapid development of communication technologies. This work is considered and discussed in the field of sociology as the pioneering research in this area. Subsequently, Roland Robertson's article, "The Relativization of Societies: Modern Religion and Globalization" (1985), continued to analyze this theme.

The term "globalization" began to be widely used in the mid-1980s, replacing the terms "internationalization" and "transnationalization." It encompasses a broad range of changes in various aspects of social, economic, and political life, including finance, corporate organization, the environment, and, most importantly for this phenomenon, communication and culture¹¹¹. The term "globalization" has become so prevalent that almost no serious socio-political research can be conducted without it. Different words are used to denote this phenomenon in different countries. In English-speaking countries,

¹¹⁰ Bauman Z. Globalizatsiya. Posledstviya dlya cheloveka i obshchestva / Per. s angl. – M.: Izdatel'stvo "Ves' Mir"., 2004. P. 35.

¹¹¹ Armstrong S. Magazines, Cultural Policy and Globalization: The Forced Retreat of the State? // Canadian Public Policy / Analyse De Politiques. 2000. V. 26, N 3. P. 370-371.

it is referred to as globalization or globalism, while in France, it is called mondialisation. The most general meaning encapsulated in the term globalization is the aspiration to spread across the entire planet based on some principle¹¹².

Robertson argues that globalization, often considered unique to the present time, is actually a process that began before modernity and capitalism and is as old as the emergence of world religions such as Christianity and Islam. He describes this process in five phases: the phase of inception (Europe, 1400-1750), the early phase (Europe, 1750-1875), the phase of progress (1875-1925), the phase of struggle for hegemony (1925-1969), and the phase of uncertainty (1969-1992). The 1990s are characterized as a period of uncertainty because people have little knowledge of where they are heading¹¹³.

The main discussions on globalization today revolve around the following questions: the relationship between globalization and integration, the role of the nation-state, the existence of global culture, the impact of globalization on identity, the place of cultural authenticity and cultural policies, and so on¹¹⁴. Contradictory opinions are still prevalent. For example, Hirst and Thompson argue that globalization does not exist. Many thinkers, from Giddens to Friedman, from Robertson to Cox, oppose the idea that globalization will unite all societies into one economic, political, and cultural unit (global integration)¹¹⁵. On the other hand, thinkers like John Meyer and Daniel Bell insist that globalization leads to integration. Samuel Huntington asserts that globalization leads to intercultural diversity, polarization, and even conflicts¹¹⁶.

Globalization represents a significant challenge to national and cultural identity. Dialogue and cultural continuity are identified as the primary means to overcome this challenge. In the context where globalization strengthens the common material-technical foundation of a multicultural space while simultaneously not eliminating but rather expanding the possibilities for ethnic and local consolidation, questions arise regarding the meanings and interests of mobilization within these unifying fields. The question of the impact of globalization processes on national identity acquires a fundamentally important character, determining our stance towards these contradictory tendencies¹¹⁷. A poster displayed on the streets of Berlin in 1994 read: "Your Jesus is Jewish; your car is Japanese; your pizza is Italian; your

¹¹² Sud'ba gosudarstva v epokhu globalizatsii / Red. V.N. Shevchenko. – M.: In-t filosofii RAN. 2005. P. 5.

¹¹³ Robertson R. Globalization: social theory and global culture. – London: «Sage», 1992. P. 15-20.

¹¹⁴ Bonet L., Négrier E. Ulusal Kültürlerin Sonu mu? Çeşitlilik Sınavlarında Kültür Politikaları / Translated from Eng. by Ergüden I. – Istanbul: «Bilgi University Publ.» 2011. P. 53.

¹¹⁵ Guillén M.F. Is globalization civilizing, destructive or feeble? A cri-tique of five key debates in the social science literature // Annual Review of Sociology. 2001. V 27. P. 244.

¹¹⁶ Akdemir A. Küreselleşme ve Kültürel Kimlik Sorunu // Atatürk University Journal of Institute of Social Sciences. 2010. V 3, N 1. P. 47.

¹¹⁷ Drobizheva L. M., Ryzhova S. V. Grazhdanskaya i etnicheskaya identichnost' i obraz zhelaemogo gosudarstva v Rossii // Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya. 2015. No.5. P. 11.

democracy is Greek; your coffee is Brazilian; your vacation is in Turkey; your license plates are from Arabs; your letters are Latin; your only neighbor is a stranger." Although this poster alludes to globalization, the changing potential response to the question "who are you" indicates the collapse of identity hierarchies. Globalization poses a challenge to individuals who develop a strong sense of national identity, as it fosters greater interconnectedness among people in geographically dispersed countries. Transnationalism emerges when formal borders between nation-states become less significant for economic and social transactions¹¹⁸. This emerging situation is a development caused by globalization, and ultimately, if the problems generated by globalization extend beyond or enlarge the scope of national divisions, it leads to a crisis of the nation-state. Robertson describes this as the "globalization of the nation-state" phenomenon¹¹⁹.

In addition to those who argue that the process of globalization creates a higher identity, there are also those who assert that national identity will be weakened through the support of local identities. In this sense, globalization relates to a process characterized by its contradictions and uncertainties. The erosion of criteria of authenticity symbolizes a "situation in which, in the words of Gramsci, the old is dying and the new is not yet born¹²⁰". In the established situation, there is a tendency towards enforcing a one-dimensional cultural identity, which creates a problematic situation. In the modern world, one can evaluate this as an explosion of identities, a reduction in the influence of central institutions and structures, and the placement of individual behavioral models within paradoxical frameworks like "think globally, act locally." However, this slogan itself generates debates. According to Bauman, global problems do not have local solutions. Global problems can only be fully resolved through global actions. In other words, the duty of each individual in the global environment can only be to ensure common security¹²¹.

Ozyurt lists the changes related to identity that have occurred in the process of globalization as follows:

- In the process of globalization, there has been an increased interest and commitment to all identities, rather than a specific form of identity.
- Identities that take into account differences in terms of integration are on the agenda.
- Identity has become a new tool for social stratification, creating global rich and global poor.
- Strengthening identity not only enables a democratic society but also reinforces a mentality of discrimination.

¹¹⁸ Owen D. Civic Identity. URL: https://reference.jrank.org/governance/Civic_Identity.html (Date of access 15.02.2023).

¹¹⁹ Robertson R. Globalization: social theory and global culture. – London: «Sage», 1992. P. 25-26.

¹²⁰ Sarıbay A. Sivil toplum ve islam. – Ankara: «Vadi Yayınları», 1998. P. 35.

¹²¹ Bauman Z. Identity: Conversations with Benedetto Vecchi, Polity Press. Cambridge. P. 107.

- Where cultural interactions operate in a way that eliminates differences, identity becomes a unique focal point of resistance and undergoes restructuring under the influence of these interactions.
- Cultural interactions lead to the emergence of higher identities¹²².

In general, processes that blur national identity and create tension are observed, contributing to the formation of a "global identity" that attempts to be created on a global basis. This is because global identity erases the differences that are the most fundamental characteristic of national identity. The global process operating within these frameworks revolves around national identity. Modern societies with national identity experience a general concern about identity because they fear that the world will become a single identity¹²³.

Globalization is a process that experiences certain contradictions. According to Keiman, it can be said that globalization does not completely destroy local culture and identity definitions based on that local culture, does not smoothly integrate differences, and does not proclaim the eternal acceptance of the other. Therefore, it is difficult to argue that with globalization, boundaries based on spatial-temporal differences, identity and difference, the first world and the second world, self and other, have disappeared, and as a result, a global society and global culture have emerged. Cultural globalization is experienced through symbolic images. On the one hand, what we experience and perceive, despite the effectiveness of cultural globalization, does not occur in a homogeneous global culture. This means that different cultures spread worldwide. On the other hand, globalization will fragment national culture and give rise to a tendency toward multiculturalism. The meaning of the concept of identity extends beyond the "national boundaries" defined by the political processes of the 19th century. It shrinks in scope with respect to communities, peoples, language groups, or historical memorabilia, or even sexual groups, imaginary or tangible small groups, in other words, it becomes multiple. The demands of multiculturalism and heterogeneity, from the perspective of the nation-state based on standardization in culture, create problems in national identity. This is because the nation-state offers its citizens a homogeneous national identity in the form of "citizenship." However, within the newly formed references to identity, the individual redefines and constructs their identity. Thus, the role of the nation-state weakens in this process, and societies resisting this process experience ethnic conflicts. It manifests itself in the form of struggles for autonomy and independence or micro-nationalism of people who think they are different within the framework of monocultural boundaries. In such an environment, the realization of the concept of "global culture" seems unlikely. With globalization, a cultural barrier will emerge in the world, and the phenomenon of coexistence of different cultures will continue. In this sense,

¹²² Özyurt C. Küreselleşme sürecinde kimlik ve farklılaşma. – İstanbul: «Açılım Kitap», 2005. P. 290.

¹²³ Bayart J-F. Kimlik Yanılsaması / Translated from Eng. by M. Moralı. – İstanbul «Metis Yayınevi», 1999. P. 22.

it can be said that "globalization is the blending of cultures"¹²⁴.

In the context of globalization, an important aspect of the growing significance of the "local" factor is the concept of ethnic identity. While Tomlinson argues that globalization is a phenomenon that divides cultures in the world, clarifies existing localities, introduces the phenomenon of migration into societies, disrupts cultural homogeneity, and governs identity and local cultures of societies within these differences¹²⁵, Kottak asserts that much of the world is experiencing an "ethnic revival" in the face of globalization¹²⁶. Globalization contributes to the spread of a worldview in which even the slightest cultural differences are highlighted when necessary, brought to the attention of global public opinion, and considered a principle of political protection of cultural differences as an integral part of the realm of democratic rights and freedoms. This spread, on the one hand, leads to ethnic disagreements regarding the local becoming apparent, and on the other hand, cultural conflicts occur from place to place¹²⁷.

The potential for the transformation of identity into a positive "projecting identity" determines the motivation for the development of larger communities. Uncertainty about who and by what means national development is effectively pursued today proves to be a key challenge of the era of globalization¹²⁸.

After discussing a range of ideas related to globalization, it is necessary to elucidate the concepts of culture and cultural identity. Societies that are pioneers of globalization have a positive attitude towards global culture, as they are the ones shaping it. The real problem arises because other societies are compelled to redefine their identity under the influence of globalization processes on their culture in order to establish themselves as something coherent. Identity is a paramount value in the cultural dimension of globalization. The demands for national, religious, and cultural identity bring the issue of culture to the center of politics and question the ideas, principles, and assumptions that have shaped political life for decades. This is the result of understanding the multicultural world as one of the cultural formations of globalization. Among the important determinants of identity, ethnic, social, religious differences, family traditions, language, gender, etc., stand out. No individual can exist without cultural identity¹²⁹.

Traditional discussions of globalization and development form the basis of collective thinking

¹²⁴ Eken H. Küreselleşme ve Ulus Devlet // Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi. 2006. N 16. P. 259, 261.

¹²⁵ Tomlinson J. Globalization and cultural identity, global transformations: politics, economics and culture, Edited by. David Held. – London. 2003. P. 271.

¹²⁶ Kottak C. P. Antropoloji kuramlar/kuramcılar, (Translated into Turkish by S. Özbudun vd.). –Ankara: «Ütopya Yayınevi», 2001. P. 73.

¹²⁷ Kongar E. (1997), "Küreselleşme ve Kültürel Farklılıklar Çerçevesinde Ulusal Kültür", electronicus resursus, URL: https://www.kongar.org/makaleler/mak_ku.php (Date of access 24.02.2023).

¹²⁸ Semenenko I.S. Dilemmı natsionalnoy identichnosti: politicheskie riski i sotsialniye priobreteniya // Polis. Politicheskie Isledovaniya 2009. No 6. P. 11.

¹²⁹ Akdemir A. Küreselleşme ve Kültürel Kimlik Sorunu // Atatürk University Journal of Institute of Social Sciences. 2010. V 3, N 1. P. 44.

systems and concepts such as the nation-state, identity, or national territory. Today, these concepts are under threat from both external and internal forces. On one hand, the globalization of economy and culture tends to blur national borders and the associated identity. On the other hand, socio-cultural diversity is increasing even within national communities. The role of the state is reduced to maintaining cultural-political unity and regulating conflicts between the economy and social subjects¹³⁰. Cultural identity remains a source of mass movements and confrontations¹³¹.

Overall, globalization signifies something more than a fundamental political principle that changes the institutional structure of society. In other words, the process of globalization corresponds to a universalist structure. In this context, the "national-spatial dimension" that relates to the modern period and expresses the temporal/spatial formation of politics in the present reveals its problematic nature. This is because with globalization, the centrist economic understanding in a national-state interpretation is disrupted and emerges as a necessary factor in the formation of identity in liberal democratic societies. At the same time, globalization has lost its meaning as democracy, which expresses the equality, rights, and freedoms of all citizens vis-à-vis the nation, with legal, social, cultural, political, and economic normative forms in the modern period, and has acquired a new meaning, including differences and heterogeneity, becoming postmodern. In other words, the phenomenon of spatial identity changes in parallel with globalization, and in this emerging process, the transcendent state departs from its function of regulating identity, which is now carried out by non-governmental organizations.

With the spread of globalization, it is not surprising that there is a tendency towards the weakening of identity and the strengthening of cosmopolitan humanism, whereby people become "citizens of the world" and feel unrestricted by national boundaries. Consumer goods or cultural products are disseminated everywhere, ignoring distances and regional differences. The ubiquitous presence of the media spreads the same lifestyle worldwide. The multifaceted trend towards homogenization and a universal culture seems indisputable¹³². The essence of each identity is based on the recognition of a common factor that overcomes divisions and disagreements and unites will and emotions to follow a more or less common direction. New politics should contribute to the organization of a society capable of integrating multiple identities. In the same understanding, it would not be incorrect to say that a state is stronger not when it is more culturally homogeneous but when it can develop the ability to manage significant cultural heterogeneity¹³³.

¹³⁰ Bonet L. and Négrier E. *Ulusal Kültürlerin Sonu mu? Çeşitlilik Sınavlarında Kültür Politikaları* / Translated from Eng. by Ergüden I. – Istanbul: «Bilgi University Publ.» 2011. P. 135.

¹³¹ Tok N. *Kültür, kimlik ve siyaset*. – Istanbul: «Ayrıntı Yayınevi», 2003. P. 23.

¹³² Mazur Yu. Yu. *Identitas in Conditionibus Globalizationis et Regionalizationis* // *Vestibulum Universitatis Balticae Federalis Im. I. Kant.* 2013. N. 6. P. 44.

¹³³ Bonet L., Négrier E. *Ulusal Kültürlerin Sonu mu? Çeşitlilik Sınavlarında Kültür Politikaları* / Translated from Eng. by Ergüden I. – Istanbul: «Bilgi University Publ.» 2011. P. 58.

For those young states seeking ways to assert their state sovereignty, myth-making becomes a source colored in national tones, and the privatization of shared cultural heritage becomes national by blood or soil rights. It is not the nation that creates the state; rather, the state, following the constructivist logic described by E. Hobsbawm, attempts to create a nation "for itself" in a short historical period as a source of stimuli for its own development. Primordialism triumphs in the context of globalization. Most new states in the post-Soviet space actively shape their identity as purely "national," investing in this concept the affirmation of exclusive rights for the titular ethnicity to self-determination. Historical and cultural heroes are drawn from the past, serving as symbols of the self-awareness of a nation that has emerged within the confines of today's statehood¹³⁴.

Today, there is a growing fear and even resistance to globalization. Some present globalization as a new talisman, a recipe for health, a cure for many ailments, while others see it as a new face of evil, a new perspective of disaster unfolding before humanity, as a new means of exploitation. Undoubtedly, the phenomenon called globalization represents a complex series of changes that affect and challenge the politics of identity associated with the nation-state. In this context, it is difficult to say that these changes are destroying the nation-state and national identity. Views such as "we are witnessing the demise of nationalism and the nation-state" are premature and largely incomplete. In fact, looking at the map of the modern world, the strength of nationalism and political consciousness is still strong¹³⁵.

In conclusion, it can be said that the relationship between globalization and national and cultural identity is twofold. Globalization, on the one hand, is a process that potentially threatens the preservation of national and cultural identity by creating or attempting to create supranational or subnational identities. On the other hand, interaction with other cultures can help people realize the uniqueness of their own culture and traditions, which can lead to the strengthening of identity.

However, there is a risk that the desired identity may not always provide protection for society and individuals in the conditions of uncertainty that characterize the modern world. The nation-state and national identity, which are dominant discourses of our era within the framework of the modern state and society, do not disappear in the contemporary context. Nevertheless, it can be said that these facts and understandings, which have a variable nature, will also undergo changes within the framework of the global process of globalization.

In the context of globalization, there is an increasing interest in national and cultural traditions, which can be seen as a manifestation of this dichotomy. Many people show a greater interest in their own culture and traditions and pay more attention to their preservation and promotion. Globalization can

¹³⁴ Qtd. in: Semenenko I.S. *Dilemmae Nationalis Identitatis: Politicae Pericula et Acquisitiones Socialis // Polis. Investigatio Politica* 2009. No 6. P. 16.

¹³⁵ Marden P. *Geographies of dissent: globalization, identity and the nation // Political Geography*. 1997. V.16. N1. P. 39.

contribute to the strengthening of national and cultural identity if traditions and cultural values are preserved. In this case, globalization can be used by nation-states to promote their culture and identity on the international stage. Through the dissemination of modern technologies and access to information, citizens can feel a greater connection and pride in their national and cultural identity. However, globalization can also lead to the blurring of boundaries between cultures and nations, causing concern and dissatisfaction among citizens who may feel that they are losing their national and cultural identity. Small nations and ethnic groups are particularly vulnerable in this process as they may not be able to resist the resources of more powerful nations. The increased interest in national and cultural traditions in the context of globalization becomes a manifestation of the dichotomy associated with whether globalization can lead to the loss or strengthening of national and cultural identity. However, the nation, the nation-state, and national identity, which are dominant discourses within the framework of the modern state and society, do not disappear in the contemporary context despite the processes of globalization. Thus, globalization can trigger variable processes and understandings, but the preservation of national and cultural traditions and values can be a way to strengthen national and cultural identity in the face of globalization.

It should be noted that national and cultural identities are dynamic concepts that can change and evolve over time and as a result of the influence of globalization. Therefore, in order to preserve the universality of cultural heritage in the face of globalization, it is necessary to stimulate patriotism through the implementation of relevant cultural policies and contributions to universal culture, which has become a "global village" thanks to modern communication technologies.

1.3. The Soviet legacy and the formation of Kazakh and Kazakhstani identity

Historical preconditions for the formation of the modern Kazakh nation. Before delving into the structure of Kazakhstan's national identity, which is considered as the analytical unit in this study, it is important to acknowledge that the Soviet experience played a significant role in shaping the independent Kazakh identity. It can be argued that the institutionalization of independent Kazakhstan is a continuation of practices from the Soviet era rather than a sudden national breakthrough. Kazakhstan faces a challenging case of nation-building as it is not only linguistically divided but also a multiethnic state with roughly equal numbers of Russians and Kazakhs. Nonetheless, Kazakhstan is constructing its own history, according to which the state is reestablished based on a 500-year tradition of statehood

tracing back to the Kazakh Khanate of the mid-15th century¹³⁶.



Figure 2. Participants of the party meeting¹³⁷

During the party meetings held during the formation of the USSR, a number of opinions were put forward regarding nation-building and the adaptation of the people of Kazakhstan to the new state, as in other countries:

"The practical implementation of national policy in Kazakhstan is determined by the implementation of the resolution in the fields of economy, culture, party, and Soviet work. A particular emphasis in the process of Sovietization was placed on the issue of indigenization. The Sovietization of the aul (village) was a crucial matter for the national self-determination of the Kazakh nation, involving the organization of the nation in the Soviet form, empowering the poorest and exploited segments of the nation, mobilizing the Kazakh masses, promoting economic and cultural development, establishing close ties with the proletariat of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), and communist leadership. This process could only be successfully carried out in the language of the aul (Kazakh) and by people who originated from the aul. The achievements in this field and the further development encountered a number of obstacles¹³⁸. The national policy of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (KSSR) in shaping the Kazakh people into a national Soviet republic can be considered largely completed. With the unification of the Kazakh people and the establishment of statehood, future attention should be

¹³⁶ Kuzio T. Theoretical and comparative perspectives on nationalism, *New Directions in cross-cultural and Post-Communist Studies*. – Stuttgart: «Ibidem Press», 2014. P. 360.

¹³⁷ Foto/zasedanie SNK KAZSSR, RKP (6) 11-20 iyulya 1921 g. G. Orenburg. Fond 896/op-1. Ed. hr. 492.

* Sitting - from left to right: Aitiev A., Kalashnikov N., Dzhangildin A., Myrzagaliev M., Shevtel.

** Standing - second Baytursynov A., chetvertyy Alibekov A.

¹³⁸ Rezalyutsii V-oy Vsekazakskoy konferentsii RKP, Po otchetnomu dokladu Kazakhskogo kraevogo komiteta R.K.P (6). G. Kzyl Orda. Fond 141/op-1. Ed. hr. 23. P. 3-4.

shifted to issues of internal development, economic and cultural revitalization of the country in ways that contribute to the consolidation of the Kazakhs as a nation through their participation in socialist construction, as without economic and cultural progress, the sustainability of the aforementioned political achievements is inconceivable¹³⁹."

The task of Soviet rulers was to strengthen unity among the new Central Asian republics and differentiate them from each other¹⁴⁰. In Soviet Kazakhstan, the Kazakhs occupied a semi-peripheral position. The Soviet national strategy sought to present the union republics not as independent national states, but as specific entities reflecting their national characteristics. This particular feature placed the republics in a subordinate position to the dominant socialist ideology and symbolism of the Union. As a result, the symbolism of the republics was viewed through the prism of the main symbols of the Soviet community. According to Kadyrjanov, national symbolism had a decorative character:

"For example, the flag and emblem of the Kazakh SSR predominantly contained Soviet symbolism, with the main red color of the flag and a nearly identical resemblance of the Soviet emblem to the emblem of the Kazakh SSR. The thin blue stripe at the bottom base of the red field of the Kazakh SSR flag¹⁴¹."

As V.A. Tishkov writes, "It turned out that in Russia after 1917, the word 'national' was transferred exclusively to the possession of ethnic communities, while the state itself became 'international.' And it lasted for almost 90 years¹⁴²!" The first decades of the 20th century were a period of vigorous growth of national self-consciousness among the peoples of the Russian Empire, including the Kazakhs, which manifested in the activation of socio-political life, cultural progress, the development of national languages, the growth of literature and the press, the dissemination of fresh ideological concepts, reformist movements, and so on. The decisive geopolitical events of that time, such as the global crisis, World War I, revolutions, civil war, and the collapse of a vast empire leading to the formation of the USSR, were considered the main life circumstances that determined the political biography and political legacy of all active participants in these processes¹⁴³.

National identity serves as a nourishing environment that shapes the consciousness of a people, and the awareness of each nation's own "self" is impossible outside and independent of its own history, its heroic or tragic events, based on the understanding and interpretation of past experiences and future interests¹⁴⁴. The USSR, created after the October Revolution of 1917, continued the policy of tsarist

¹³⁹ Ibid P. 6-7.

¹⁴⁰ Federenko V. Central Asia: from ethnic to civic nationalism // Pethink Paper. 2012. V 3. P. 7.

¹⁴¹ Kadyrzhano R. Nationalnaya identichnost' Kazakhstana i etnokul'turnyy simbolizm. URL: <http://mysl.kazgazeta.kz/?p=266> (Date of access: 29.03.2020).

¹⁴² Tishkov V. A. Rossiyskiy narod: kniga dlya uchitelya. M.: Prosvyashcheniya., 2010. P. 19.

¹⁴³ Amanzholova D. A. A. N. Bukeykhanov i problemy politicheskoy konsolidatsii kazakhskogo naroda // Mir Bol'shogo Altaya. 2016. No 2. P. 213.

¹⁴⁴ Ospanov T.T. Poiski kazakhskoy identichnosti v usloviyakh globalizatsii // Vestnik KazNPU, 2013. URL: <https://articlekz.com/article/10812> (Date of access: 28.04.2020).

Russia aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of spreading Russian identity. The projects of Nikolay Ilminsky, who initially worked on Turkish dialects and theology, found their application within this policy. Ilminsky stated that the only way to russify non-Russian people was to spread the Russian language and Christianity. To achieve this, languages were divided into dialects and accents, multiple written languages were created, and the mandatory requirement of knowledge of the Russian language was introduced. These measures largely achieved the desired level and significantly hindered communities from developing their own awareness of their identity¹⁴⁵. However, unlike tsarist Russia, the main goal of the Bolsheviks was sovietization rather than the spread of Orthodoxy. In other words, during this period, the goal was to form a Soviet nation. The concept of citizenship was not limited to legal status alone. It simultaneously meant belonging to a unified historical and cultural community (the Soviet people) and the desire to "actively contribute to its consolidation," that is, to serve the Motherland and defend the homeland¹⁴⁶. Therefore, in the system envisioned by the Bolsheviks, the language of individuals was determined as Russian, while religious atheism and nationality were considered Soviet. The ultimate goal to be achieved in this context is that "each of the nations constituting the Union should set aside their national identity and unite under the higher Soviet identity and form a Soviet people¹⁴⁷".

According to many researchers (R. Brubaker and others), there was no "national construction" in the USSR. The Union was not conceived as a nation-state and "never adopted the doctrine of civic nation-building, while paradoxically maintaining a certain continuity with the Russian Empire"¹⁴⁸. In other words, the "Soviet model" was based on a synthesis of imperial and revolutionary traditions. "The Stalinist revolution from above combined the Bolshevik project with earlier examples of imperial modernization," asserts sociologist Johann Arnason, "recreating the Russian imperial state as a leading power and providing it with a solid ideological foundation. Paradoxically, the imperial dimension of the Soviet state facilitated the camouflage of the instrumental role of the communist movement, which purportedly embodied its global aspirations. Only the authoritative structure of imperial proportions could make the myth of 'socialism in one country' plausible. The project of self-sufficient radical transformation was fundamentally incompatible with the ideological foundations and historical context of the regime, but its geopolitical magnitude (the 'socialist sixth of the world') helped solve this

¹⁴⁵ Bashkirskoye natsional'noye dvizheniye 1917-1920 gg. i A.Validi: Zarubezhnyye issledovaniya / Sostavleniye i vstupil'naya stat'ya I.V.Kuchumova. - Ufa: "Gilem", 1997.

¹⁴⁶ Tishkov V.A., Shabaev Yu.P. Etnopolitologiya: Politicheskiye funktsii etnichnosti. 2-e izd., ispr. i dop. - M.: Izdatel'stvo "Moskovskogo universiteta", 2013. P. 81.

¹⁴⁷ Yaacov R. The Soviet and Russian context of the development of nationalism in Soviet Central Asia // Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique. 1991. V 32, N 1. P. 60.

¹⁴⁸ Achkasov V. A. Rossiyskaya dilemma: imperiya ili natsiya-gosudarstvo: monografiya. - M.: Izdatel'stvo "Yurayt".2019. P. 140.

problem¹⁴⁹".

The concept of "nation" is laden with symbolic and emotional meanings, but essentially implies a people in the form of a state territorial community. Nation is a category of social classification, for the exclusive possession of which two forms of human communities struggle – ethnic and state. French political sociologist D. Cola wrote: "Nation is the product of specific social conditions and is not a continuation of nature by other means. Nation is nothing other than a nation-state: a political form of territorial sovereignty over subjects and cultural (linguistic and/or religious) homogenization of a group, imposed on each other, giving rise to a nation¹⁵⁰". The Soviet Union developed a policy of nation-building, designed for the distant perspective. The emphasis was placed on the "Soviet person," a new identity in a historical sense, which was initially delineated by boundaries and then maintained by supporting the national culture of titular groups in order to separate the peoples of the region. Thus, the incentives for national culture aimed to differentiate people with the same language, culture, and religion in the region, rather than aiming to return to their own cultural communities in the region. The Soviet administration attempted to destroy common values and identities in the region and devised a policy motivated by the creation of a "Soviet person" that transcended the common starting point. According to Bolshevik ideology, the issue of nationalities was said to be resolved in three stages. First, in a period called "greening," the national and cultural peculiarities of all ethnic elements would be preserved and even brought to the forefront. The second stage, the "convergence" period, involved the transition from socialism to communism. In the final stage of "unification," the differences would disappear, as previously mentioned, and a unified Soviet society was created. Turkish researcher Andikan argues that the underlying policy for creating Soviet people is actually an effort to dissolve non-Russian peoples into the Russian language and culture. On the other hand, he claims that encouraging and supporting the distinctiveness of each ethnic group should facilitate the division of societies living in Soviet territory into smaller pieces and foster an attraction to Russian culture¹⁵¹.

The policy pursued to achieve this ultimate goal can be summarized as follows:

1. Colonization policy implemented in the 1920s and early 1930s, specifically the recruitment of local residents into positions within the Soviet administration.
2. Socio-economic transformations in the 1930s that did not affect national education and national personnel.
3. Creation of non-political nationalist ethno-cultural social structures within the boundaries of

¹⁴⁹ Cit. po: Achkasov V. A. Rossiyskaya dilemma: imperiya ili natsiya-gosudarstvo: monografiya. - M.: Izdatelstvo "Yurayt", 2019. P. 140-141.

¹⁵⁰ Kola D. Politicheskaya sotsiologiya. M., 2001. P. 351. Sm.: Etnopolitologiya: politicheskiye funktsii etnichnosti / Tishkov V.A., Shabaev Yu.P. M.: 2-e izd., ispr. i dop. M.: Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 2013. P. 78-79.

¹⁵¹ Andican A. Osmanlı'dan günümüze Türkiye ve Orta Asya. – İstanbul: «Doğan Kitap», 2009. P. 424.

each republic.

4. Center-periphery dynamics - an imperial model of relations.
5. Survival of traditionalism, i.e., traditional practices and social structures.
6. Development of regionalism, including favoritism, patronage, and to some extent, national emotions and economic freedoms between Soviet governments and the people.
7. Patriotism, i.e., support for local nationalism depending on the USSR¹⁵². According to Soviet understanding, each nation should have its own land. In 1924, all administrative bodies were dissolved, and the map of Central Asia was redrawn to reflect linguistic and regional levels of societal development.

Thus, the administrative structuring was carried out in the form of Soviet Socialist Republics, autonomous republics, autonomous regions, or national territories. Nations with developed economies, capitalist mode of production, and markets were designated as Soviet Socialist Republics, while less developed countries had the status of "autonomous republic, autonomous region, and national district." Those considered nations had symbols such as the name of the state, country, and nation, a national language, flag, and national anthem.

One of the most significant characteristics of Soviet tradition was the adoption of a multi-level federative state structure, upon which ethnicity was based. The Soviet Union legalized ethnic affiliation at the regional level and ensured its perception as the homeland of a particular ethnic group residing in each republic. The term "identity" (in the USSR, about 100 ethnic groups were identified, of which only 15 were represented at the national level¹⁵³) acquired stable ethnic connotations during the years of Soviet rule. Roy notes that all these efforts are connected to two important reasons: the first reason is to break down cadres, i.e., to differentiate ethnic groups from each other. The second reason is to make it impossible for communities to act collectively against Soviet authority¹⁵⁴.

In recent times, the definition of identity for the Soviets has been citizenship (Soviet citizenship), consequently, nationhood identified with its geography (Uzbek, Kazakh, Kyrgyz), and finally, subnational identities (family and tribal ties, regional networks¹⁵⁵). This occurred for two main reasons. The first and primary reason is that during the Soviet period, ethnicity was transformed into an institution. Ethnic categories (nationality in the ethnic sense of the word) were used as a means of (a) dividing the

¹⁵² Fragner, B. G. *Sovyet milliyetçiliği: Orta Asya'nın bağımsız cumhuriyetlerine kalan ideolojik miras, Orta Asya ve islam dünyasında kimlik politikaları. 20. yüzyılda milliyetçilik, etnisite ve emek*, W. V. Schendel ve E. J. Zürcher (eds.). – İstanbul: «İletişim Yayınları», 2004. P. 32.

¹⁵³ Kurubaş E. *SSCB sonrasında Türk Cumhuriyetlerinde yeni uluslaşma süreçleri üzerine bir değerlendirme // Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika*. 2006. V II, N 5. P. 120.

¹⁵⁴ Roy O. *Yeni Orta Asya ya da ulusların imal edilişi / Translated from Eng. by M. Moralı*. – İstanbul: «Metis Yayınevi», 1997. P. 105-107.

¹⁵⁵ Haugen A. *The establishment of national republics in Soviet Central Asia*. – New York: «Palgrave Macmillan», 2003. P. 32-33.

population and (b) dividing the territory. On one hand, citizens of the country were rigidly assigned by authorities to a particular ethnic group (ethnicity recorded in passports). On the other hand, the territory of the state was organized, alongside its territorial aspect, according to the so-called national-territorial principle (national republics within the RSFSR)¹⁵⁶.

The national identity of the Kazakhs was both historically rooted and multifactorial in its texture. The state's understanding is inseparably linked to the formation of a national community – an action undertaken by all countries without exception – which is the most difficult and also ambivalent in relation to globalization. Hence, there is a growing interest among the Kazakh people in their own history, national roots, values, customs, and the need to preserve their civilized past. All the aforementioned factors are conditions for the development and formation of national identity. This is important for the formation of popular self-awareness, defined by the essential need of the individual and the community to organize their views about themselves and their place in the surrounding society. National unity is determined by the individual's desire to see their own reflection in the mirror of society.

The Kazakhs formed as a separate ethnic group during the 15th century. In 1465, the first Kazakh khanate was established, along with the Khanate of Kasim¹⁵⁷. By the mid-19th century, the Russian Empire had gained complete control over all Kazakh territories. In the early 20th century, leaders of the Kazakh national movement, known as Alash, sought autonomy and the creation of a national state for the Kazakh people¹⁵⁸. In March-April 1917, councils of workers, soldiers, and peasant deputies were established in Kazakh regions. In the Soviet Union, the population represented a polyethnic unity built on the ideology of the "family of nations," which included equality among nations and an ethnonational hierarchy¹⁵⁹.

As the great philosopher noted, "the true is the whole." The year 1917 was not just the October Revolution for Kazakh society. For the Kazakhs, 1917 encompassed 68 general Kazakh regional congresses, where accumulated societal problems were discussed. It was the sudden formation of Kazakh committees at the regional, district, and volost levels. It was the pan-national political party Alash, and finally, by the end of the year, the establishment of the Turkestan Autonomy government in Kokand and the Alash-Orda government in Orenburg.

¹⁵⁶ Malakhov V. Kul'turnye razlichiya i politicheskie granitsy v epokhu global'nykh migratsiy. - M.: "Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie; Institut filosofii RAN.", 2014. P. 58.

¹⁵⁷ Olcott M. B. The Kazakhs. – Stanford, Calif.: «Hoover Institution Press», 1995. P. 4-5.

¹⁵⁸ Kesici Ö. The Dilemma in the Nation-Building Process: The Kazakh or Kazakhstani Nation? // Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe. 2011. V.10, N 1. P. 38.

¹⁵⁹ oliticheskiye sistemy sovremennykh gosudarstv: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik: V 4 t. T.2: Aziya / gl. red. A.V. Torkunov; nauch. Red. A.Yu. Mel'vil'; otv. red. M.G. Mironyuk. - M.: Aspekt Press, 2012. P. 190.



Figure 3. The First Regional All-Kyrgyz Conference¹⁶⁰

In August 1920, the Kyrgyz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (AKSSR) was formed as part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), with its capital in Orenburg. It consisted of the Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Turgai, and Uralsk regions, as well as parts of the Zakaspiyskaya region, Astrakhan, and Orenburg provinces, predominantly inhabited by Kazakhs. In 1925, it was renamed the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (KASSR), which in 1936 was transformed into the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (Kazakh SSR), and its constitution was adopted the following year¹⁶¹.

The changes that occurred in the social, economic, and political development of Kazakhstan in the early 20th century had a profound impact on the spiritual life of the Kazakh people. The political and economic expansion was accompanied by the forced imposition of the dominant nation's culture. Culturally, the novelty of the era was primarily expressed in the adoption of new values by representatives of the social elite, a narrow layer of people with European culture.

In the early 20th century, the changes in the socio-economic and political development of Kazakhstan influenced the spiritual life of the Kazakh people. The imposition of the dominant nation's culture was accompanied by expansion. The cultural policy of the Soviet Union was ideological but included universal literacy, education, and state support for the arts¹⁶².

By the beginning of the 20th century, a national Kazakh intelligentsia was forming in Kazakhstan,

¹⁶⁰ Foto: Pervaya kraevaya vsekirgizskaya konferentsiya, 11-18 iyunya 1921 g. G. Orenburg. Fond 896/op-1. Ed. hr.

¹⁶¹ Politicheskiye sistemy sovremennykh gosudarstv: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik: V 4 t. T.2: Aziya / gl. red. A.V. Torkunov; nauch. red. A.Yu. Mel'vil'; otv. red. M.G. Mironyuk. - M.: Aspekt Press, 2012. P. 188.

¹⁶² Zamaraeva E. I. Sovremennaya kul'turnaya politika Rossii v kontekste evraziyskikh idey // Vestnik Finansovogo universiteta. 2015. No 4(20). P. 62.

part of which received a European education. Kazan University had an influence on the cultural life of Kazakhstan. The process of creating a system of popular education was complex and had great significance for the formation of the first cadre of the national intelligentsia. The founders of Kazakh nationalism were considered to be the Alash Orda intellectuals of the early 20th century, who first proclaimed the right of the Kazakh nation to self-determination. In the Soviet period, Kazakh writers and the creative intelligentsia as a whole influenced the strengthening of national identity. The beginning of the 20th century in Kazakhstan is notable for outstanding poets, writers, and socio-political figures such as Akhmet Baitursynov, Myrzakhmet Zholdasbekov, Shakarim Kudaiberdiev, Magzhan Zhumabayev, and Zhusupbek Aymautov, who opened a new chapter in the history of national culture. The ideas actively propagated by the Kazakh intelligentsia influenced the awakening of Kazakh society, its legal consciousness, and morality¹⁶³.

At the beginning of the 20th century, cultural connections intensified in Kazakhstan, and new art genres emerged in Kazakh culture, such as drama, painting, and theater. Kazakh writers and poets began to explore Russian and Western European classics, translating works by authors such as Pushkin, Lermontov, Tolstoy, and Krylov. Kazakh literature became richer and more diverse in terms of genres, with the first Kazakh novels, dramas, short stories, and critical articles appearing. Within a short period, around 200 books were published in the Kazakh language. Abai became the founder of Kazakh realistic literature and the national literary language. The emergence of national periodicals and the establishment of national cultural institutions, such as the national opera and ballet, national theater, and national film studio, occurred by 1920 thanks to the efforts of the progressive sons of the Kazakh people at that time¹⁶⁴.

In the USSR, traditional ways of life and national differences were gradually eradicated. Socialist traditions were forcefully instilled, which contradicted the Kazakh way of life. The collectivization of the 1930s eliminated the nomadic lifestyle. The northern regions of Kazakhstan became sites for the placement of camps for "enemies of the people." This led to dangerous distortions in the power structure and the culture of political leadership. R. Kaiser asserts that Lenin believed that the peoples of the former Russian Empire had to undergo a leveling process to integrate into an international socialist state. This process would allow previously repressed groups to live according to their traditions and achieve autonomy within the framework of the federative Soviet Union. In the final stage, ethnic groups would dissolve into a single Soviet nation¹⁶⁵. Significant damage was inflicted on national culture and the

¹⁶³ Ybyrayym A.O. A. Baytursynuly - Qazaq Jazuy'nyñ Reformatorı, Alash ädibieti - täuelsiz ult ruhaniyatynyñ negizi., P. 75-76. URL: http://lib.tarsu.kz/rus/all.doc/Elektron_res/PPS/Ybyraiym_hazah_jazui.pdf (Date of access.: 14.05.2020).

¹⁶⁴ Sauranbaev N. Rol' Abaya v razvitii Kazakhskogo literaturnogo yazyka. URL: <http://abai.kaznu.kz/rus/?p=147> (Date of access: 22.04.2020).

¹⁶⁵ Kaiser R. J. The geography of nationalism in Russia and the USSR. – Princeton: «Princeton University Press», 1994. P. 100.

intelligentsia (the Arabic alphabet, which had long been used in geography, was prohibited, and the Latin alphabet was adopted before transitioning to Cyrillic)¹⁶⁶.

In Kazakhstan, frequent changes in the alphabet occurred, which were driven by political and social changes during the Soviet Union period. Kazakhstan began official correspondence in the Russian language in 1921, and in 1938, the teaching of the Russian language became compulsory in Kazakh schools. In 1939, the alphabet was changed to Cyrillic, which resulted in communication problems and the detachment of the younger generation from the past¹⁶⁷.

The creation of the national language, Kazakh, was described in the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which aimed to ensure the free development of each national language and the education of every citizen of the USSR in the language of their choice. However, the emphasis on the Russian language in the same program led to the insignificance of goals related to the development of other languages. Theoretically, the creation of a new Soviet culture would emerge through the fusion of cultures, leading to linguistic and cultural unity and the elimination of de facto boundaries between the republics within the USSR¹⁶⁸.

In the process of transforming the Kazakhs into homo sovieticus, "mass migrations" in terms of geography within agricultural reforms were highly effective, as were language studies. In the 1940s, the lands of Kazakhstan were designated as "virgin lands," and research was initiated to open up these lands for agriculture. Opening the vast majority of Kazakh lands for agriculture allowed Russian and Ukrainian peasants to migrate, and by 1959, Kazakhs found themselves in the minority status. Emre claims that the share of Kazakhs residing in Kazakhstan on that Date was 30%, while the share of Russians was 43%¹⁶⁹.

Soviet experience replaced national content of culture with ideological content, using cultural elements to maintain a unified space based on statehood. Projects of "national-cultural autonomy," which were in demand in the first decade of Soviet rule during the years of cultural pluralism, were soon rejected as they could lead to the formation of fragmented national identities. The state policy of promoting "national cultures" reduced the national to folkloric forms, which were less dangerous to the Soviet project, as the external embodiment of national traditions could replace their internal understanding. The Soviet experience of selective institutionalization of ethnicity supported the traditional understanding of the national among titular nations of republics and autonomous entities,

¹⁶⁶ Politicheskiye sistemy sovremennykh gosudarstv: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik: V 4 t. T.2: Aziya / gl. red. A.V. Torkunov; nauch. red. A.Yu. Mel'vil'; otv. red. M.G. Mironyuk. - M.: Aspekt Press, 2012. P. 190.

¹⁶⁷ Auyessova L. Kazakistan'da Sovyet Siyaseti, Istanbul University: Institute of Social Sciences, Unpublished Master Thesis, 2010. P.134-143.

¹⁶⁸ Hasanoğlu İ. Homo sovieticus: construction efforts of Soviet Nation in USSR // International Periodical For The Languages Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic. 2015. V10, N 1. P. 314.

¹⁶⁹ Gürbüz Y. E. Kazakistan'da bir Ulus Devlet Kurmak // Praksis 11. 2004. P. 208.

which led to the development of national self-awareness and became one of the reasons for the rapid disintegration of the USSR. The notion of the "multinational Soviet people" did not withstand the interests of elites who used the affirmation of national identity to acquire political and economic autonomy¹⁷⁰.

One can say that collective identity emerged with the creation of a "socialist super-identity" with a supranational understanding in the Soviet Union. It can be argued that the values and symbols of Marxist ideology were foregrounded, and political power, ideology, and indoctrination were effectively used to construct this identity. In his article analyzing the mechanisms of collective identity formation, Alexander Wendt argues that the definition of interests is crucial in the process of identity formation. According to neoliberals who question the hypothesis of state egoism, interests are formed in two stages. The first is that interests arise outside the phenomenon of "interaction," and the second is that they only influence behavior. Wendt, who claims that such an explanation is limiting, states that cooperation is difficult to explain using this method. This is because, according to neoliberals, states construct collective identities and shape interests through interaction. In contrast, Wendt asserts that interests are a collective action that is an integral part of the concept of interaction. He used the theory of integration, which deals with the formation of international society, and merged this theory, whose core is collective definition, with a constructivist approach in the discipline of international relations. Thus, definitions went beyond rationalistic terms and acquired a constructivist perspective. Accordingly, states are not structurally or externally given. On the contrary, they are historically constructed as a result of contingent interactions. Social identities and interests change in the process of interaction. They are not continuous, even if in some cases they are static. These are processes that arise from various ways in which the "self" and the "other" define each other. In other words, they are not externally given phenomena. Wendt argues that hegemony is also a type of collective identity¹⁷¹. If we consider Wendt's assessment of hegemony, it is possible to view the socialist upper identity created on the basis of the ideological foundations established by the Soviet Union as a collective identity formed under the hegemony of the Soviets.

It is known that under Soviet rule, ideology was centralized, its development was strictly controlled by the state apparatus, and dissent was not tolerated. In the ideological space of independent Kazakhstan, it can be said that not only individual state structures but also social movements, political parties, media, religious denominations, and other institutions of civil society actively participate in the creation and implementation of ideas.

¹⁷⁰ Semenenko I.S. Dilemmy natsional'noy identichnosti: politicheskiye riski i sotsial'nyye priobreteniya // Polis. Politicheskiye issledovaniya. 2009. No 6. P. 20.

¹⁷¹ Wendt A. Collective Identity Formation and The International State // American Political Science Review. 1994.V 88. N 2. 1994. P. 384-389.

However, the socio-political and state practical activities of Soviet and post-Soviet society contributed to the fact that the term "Kazakhstan" largely lost its original meaning as the "land of the Kazakhs." After 1986, the outbreak of popular ultranationalism and the growth of political participation of the population contributed to the growth of the Kazakh people's national consciousness. The Kazakh community, in all aspects of its identity, transformed from an ethnocultural identity into a state, or more specifically, an ethnonational community.

At the same time, there has been a change in the definitions of "Kazakhstani" and "Kazakhstani identity." The definition of the people of Kazakhstan as "Kazakhstanis" has been preserved in the post-Soviet period. Based on this, one can conclude that there is competition between the two identities of Kazakhstan - Kazakhstani and Kazakh - due to the process of constructing the state identity of Kazakhstan after December 1991¹⁷².

Formation of the modern Kazakhstani people. Kazakhstan began to implement the formation of its identity in the period after the end of the Cold War, thanks to internal and external dynamics and historical factors. The Parade of Sovereignties and the dissolution of the USSR began with the independence declaration of Lithuania on March 11, 1990, but Kazakhstan was the last to leave. With the proclamation of independence on December 16, 1991, a new chapter in history began for Kazakhstan and the Kazakh people¹⁷³. It is believed that the first state on the territory of modern Kazakhstan emerged 1,000 to 1,500 years ago¹⁷⁴.

After gaining independence, the Republic of Kazakhstan, as one of the post-Soviet countries, embarked on creating its new national and state structure. At the same time, the citizens of the country witnessed significant changes within the country. In particular, there was an acceleration of changes in the economic and sociocultural spheres, complications in interethnic relations emerged, values underwent transformation, a new political structure was being formed, and a process of social stratification in society was underway. The main task of such a young state like Kazakhstan at that time was not to destroy the multiethnic society in a short period but to unite everyone around one nation. The political culture of the people, which had formed during the Soviet period, began to gradually transform in the early years of independence. Soviet symbolism gradually began to lose its power as the formation of a new Kazakhstani political culture and consciousness focused on purposefully getting rid of the Soviet legacy. Of particular importance was the issue of defining national identity in a number of post-

¹⁷² Kadyrzhanov R. Natsional'naya identichnost' Kazakhstana i etnokul'turnyy simbolizm. URL: <http://mysl.kazgazeta.kz/?p=266> (Date of access: 29.03.2020).

¹⁷³ Administratsiya i obschestvennost', pokhozhe, ne ochen' stremilis' pokinut' SSSR. Deystvitel'no, na referendumе, sostoyavshemsya v marte 1991 goda, 80% naseleniya Kazakhstana progolosovalo za to, chtoby ostat'sya v SSSR. Sm. Nazpary J. Sovyet sonrası karmaşa: Kazakistan'da şiddet ve mülksüzleşme. – İstanbul: «İletişim Yayınları», 2003. P. 54.

¹⁷⁴ Kara A. Eski devirlerden günümüze Kazakistan ve Kazaklar. – İstanbul: «Selenge Yayınevi», 2007. P. 21.

Soviet countries within their historically complex multiethnic societies. Thus, questions such as "Who are we? Where are we going?" naturally arose in the minds of every citizen¹⁷⁵.

The national idea (or set of ideas on a national scale in the case of Kazakhstan) strengthens in the process of state formation, the development of national self-consciousness, and the establishment of national identity. The national idea is based on a system of global values. In the political process, the national idea performs functions of integration and identification of the people, defining the ideals of its historical existence, legitimizing power, and propagating and consolidating functions. An example of this can be seen in the official documents adopted by Kazakhstani society and the state during the transition to a capitalist system, characterized by the collapse of the socialist Soviet system. These include the constitution, political party programs, the work of the president, as well as the following strategies and platforms: "Strategy for the Formation and Development of Kazakhstan as a State" (1992), "Ideological Consolidation of Society as a Condition for the Progress of Kazakhstan" (1993), "Formation of Historical Consciousness in the Republic of Kazakhstan" (1994), "Formation of State Identity in the Republic of Kazakhstan" (1996), the project "Eurasian Union" (1994), "Strategic Development of Kazakhstan until 2030¹⁷⁶" (1997), "Address by President Nursultan Nazarbayev to the People of Kazakhstan" (2006), declaring the "Strategy for Kazakhstan to Become One of the 50 Most Competitive Countries in the World," and so on. These state documents play an important role in shaping national ideas in Kazakhstan.

It should be noted that in the process of strengthening Kazakhstan's independence, the first President N. Nazarbayev made a significant contribution to the formation of a national idea that unites people of different nationalities and religions. Nazarbayev linked the national idea with the mobilizing role of the Kazakh people in societal consolidation. This can be seen in N. Nazarbayev's speeches at the sessions of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan. For example, his speech at the first session of the APK on March 24, 1995, was titled "For Peace and Harmony in Our Common Home" and stated, "The Kazakh people have a rich and complex history that has withstood the test of time. Today, he must help all the peoples living in Kazakhstan understand the roots of our unity and reject any historical impulses, because we need to look back and see the future¹⁷⁷".

¹⁷⁵ Aytymbetov N.I. Qazaqstandaǵı ulttıq biregeyliktiń qalıptasw erekşelikteri. Jeke monografiya. – Almatı: «QR BǴM ǴK Filosofiya, sayasattanw jáne dintanw institwtı», 2018. P. 15-16.

¹⁷⁶ V dokumente "Kontsepsiya formirovaniya gosudarstvennoy identichnosti Respubliki Kazakhstan", kotoryy byl prinyat Natsional'nym Sovetom po gosudarstvennoy politike pri Prezidente Respubliki Kazakhstan. Znachimost' obreteniya ustoychivoy konsolidatsii obshchestva i vnutripoliticheskoy stabil'nosti podtverzhdayetsya faktom vydeleniya dannyx prioriteto v "Strategii razvitiya Kazakhstana - 2030 g." Kolbachaeva Zh. E. Osobennosti formirovaniya natsional'noy identichnosti Kazakhstana v sovremennykh usloviyakh. Problemy postsovetskogo prostranstva., 5(1) 2018. P. 104.

¹⁷⁷ Qazaqstandıq ulttıq ideya – bilik júyesiniń qozǵawşı kúshi, 2014. URL: https://e-history.kz/kz/contents/view/kazakstandik_ulttik_ideya_bilik_zhuiesinin_kozgaushi_kushi_2251 (Date of access: 24.03.2020).

It is interesting to what extent the function and significance of these ideological concepts are important. These questions were answered by Dr. Eng., Professor Zh. Moldabekov. First and foremost, it is necessary to establish the ideological foundations of independence in accordance with new requirements. President Nursultan Nazarbayev pays special attention to the following ideas: consolidation and social partnership, civil and interethnic harmony, Kazakhstani patriotism and pragmatism, preservation of national traditions and ways of entering the global civilization. These are the ideas that form the basis of the political work of all parties and create a new impetus in people's consciousness¹⁷⁸.

Describing the implementation of nation-building in modern Kazakhstan, one can point out a certain positive dynamics and gradual progress. According to G. Narbekova, this is attributed to factors such as:

- *Strengthening and consolidating the statehood of Kazakhstan in all aspects, which contributes to the growth of trust and respect from its citizens.*
- *Progressive economic growth in Kazakhstan in recent years and the associated improvement in the standard of living compared to neighboring Central Asian countries and most post-Soviet states.*
- *State efforts to maintain interethnic stability, prevent conflicts on national grounds, and achieve a high level of social and ethnic tolerance among ordinary citizens.*
- *Emergence and functioning of a national education system, one of its main tasks being the socialization of the younger generation in the spirit of Kazakhstani patriotism, respect for state symbols, and the history of Kazakhstan.*
- *Increase in the proportion of Kazakhs in the total population of Kazakhstan, leading to an increase in the proportion of people with Kazakh national identity.*
- *Natural generational change, gradual decrease in the proportion of people with a Soviet mentality, and an increase in the proportion of people for whom Kazakhstan is their only homeland.*

Despite the mentioned positive dynamics, the implementation of national integration faces a number of serious problems and contradictions that hinder nation-building in the republic. Some of the main problems include:

- *Excessive emphasis on ethnic identity over national identity in the individual and collective consciousness of Kazakhstan's population, which leads to the dominance of an ethnocultural*

¹⁷⁸ Aytımbetov N.I. Qazaqstandağı ulttıq biregeyliktiñ qalıptasw erekşelikteri. Jeke monografiya. – Almatı: «QR BĞM ĞK Filosoifiya, sayasattanw jäne dintanw institwtı», 2018. P. 151-152.

concept of the nation in public consciousness over a civic concept.

- *Division among the ethnic groups of Kazakhstan, as a consequence of the previous period, and the existence of rigid boundaries in ethnic self-consciousness based on the principle of "us" versus "them," resulting in interethnic distance.*
- *Inequality, despite certain growth, in the level of national identity among the ethnic groups of Kazakhstan, with the level typically being higher among Kazakhs compared to other ethnic groups.*
- *Contradictions in the linguistic sphere, stemming from the fact that the Kazakh language, despite having the status of a state language, has not become a language of interethnic communication and only functions in the Kazakh ethnic environment. This creates dissatisfaction among the Kazakh elite and reciprocal dissatisfaction among the Russian-speaking elite.*
- *Similar contradictions exist in the cultural sphere as a whole, where Kazakh culture is spread and functions only within the Kazakh cultural environment and is not embraced by other ethnic communities.*
- *Weak civil society contributes to the proliferation and strengthening of clan and patron-client relationships in society, while simultaneously hindering interethnic connections and interethnic integration¹⁷⁹.*

The demographic structure of Kazakhstan after gaining independence was one of the most serious problems in the country. Faced with this issue, which is critical for the survival of the country as well as the construction of a national state, Kazakhstan attempted to establish an inclusive nation-building process for all ethnic groups. In this context, it aimed to homogenize the population with a balanced policy of migration and resettlement, which is the first challenge. Decision-makers in Kazakhstan, like any other state that has gained independence, worked on policies aimed at achieving the goal of nation-building required by the modern international system and were interested in the question of nationhood. In this sense, ethnic integration is pursued within the framework of Kazakhstani citizenship based on land-related citizenship.

The formation of a new national identity and radical changes in state-building required the introduction and development of new symbols and examples in society. The second significant step and a global practice in the process of building a national state was the relocation of the capital. The relocation of the capital strengthened Kazakhstan's geopolitical position, as Astana (located in the center of the Eurasian continent, combining European and Asian traditions) symbolized renewal and the

¹⁷⁹ Narbekova G. Natsional'noe stroitel'stvo i kul'turnaya identichnost' Kazakhstana // Mir cheloveka. 2012. No.3 (53). P. 45-46.

country's growth in all directions¹⁸⁰. Additionally, the capital's relocation aimed to control sub-identifications¹⁸¹ and strengthen Kazakh identity in the northern part of the country. The capital was moved from Almaty to Akmola in 1998-1999, costing the state treasury 1 billion US dollars, becoming the new political and administrative center. The new state is defined as a multiethnic society and the homeland of Kazakhs, although this political community is defined using only Kazakh symbols and myths¹⁸².

One of the main explanations for this situation is the aforementioned competition of identities, the confrontation between Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities regarding the main symbols of Kazakhstan. It is important to note that Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities are not structurally homogeneous and impenetrable to other identities. Each of them is subdivided into groups that hold different views on the influence of the opposing identity on themselves. Such groups exist within both Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities. After gaining independence, symbols of Kazakh ethnic or titular nationalism increasingly become symbols of Kazakhstan as a whole. For example, the thin light blue stripe on the main red background of the flag of the Kazakh SSR evolves into the main color of the national flag of the Republic of Kazakhstan. According to experts, the pure blue color is closest to the soul, nature, and worldview of the Kazakh people. It signifies the cultural and ethnic unity of the Kazakh people while simultaneously indicating the idea of the indivisibility of the state¹⁸³.

When it comes to the educational policy of the state, a country that has been influenced by communist ideology for many years initially put forward educational projects in the context of expanding the Kazakh language. Kazakh elites strive for the adjective "Kazakh" to become the primary definition in as many spheres of social and cultural life in Kazakhstan as possible. Their most important symbol, the Kazakh language, has spread to, if not all, then the maximum number of social and cultural spheres of society. The main goal for them is for the Kazakh language and other social symbols to define the education system in the country, as well as other social systems of society¹⁸⁴. In 1998, within the framework of the "Year of National Unity and National History," the Kazakh language was identified as an important part of state support for the Kazakh national idea¹⁸⁵. The country's 2050 strategy aims for everyone to know and speak Kazakh. When comparing the early years of independence and the

¹⁸⁰ XX vek perenosy stolits: Sbornik dokladov mezhdunarodnoy nauchnoy konferentsii. – Astana: "Elorda", 2008. P. 254.

¹⁸¹ Schatz E. When Capital cities move: the political geography of nation and state building// The Helen Kellogs Institute for International Studies. 2003. Working Paper (303). P. 18.

¹⁸² Kolsto P. Anticipating demographic superiority: Kazakh thinking on integration and nation building // Europe Asia Studies. 1998. V 50, N 1. P. 66.

¹⁸³ Kadyrzhanov R. Natsional'naya identichnost' Kazakhstana i etnokul'turnyy simbolizm. URL: <http://mysl.kazgazeta.kz/?p=266> (Date of access: 29.03.2020).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Kuzio T. Theoretical and comparative perspectives on nationalism, New Directions in cross-cultural and Post-Communist Studies. – Stuttgart: «Ibidem Press», 2014. P. 361.

period after the decision to switch to the Latin alphabet, it becomes clear that Kazakhstan will solve the language problem unless there are unexpected changes in the circumstances. Active measures and targeted policies for teaching the Kazakh language are also implemented in schools in the country¹⁸⁶.

Thus, the political and academic elites in Kazakhstan are shaping a new narrative. There is an understanding that Kazakh ethnic belonging is becoming the center of Kazakh identity, but it also includes the minorities existing in the country. When analyzing the discourses of the first President Nazarbayev, as well as historiography, myths, and official rituals, an impression arises that they neither exclude nor include other religious groups, emphasizing Kazakhness, citizenship, other ethnic elements, and secularism. While Kazakhstani identity based on citizenship is defined in the constitutional structure of the country, a policy of nationalization is also being pursued.

The development of modern Kazakhstan is impossible without studying the history and culture of the people, without understanding the origins of ethnic development, the priority spiritual and moral values of Kazakh culture. The spiritual history of the Kazakh people's past contains deep roots of national identity, which form the value-oriented basis of the historical process and the specific ethno-social reality. The spiritual values accumulated over a long history of Kazakh culture should form the historical and cultural foundation of contemporary Kazakhstani culture. The nomadic way of life has imprinted and determined the uniqueness of the people's culture, mentality, customs, and traditions. The spiritual world of the Kazakhs over the centuries has absorbed many cultural influences, melting and assimilating them into their original steppe traditions. These traditions were so strong that neither political catastrophes and wars nor the cultural expansion of great neighbors (China, Russia), nor Arab and Mongol influences, nor Islamization could fundamentally change them. The reason for this viability and resilience seems to lie in the fact that the mode of production and the type of civilization remained practically unchanged for many centuries. Studying history, one cannot help but marvel at the strong desire of Kazakh ancestors to preserve their traditions, customs, and beliefs. Nomads zealously guarded their distinctiveness: they did not allow the influence of Chinese or Mongolian customs into their mentality. The spiritual and moral values of the Kazakh ethnic group reflect virtues such as hospitality, tolerance, generosity, human communication, and so on. This is the core that is embedded in the genetic memory of the Kazakhs and passed down from generation to generation¹⁸⁷.

Three factors significantly influence modern Kazakh national identity: Islam, tribal connections, the steppe, and the nomadic way of life.

¹⁸⁶ Strategiya "Kazakhstan-2050" // Ofitsial'nyy sayt Respubliki Kazakhstan. URL: https://www.akorda.kz/ru/official_documents/strategies_and_programs (Date of access: 17.04.2020).

¹⁸⁷ Abdigaliyeva G.K. Tsennostnaya identifikatsiya kazakhskoy kul'tury // Vestnik KazNU. Seriya "Filosofiya, kul'turologiya, politologiya". 2011. T. 37. No 2. S.115.

Islam. Identity is formed within the framework of culture, with religion being the most defining element of culture. The perception of Islam by Central Asian societies has been the subject of interest among political scientists. The Islamic faith has undergone a historical process articulated by the traditions of Central Asia, resulting in a unique understanding of Islam. Its adherents make up about 10% of the world's population, including the titular ethnicity of Kazakhstan¹⁸⁸. At this stage, faith in Islam is intertwined with ethnic consciousness. Islam played a significant role in the early stages of new research on national identity in Kazakhstan, which sought to be based on pre-Soviet culture. The establishment of Kazakh statehood during the Soviet period, along with the formation of Kazakh national identity and culture, paved the way for the perception of Islam as an ethnographic factor and the emergence of a secular Kazakh culture that differentiated Kazakhs from the multi-ethnic non-Muslim communities living on their territory. In this context, Islam served as a secular national identity, setting Kazakhs apart from their Russian neighbors, except for a shared range of values such as loyalty to Moscow, internationalism, communism, and atheism¹⁸⁹.

The Soviet regime made "scientific atheism" a state policy and philosophy. Not only Islam but all religions were referred to as the "source of reaction" in Soviet times, including the Kazakh people. During the process of gaining independence, the revival of national self-consciousness took the form of reviving Islam with nomadic traditions. Popular Islam encompassed tribal traditions and beliefs. It can be said that all of this formed the basis of national culture and way of life during the period of national state-building¹⁹⁰.

In reality, Kazakh religious identity represents the same symbiosis of pre-Islamic, Islamic beliefs, and atheistic traditions of the Soviet period. Today, the Islamic religion conceals deeper layers of traditional culture among the contemporary population of Kazakh villages, which are less susceptible to urbanization and have preserved the patriarchal traditions of nomadic society¹⁹¹.

The fact that a member of the Union of Islamic Writers, Khodja Ahmed Yasawi, stated that religious identity was the main source of Kazakh identity in November 1990 is the most significant indicator of the closeness between Islam and national identity. The embodiment of the possibility of reconciling the former beliefs of pagans and the dogmas of the new religion was the Turkic Sufi, Khodja Ahmed Yasawi, recognized by the Turkic world and elevated to the status of a saint. The emergence of the Yasawi cult led by Khodja Ahmed Yasawi in the 12th century is the most prominent feature of this

¹⁸⁸ Religion By Country 2020. URL: <https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/religion-by-country/> ((Date of access: 22.04.2020).

¹⁸⁹ Demirtepe T. M. Orta Asya'da siyaset ve toplum: demokrasi, etnisite ve kimlik, International Strategic Research Organization (USAK), 2012. P. 295.

¹⁹⁰ Karpat K. Türkiye ve Orta Asya. – Ankara: «İmge Yayıncılık», 2004. 122.

¹⁹¹ "Shaikemelev M.S. 'Kazahskaya identichnost'. Monografiya / Pod obsh. red. Z.K. Shauckenovoy. Almaty: Institut filosofii, politologii i religiovedeniya, KN MON RK, 2013. P. 72.

phenomenon¹⁹². Islam was effective not only in terms of faith but also in contributing to the development of the Kazakh language and culture¹⁹³. Moreover, in a broader cultural context, Abay Kunanbayev inherited Sufi traditions and the expression of love for God. This is especially evident in his "Thirty-Eighth Word," where love for Allah and the Truth merge into a single activity of cognitive aspiration¹⁹⁴.

In most post-Soviet Islamic countries, supported by Turkey, Egypt, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia, the process of creating giant mosques has begun. The Nur-Astana Mosque (also the largest mosque in Central Asia), built in Astana in 2005, is the most prominent example of this. Additionally, Kazakhstan is a member of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, as are other Central Asian republics. However, although Islam is an integral part of national identity, decision-makers in Kazakhstan have adopted a secular position in state governance, and freedom of religion and conscience is guaranteed by the constitution. In fact, the cautious approach of Kazakh leaders is easier to understand, considering the potential tensions in relations with Slavic communities and other minorities, which make up almost 30% of the country's population¹⁹⁵. After the adoption of the 1993 constitution, the creation of religious political parties in the country was deemed illegal, and activities that could lead to racial, political, and religious discriminatory practices were prohibited by the 1995 constitution. Thus, during Kazakhstan's period of independence and modernization reforms, religion transformed from being ignored by the state to becoming a significant cultural and spiritual phenomenon. Despite the sharp increase in the number of believers and the new status of religion in society and the state, it has not become a structurally defining mechanism for regulating human relationships. In the spiritual sphere of Kazakhstani society, religion occupies its niche, intimately connected to ethno-cultural identity, positioning itself within its structure as a marginally subordinate element¹⁹⁶.

The steppe and nomadic way of life. After Islam, it is worth noting the role of the steppe in shaping Kazakh national identity. The steppe holds a significance that has a primary influence on the

¹⁹² Ibid. P. 75. See.: Memleket basshısınıñ «Bolaşaqqa baǵdar: rwxanı jañǵırw» attı maqalası, 2017. URL: http://www.akorda.kz/kz/events/akorda_news/press_conferences/memleket-basshysynyn-bolashakka-bagdar-ruhani-zhangyru-atty-makalasy (Date of access: 25.03.2020).

¹⁹³ Demirtepe T. M. Orta Asya'da siyaset ve toplum: demokrasi, etnisite ve kimlik, International Strategic Research Organization (USAK), 2012. P. 295.

¹⁹⁴ Shaikemelev M.S. 'Kazahskaya identichnost. Monografiya / Pod obsh. red. Z.K. Shauckenovoy. Almaty: Institut filosofii, politologii i religiovedeniya, KN MON RK, 2013. P. 75.

¹⁹⁵ Eticheskiy sostav naseleniya mnogoobraven. Po dannym perepisi 1999 g., kazakhi sostavlyali 53,4% (v 1989 g. – 40,1%), russkiye – 30% (v 1989 g. – 37,4%), ukraintsy – 3,7%, uzbeki – 2,5%, nemtsy – 2,4% (v 1989 g. – 5,8%), tatory – 1,7%, uygury – 1,4% (v 1989 g. – 1,1%), belorusy – 0,7%, koreytsy – 0,7%, azerbaydzhantsy – 0,5%, polyaki – 0,3%. Dolya dungan, kurdiv, chechenstsev, tadzhikov, bashkir, moldavan, ingushey, kirgizov i dr. – menye 0,2% dlya kazhdogo perechislennogo etnosa. V severnykh oblastyakh Kazakhstan russkiye poka sostavlyayut bol'shinstvo. Kak i v mnogonatsional'noy Rossii, v Kazakhstane prozhivayut predstaviteli bolee 100 natsiy i narodnostey. Sm.: Politicheskiye sistemy sovremennykh gosudarstv: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik: V 4 t. T.2: Aziya / gl. red. A.V. Torkunov; nauch. Red. A. Yu. Mel'vil'; otv. red. M.G. Mironyuk. M.: Aspekt Press, 2012. P. 188.

¹⁹⁶ Shaikemelev M.S. 'Kazahskaya identichnost'. Monografiya / Pod obsh. red. Z.K. Shauckenovoy. Almaty: Institut filosofii, politologii i religiovedeniya, KN MON RK, 2013. P. 96.

formation of Kazakh national identity. The steppe is seen as a lost and colonized homeland, an area that is sought to be reclaimed. The steppe is viewed as a social space where Kazakh identity, existence, and values are reproduced. Modern Kazakh historians have developed historical notions that the steppe is the ancient homeland of the Kazakhs and nomadic peoples. For example, one of them claims that the origins of the Kazakhs can be traced back to Otrar, the city of Al-Farabi, who lived in the Golden Age between the 13th and 15th centuries¹⁹⁷. Kazakh nomadic civilization has always relied on traditional culture and reproduced itself through traditional experiences, passing them down orally from generation to generation. The undeniable dependence on mythological beliefs, the focus on the past, narrow economic specialization, and caste system gave A. Toynbee a reason to consider nomadic civilizations as "arrested," halted in their development¹⁹⁸.

Primordialists (such as Y. Bromley, K. Girtz, R. Gambino, E. Shils, and others) view ethnicity as a natural and unchanging sense of belonging and the resulting social solidarity acquired at birth, stemming from place of birth and social practices such as kinship relations, religion, language, and traditions¹⁹⁹. Primordialists argue that this situation leads to the emergence of ethnic groups, providing a basis for people with similar characteristics to easily establish kinship. They seek the origins of ethnic loyalty in genetic characteristics and instincts²⁰⁰. The social-biological theories underlying this approach are based on the concept of "reproduction" and the understanding that the primary motivation driving human relationships is kin selection. According to P. van der Berghe, one of the leading representatives of the social-biological approach in nationalism literature, the dominant motive in human relationships is kin-based selection. According to Girtz, primordial loyalty is defined as loyalty stemming from the "given" of social existence or, more accurately, from the "givens" that are taken as true, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters stemming from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a specific language or dialect, and adhering to certain social practices²⁰¹. For example, as mentioned above, it is widely believed that the Kazakh people descended from ancient nomads who lived thousands of years ago in the territory of present-day Kazakhstan. This position reinforces the idea of the biological origins of the people and their natural connection to the territory they inhabit. Thus, it can be said that primordialism, to some extent, is associated with Kazakhstan, as well as with many other countries where ethnic identity plays a significant role in the formation of national distinctiveness and

¹⁹⁷ Diener A. Homeland as social construct: Territorialization among Kazakhstan's Germans and Koreans // *The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*. 2006. V 34, N 2. P. 230.

¹⁹⁸ Shaikemelev M.S. 'Kazahskaya identichnost'. Monografiya / Pod obsh. red. Z.K. Shauckenovoy. Almaty: Institut filosofii, politologii i religiovedeniya, KN MON RK, 2013. P. 67.

¹⁹⁹ Baranov N.A., Kok S. Trudnyy put' k grazhdanskoy natsii: opyt natsiestroitel'stva sovremennogo Kazakhstana // *Problemy postsovetskogo prostranstva*. 2021. T. 8. No.1. P.136-151. P. 138.

²⁰⁰ Özkırımlı U. Milliyetçilik kuramları: eleştirel bir bakış. – Ankara: «Doğu Batı Yayınevi», 2008. P. 90.

²⁰¹ Geertz C. "Primordial and Civic Ties", iç. *Nationalism*, (Ed. A. Smith, J. Hutchinson), Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1994. P. 30.

culture.

Tribal connections. In the 15th century, Kazakh tribes began to organize themselves among the so-called zhuz. "The Kazakhs, subdivided into three zhuz - Senior, Middle, and Junior - segmented into a widely branched clan system. Among them, the Senior Zhuz was located in the vicinity of the Jetisu and Sirdarya, where the Kazakhs first settled, the Middle Zhuz - in the belt around it, and the Junior Zhuz - in the western part of the Kazakh Steppe²⁰². Western and Russian authors, having a vague understanding of the Kazakh people's culture, interpreted the Senior zhuz as Greater or Grand, and the Junior zhuz as Lesser or Small. Until 1917, the Middle zhuz was the most populous (1.5 million) compared to the Junior (1.2 million) and Senior (600,000)²⁰³ ".

In Kazakhstan, the genealogy of the three zhuz holds an important place. The zhuz, which serves as a supratribal structure, plays a significant role in social life. Within Kazakh society, knowledge of one's family genealogy gives an individual a certain status in society. An ordinary Kazakh can trace their genealogy up to seven generations. Those who can trace their genealogical tree for 40 generations receive the most respected status. In Kazakhstan, it is a common tradition to trace one's family tree back to Kuchi Khan (the grandson of Genghis Khan) or Timur. Unlike other Central Asian countries (especially Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan), tribes and genealogy have made Kazakhs more loyal to their state²⁰⁴. The support of the Nazarbayev regime in the Middle Zhuz in the northern regions, where Slavs lived densely, helped the Kazakh state survive. The relocation of the capital to Astana, where the Middle Zhuz lived densely, further integrated them with the new state²⁰⁵.

The significance of the aforementioned connections between tribes in everyday relationships can be observed today. Despite its social importance, members of the Kazakh leadership refrain from publicly declaring their affiliation to a specific zhuz. However, there is another opinion that emphasizes how networks of connections and the presence of certain power resources are formed in accordance with belonging to a specific zhuz. The importance of this is reflected in issues such as recruitment and promotion in the service. There are also those who claim that it is not very important. After gaining independence, the Kazakhstani leadership emphasized its preference for civil national identity based on citizenship - "Kazakhstanis"²⁰⁶.

According to Kadyrzhanov, *"Kazakhstan is one of those states where the national situation is*

²⁰² Artykbaev Zh .O. Istoriya Kazakhstana. – Kostanay: TOO 'Tsentral'no-Aziatskoye knizhnoye izdatel'stvo', 2007. P. 155-160.

²⁰³ Tyulegenov A. Bez etogo Kazakhstan ne ponyat!: karta rasseleniya kazakhskikh plemen – 'zhuzov. URL: <https://www.brif.kz/blog/?p=1122> (Date of access: 01.04.2020).

²⁰⁴ Artykbaev Zh .O. Istoriya Kazakhstana. – Kostanay: TOO 'Tsentral'no-Aziatskoye knizhnoye izdatel'stvo', 2007. P. 204-206.

²⁰⁵ Gürbüz Y. E. Kazakistan'da bir Ulus Devlet Kurmak // Praksis 11. 2004. P. 201.

²⁰⁶ Nazpary J. Sovyet sonrası karmaşa: Kazakistan'da şiddet ve mülksüzleşme. – İstanbul: «İletişim Yayınları», 2003. P. 21.

characterized by a noticeable confrontation between the indigenous people who gave the state its name and the rest of the non-indigenous population. Kazakh titular nationalism has not yet established its dominant position in the national sphere of Kazakhstan. Therefore, any attempts in this direction face resistance from the non-Kazakh part of the population²⁰⁷".

To this day, there is an ongoing discussion about the role and functions of the state in its relations with national elites as the key stakeholders in the formation of Kazakhstan's national identity. National elites within the country are primarily divided into two main groups (Kazakh and Russian), and their positions and interests in identity formation are often opposite. However, it has been found that the position and role of the state in defining national identity in Kazakhstani society prevail. With this aim, the direction of Kazakhstan's national policy is to create a unified Kazakhstani society based on a model of interethnic harmony and agreement. In this regard, the correctness of the national policy direction for ensuring stability and development in the country has been proven in Kazakhstani society. Due to the multi-ethnic social specificity of Kazakhstan, the development of a policy that unites all peoples around common interests will help strengthen interethnic peace and harmony in the country. Therefore, it is not acceptable for the interests of only one nation to dominate the definition of Kazakhstan's collective identity today, as it leads to interethnic hostility²⁰⁸.

The most important issue in nation-building during the creation of modern Republic of Kazakhstan was, of course, identity²⁰⁹. According to Benedict Anderson, "a nation is an imagined political community." It can be argued that the creation of a new state was not only an administrative change but a complete transformation, brought about by the formation of a new identity that overturned the intellectual background on which the state was based. Thus, it can be claimed that the nation-building project is a project that includes both political and social reforms. The state encouraged the study of the history, culture, and social life of the old nation, thereby creating a historical and cultural foundation on which the new state could be based.

The formation of national consciousness occupies a leading place in nation-building, while, whenever possible, avoiding causing problems for non-Kazakh communities. The last 300 years of Kazakh history have been closely linked to Russia. The significant proportion of the Russian population in the country and the shared border with Russia of 4,500 kilometers indicate that these relations will continue for even longer. Additionally, there is the Baikonur Cosmodrome in Kazakhstan, which the

²⁰⁷ Kadyrzhanov R. Natsional'naya identichnost' Kazakhstana i etnokul'turnyy simbolizm URL: <http://mysl.kazgazeta.kz/?p=266> (Date of access: 29.03.2020).

²⁰⁸ Aıtımbetov N.Ý. Qazaqstandaǵı ultıq biregeylik tıj kalıptasu erekshelikteri. Zheke monografiya. – Almatı: "QR BGM GQ Filosoııya, sayacattanu zheñe dintanu institutı. 2018. P. 183.

²⁰⁹ Anderson B. Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism, Translated into Turkish by: Savaşır İ, Metis Publ, Istanbul, 2011. P. 20.

Russian Federation continues to use under a special agreement with the Kazakh side. On the other hand, the presence of nuclear facilities in Kazakhstan requires maintaining their functioning, thus maintaining relations between Russia and Kazakhstan in a positive and mutually beneficial manner.

In Kazakhstan, representatives of 130 ethnic groups²¹⁰ reside. In multiethnic societies, each ethnic group has its own system of symbols, which creates complexity in forming a nation as a unified political community, as ethnic symbols may be incompatible with each other. Speaking of the Kazakh people, their symbols include the nomadic way of life and all related material objects (Kazakh horse breed, yurt and its structural components, winter and summer grazing grounds, etc.). The most important symbols of the Kazakhs are the Kazakh language, music and musical instruments, and other elements of folk culture. Figures of Khans Kirey and Janibek, Abul-Khair Khan, Abai, Chokan Valikhanov, Kurmangazy, Akhmet Baitursynov, and other figures of the Alash Party and many others are among the most important symbols of the Kazakh people. Kazakhs consider their land, the historical homeland with its steppe landscape and landmarks such as Saryarka, Altai, Alatau, Aral, Caspian, and many others as their main symbols²¹¹. It should also be emphasized that textbooks are one of the most important tools in shaping national identity, as they reflect the state's official ideology. In other words, through textbooks and schools, the political society has the opportunity to establish direct connections with civil society. Therefore, the Republic of Kazakhstan has the opportunity to transmit the national state system, social and political discourses through textbooks. It can be said that textbooks, which played a certain role in shaping collective memory in the new independent state, as in the period of the USSR, have become a primary source of references in creating the "new man" envisaged by social changes.

According to Wendt, identity cannot be significant if it is not recognized by other people with whom interactions take place. However, identity is constructed not only as a result of relations with others. Another important factor in identity construction is the "significant other," which is as important as the "other" who defines who "I" do not want to be and at the same time determines what "I" try to emulate. The "significant others" are those whom actors adapt to their understanding or imitate because they perceive them as successful. In this context, it would be incomplete not to mention that the "significant other" of the Republic of Kazakhstan is also represented by the West, the source of modernization, and it can be argued that it has played an important role in shaping the identity of the new republic.

When it comes to Kazakh spirituality, it primarily refers to the history of formation, language,

²¹⁰ Karyakina I. Odin narod – odna strana – odna sudba. August 19, 2021. Naqty: Karasay aūdandıq aptalıq qoғamdıq-sayası gazeti. URL: <https://naqtygazeti.kz/kk/odin-narod-odna-strana-odna-sudba/> (Date of access: 29.04.2023)

²¹¹ Kadyrzhanov R. Natsionalnaya identichnost' Kazakhstana i etnokul'turnyy simbolizm. URL: <http://mysl.kazgazeta.kz/?p=266> (Date of access: 29.03.2020).

culture, literature, religion, and traditions of the Kazakh nation. In order for an ethnic group to be recognized as a nation, it is necessary to have a language, history, land, and homeland. The written and accepted history, language, and culture of the people form the basis of nation-building and enable the people to feel themselves as a nation. Today, although there are often assumptions that nation-states are no longer the main subjects in international relations, nation-states still remain important political players. Therefore, Kazakhstan has started to develop and implement a policy aimed at becoming a nation-state, to take its place in the modern system of nation-states, and thus be accepted at the international level. As part of this policy, ideas about the more ancient origins of the Kazakhs are being promoted, highlighting their significant contribution to the development of humanity²¹².

The language issue occupies a central place in the process of nation-building and national identity formation in the post-Soviet space. In Kazakhstan, this problem is manifested through the process of so-called "Kazakhization." It implies the advancement of the Kazakh people, their language, culture, and symbolism to leading positions in all spheres of public life. Kazakhization can be seen as a reaction to the processes that took place in the national sphere of Kazakhstan during the Soviet period, characterized by Russification. To some extent, Kazakhization involves the introduction of the Kazakh language into spheres of public life where Russian dominates, as well as a significant reduction in its usage²¹³.

The concept of identity is of interest in various fields, including sociology, anthropology, and political science. In the case of Kazakhstan, the concept of identity is widely discussed, especially in relation to the country's ethnic diversity. Two terms that are often used in discussions of Kazakh identity are "Kazakhstani identity" and "Kazakh identity." Although these two terms may seem similar, they have different meanings that require clarification.

Kazakh identity refers to the identity of the Kazakh people, who are the titular nation of Kazakhstan. Kazakh identity encompasses the cultural and historical heritage of the Kazakh people, as well as their language and traditions. It is an important aspect of the project of forming a Kazakh nation and has been the subject of close attention by scholars.

Kazakhstani identity, on the other hand, is a broader concept that includes all ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan, not just the Kazakh people. It is a more inclusive identity that recognizes the diversity of Kazakhstan's population and seeks to create a sense of unity and belonging among all citizens. Kazakhstani identity involves the recognition and high regard for the cultural and political institutions of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

²¹² Gürbüz Y. E. Kazakistan'da bir Ulus Devlet Kurmak // Praksis 11. 2004. P. 199.

²¹³ Aitymbetov N., Toktarov Y., Ormakhanova Y. Nation-Building in Kazakhstan: Kazakh and Kazakhstani Identities Controversy // Bilig - Turk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi. 2015. V 74, N 74. P. 10-11.

One of the key characteristics of civic identity is inclusivity, which encompasses not only the titular nation but also all other ethnic groups living in the country. In Kazakhstan, Kazakhstani identity embodies this inclusivity and recognizes the importance of all ethnic groups for the uniqueness and development of the country. The concept of Kazakhstani identity reflects that Kazakhstan is a multi-ethnic society and that its citizens have diverse cultural backgrounds, but they are united by a common commitment to the country.

In conclusion, it should be noted that although Kazakh identity and Kazakhstani identity are related concepts, they have different meanings. Kazakh identity specifically pertains to the identity of the Kazakh people, while Kazakhstani identity is a broader concept that acknowledges the diversity of Kazakhstan's population. The concept of Kazakhstani identity is an important aspect of the state-building project in Kazakhstan, as it aims to create a sense of unity and belonging to one nation among all citizens, regardless of their ethnic origin.

Conclusions of the first chapter

In this chapter, which includes the analysis of identity concepts, the following paragraphs can be summarized as follows:

- The concept of identity, which has a broad definition and coverage problem, is defined differently in various fields and does not have a unified definition within one field. In the context of work according to the constructivist paradigm, identity is constructed, flexible, and contains multiple meanings.

- Summarizing the definitions presented in the work, it can be said that identity is the most accessible way of cultural determinism in society. Identity, which has personal significance, can also acquire social significance, and its adaptation on a national and social scale can also influence the formation of relationships and integration between individuals and society. Elements that emerge at a certain time, in a certain place, and give a sense of belonging to a community allow that community to distinguish itself from others and thus have a unique identity. Therefore, it can be stated that there is a direct connection between identity and culture. At this stage of identity formation, it is necessary to consider the influence of cultural policy on the process of nation-building.

- In our view, globalization contributes to the blurring of identity, which can have both positive and negative consequences. In order to successfully develop humanity, it is necessary to prevent the negative impact of globalization on both Western and Eastern societies in the context of identity politics.

- The most important factor that makes Kazakhstan interesting in terms of nation-building and the formation of national-state identity is the diversity of the country's population structure. From the Soviet experiment, it became clear that the nomadic Kazakhs modernized under Soviet rule. However, modernization gave rise to Russian hegemony, especially considering the language issue. Indeed, the

need for a common language among Soviet people naturally increased the influence of the Russian language. Nevertheless, the process of state-building in the Soviet style, which was designated as "socialist in content and national in form," also provided an opportunity to use local languages in all aspects of the official and everyday life of Soviet citizens.

– In the process of identity formation in Kazakhstan, it is noteworthy that political identity was built on Kazakh national identity, while emphasizing the concept of a "common homeland" for all ethnic groups. All historical elements of national identity, constructed on the ethnic core, are actively used in the process of identity creation.

– The study of political and cultural identity in Kazakhstan allows us to conclude that national identity is one of the key elements in the construction of statehood and the formation of social unity. In the conditions of ethnic diversity and historically established regional differences, national identity becomes the basis for the creation of a unified nation and state, and contributes to the formation of a common culture and values. However, the processes of political identity formation, especially in the context of transitioning to a democratic system of governance, may be accompanied by conflicts between different political groups and forces in society. It is important to consider that in the context of nation-building, cultural heritage and historical experiences of the population should be taken into account, and respect and protection of the rights of minorities and the diversity of cultural traditions should be ensured.

CHAPTER 2. THE INFLUENCE OF STATE CULTURAL POLICY ON THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL-STATE IDENTITY IN MODERN KAZAKHSTAN

Of course, it is always difficult to draw clear parallels between the past and the present. However, based on the analysis conducted in this study, we can clarify the following two points. The first concerns the position of the state regarding religion, not only Islam or Christianity, but also the nation-building process and the culture of the population in the conditions of communist development. Secondly, it relates to the possibility of very limited commitment to tolerance within the Soviet national culture and between different cultures that shape their interaction and discursive effects under certain circumstances. Since critical ideals of multiculturalism are indicative of social and civic conflicts, they can be directed towards analyzing the damage inflicted by the social and political structure to maintain their differences and interactions. Such a balancing act between assessing differences and excessive accentuation of them becomes one of the most important issues of multiculturalism today²¹⁴. Although the history of nation-states emerged in the 19th century, the peoples of Central Asia had been following global events for decades as part of the Soviet Union, with its socialist ideology based on Marxism-Leninism. With the dissolution of the USSR, new states emerged on the historical stage, which were named after the dominant ethnic groups²¹⁵. The Central Asian states, which declared their independence in 1991, have experienced numerous political and economic crises. As a result of these crises, these countries have faced various economic, religious, and ethnic contradictions. The main objective of this chapter is to analyze the current policy of nationalization in Kazakhstan, assess the impact of this policy on the different ethnic groups that constitute a significant portion of the country's population, and analyze the pros and cons of Kazakhstan in achieving the goals set forth in the post-1991 period.

2.1. Internal political factors in shaping the national identity of Kazakhstan in the 21st century: the role of state cultural policy

One of the most important challenges of nation-building during the creation of modern Republic of Kazakhstan was and continues to be the construction of identity. According to Benedict Anderson's

²¹⁴ Bonet L. and Négrier E. *Ulusal Kültürlerin Sonu mu? Çeşitlilik Sınavlarında Kültür Politikaları* / Translated from Eng. by Ergüden I. – Istanbul: «Bilgi University Publ.» 2011. P. 22-23.

²¹⁵ Ethnic groups can be thought of as forms of social organization. The main attribute becomes the attribution of identity to oneself and the attribution of identity to others. See.: Bart F. *Etnicheskiye gruppy i sotsial'nyye granitsy: sotsial'naya organizatsiya kul'turnykh razlichiy: Sbornik statey / Pod red. F. Bart; Translated from Eng. I. Pil'shchikova. M.: Novoye izdatel'stvo, 2006. P. 15.*

definition, "a nation is an imagined political community"²¹⁶. It can be argued that the creation of a new state was not only an administrative but also a total transformation, driven by the formation of a new identity that overturned the intellectual foundation upon which the state was built. Thus, it can be asserted that the nation-building project is a project that encompasses both political and social reforms. The state encouraged the study of the nation's history, culture, and social life, thereby creating a historical and cultural foundation on which the new state could be based.

The process of Kazakhs becoming a nation on an ethnic basis began with the demand to break away from the heterogeneous environment offered by the USSR. With the proclamation of independence, they rejected the identity of the USSR and expressed a desire to homogenize among themselves. Imagined others were used as a means of homogenization. At the core of this process are binary oppositions created against identities. Kazakh identity is positioned in the face of others formed by linguistic contrasts such as Russian-Kazakh, religious contrasts such as Christian-Muslim, and geographic contrasts such as Central Asia-Eurasia or East-West. The defining factor of this process became collective formation, on which Kazakhs, seeking to ensure their national integrity and independence, would build their identity both spiritually and materially. This culminated in Kazakhs defining themselves religiously as Muslims and ethnically as Turkic. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, communism lost its status as a model for a political system. In Kazakhstan, the socialist identity acquired during the Cold War was discarded and replaced by a new process of identity formation.

When 15 new states gained independence as a result of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, these countries embarked on measures to strengthen their new independent status. After gaining independence in late 1991, Kazakhstan implemented a series of policies aimed at nationalization. These policies, which have had an impact on the lives of people living in Kazakhstan across various fields including culture, arts, education, politics, and economy, essentially aim at creating a new society. The national question is among the important and relevant issues for the socio-political development of modern Kazakhstan. Since gaining independence, issues of ethnic stability and national consolidation have been at the forefront of the country's political leadership, led by the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Leader of the Nation, N.A. Nazarbayev. N.A. Nazarbayev spoke at the 7th session of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan in December 2000 and stated, *"The state is not just territory but also the common culture of the people. The Kazakh culture should become the core around which the cultural unity of the entire Kazakhstan is built"*²¹⁷. The Kazakhstani model of interethnic harmony and mutual

²¹⁶ Benedict A. Hayali cemaatler, milliyetçiliğin kökenleri ve yayılması / Translated from Eng.by İ. Savaşır. –İstanbul: «Metis Yaynevi », 2011. P. 20.

²¹⁷ Nazarbayev N. Dukhovno-kul'turnoye razvitiye naroda – osnova ukrepleniya gosudarstvennoy nezavisimosti Kazakhstana: Vystupleniye na VII sessii Assamblei druzhby narodov Kazakhstana // Kazakhstanskaya pravda. 16.12.2000.

respect among nationalities has received high praise in the international community²¹⁸. The successful achievements in the economic sphere, facilitated by the presence of natural resources, and the efforts to address the issues of diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural communities remain relevant in the political process²¹⁹. However, it is still too early to draw a definitive conclusion about whether these policies are "successful" or not.

In polyethnic countries, where there are different ethnic communities and groups, whose numbers are small or inferior to the dominant majority, the classical model of democracy typically ensures strong political dominance of the numerically preponderant ethnic groups. In this case, the interests of minorities may not be taken into account or may not be fully considered. This raises the question of which political system can lay claim to democracy in the presence of an ethnically differentiated society?

Among political scientists, there is no consensus on the definition of the term "democratization." Most commonly, democratization is regarded in the broadest sense as a transition from non-democratic forms of governance to democratic ones. However, since the process of democratization does not always lead to the establishment of modern democracy, some researchers propose using another concept - "democratic transition," which does not imply a mandatory transition to democracy but indicates the fact that democratization is a process with uncertain outcomes. In this regard, researchers distinguish democratization as the process of the emergence of democratic institutions and practices, and the consolidation of democracy as a possible outcome of democratization, which involves a transition to modern democracy based on the rooting of democratic institutions, practices, and values. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, contradictions in the Western democracies, taken as a model, became evident, as they "acquired forms of conflict, internal tension, and overheating of the political system" in less favorable conditions of democratizing countries²²⁰.

According to Charles Tilly²²¹, in the world we live in today, we observe that democracy, on the one hand, is increasingly used in more countries as a "discourse," "rhetoric," or even a "qualifying adjective defining the political system." On the other hand, we see those human rights violations, attempts to restrict rights and freedoms, poverty, deprivation, isolation, inequality, and other disparities are becoming more prevalent in an increasing number of countries. Now, authoritarian regimes also define themselves as democracies and attempt to maintain their administration by widely employing

²¹⁸ Narbekova G. Natsional'noye stroitel'stvo i kul'turnaya identichnost' Kazakhstana // Mir cheloveka. 2012. N. 3 (53). P. 43.

²¹⁹ Cohen A. Kazakhstan: The road to independence /energy policy and the birth of a Nation. Washington, D.C.: Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, 2008. P. 279.

²²⁰ Baranov N. A. Evolyutsiya sovremennoy demokratii: politicheskiy opyt Rossii: dis... d-ra polit. nauk, Sankt-Peterburgskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet. SPb., 2009. P. 159.

²²¹ See: Tilli CH. Demokratiya / trans. from English T.B. Menskaya. – M.: ANO 'Institut obshchestvennogo proyektirovaniya', 2007. – 263 p.

anti-democratic methods and human rights violations under this assertion. Tilly provides examples such as Kazakhstan and Jamaica in this regard. When we consider the concepts of democracy, democratic governance, and democratic culture comparatively in the contemporary world, as a result, the number of examples of countries where democracy is used as rhetoric but not applied in regulating the relationship between the state and society/individuals is gradually increasing. We can call this problem the "dilemma of democracy." In today's world, as we examine the facts of democracy, democratic governance, and democratic culture in comparison, the number of examples of countries where democracy is used as discourse but not applied in regulating the relationship between the state and society/individuals is growing. Modern democracy is not only a political system but also a form of regulating the relationship between the state and society/individual, political culture, and form of cultural policy²²².

Each nation-building state has its own characteristics determined by its cultural and historical development, and this applies to post-Soviet nation-building states as well. Despite their shared Soviet past, each post-Soviet country had its own path to independence and its specific features in implementing the policy of nation-building. For instance, in the case of Kazakhstan's national policy, there is a contrast between Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities, expressed through the juxtaposition of Kazakh and Russian-Slavic cultural orientations regarding the terms "Kazakh" and "Kazakhstani." This opposition between "Kazakh nation" and "Kazakhstani nation" can be seen as a contradiction in the state's nomenclature: "Republic of Kazakhstan" or "Kazakh Republic"²²³.

The issue of searching for a new national identity is characteristic of many modern states. It has not bypassed countries like the United States, Russia, or the countries of the European Union, which are addressing this problem in a similar manner to all post-Soviet states, including Kazakhstan²²⁴. According to Shaykemelov, the interest in positioning the status of ethnic groups is driven by the real need of Kazakhstani society to fill the ideological vacuum that emerged after the collapse of totalitarian ideology, coinciding with the rise of global multicultural tendencies. The multiethnic nature of Kazakhstani society both highlights and complicates the task of forming a sense of commonality among Kazakhstani ethnic groups as fellow citizens. In this regard, it is crucial to have a scholarly understanding of the issues

²²² Thus, in the 1960s the "right to culture" was for the first time taken into account within the framework of UNESCO and attributed to the responsibility of states. The "democratization of culture", turning into the "cultural democracy", step by step intensified and changed the parameters of the cultural policy. On the other hand, the cultural policy in Kazakhstan, passing through various stages with the legacy of the Soviet Union, still has a significant influence. From an institutional point of view, they look like important steps, which especially in the 2000s the private sector increasingly promoted cultural investments, and the National Report, which was presented to the Council of Europe in 2013, for the first time officially clarified the cultural policy.

²²³ Aitymbetov N., Toktarov Y., Ormakhanova Y. Nation-Building in Kazakhstan: Kazakh and Kazakhstani Identities Controversy // Bilig - Turk Dunyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi. 2015. V 74, N 74. P. 6.

²²⁴ Nurgaliyeva ZH. K. Poiski novoy etnicheskoy identichnosti v Respublike Kazakhstan kak natsionaliziruyushchem gosudarstve // Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta. Sotsiologiya. 2009. T. 3. N. 12. P. 80.

related to the horizontal structuring of the Kazakhstani multiethnic community and the formation of new synthetic and multicultural identities that can strengthen the foundation of the Kazakhstani model of interethnic harmony²²⁵.

Recognizing the need for modernization, the First President N.A. Nazarbayev emphasized this in his speech, stating: "One country, one people, one destiny," with a unified goal, shared interests, and a shared future. He also "set a specific task" to develop and approve a long-term concept for the country's cultural policy, aimed at shaping a competitive cultural mentality among Kazakhstani citizens and fostering the development of contemporary cultural clusters. By implementing this task, Kazakhstan aims to become one of the centers for the development of global culture and art by 2050²²⁶. N. Nazarbayev articulated the national idea in his Address to the people of Kazakhstan titled "Strategy 'Kazakhstan-2050': The New Political Course of a Established State." Emphasizing the significance of "Mangilik El" (Eternal Nation) as a unifying ideology aimed at modernizing all spheres of Kazakhstani society, the task is set to collectively embark on the construction of a prosperous and successful Kazakhstan. Historical experience demonstrates that a lack of knowledge about one's own culture, its past and present, leads to a breakdown in the connection between generations and erodes the ties between different eras, causing irreparable damage to human and national development as a whole. In this context, understanding the role of social consensus in nurturing a person's national culture, "Mangilik El" becomes the foundational pillar of the 'Kazakhstan-2050' Strategy²²⁷.

Furthermore, the development of the act took two years, and the Patriotic Act "Mangilik El" was adopted on April 23, 2016, at the XXIV session of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan. The philosophical and political foundations of the concept of "Mangilik El" trace back to the times of ancient Turkic civilizations. Ancestors called for the revival of a great state, preventing discord and internal strife, preserving unity of goals and aspirations, and resisting external divisive forces. Serving this idea has always protected Kazakh lands from invaders. Additionally, the creation of a unified system of state bodies at all levels and institutions of civil society aims to strengthen and develop Kazakhstani identity and unity based on the principles of citizenship. It involves shaping a generation in the proposed spirit, united around the strategic development goals of the country and educated on the principles of Kazakhstani identity and unity, fostering a new Kazakhstani patriotism. It includes the formation of a society of labor and professionals that cultivates values such as family, friendship, unity, as well as

²²⁵ Shaykemelev M.S. *Kazakhskaya identichnost'*. Monografiya Pod obshch. red. Z.K. Shaukenovoy. : Institut filosofii, politologii Almaty i religiovedeniya KN MON RK, 2013. P. 5.

²²⁶ Aqparat A. *Mädeni sayasat - memlekettiñ bastı ideologiyalıq tuğırnaması*, 2014. // URL: <https://abai.kz/post/39948> (Date of access: 25.01.2019).

²²⁷ Kalashnikova N. P. *Obshchestvennoye soglasiyev kontekste natsional'noy idei «mangilik yel» // Gosudarstvennoye upravleniye i gosudarstvennaya sluzhba*. 2015. N. 1. P. 162.

industriousness, honesty, knowledge, and education, and multilingualism. The implementation of state programs by central and local executive bodies focuses on strengthening historical memory and the spiritual and cultural heritage of the people. Measures are also taken to develop the secular character of the state, based on the principles of spiritual unity within Kazakhstani society. Furthermore, a mechanism for monitoring, reporting, and controlling the activities of central and local executive bodies in implementing the Concept, as well as priorities for nation-building towards a shared future, is established²²⁸. The idea of "Mangilik El" is the result of the long crystallization of the fundamental values of the unified people of Kazakhstan. Harmonious coexistence has been the norm and a natural principle of behavior for the multicultural heritage of the Kazakhstani ethnic groups for centuries. This principle has transformed into the foundational principle of the entire state policy. It has set the standard for the effective implementation of state policies aimed primarily at strengthening social harmony, interethnic tolerance, national unity, and qualitative growth of human capital. By emphasizing these principles, the state aims to enhance societal cohesion, foster interethnic tolerance, promote national unity, and ensure the qualitative development of human resources²²⁹.

As analyzed in the previous chapter, the Soviet legacy led to an ethnically diverse society in Kazakhstan. The proportion of Kazakhs surpassed the psychological threshold in 1998, reaching 50.6%. The significance of exceeding this limit lies in the fact that Kazakhstan is not only quantitatively but also qualitatively the homeland of Kazakhs. The government of Kazakhstan actively supported the immigration of Kazakhs to their homeland. While Kazakhstan needed a skilled population, which largely consisted of Russians in the early years of independence, the Kazakhstani elite allowed for the emigration of skilled Russian population, especially to Russia. Indeed, such a situation of "ownership of the country" is not unique to Kazakhstan. It is a common reflex in post-communist countries, not only in the former USSR but also in former Yugoslavia²³⁰.

The state policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the field of culture during the transitional period aimed at recognizing and maintaining the fundamental role of culture in the life and development of society. It is regulated by the Constitution, laws of the republic on culture, on the preservation and use of historical and cultural heritage, on copyright and related rights, on languages, and on public associations. It is also guided by the Concept of Socio-Cultural Development approved by the National Council for the Development of State Policy under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, as well

²²⁸ Kolbachayeva ZH. Ye. Osobennosti formirovaniya natsional'noy identichnosti Kazakhstana v sovremennykh usloviyakh // Problemy postsovet'skogo prostranstva. 2018. N. 5(1). P. 105-106.

²²⁹ Kalashnikova N. P. Obshchestvennoye soglasie v kontekste natsional'noy idei «mangilik el» // Gosudarstvennoye upravleniye i gosudarstvennaya sluzhba. 2015. N. 1. P. 162.

²³⁰ Dinç D. Nationality Policies In Post-Soviet Kazakhstan, Unpublished master thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2010. P. 83.

as the Concept of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Kazakhstan on "Cultural Policy in the Modern Stage". In accordance with Articles 24 and 27 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 1995, the state ensures the priority development of culture and guarantees freedom to all citizens²³¹.

In Kazakhstan, two important strategies of nation-state building have emerged, each representing dominant models of national identity. The first strategy aims to form a unified Kazakhstani nation from a multiethnic society, based on the commonality of citizenship. The second strategy is intended to be associated with the national identity of Kazakhs themselves²³².

In his article "Independence - the Most Precious", written on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the Republic's independence, President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev of Kazakhstan highlights the triad of Kazakhstani sovereignty, which includes vast land, a sacred language, as well as prosperity and unity, reflecting on it as follows: "Due to various circumstances, many people of different nationalities have lived on Kazakhstani land at different times. The Kazakh people did not look down on anyone. Today, their homeland is Kazakhstan." The Kazakhstani President writes that there has been no discrimination based on nationality in the Republic, and conditions have been created for everyone to grow and be provided with equal opportunities. Thus, the multinational composition has been turned to their advantage, "therefore, the preservation of interethnic peace and harmony is not only the responsibility of state structures but also of society as a whole and every citizen"²³³. In another speech, President Tokayev emphasized that representatives of different ethnicities coexist in peace and harmony in Kazakhstan. He emphasized that the country has a shared vision of the future and that all citizens are part of a unified nation. The President also noted that the principle of "unity in diversity" will never lose its relevance. "We must maintain interethnic harmony. The concept of 'citizen of Kazakhstan' should become the cornerstone of our national identity. Thus, as a united people, we will confidently step into the future," added the Head of State²³⁴. This principle allows for the construction of a unified nation based on respect and mutual understanding, overcoming differences and collaborating for the benefit of all citizens of Kazakhstan. Since declaring independence on December 16, 1991, Kazakhstan has been following its own path in building a national state, which President Tokayev divides into three decades, each with its own unique task: the first decade of independence - a period of laying the foundations of the new Kazakhstan; the second decade - a period of expanding the needs of the Kazakh people; the

²³¹ Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Almaty, Kazakhstan, 1995. Article 8.

²³² Nysanbayev A., Malinin G. Nursultan Nazarbayev: Kazakhstan - territoriya mira i kontinent. Almaty, 2005. See.: Ospanov T.T. Poiski kazakhskoy identichnosti v usloviyakh globalizatsii // Vestnik KazNPU. 2013. URL: <https://articlekz.com/article/10812> (Date of access: 28.04.2020).

²³³ Tokayev K.-ZH. Nezavisimost' – samoye dorogoye // Yegemen Kazakhstan. 2021. 05.01. URL: <https://egemen.kz/article/260146-tauelsizdik-barinen-qymbat> (Date of access: 31.01.2021).

²³⁴ Kazakhstan Today // Tokayev: My dolzhny vospityvat' mezhreligioznoye soglasiye. 06.10.2022 <https://www.kt.kz/rus/state/1377940824.html> (Date of access: 31.05.2021).

third decade - a period of prosperity and transforming the country into a prosperous state. "The task of the upcoming fourth decade," believes the President of Kazakhstan, "is to become a powerful country and a mature nation"²³⁵. While placing great importance on strengthening sovereignty, Kazakhstan also implements a targeted policy at the official level to shape the national identity of its residents. The following factors have the greatest influence on the collective identity of the state community in the Republic of Kazakhstan: demographic diversity, language policy, and state symbols²³⁶.

Eight internal political factors can be identified that contribute to the formation of national identity in Kazakhstan, including demographic diversity and citizenship, language policy, state symbols, constitutional changes, political parties, sacred places, the capital city, and globalization.

Demographic diversity and citizenship. In 2004, the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan proposed the doctrine of "People's Unity" or "People of Kazakhstan," voiced by the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev. However, the new idea of the "Kazakhstani nation" fundamentally changes the position of the indigenous Kazakh nation in the country. The concept of the "Kazakhstani nation," along with the status of the titular nation, autochthons, and owners of Kazakhstani land, is now abolished. In other words, all other ethnic groups²³⁷ (more than 130 ethnic groups) become autochthons and owners of the shared "Kazakhstani land"²³⁸. Many ethnicities and ethnic groups in various regions of the republic live compactly, which significantly enhances ethnic and cultural diversity and poses the task of satisfying their national-cultural needs, especially in the field of culture²³⁹.

The law states that the primary task of the Assembly is to contribute to the preservation, revival, and development of the national cultures, languages, and traditions of the people of Kazakhstan based on the principles of equality. During the session of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan in 2008, in order to promote the formation of the Kazakhstani model of interethnic and interreligious tolerance, five fundamental principles were formulated:

1. Unity of the people;
2. National values - tolerance and responsibility;
3. Consolidating role of the titular ethnicity;

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Baranov N.A., Kok S. Trudnyy put' k grazhdanskim natsiyam: opyt natsiyestroitel'stva sovremennogo Kazakhstana. Problemy postsovetskogo prostranstva. 2021;8(1):136-151. P. 141-142.

²³⁷ According to the data from the Statistics Bureau of Kazakhstan, the population as of June 1, 2023, is 19,879,003. As of July 1, 2023, the population (permanent residents) of Kazakhstan is 19,082,467 people, including 1,905,861 children under the age of 6, 2,254,116 teenagers (schoolchildren) aged 7 to 17, 2,287,511 young adults aged 18 to 29, 8,207,846 adults aged 30 to 60, 4,159,978 elderly individuals aged 60 and above, and 267,155 long-lived individuals in Kazakhstan who are over 80 years old. See: Byuro natsional'noy statistiki. URL: <https://stat.gov.kz/ru/> (Date of access: 13.07.2023).

²³⁸ Doktrina natsional'nogo yedinstva Kazakhstana, 2010. URL: https://online.zakon.kz/document/?doc_id=30501158 (Date of access: 11.05.2020).

²³⁹ Baymagambetov S. Z. Kul'turnaya politika: razrabotka, realizatsiya, problemy (istoricheskiy analiz). – Almaty. 1998. P. 75.

4. Ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic diversity as the main wealth;
5. The state creates conditions for the cultural development of languages.

It can be argued that the Assembly is intended to serve as a resource to support the preservation and revival of culture among the ethnic groups of Kazakhstan, as a forum for discussing issues related to interethnic coexistence and maintaining the country's path of civil national construction in Kazakhstan. However, as some point out, the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan can be seen as a group of President loyalists representing the ethnic groups of the country²⁴⁰. According to President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan is essentially a fundamental institution aimed at strengthening the foundations of the state. The Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan is a unique structure that fulfills the function of strengthening national unity. It brings together all ethnic groups residing on the sacred territory of Kazakhstan. The citizens working in the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan can rightfully be called ambassadors of national unity²⁴¹.

The problem of nation-building in post-Soviet states, with their multi-ethnic and multi-confessional populations and the legacy of their Soviet past, indicates that the formation of national identity in contemporary Kazakhstan is taking place in complex conditions. Each post-Soviet state underwent a difficult process of self-identification, but in Kazakhstan, this phenomenon was accompanied by the most significant contradictions. The contradictions arose from the clash of worldviews between the two main ethnic groups, the Kazakhs and the Russians, after the country gained independence²⁴². It is impossible to achieve mutual understanding without the formation of a civil, rather than ethnic, national identity among the population. This is where the main problem of forming national identity in Kazakhstan lies.

The contradiction between ethnocultural and civic identities in the formation of national identity in Kazakhstan is manifested as follows: on the one hand, the nation-state is built according to the post-Soviet model of a titular nation state. This model of nation-building is predetermined by the Soviet past, as in the USSR, the union republics were regarded as quasi-states of the titular nation, and the name of the republic was determined by the name of the nation, while the status of the nation was attributed to ethnic groups (nationalities) rather than the entire Soviet people. On the other hand, in a multi-ethnic society, ethnic groups are opposed to the state representing only one ethnicity, even if it is the

²⁴⁰ Melich J., Adibayeva A. Nation-Building and Cultural Policy in Kazakhstan // *European Scientific Journal*. 2013. V 2. P. 270.

²⁴¹ Vystupleniye Glavy gosudarstva K.K. Tokayeva na XXXII sessii naroda Kazakhstana «Spravedlivyy Kazakhstan: yedinstvo, stabil'nost', razvitiye» // General'noye konsul'stvo Respubliki Kazakhstan v g. Dzhidda (Korolevstvo Saudovskoy Aravii). 03.05.2023. URL: <https://www.gov.kz/memleket/entities/mfa-jeddah/press/article/details/123226?lang=ru> (Date of access: 20.05.2023).

²⁴² Aitymbetov N., Toktarov Y., Ormakhanova Y. Nation-Building in Kazakhstan: Kazakh and Kazakhstani Identities Controversy // *Bilig - Turk Dunyasi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 2015. V 74, N 74. P. 2.

demographically and politically dominant one. This means that in a multi-ethnic society, citizens define their national identity with the state and its institutions, rather than with any specific ethnic group, as identification with an ethnic group raises concerns among non-titular ethnic groups about being assimilated by the titular ethnic group. The essence and purpose of solving this dilemma is to, on the one hand, preserve and strengthen the titular character of the national state, and on the other hand, to form and maintain a civic identity in order to prevent interethnic conflicts and strengthen interethnic stability. As post-Soviet practice shows, both Kazakhstan and various other states have been able to address this task with varying degrees of success²⁴³.

Russian researchers I. S. Semenenko, V. V. Lapkin, A. L. Bardin, and V. I. Pantin wrote about the political-institutional perspectives of social consolidation and the agenda of identity politics in the expert and academic communities of Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Belarus. Their work was based on the analysis and synthesis of structured in-depth interviews with experts and scholars from various research organizations in these countries. For example, interviews were conducted with experts from organizations such as the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (four interviews with experts) and the Library of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan - Leader of the Nation (three interviews with experts). The trends in identity politics in Kazakhstan, identified during the interviews, were summarized in a table. In the process of establishing a new statehood, the current state of civil identity plays a determining role in shaping the trajectories of political development. However, as post-Soviet experience has shown, the factor of civil identity in state-building can become irrelevant in critical situations, and the key resource for state consolidation becomes the confrontation with a significant "Other"²⁴⁴.

Table 1. Socio-Political Context and Indicators of Identity Politics in Kazakhstan

Main Socio-Political Divisions: Urban-Rural Population	Regional (South-North Divide)
Attitude towards Russia and the USSR in Memory Politics and Education	Situationally (Positive / Negative)
The significance of the Great Patriotic War in the politics of memory	Moderate
The origins of a people and their historical statehood	The Turkic Khaganate (1st millennium CE) and the Kazakh Khanate (15th century).
The languages officially present in educational policy	Kazakh, English, Russian, Uyghur, Chinese.

²⁴³ Kadyrzhanov R.K. Etnokul'turnyy simvolizm i natsional'naya prinadlezhnost' Kazakhstana Pod obshch. red. Z.K. Shaukenovoy. – Almaty: «Institut filosofii, politologii i religiovedeniya KN MON RK», 2014. P. 8-9.

²⁴⁴ Semenenko I.S., Lapkin V.V., Bardin A.L., Pantin V.I. Mezhdru tsennost'yu i natsiyey: dilemmy politiki identichnosti na postsovetskom prostranstve // Polis. Politicheskoye issledovaniya. 2017. N. 5. P. 72, 74.

Continuation of Table 1

State holidays are instruments of symbolic politics	Language Day of the Peoples of Kazakhstan, Unity Day of the Peoples of Kazakhstan, Victory Day (May 9), Day of Gratitude
Historical figures - "personifiers" of identity	Janibek Khan, Kerey Khan, Abay Kunanbayev, Amanzhol Imanov, Chokan Valikhanov, Aliya Moldagulova
Key non-state actors in identity politics	Islamic religious organizations, the Orthodox Church (ROC)

The terms "Kazakh" and "Kazakhstani", as in Soviet times, continue to carry ethnic content (Kazakh) and territorial, administrative, political and ideological meaning (Kazakhstani). Bolatkhan Tayzhan (2009), one of the leaders of the national-patriotic sector, bitterly noted that today the clichés "Kazakh land", "Kazakh literature", "Kazakh culture" are widespread, while the concepts "Kazakh land", "Kazakh people" are practically out of use²⁴⁵.

Wimmer says, *'Political alliances of state elites in the early stages of nation-state formation are most important for defining the boundary between the nation and the minority... [...]'*²⁴⁶. In other words, the greater the representation of minority representatives in political alliances of state elites, the higher the likelihood that representatives of these minority groups will be involved in the process of defining the boundaries. Depending on the constellations of actors in the social arena, different actors will adhere to different boundary strategies. This means that during the process of establishing boundaries between the nation and the minority, state elites will have to engage in negotiations with other interested groups that possess power or resources. Therefore, it is expected that the leaders of Kazakhstan will choose a policy with a level of ethnic differentiation that will serve their interests, provided they have the necessary resources. Furthermore, if the executive power in the state is strong, meaning that the government has the economic, political, and symbolic resources to enforce boundaries that will advance its interests, then the development of a strategy will be of utmost importance to the population²⁴⁷.

In all regions of the country, there are over 900 ethnocultural associations, 192 ethno-educational complexes, and houses of friendship²⁴⁸. For example, in Almaty, there is the 'House of Friendship,' and in Astana, there is the Palace of Peace and Accord, built on the orders of the President. These venues host the congresses of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan²⁴⁹, as well as gatherings of

²⁴⁵ Aitymbetov N., Toktarov Y., Ormakhanova Y. Nation-Building in Kazakhstan: Kazakh and Kazakhstani Identities Controversy // Bilig - Turk Dnyasi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi. 2015. V 74, N 74. P. 8.

²⁴⁶ Wimmer, A. The making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries. A Multilevel Process Theory // American Journal for Sociology 113 (4), 2008. P. 996-1002. См.: Kesici Ö. The Dilemma in the Nation-Building Process: The Kazakh or Kazakhstani Nation? // Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe. 2011. V.10, N 1. P. 36.

²⁴⁷ Kesici Ö. The Dilemma in the Nation-Building Process: The Kazakh or Kazakhstani Nation? // Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe. 2011. V.10, N 1. P. 35-36.

²⁴⁸ Ob obvineniyakh Kontseptsii priblizheniya i razvitiya kazakhstanskoy identichnosti i yedinstva. URL: <http://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/U1500000147> (Date of access: 29.02.2020).

²⁴⁹ The idea of creating the Assembly was first voiced by Nursultan Nazarbayev in 1992, at the Forum of the People of Kazakhstan dedicated to the first anniversary of Independence. On March 1, 1995, the Decree of the President on the

representatives of global and traditional religions. This institution, created for the purpose of allowing different ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan to discuss their issues and preserve their culture, plays an important role in the preservation and development of the culture of the people living in the country. Today, the Assembly creates favorable conditions for further strengthening of interethnic unity, social tolerance, and national unity. The symbolic Date (March 1st) is significant as it marks the day in 2007 when the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan (APK) acquired its new name. Experts note the increasing significance and status of this institution in recent years, as well as its contribution to stabilizing the social environment. For a long time, the Assembly existed as a decorative element of the political system, but recently, it has been expanding its scientific and analytical potential, and its activities have gone beyond interethnic relations, aiming to encompass all social audiences²⁵⁰.

The People's Assembly of Kazakhstan is known as a constitutional institution in strengthening the unity of Kazakhstan and ensuring stability and harmony in society. Thanks to Kazakhstan's thoughtful policies, every ethnic group in Kazakhstan has various opportunities to preserve their culture, language, and religion. Through this institution, ethnic groups residing in Kazakhstan can establish relationships with their homeland. In Kazakhstan, ethnic groups can open their own schools, media outlets, as well as create their national associations and foundations. In Kazakhstan, newspapers are published in eight languages, and television and radio are broadcasted in seven languages. The Kazakhstani state prevents ultranationalist tendencies by incorporating them within the civil framework of Kazakhstan through the institutionalization of the ethnic culture of non-Kazakh groups.

In addition to Kazakh and Russian theaters, the country has Uzbek, Uyghur, Korean, and German national theaters. Furthermore, the Republic of Kazakhstan holds a special place in the development of information and communication resources for cultural associations in the field of ethnocultural relations. Mass media serves as a powerful tool for national mobilization and deserves special attention in the study of nation-building in Kazakhstan. Therefore, it is not coincidental that today's newspapers represent the public discourse between those who support the ethnocultural model and those advocating for a civil model of state-building in Kazakhstan. The media landscape in Kazakhstan is characterized by a clear division between Kazakh and Russian media, which, according to experts, exist in "parallel worlds." Kazakh media supports the ethnocultural model, while Russian media supports the civil model of state-building. The internet is becoming an important means of mass communication, and as it is less

establishment of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan with the status of a consultative and advisory body under the Head of State was issued. This is a symbol of the fact that people belonging to different ethnic groups living in the country live in peace. 2. Background Information on the Assembly of Peoples of Kazakhstan All rights reserved. URL: <https://assembly.kz/ru/ank/obshchaya-informatsiya/deyatelnost/> (Date of access: 20.03.2020).

²⁵⁰ Semenenko I.S., Lapkin V.V., Bardin A.L., Pantin V.I. Mezhdru tsennost'yu i natsiyey: dilemmy politiki identichnosti na postsobetskom prostranstve // Polis. Politicheskkiye issledovaniya. 2017. N. 5. P. 63.

controlled by the government, disputes between proponents of opposing models of state-building intensify here. That is why the analysis, including content analysis, of the media and online publications can provide an opportunity for a better understanding of the issues surrounding state-building in Kazakhstan²⁵¹.

Language as a tool of nation-building. Language is a crucial mechanism for shaping cultural distinctiveness and a significant element of individual and collective identity²⁵². Highlighting the special role of language in the political sphere, N. Luhmann writes that all politics is "nothing more and nothing less than communication, and only through communication can it deceive both others and itself"²⁵³. It is important to consider that politics, among other things, involves a particular use of language. This usage is characterized not so much by stylistic choices and vocabulary, but by a distinct attitude towards reality. In Roland Barthes' concise formulation, in the case of "political discourse, the task is to combine the reality of facts with the idealism of goals in a single act. That is why any form of power, or at least the appearance of power, always generates an axiological discourse, where the usual distance that separates a fact from its significance - its values - is eradicated within the very word itself, which simultaneously becomes a means of stating the fact and evaluating it"²⁵⁴. That is why, under certain political circumstances, language can acquire exaggerated importance, transforming into the primary national symbol, a tool for ethnodifferentiation and the realization of the "us" versus "them" archetype. Through language, the boundaries are delineated, which the "nationalized" individual must never cross, and linguistic differences themselves become a factor in ethno-political mobilization. It is no coincidence that M.N. Guboglo, to reflect the political role of the "titular languages" in the post-Soviet space in the 1990s, introduced the concept of "mobilized linguism," which he defines as "an ideology, practice, and ethno-political activity aimed at establishing national statehood by preliminarily asserting the status of the state language as the foundation of national revival, as well as implementing a personnel policy leading to the establishment of ethnomonopoly in power"²⁵⁵.

One of the main tasks in the sphere of national and cultural policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan since the first steps of its sovereignty was also the creation of favorable conditions for the comprehensive development of all languages without exception, the consistent implementation of comprehensive state and public measures to revive the Kazakh language, increasing its social significance, the dignified use of the state language in political, state, scientific, cultural and other spheres of life. In the first years of

²⁵¹ Aitymbetov N., Toktarov E. & Ormakhanova Y. Nation-Building in Kazakhstan: Kazakh and Kazakhstani Identities Controversy // Bilig. 2015. N.74. P. 7.

²⁵² Tishkov V.A. Etnologiya i politika: stat'i, 1989–2004. – M.: Nauka, 2005. P. 223.

²⁵³ Qtd. in: Yudina T. V. Teoriya obshchestvenno-politicheskoy rechi. – M.: MGU, 2001. P. 31.

²⁵⁴ Qtd. in: Achkasov V.A. Yazyk kak instrument «stroitel'stva natsii»: postsovet'skiy kontekst // Politicheskaya nauka. M., 2011. N. 1. P. 206.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

the establishment of the state independence the First President N. Nazarbayev repeatedly emphasized: *"In our domestic policy we proceed from the fact that the Kazakh nation, a long-suffering and humiliated one, whose representatives for many years even in their native land were called foreigners, has the right to boldly and openly declare its interests exactly as the Russians in Russia, the Ukrainians in Ukraine, as any nation in its own land. It has the right to its own revival, to the flowering of its own distinctive culture. But we consider it essential to take measures to preserve and develop the Kazakh ethnic group without infringing upon the rights of other nations and nationalities, and not at their expense. We want to make a representative of any ethnic group feel like a full-fledged citizen of the republic"*²⁵⁶.

To this end, in 1989 the Law on Languages was passed in the republic, the state program for developing the Kazakh language and other national languages was approved, and in 1993 the Committee on Languages was established under the Cabinet of Ministers, which in 1995 was reorganized into the State Committee on National Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The law ensured legal guarantees and respect for all the languages used in the republic and protection of the inalienable rights of citizens of any nationality to develop their language and culture. In the Law on Languages (1989) it was defined that "language is the greatest asset and inalienable attribute of the nation. The development of language and the expansion of its national functions are inevitably connected to the flowering of national culture and the future of the nation itself as a historically formed stable community of people"²⁵⁷.

The law declared the Kazakh language the state language. Without neglecting any of the nationalities, protecting their interests in this area, the Law indeed reflects an intensified concern for the revival and development of the Kazakh language, expanding its sphere of application and social functions. Everyone knows that the losses here were the most tangible in their time, and this required the implementation of serious measures. Today, the linguistic rights of the so-called "Russian-speakers" are legally guaranteed only in a few countries in the post-Soviet space. For example in Kazakhstan, where according to the law the Russian language can be "officially used on an equal basis with the Kazakh language in state organizations and self-governance bodies"²⁵⁸. The Russian language has its rightful place in the law. The First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev emphasized the great importance of the Russian language study in the republic with the following words: "The Russian language is as necessary for us as the state language. That is why we continue to study the Russian language and Russian literature in all schools, because we understand: the people need it, it is a

²⁵⁶ Qtd. in: Baymagambetov S. Z. Kul'turnaya politika: razrabotka, realizatsiya, problemy (istoricheskiy analiz). – Almaty. 1998. P. 79-80.

²⁵⁷ Zakon Kazakhskoy Sovetskoy Sotsialisticheskoy Respubliki ot 22 sentyabrya 1989 goda Poluchen v Kazakhskoy SSR. Article 19. URL: https://online.zakon.kz/document/?doc_id=1005765 (Date of access: 01.05.2020).

²⁵⁸ Achkasov V.A. Yazyk kak instrument «stroitel'stva natsii»: postsovetskiy kontekst // Politicheskaya nauka. M., 2011. N. 1. P. 214.

rich language, the UN language, the language of international communication. Additionally: *"We must treat the Russian language and the Cyrillic just as carefully as we treat the Kazakh language. It is clear to everyone that the Russian language is a historical advantage of our nation"²⁵⁹*. *The Russian language did not receive a similar status in any language law adopted in the other former Soviet republics. This law was the most democratic of all the laws on languages adopted in the CIS countries"²⁶⁰*.

According to V.A. Achkasov, "In Kazakhstan, in the early years of state independence, a discriminatory strategy was employed to displace Russians from prestigious positions in the fields of economy, politics, culture, and education, which led to a sharp decline in the Russian population in the country. When independent Kazakhstan emerged on the world map in December 1991, out of its 16 million inhabitants, only 6.5 million were ethnic Kazakhs. The number of Russians was only 300,000 less"²⁶¹. The real dividends of "Kazakhization" in Kazakhstan were mainly received by representatives of the ruling "Nazarbayev clan," while Kazakh ethnonationalists found satisfaction only in the form of symbols. At the same time, taking into account the experience of Transnistria, in 1995, Article 19 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan granted every citizen the right to use their native language and culture, and the freedom to choose creativity. The Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and creativity, while also prohibiting discrimination and superiority based on social, racial, national, religious, class, and gender characteristics, as well as the cult of cruelty and violence²⁶².

Weber describes a nation-state as an earthly, concrete, power organization of people, rather than an abstract idea of a nation²⁶³, i.e., a regional harmony of ethnography and politics. The true creations of nations are visible in language because each language has a national form. But what does this national form give to language? Does language define the nation, or does the nation define language? The answer to such questions lies in the mutual influence of nation and language on each other. The birth of the first language forms led to the division of peoples. The most significant factor that makes a nation a nation is language. The element that distinguishes peoples from each other is language, not external features such as face or hair color. Language separates nations from each other, but it also shapes the nation. Thus, language is the outward appearance of a nation. The language of a nation is its soul²⁶⁴.

The situation in Kazakhstan, where national identity is formed through the conflicting interaction

²⁵⁹ Poslaniye Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan, Lidera natsii N.A. Nazarbayeva narodu Kazakhstana «Strategiya "Kazakhstan-2050" novyy politicheskiy kurs sostoyavshegosya gosudarstva». URL: <http://strategy2050.kz/ru/multilanguage/> (Date of access: 23.03.2020).

²⁶⁰ Vechernyaya Alma-Ata. 1991, 3 iyulya. See. Baymagambetov S. Z. Kul'turnaya politika: razrabotka, realizatsiya, problemy (istoricheskiy analiz). – Almaty. 1998. P. 81.

²⁶¹ Achkasov V.A. Yazyk kak instrument «stroitel'stva natsii»: postsovetskiy kontekst // Politicheskaya nauka. M., 2011. N. 1. P. 210.

²⁶² Konstitutsiya RK. : Kazakhstan Almaty, 1995. Article 19.

²⁶³ Weber, M. Der Nationalstaat und die Volkswirtschaftspolitik. München, Ravensburg: Grinverlag, 1895. P. 16. See: Kesici Ö. The Dilemma in the Nation-Building Process: The Kazakh or Kazakhstani Nation? 2011. Vol 10. No 1. P. 36.

²⁶⁴ İnal K. Dil ve politika. Dilin kökeni, etnik boyutu ve kimlikle ilişkisi. – Ankara: «Ütopya Yayinevi», 2012. P. 101.

of two identities - Kazakh and Kazakhstani, can be characterized as a process of Kazakhization. The theoretical analysis of Kazakhization will involve the application of the "center-periphery" method. This is not a geographical but a sociological concept that reveals the sociocultural structure of society. The center of society consists of two social groups that determine the key symbols of society. Symbols of society, nation, ethnicity, class, and any other social group represent ideological and material objects, personalities, and historical events that reflect and represent the social group. The term "Kazakhization" is increasingly used in journalism, particularly in relation to the Kazakh and Russian languages. Kazakhization is interpreted as the introduction of the Kazakh language in domains dominated by the Russian language, thereby eliminating or significantly reducing the use of the Russian language²⁶⁵.

As you know, the official languages spoken by all peoples living in Kazakhstan are those who are in the position of the Kazakh identity, fighting for the Kazakh language, present not only in the Constitution, but also in real everyday life. At the same time, the bearers of the Kazakh identity defend the positions of the Russian language in a certain way. The authors believe that the definition of the meaning of the national identity divide in Kazakhstan through the opposition "Kazakh identity" - "Kazakh identity" is based on the fact that it is related to the definition of the nation in Kazakhstan. It is about the cultural definition of the nation, namely, what culture, what language, what symbols should dominate in Kazakhstan, in other words, be common to all ethnic groups of the country? This is the main question of the national and public life of Kazakhstan today and in the future²⁶⁶.

Currently, Kazakhstan is implementing the program "cultural heritage", under which the creation of the "Fund for Spiritual Development of the Peoples of Kazakhstan" is being studied. The Fund should conduct regular monitoring and support the development of cultural values and traditions of the peoples with the help of public-private partnerships and the involvement of relevant public organizations. Phased implementation of the cultural project "Triunity of Languages" is proposed. Kazakhstan should be perceived worldwide as a highly educated country, whose population uses three languages, Kazakh, Russian and English.

Finally, it is necessary to touch on the place of the alphabet in the language. The transition to the Latin alphabet in Kazakhstan is planned to take place by 2025²⁶⁷. In his speech in 2017, Nazarbayev emphasized this issue with the following sentences: *"The alphabet of the Kazakh language has deep roots. The VI-VII centuries are the period of the early Middle Ages. At that time the runic script of the ancient Turks, known to science as the "Orkhon-Yenisey script," appeared and was used on the Eurasian*

²⁶⁵ Aitymbetov N., Toktarov Y., Ormakhanova Y. Nation-Building in Kazakhstan: Kazakh and Kazakhstani Identities Controversy // Bilig - Turk Dunyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi. 2015. V 74, N 74. P. 3.

²⁶⁶ Ibid. C. 7

²⁶⁷ The new Kazakh alphabet, which was approved in 2018, has 32 letters. Six of them -Ә, Ғ, Ң, Ө, Ү, Ұ - use diacritical marks - akuts. Vowel I and Y - are written without a dot, and the letters Ch and Sh will be indicated by digraphs - ch and sh.

continent. It is known as one of the oldest alphabets in the history of mankind. In the V-XV centuries the Turkic language was the language of interethnic communication in a large part of the Eurasian continent. For example, all official documents and international correspondence of the Golden Horde were mostly written in the medieval Turkic language. After our people adopted Islam, runic inscriptions gradually disappeared, and the Arabic language and the Arabic alphabet began to spread. From the 10th century through the 20th century, the Arabic alphabet was used in Kazakhstan for 900 years. On August 7, 1929, the USSR Central Executive Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Council of People's Commissars adopted a resolution on the introduction of a new Romanized alphabet, the "United Turkic Alphabet". The model of writing based on the Latin alphabet was used from 1929 to 1940, and then it was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet. On November 13, 1940, a law *"On the transfer of the Kazakh alphabet from the Latinized alphabet to the new alphabet based on the Russian script"* was passed. Thus, *the history of changing the alphabet of the Kazakh language was largely determined by specific political reasons. In the Strategy "Kazakhstan-2050" published in December 2012 I stated that "from 2025 we must begin the transition to the Latin alphabet". This means that from now on we will start switching to the Latin alphabet in all areas. That is, by 2025 we must start printing documents, periodicals, textbooks, everything in the Latin alphabet. This period is approaching, so we must start this work without losing time*²⁶⁸».

The poles of this spectrum of identities associated with Cyrillic and Latin can be seen as ideal types, which do not occur in pure form in the everyday reality of Kazakhstan. Ideal types, being conceptual constructs, have proven their methodological efficiency as an important tool for cognition of social reality. In this case, we are talking about the study of such a social phenomenon as the choice of the alphabet in the context of the national identity of Kazakhstan, which is influenced by differently directed civilizational orientations. For today's Kazakhstan, such a moment of truth is the choice of the alphabet of the Kazakh language. The Latin alphabet, in other words, is favored by those who believe that Kazakhstan's national identity should be defined by its Turkic identity. The Latin alphabet is used by most other Turkic states, including those that used to be part of the USSR. Therefore, the Latin alphabet should become the common script of all Turkic languages in modern conditions, and the Cyrillic alphabet is perceived as an obstacle to the cultural identity of the Central Asian region and the Turkic world²⁶⁹.

As for the arguments of the opponents of this idea, the planned transition of the Kazakh language

²⁶⁸ Nazarbaev N. Bolaşaqqa baǵdar: rwxanī jañǵırw, 2017. URL: <http://kerey.kz/?p=10580&ln=kk> (Date of access: 10.03.2023).

²⁶⁹ Kadyrzhanov R.K. Vybor alfavita – vybor identichnosti, 2009. URL: http://nblib.library.kz/elib/library.kz/Jurnal/o_2009_5/97-110.pdf P. 99-100 (Date of access: 25.05.2020).

from the Cyrillic alphabet to the Latin alphabet in Kazakhstan in the future may not only further displace the Russian language, but also create many problems for the functioning of the Kazakh language itself, including the work of state and educational institutions, as well as everyday communication of people. The scientists themselves think that the transition to the Latin alphabet will not only require a lot of resources, almost all of the Kazakh national literature is in Cyrillic alphabet, all of these layers will have to be translated again. In fact, it is not calculated yet to the end what it will really lead to. The result of such dual policy is the formation of new lines of demarcation and ethnopolitical division, between Kazakhs and Russians in the first place. The divisions within the Kazakhstani political elite are also increasing - into supporters of ethnic nationalism, a pro-Western course and a more balanced, multi-vector policy. Politicians in the country, especially the head of state, prefer to maintain economic, cultural and political ties with Russia, while developing and strengthening the Western and Chinese vectors of policy. Moreover, in the future, as follows from the interviews with experts (and which is very likely, bearing in mind the personalist nature of the political regime in the country), we should expect the strengthening of the pro-Western and, especially, nationalist bias in the domestic and foreign policy of Kazakhstan's elite, including memory policy, educational and symbolic policy. Experts state the emergence of national-populism, staking on emotional rhetoric and gaining popularity among Kazakhstan's youth in recent years. National-populists accuse the Russian-speaking community of ignorance of what is happening in the Kazakh-speaking community; politicizing the Russian language, some national-populists promote the thesis that until Kazakhstan gives up the Russian language, it will not start speaking Kazakh, that the new stage of "decolonization" must be associated with the erasure of "Russian codes" in the minds of the population²⁷⁰.

In addition, a "Commission for a Common Alphabet" was established with the aim of transitioning Turkic states to a common alphabet and accelerating the process of linguistic unity. The first meeting of the Commission on the Common Alphabet of the Turkic World, organized by the Turkic Academy and the Turkic Language Institute in cooperation with the Organization of Turkic States, was held on 28-29 May 2023 in the capital of Kazakhstan, Astana. Experts from Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan took part in the event²⁷¹.

The Commission on the Common Alphabet, established to move Turkic states to a common alphabet and accelerate the process of linguistic unity, represents a significant step in the development of the Turkic world. It demonstrates the desire of countries, including Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Turkey,

²⁷⁰ Semenenko I.S., Lapkin V.V., Bardin A.L., Pantin V.I. Mezhdru gosudarstvom i natsiyey: dilemmy politiki identichnosti na postsovetskom prostranstve // Polis. Politicheskiye issledovaniya. 2017. N. 5. P. 64.

²⁷¹ Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu // Türk Dünyası Ortak Alfabe Komisyonu Birinci Toplantısı Astana'da Yapıldı. 29.05.2023. URL: <https://www.trtavaz.com.tr/haber/tur/avrsayadan/kazakistan-da-turk-dunyasi-ortak-alfabe-komisyonu-nun-ilk-toplantisi-duzenlendi/6474a0dd01a30a30e4cfe7f> (Date of access: 29.05.2023).

Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, to cooperate and establish closer links in the field of language and culture. A common alphabet can contribute to better understanding and cooperation between Turkic peoples, facilitating information exchange and educational development. This initiative is noteworthy and could have significant positive implications for the Turkic world as a whole.

State symbols as an important mirror of nation-building. Symbols are "images, objects, and actions that individuals and groups mediate to influence and control behavior in social interaction"²⁷². The Constitutional Law "On State Symbols of the Republic of Kazakhstan" was adopted on June 4, 2007. According to this Law, June 4 is annually celebrated as the Day of State Symbols in the Republic of Kazakhstan. State symbols are one of the indispensable attributes of any state, embodying its identity and sovereignty. Nursultan Nazarbayev expressed how important symbols are for a country as follows: *"State symbols are one of the unshakable foundations of our state, our sovereignty. They express the sacred unifying image of Independence"*.

Society is a structure that is understood and constructed through symbols. In this respect, symbols in a community refer to ideal channels where people can speak a common language, behave in the same way, perform the same rituals, pray to the same gods, and wear the same clothes. Flag, coat of arms, anthem, uniform, maps, architecture, etc. such elements are important symbols used in the process of nation building in terms of forming common channels. After the declaration of independence in Kazakhstan, the national flag, national anthem and national emblem began the process of creating elements that denote the national identity. New state symbols were introduced to further "nationalize" Kazakhstan, at least symbolically. In this context, the national flag and the national anthem were established in 1992.

State symbols in Kazakhstan are the ethno-political basis of the state. Thus, the statue of Lenin in the center of Almaty was replaced by the statue of the Golden Warrior, a mythical figure that rooted the identity of the Kazakhs back to the third century B.C. In addition, topographic names - mostly Soviet street and town names - were replaced by Kazakh names, which symbolically nationalized the state, bringing its Kazakh ethno-political order to the forefront²⁷³. The three state symbols of Kazakhstan - the state flag, state emblem and state anthem - were created after independence.

The national flag of Independent Kazakhstan is "one of the specific indicators that universalizes the nation, symbolizes its role in the international world, shows immortality, even promises and thus makes belonging clear and leads people to this collective identity. Thus, the color of the national flag and the figures used on it are not chosen at random--the colors and figures that often refer to the nation's

²⁷² Özkırımlı U. Contemporary debates on nationalism, (Translated into Turkish by) Y. Başkavak, (1 edn.). – İstanbul: «İstanbul Bilgi University», 2010. P. 170.

²⁷³ Ibid.

history are preferred. In this regard, flags provide important clues about the nation's construction process and structure.

As the basic symbol of the state, the flag represents the nation. At the same time, the national flag symbolizes the sanctity of the nation; it is respected by loyal citizens and ceremonially disparaged by those who want to protest²⁷⁴. How the flag is used depends on the rules, and any disrespect for the flag is punished. According to Bilgin, the message conveyed by the flag, which is such an important symbol, is "we are strong, and we are together"²⁷⁵.

The national flag of Kazakhstan was created to symbolize the nation of Kazakhstan, Kazakh history, Kazakh traditions and customs. According to Kuchuk, the blue color of the Kazakh flag symbolizes faith, eternity and long life connected to the sky²⁷⁶. Olcott says that the turquoise color present on the flag represents the Turkic khanate, which was present in the Kazakh territories²⁷⁷. While the sun figure on the flag symbolizes "abundance and fertility"; the eagle, with the sun rising on its wings, signifies "freedom and independence"²⁷⁸.

Nature and animal figures occupy an important place in Turkish-Mongolian nomadic culture. In this regard, the eagle represents independence, strength, freedom, courage and mobility. The yellow stripe on the left side of the flag is the emblem of the state of the Golden Horde, which occupies an important place in the historical history of Kazakhstan and is believed to have formed the first political units of the Kazakhs and refers to the first beginning of the country's history.

Another symbol used in the imagination of the nation are monuments. It can be seen that monumental buildings began to be built in Kazakhstan after 1992. Especially with the proclamation of Astana as the capital in 1997, the construction of monumental buildings picked up speed. As a result, the most important milestones of Kazakh history were monumentalized. Examples include the Bozkurt and Baiterek monuments. A closer look at the Baiterek monument shows traces of Kazakh mythology²⁷⁹. The author of the State Flag of the Republic of Kazakhstan is Shaken Niyazbekov, Honored Art Worker of Kazakhstan.

The reminder of the symbols that unite a nation is not done only through monuments; national anthems are also important elements in this regard. Bilig describes the hymn as a sign of universality.

²⁷⁴ Billig M. Banal nationalism / Translated from Eng. by C. Şişkolar, 1. Basım, –Istanbul: «Gelenek Yayınları », 2003. P. 52.

²⁷⁵ Bilgin N. Kimlik İnşası, İzmir: Aşina Book, 2007. P. 225.

²⁷⁶ Küçük Ş. Eski Türk Kültüründe Renk Kavramı // Bilig, 2010. N 54. P. 195.

²⁷⁷ Olcott M. B. Kazakhstan. Unfulfilled promise? – Washington DC: «Carnegie Endowment for International Peace» (2nd edn.), 2010. P. 59.

²⁷⁸ Qazaqstan Respwblıkasınıñ Memlekettik Rämızderin Nasıxattaw Men Qoldanw Jönindegi Aqparattıq – Ädistemelik Qural, Aqtöbe Oblısınıñ Işki Sayasat Basqarması, Aqtöbe qalası. 2016. URL: <https://adilet.zan.kz/kaz/docs/Z070000258> (Date of access: 05.03.2020). P. 5.

²⁷⁹ Kaya A. SSCB sonrası coğrafyada ulus inşa süreci: Kazakistan örneği //Alternatif Politika. 2012. V 4, N 3. P. 371.

Therefore, each nation is expected to have its own anthem. In this context, it can be seen that the national anthem of Kazakhstan, written by Djumeke Najimedenov and Nursultan Nazarbayev, and the national anthem composed by Kemsy Kaldayakov, in addition to historical references, carry a discourse that glorifies the nation and imposes the responsibility to protect and develop the nation for future generations. National anthems are played on important days for the country. In addition, the singing of the national anthem is often ritualized and performed at certain times. It is believed that all members of the nation know the national anthem and are expected to respect it.

It can be said that many of the policies that seem to be to be implemented in the context of nation-building in Kazakhstan are being implemented. However, it is an undeniable fact that there are various problems in reflecting the constructions and policies made in the field of language, history and symbols for the whole nation²⁸⁰.

The anthem of Kazakhstan, formerly known as the song "Menin Kazakstanym", was approved by Parliament on January 6, 2006 on the initiative of President Nursultan Nazarbayev. For the first time it was sounded on January 11, 2006 during solemn inauguration of the Head of the state. Music by composer Shamshi Kaldayakov, lyrics by Zhumeken Nazhimedenov and Nursultan Nazarbayev²⁸¹. The national anthem of the Republic of Kazakhstan contains the lines: "*Yrpaqqa zhol ashkan, Keyn baitak zherim bar*", which can be considered as a geographical association and, therefore, as a way of imagination of the Kazakh nation. According to Kadyrzhan: "*This association should cause in memory and imagination wide steppe spaces of Kazakhstan, nomadic past of its people, reproduce in national consciousness the cultural and civilization basis of Kazakhs as an indigenous ethnos of the state*"²⁸². The geography discussed here, however, is not simply that which is traditionally attributed to territory and spatial organization. Rather, it is also one in which place is immersed in different cultural, social, and political environments that are inextricably linked to shared memories, narratives, and a sense of self. It is becoming increasingly clear that the age in which we live, whether we call it modern or postmodern, directly influences the formation of a collective identity that has a specific spatial expression, such as a nation, a region or a globe²⁸³.

The State Emblem of the Republic of Kazakhstan is circular in shape and represents an image of a shanyrak on a blue background, from which the uyks are diverging in the form of sunrays in all directions. To the right and left of the shanyrak are images of mythical winged horses. In the upper part

²⁸⁰ Ibid. P. 372.

²⁸¹ Ofitsial'nyy sayt Pervogo Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan - Yelbasy Nursultana Nazarbayeva. URL: <https://elbasy.kz/ru/o-gosudarstvennykh-simvolakh> (Date of access: 22.04.2020).

²⁸² Kadyrzhanov R.K. Etnokul'turnyy simvolizm i natsional'naya identichnost' Kazakhstana / Pod obshch. red. Z.K. Shaukenovoy. – Almaty: «Institut filosofii, politologii i religiovedeniya KN MON RK», 2014. P. 103.

²⁸³ Marden P. Geographies of dissent: globalization, identity and the nation // Political Geography. 1997. V 16, N 1. P. 38.

is a three-dimensional five-pointed star and in the lower part is the inscription "Kazakhstan". The images of the star, shanyrak, uyks, mythical horses, as well as the inscription "Kazakhstan" are in gold. - inscription "Kazakhstan" is of golden color. The authors of the State Emblem of the Republic of Kazakhstan are the famous architects Zhandarbek Malibekov and Shot-Aman Valikhanov.

During the Soviet period the social structure of the society started to comply more with the needs of traditional way of life, but development in conditions of modernization; the educational and cultural level of Kazakhs sharply increased, powerful industry was created (including as a result of evacuation of the industry to the East during the Great Patriotic War, when 430 enterprises were evacuated and built again). Thanks to this, Kazakhstan, with its rich resources of hydrocarbon and other minerals, has a powerful material basis for further development at the present stage²⁸⁴.

The process of forming a new political culture and cultural policy and the national consciousness of the people of Kazakhstan required a complete rejection of Soviet symbols and ideological remnants. As a distinctive feature of the formation of national identity and the awakening of the national consciousness of Kazakhstan there is an emphasis on the revival and implementation of ethno-cultural symbols of the Kazakh people. In this regard, it should be noted that the history of Kazakhstan as an ethno-cultural symbol is of great importance. This is due to the fact that in the post-independence period, when the history of Kazakhstan was closely intertwined with nationalism, the national policy was widely used as an ideological tool. This nationalization of history is a common phenomenon in the practice of national politics in post-Soviet countries.

The sacral geography of Kazakhstan. After Nazarbayev's article "A Look into the Future - Spiritual Renewal," the project "The Sacred Geography of Kazakhstan" was created. The sacral objects of Kazakhstan have an ancient history. They are cult architectural structures, cities, settlements, burial mounds, necropolises, sanctuaries, rock paintings and historical landscapes. "Every nation, every civilization has sacred places that have a national character, which are known to every representative of that nation... Continuing the glorious deeds of the older generation, we will pave the way, along which future generations will confidently walk. This will be the way of development, growth and prosperity of independent Kazakhstan²⁸⁵". N.A. Nazarbayev succinctly formulated the task facing Kazakhstan's society.

The register of sacred objects was compiled on the basis of a collegial selection by the scientific teams of three organizations: A. H. Margulan Institute of Archaeology. The register of sacred objects

²⁸⁴ Politicheskiye sistemy sovremennykh gosudarstv: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik: V 4 t. T.2: Aziya / gl. red. A.V. Torkunov; nauch. Red. A.YU. Mel'vil'; otv. red. M.G. Mironyuk. - M.: Aspekt Press, 2012. P. 190.

²⁸⁵ Nazarbayev N. A. Vzgl'yad v budushcheye: modernizatsiya obshchestvennogo soznaniya. 12.04.2017. // Ofitsial'nyy sayt Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan. URL: https://www.akorda.kz/ru/events/akorda_news/press_conferences/statya-glavy-gosudarstva-vzgl'yad-v-budushchee-modernizatsiya-obshchestvennogo-soznaniya (Date of access: 10.03.2023).

was compiled on the basis of a collegial selection by scientific teams of three organizations: the A. Kh. CH. Valikhanov Institute of Archaeology, Institute of History of the State. The preliminary list of sacred sites in Kazakhstan includes 574 sites²⁸⁶. The total number of monuments currently exceeds 15,000. Scientists, based on archival and bibliographic materials and field research, have formed a register with the characteristics of objects from ancient times to the present.

In accordance with this project, they have linked together in the national consciousness the complex of monuments around Ulytau and the mausoleum of Kozha Akhmet Yassau, the ancient monuments of Taraz and the tombs of Beket Ata, the ancient complexes of Eastern Kazakhstan and the sacred places of Semirechye, and many other places. All of them form the framework of national identity. Systematization of sacred objects on the basis of certain criteria will allow to develop a mechanism of historical and cultural expertise of natural and other sacred places.

The final goal in the fulfillment of the large-scale work on the systematization and preparation of a multivolume register of the sacral monuments should be the consolidation of the people and the formation of a new national idea. Popularization of the obtained knowledge will become a source of spiritual values. The register of sacred objects is a guarantee of harmonious development of the people of Kazakhstan²⁸⁷.

Primordialist theory is a theory that argues that a nation's identity is formed on the basis of primordial (innate) characteristics such as language, culture, religion and ethnicity. Primordialists in Kazakhstan believe that national identity and cultural traditions exist independently of social and political changes, and that these identities are based on deep and unchanging cultural foundations.

The Kazakh people have a rich history and culture that Dates back many centuries. This includes a nomadic way of life, traditional music and dance, and a special relationship to nature. These cultural traditions and the identity of Kazakhstan exist not only in the present but also in the past, and they are unchangeable and deeply rooted in Kazakh culture.

The Kazakh government, relying on a primordialist approach, seeks to preserve and protect the cultural identity of Kazakhstan. This is manifested in the affirmation of the Kazakh language as the official language of the country, the preservation of traditional costumes and national holidays (like Nauryz), and the protection of national heritage and cultural sites.

The place of the capital in the national identity. Astana is a fast-growing city with wide opportunities, modern architecture, the center of advanced ideas and at the same time with a rich past

²⁸⁶ Sakral'naya geografiya Kazakhstana // Institut arkheologii im. A.KH. Margulana. URL: https://archaeolog.kz/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=252%3A2017-05-19-10-10-59&catid=24%3A2017-05-31-11-00-52&Itemid=26&lang=en (Date of access: 17.03.2023).

²⁸⁷ Baytanayev B. Sakral'naya geografiya Kazakhstana: itogi i perspektivy // Forbes Kazakhstan. 11.05.2018. URL: https://forbes.kz/process/science/sakralnaya_geografiya_kazahstana_itogi_i_perspektivy/ (Date of access: 10.03.2023).

and cultural heritage, where European and Eastern cultures intertwine, contributing to the openness and friendliness of the citizens. Analysis of the world experience shows that developed cities of all countries not only solve economic and strategic tasks, but also play an important role in the sphere of culture, contribute to social stability, formation of the system of values and its continuity, patriotism and national identity²⁸⁸.

The capitals of newly formed states are important in terms of national identity. Leaders who build a new nation are trying to change the perception of the country in the past, especially in terms of image building. The choice of the capital solves not only economic and strategic problems, but also plays an important role in the formation of national identity.

One of the most significant events confirming Kazakhstan's sovereignty is the construction of the capital Astana. In 1997, the capital of Kazakhstan, at the initiative of Nursultan Nazarbayev²⁸⁹, was moved from Alma-Ata, which in the Kazakh language is called Almaty, to Astana (before 1961 - Akmolinsk, 1961-1992. - Tselinograd, 1992-1998. - Akmola, 1998-2019. - Astana, 2019-2022. - Nur-Sultan, 2022 Astana). The decision to move the capital of the country from Almaty to Astana (before May 5, 1998 - Akmola²⁹⁰) was made on July 6, 1994²⁹¹ during the construction of the nation state.

The formation of a new national identity in Kazakhstan, cardinal changes in state building required the introduction and development of new symbols and examples worthy of emulation in society. N. Nazarbayev faced the task of uniting the country, divided demographically and culturally into the "Russian North" and the "Kazakh South", to turn Kazakhstan into a country that would be accepted by all citizens. The policy pursued in Kazakhstan to unite the nation is called "civic nationalism," emphasizing the importance of a certain ethnic element²⁹².

In the context of this policy, moving the capital from Almaty in the south to Akmola in the north serves important purposes. Firstly, the relocation of the capital from the south to the north was prompted by security threats emanating from the south. Secondly, the transfer of the capital strengthened Kazakhstan's geopolitical position, as Astana is situated in the center of the Eurasian continent, blending European and Asian traditions. Although Almaty is beautiful in terms of architecture and environment, it was built by Soviet engineers without regard to Kazakh specifics. In Astana, the left side of the Yesil River, which runs through the center of the city, was completely redesigned by Nazarbayev and contains

²⁸⁸ Kok S. Kul'turnaya politika na gorodskom urovne v kontekste formirovaniya natsional'noy identichnosti (na primere Nur-Sultana) // Yevraziyskaya integratsiya: ekonomika, pravo, politika. 2022 N. 16(2). P. 112.

²⁸⁹ Nazarbayev N. A. Era nezavisimosti. – Astana, 2017. P. 123.

²⁹⁰ Akmola means "white grave."

²⁹¹ That is why July 6 is considered to be Capital Day in Kazakhstan.

²⁹² Ametbek D. Kazak Ulusal Kimliğinin İnşasında Yeni Başkent Astana'nın Önemi, Ankarskiy tsentr issledovaniy krizisnykh situatsiy i politiki, 2018. URL: <https://www.ankasam.org/kazak-ulusal-kimliginin-insasinda-yeni-baskent-astananin-onemi/> (Date of access: 16.03.2023).

Kazakh national symbols everywhere. Thirdly, Nazarbayev tried to emphasize the "steppe dimension" in the Kazakh national identity, because steppe means "Kazakh"²⁹³.

After N. Nazarbayev resigned as head of state on March 19, 2019, the capital of Kazakhstan was named after him, as the first president of the Republic of Kazakhstan is rightly considered the founding father and, in fact, the "chief architect" of the capital of Kazakhstan²⁹⁴.

Tokayev, who was personally appointed in 2019 by Nursultan Nazarbayev, who ruled the country for many years, signed a decree in 2022 that provided for the official renaming of the capital Nur-Sultan into Astana²⁹⁵. Members of the deputy group Zhana Kazakstan Mazhilis expressed support for returning the name Astana to Nur-Sultan. *"We consider it wrong when in the lifetime of a man the city is called by his name, moreover, people also did not accept the new name of the capital. Therefore, it will be historically fair to return the former name of the capital - Astana, which in its time was proposed by the First President"* - said in the message.

Astana as the capital means a lot for the development of the state, the unification of its citizens, the formation of national identity. However, to promote its image in the world it is necessary to go beyond the borders of the state and influence international development. At the same time each country is interested in the realization of such cultural policy, which provides continuity. As the modern experience of different countries shows, the successful realization of the cultural policy is possible through localization in culture, which assumes an increase in the influence of large cities in the development of national culture and the consolidation of citizens. In the modern global world, the states remain the main subjects of world development, so we can say that the management of the world begins with the country, and the management of the country begins with the city, in which social and political relations are built, transferred to the state level, and the national identity is created. Astana sets an example in the formation of Kazakhstan's national identity, thus performing the most important political function²⁹⁶.

Changes in the Constitution of Kazakhstan and the construction of the New Kazakhstan: Tokayev's vision and the role of Parliament. In a statement of the Central Election Commission of

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ O pereimenovanii goroda Astany – stolitsy Respubliki Kazakhstan v gorod Nur-Sultan – stolitsu Respubliki Kazakhstan: ukaz Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N. 6. 23.03.2019 // Ofitsial'nyy sayt Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan. URL: https://www.akorda.kz/ru/legal_acts/decrees/o-pereimenovanii-goroda-astany-stolitsy-respubliki-kazahstan-v-gorod-nur-sultan-stolicu-respubliki-kazahstan (Date of access: 13.03.2022).

²⁹⁵ O pereimenovanii goroda Nur-Sultana – stolitsy Respubliki Kazakhstan v gorod Astanu – stolitsu Respubliki Kazakhstan: ukaz Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N. 1017. 17.09.2022 // Ofitsial'nyy sayt Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan. URL: <https://akorda.kz/ru/o-pereimenovanii-goroda-nur-sultana-stolitsy-respubliki-kazahstan-v-gorod-astanu-stolicu-respubliki-kazahstan-1782457> (Date of access: 16.03.2023).

²⁹⁶ Kok S. Kul'turnaya politika na gorodskom urovne v kontekste formirovaniya natsional'noy identichnosti (na primere Nur-Sultana) // Yevraziyskaya integratsiya: ekonomika, pravo, politika. 2022. N. 16(2). P. 115-116.

Kazakhstan stated that the results of the referendum, which was held on June 5, 2022²⁹⁷, showed the support of the voters of Kazakhstan proposed by President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev changes to the constitution. The changes, which remove decision-making from the center and deprive the former leader Nursultan Nazarbayev of the status of "national leader", were passed with 77.18% of votes. The overall turnout for the referendum was 68.06%. Kazakhs answered the question on support of "amendments and additions to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan" with the answers "yes" or "no". Thus, Kazakhstan held the second referendum on the constitution in its history, after a 27-year period, for the beginning of "new Kazakhstan", as it was called. As a result of the referendum, 33 basic articles of the current constitution, adopted in 1995, were changed.

During his speech at the parliamentary session, Tokayev said: *"I initiated the constitutional changes, which are fundamental in their essence and significantly change the political system of the country. We are transitioning to a new model of state, to a new way of interaction between state and society. This qualitative transition can be called the Second Republic. I believe that changing the Constitution through a referendum will be a concrete expression of the people's will. The referendum will allow each citizen to directly participate in determining the future of the country and will promote multilateral democratic development, strengthening our course of building the New Kazakhstan"*²⁹⁸.

Tokayev also announced that a National Congress (Ulytтыk Kuryltay) will be convened within a month, bringing together representatives of the government and public organizations to stimulate broader public discussion. The motto of the parliamentary session was "The unity of the people is the basis of renewed Kazakhstan.

Tokayev said the "New Kazakhstan" platform also requires revision of the system of individual and public values that will resist any manifestation of nepotism and corruption.

The main goal of the session is to determine what role parliament will play in the current political changes. For more than 30 years, parliament has been the voice of the more than 130 ethnic groups that consider Kazakhstan their homeland, and it is becoming increasingly important in the new political realities facing the country.

Tokayev defined the role of parliament as "a solid institutional pillar of a policy of peace and harmony. These are guiding values for Kazakhstan.

"We felt the importance of these values during the events of January. The dangerous days are behind us for now. Finally, we are beginning to understand the threats we faced. We were close to losing

²⁹⁷ О внесении изменений и дополнений в Конституцию Республики Казахстан. URL: <https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/Z220000001K/links> (Date of access: 27.05.2023).

²⁹⁸ Глава государства провел совещание по внесению изменений и дополнений в Конституцию // Официальный сайт Президента Республики Казахстан. 22.04.2022. URL: <https://www.akorda.kz/ru/glava-gosudarstva-provel-soveshchanie-po-vneseniyu-izmeneniy-i-dopolneniy-v-konstituciyu-22389> (Date of access: 27.05.2023).

our national ties," Tokayev stressed, noting that the country should learn from the January riots²⁹⁹.

- The main changes introduced after the referendum held in early January 2022 in connection with the mass events were the following:
- Kazakhstan is transitioning from a super-presidential form of government to a presidential form of government with a strong parliament;
- The earth and its subsoil, waters, flora and fauna, and other natural resources belong to the people;
- Kazakhstanis can appeal to the Constitutional Court on their own;
- The deputy corps of the Majilis will be formed under a mixed electoral system. The Majilis consists of ninety-eight deputies elected according to the procedure established by the constitutional law under a mixed electoral system: under the system of proportional representation in a single nationwide constituency, as well as in single-manDate territorial constituencies;
- The presidential quota in the Senate will be reduced and the ANC quota in the Majilis will be abolished;
- The majoritarian system will allow a deputy to be recalled at the will of voters;
- Provisions on the special role and privileges of the first President are eliminated³⁰⁰.

Overall, the changes presented demonstrate a desire to strengthen the role of parliament, expand the rights of citizens, and ensure a more equitable and representative political system. A shift from a super-presidential to a presidential form of government with a strong parliament could encourage greater citizen participation in political decision-making and a balanced division of power. The establishment of popular ownership of natural resources underscores the importance of sustainable management and a more equitable distribution of these resources in the interests of society as a whole. Increasing citizens' access to the Constitutional Court and introducing a combined electoral system also reinforce the principles of the rule of law and democratic norms. The abolition of the special role and privileges of the first President may indicate a desire for equality before the law and the elimination of the concentration of power in the hands of individuals. In general, these changes are aimed at developing and improving Kazakhstan's political system, strengthening civic participation, and protecting the rights and freedoms of citizens.

Party ideologies and their political positions on the state and national identity. Political

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Prinyatyie na referendumе izmeneniya v Konstitutsiyu Kazakhstana vstupili v silu// Tengri News. 08.06.2022. URL: https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/prinyatyie-referendume-izmeneniya-konstitutsiyu-kazahstana-470482/ (Date of access: 27.05.2023).

parties play a key role in the functioning of stable representative systems and in the processes of political transformation and civil society formation. They select, systematize and unite the interests of civil society groups, and also act as filters between society and the state, determining what demands should be passed through their structures.

There are various political forces and parties in Kazakhstan, representing a wide range of political views and interests.

Table 2. Political parties in modern Kazakhstan³⁰¹

Name of the Party	The year of the party's creation	Party Leader	Results of elections ³⁰² to the Parliamentary Assembly of Kazakhstan held on March 19, 2023
Public association of the "Amanat" party ³⁰³	1999	Koshanov Yerlan ³⁰⁴	53,9% ³⁰⁵ (3.431.510) 40 members of parliament
People's Democratic Patriotic Party "Auy" ³⁰⁶	2015	Bektayev Ali	10,9% (693.938) 8 members of parliament
Public Association "Respublica" Party ³⁰⁷	2023	Aidarbek Khodzhanazarov	8,59% (547.154) 6 members of parliament
Democratic Party of Kazakhstan "Ak Zhol" ³⁰⁸	2002	Azat Peruashev	8,41% (535.139) 6 members of parliament
People's Party of Kazakhstan ³⁰⁹	2004	Yermukhamet Yertysbaev	6,8% (432.920) 5 members of parliament
Nationwide Social Democratic Party ³¹⁰	2006	Askhat Rakhimzhanov	5,2% (331.058) 4 members of parliament
Kazakhstan Green Party "Baitak" ³¹¹	2022	Azamathan Amirtay	2.3% (146.431)

Kazakhstan held its second parliamentary election under President Tokayev after the January 2022 riots that rocked the political regime. The president began reforming the system, including constitutional changes. Extraordinary presidential elections strengthened Tokayev's legitimacy. Prior to the parliamentary elections, liberal changes were made to the electoral legislation, including the use of

³⁰¹ Appeal to those who are eligible to run in the 2023 election.

³⁰² Let us explain, according to the new rules, the Majilis consists of 98 deputies elected by proportional (party lists with a 5 percent barrier in the national constituency, 69 seats) and majoritarian (single-member districts, 29 seats) electoral systems, with 70 percent elected from party lists and another 30 percent from single-member districts. Tsentral'naya izbiratel'naya komissiya Respubliki Kazakhstan // URL: <https://www.election.gov.kz/rus/izbiratel'naya-sistema-rk/kratkaya-informatsiya-ob-izbiratel'noy-sisteme-rk.php> (Date of access: 18.05.2023).

³⁰³ The largest political party in Kazakhstan. It was founded in 1999 on the initiative of Kazakhstan's first president, Nursultan Nazarbayev, as the Republican Political Party "Otan" (Kazakh: Отан - Homeland). From 2006 to 2022, it was known as "Nur Otan" (Kazakh: Нұр Отан - Shining Homeland). Ofitsial'nyy sayt partii «Amanat». URL: <https://amanatpartiasy.kz/?lang=kz> (Date of access: 15.05.2023).

³⁰⁴ April 26, 2022 - Extraordinary XXIII Congress of the AMANAT party, during which the ADAL party was attached, and Yerlan Zhakanovich Koshanov was elected the new Chairman of the AMANAT party. URL: <https://amanatpartiasy.kz/history?lang=ru> (Date of access: 24.05.2023).

³⁰⁵ In 2021 it was 71% of the vote.

³⁰⁶ «Auy» partiya. URL: <https://auyl.kz/> (Date of access: 15.05.2023).

³⁰⁷ Partiya Respublica. URL: <https://respublica-partiyasy.kz/ru> (Date of access: 15.05.2023).

³⁰⁸ Demokraticheskaya partiya Kazakhstana «Ak zhol» (DPK «Ak zhol»). URL: <https://akzhol.kz/ru/about-party> (Date of access: 15.05.2023).

³⁰⁹ Narodnaya partiya Kazakhstana. URL: <https://halykpartiyasy.kz/ru> (Date of access: 15.05.2023).

³¹⁰ Obschenatsional'naya sotsial-demokraticheskaya partiya. URL: <https://osdp.kz/ru> (Date of access: 15.05.2023).

³¹¹ Kazakhstanskaya partiya zelonykh «Baytak». URL: <https://baytaq.kz/> (Date of access: 15.05.2023).

a mixed voting system and lowering the threshold for registration of new parties. The elections were highly competitive, with many candidates and independent politicians. Domestic political, social, and foreign policy issues were discussed, including the Russian special military operation in Ukraine and relations with Moscow. Some politicians suffered consequences because of their pro-Russian stance. A new sense of freedom emerged during the campaign, as open discussions even on sensitive issues became possible. The Auyl party focused on language policy, national identity and improving life in rural areas. Its candidates supported fines for citizens who do not speak Kazakh and higher taxes for women who marry foreigners. Zhiguli Dairabayev, leader of Auyl, spoke at all public events in Kazakh. This was a new trend, as previously all candidates necessarily spoke in two languages. During the campaign, there was a manifestation of democratization, with active party activity and interaction with the voters. New political parties were formed, including Respublica and Baitak. Public debate and discussion of sensitive issues became part of the campaign. Parties not affiliated with Nursultan Nazarbayev, including the Social Democrats, Respublica and Baitak, looked the most promising³¹².

The elections in Kazakhstan, considered as an indicator of democratization, did not lead to significant changes. The voter turnout stood at 52.8%, the lowest in the country's history. Six parties surpassed the five percent threshold, but the situation remained largely unchanged. The Nur Otan party retained the majority of votes, securing 53.9% and 40 members of parliament. It won in 23 out of 29 single-member districts. Thus, the ruling party obtained a minimum of 63 members of parliament out of a total of 98, providing it with the ability to make key decisions independently and overcome potential vetoes from the Senate. The remaining seats in the parliament were divided among pro-government pseudo-opposition parties. For example, the Ak Zhol party received 8.4% of the votes, and the People's Party of Kazakhstan obtained 6.8%. As a result, while there was some formal democratization, the balance of power remained unchanged, and the country's leadership retains full control over the parliament.

1. The public association "**Amanat**" Party is the dominant political party in Kazakhstan, supporting the president of the country. It adheres to a centrist and progressive ideology and takes a leading role in the political life of Kazakhstan. The aim of the party is to use political activity to achieve the construction of an economically strong, democratic, secular, legal and social state with developed institutions of civil society and a modern competitive political system³¹³. The "Amanat" party supports the principles of social justice, the creation of equal opportunities for all citizens, the protection of the independence and territorial integrity of the state, as well as the development of the Kazakh language

³¹² Abishev G. Vozdukh polusvobody. Stal li Kazakhstan boleye demokraticnym posle vyborov // Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 30.03.2023. URL: <https://carnegieendowment.org/politika/89417> (Date of access: 24.05.2023).

³¹³ Ustav partii «Amanat» // Article 2.2. URL: <https://amanatpartiasy.kz/charter?lang=ru> (Date of access: 24.05.2023).

and social unity. The following ideological elements related to national identity and statehood are highlighted within the party:

Statehood and Independence: The party attaches particular importance to supporting and strengthening statehood. National security, sovereignty and territorial integrity are important aspects.

Language and national identity: The Kazakh language is seen as the basis and pillar of the culture and civilization of the people. Knowledge of the state language is seen as the duty and obligation of every citizen of Kazakhstan. The party seeks to make the state language a unifying force in society.

Effective public administration: The party emphasizes the need to develop a "Hearing State" with a transparent and accountable system of public administration. The idea of "Strong President - influential Parliament - accountable Government" emerges. The importance of decentralization of governance and the use of digital technology to modernize the state apparatus is also noted.

These ideological elements reflect the desire of "Amanat" party to strengthen statehood, protection of national identity and development of effective governance³¹⁴.

2. The People's Democratic Patriotic Party **Auyl** was formed on September 5, 2015 as a result of the merger of the Kazakhstan Social Democratic Party "Auyl" and the Party of Patriots of Kazakhstan. It stands for the strengthening of inter-ethnic and inter-confessional harmony, national patriotism and the unification of all patriots of the country. It also seeks to foster a sense of patriotism and responsibility for the comprehensive and harmonious development of the Republic of Kazakhstan.³¹⁵

3. **The Respublica Party** public association was formed in 2023 on January 18. It reflects important aspects of national identity in Kazakhstan that emerge in the context of the country's historical development. It recognizes that in a globalized world it is difficult to have a single permanent identity, but argues that the foundation of Kazakhstan's national identity lies in several key qualities. The party supports multiculturalism and flexibility as important aspects of Kazakhstan's national identity. The multinational people of Kazakhstan have given the opportunity to imbibe the values and skills of multiculturalism, to be flexible and adaptive in all environments, and to show mutual respect and trust. It attaches importance to the pursuit of justice and patriotism as important elements of national identity.

In the interests of the state, the party calls for mutual respect and trust in international relations and the rejection of violent approaches to conflict resolution. It supports multi-vectorism and pragmatism in foreign policy, preservation of political sovereignty of Kazakhstan and making decisions on joining integration associations on the basis of free expression of the will of the people through a

³¹⁴ Politicheskaya platforma PARTII«Amanat». URL: https://amanat2023.kz/kk/programs_polit (Date of access: 25.05.2023).

³¹⁵ Auyl // O partii. URL: <https://auyl.kz/menu/2/> (Date of access: 25.05.2023).

republican referendum³¹⁶.

4. The **Ak Zhol** Democratic Party of Kazakhstan is an opposition party that represents left-liberal and nationalist views. It advocates the strengthening of democratic institutions, media freedom and the protection of human rights. The main goal of the Ak Zhol Party is to create an independent, prosperous, democratic and free Kazakhstan, where every citizen can live a decent life. The party strives for constructive solutions to existing social, political and economic problems, and makes real efforts to improve the lives of ordinary people of Kazakhstan.

The Ak Zhol party is engaged in active actions aimed at creating positive changes in society. Its main task is to propose and implement real and effective measures that promote progress and improve the lives of citizens. Through its initiatives and political activities, the party seeks to promote justice, equality and prosperity for all citizens of Kazakhstan³¹⁷.

5. **The People's Party of Kazakhstan** is about building a just society based on the principles of socialism. The Party recognizes the need to create a system where resources and opportunities will be distributed equally among all members of society, guaranteeing social justice and equality.

In order to build a just society based on the principles of socialism, the People's Party of Kazakhstan offers specific programs and reforms aimed at establishing social justice, creating equal opportunities and improving the quality of life for all citizens³¹⁸.

6. **The Nationwide Social Democratic Party** was established on September 10, 2006, upon the initiative of a group of citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan. It was registered on January 25, 2007. The party is a political organization that advocates for social democratic principles in Kazakhstan. The party's activities are based on the principles of voluntarism, equality, self-governance, legality, and transparency.

7. **The All-National Social Democratic Party** was created on September 10, 2006 on the initiative of a group of citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan. It was registered on January 25, 2007. The party is a political organization that advocates social-democratic principles in Kazakhstan. The activity of the party is based on the principles of voluntariness, equality, self-government, lawfulness and publicity.

8. Kazakhstan Green Party "**Baitak**" is a voluntary association of citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan, who express their political will and seek to represent the interests of different social groups.

³¹⁶ Respublica // Ideologicheskaya platforma partii. URL: <https://respublica-partiyasy.kz/ideologyru> (Date of access: 26.05.2023).

³¹⁷ Ustav Obshchestvennogo ob'yedineniya «Demokraticheskaya Partiya Kazakhstana «Ak, zhol». URL: <https://akzhol.kz/ru/party-charter/i-obshtie-polozheniia> (Date of access: 26.05.2020).

³¹⁸ Ustav Obshchestvennogo ob'yedineniya «Narodnaya partiya Kazakhstana». URL: <https://halykpartiyasy.kz/ru/ustav> (Date of access: 26.05.2020).

The main goal of the party is the protection of flora and fauna, preservation of biological diversity, as well as the use of political methods for the construction of an economically strong, democratic, secular, legal and social state.

The Baitak Party also strives to develop civil society institutions and a modern, competitive political system. Through participation in representative and executive bodies of state power and local self-government, the party aims to represent the interests of its members and citizens in the field of ecology, as well as to actively participate in policy formation.

Thus, the Baitak Party stands for the protection of nature, the development of a sustainable economy, democratic principles, the rule of law and the social well-being of citizens in Kazakhstan. It strives to create a strong and balanced society that harmoniously combines the interests of citizens and preservation of the environment³¹⁹.

The democratization process in Kazakhstan is encouraging, and the March 19, 2023 elections could be an important step toward fair and equal representation. However, more efforts and reforms are needed. It is important to strengthen Kazakhstan's democratic structures and strive for an inclusive and participatory democratic system.

Kazakh identity in the context of globalization. The formation of national identity, in addition to the factors discussed in the dissertation, is influenced by globalization processes. They contribute, on the one hand, to the incorporation of the Republic into the world economy, and, on the other hand, to a cultural policy that will allow Kazakhstan to remain a unique state with a unique culture of a multi-ethnic nation. Most importantly, peace and harmony, dialogue of cultures and religions, which are characteristic of modern Kazakhstan, are the basis of civil peace, interethnic harmony and political stability, which are necessary for building a modern successful state³²⁰.

The Republic of Kazakhstan, as it enters the world community and finds its place in it, in an increasing volume and depth is experiencing the impact of globalization on directions, including national identity³²¹.

Kazakhs, as a unified national entity, seek to preserve their distinctiveness, independence, and ethnic identity in the face of globalization. Recognizing the significant impact of globalization on nation-states, R.K. Kadyrzhanov writes, *"Modern globalization belongs to the category of comprehensive social processes that exert a powerful influence on all countries of the modern world. In the complex conditions*

³¹⁹ Ustav Obshchestvennogo ob'yedineniya «Kazakhstanskaya partiya zelonykh Baytak». URL: <https://baytaq.kz/ustav/> (Date of access: 26.05.2020).

³²⁰ Baranov N.A., Kok S. Trudnyy put' k grazhdanskoj natsii: opyt natsiyestroitel'stva sovremennogo Kazakhstana. Problemy postsovetskogo prostranstva. 2021;8(1):136-151. P. 149.

³²¹ Ospanov T.T. Poiski kazakhskoy identichnosti v usloviyakh globalizatsii // Vestnik KazNPU, 2013. URL: <https://articlekz.com/article/10812> (Date of access: 28.04.2020).

of globalization, where experts speak of the 'end of the nation-state,' Kazakhstan is tasked with building and strengthening its national state. In this process, the definition of national identity is of fundamental importance. The presence of a national state and its citizenship does not automatically guarantee the establishment of national identity"³²².

The threat of global societal convergence is acknowledged by Russian researcher N.V. Andreychuk, who argues that *"many national customs, ceremonies, rituals, behavioral patterns, traditional norms, and values that once gave folklore and ethnographic diversity to humanity are gradually 'disappearing' as a significant portion of the population in certain countries and regions adopts new standardized practices of livelihood. Figuratively speaking, the cultural palette of contemporary humanity is clearly fading"³²³*. It is assumed that the result will be a certain core of universal culture, without any diversity, where a global identity is formed as a new type of identity for which traditional ethnic values are a barrier to globalization, and therefore they, from this point of view, must be deliberately destroyed. The conclusion is postulated: the less traditional values in a society are seen as relics of the past, the faster the country will enter the global community³²⁴. It is impossible to agree with such a research position, as the diversity of ethnic groups with their unique culture constitutes the wealth of the modern world.

Kadyrzhanov R.K. perceives the influence of globalization issues on the development of Kazakh culture as follows: *"Globalization, as the leading trend in the development of the modern world, further enhances the significance of the Russian language and Russian culture for Kazakhstan. There is nothing surprising about this, as globalization primarily enters Kazakhstan through Russia, just as Russia is the main channel for Kazakhstan's entry into global processes. Thus, globalization places Kazakhstan in an even more dependent position on Russia in economic, cultural, and other aspects"*. By advancing this concept, the author highlights the role of cultural entrepreneurs who, through their publications and media appearances, seek to influence the consciousness of a specific group, defining and reinforcing their collective "we" while opposing the "others" or the "foreigners." In other words, cultural entrepreneurs offer the reference group their true "identity," acting as "sellers," and the identity they propose becomes a "product" that the reference group, as the "buyer," has the opportunity to "purchase," thereby rejecting the identity proposed by the entrepreneurial group³²⁵.

In contemporary international relations, political networks are gaining increasing importance as

³²² Kadyrzhanov R.K. Konstruktivizm, primordializm i opredeleniye natsional'noy identichnosti Kazakhstana // Al'-Farabi. 2012. N. 4 (40). P. 86-94. See.: Ospanov T.T. Natsional'naya identichnost' kazakhov: sotsial'no-filosofskiy analiz // Kazakhskiy natsional'nyy universitet imeni al'-Farabi. kandidatskaya dissertatsiya, 2016. P. 96.

³²³ Qtd. in: Ospanov T.T. Natsional'naya identichnost' kazakhov: sotsial'no-filosofskiy analiz // Kazakhskiy natsional'nyy universitet imeni al'-Farabi. kandidatskaya dissertatsiya, 2016. P. 99.

³²⁴ Ibid. P. 99.

³²⁵ Ibid. P. 103.

they establish connections that are crucial for understanding Kazakhstan's border strategy and its diplomatic ties with non-Kazakh ethnic groups, among which Russia holds particular significance (ethnic Russians being the second-largest ethnic group in Kazakhstan). Furthermore, since gaining independence, Kazakhstan's state elite has aimed to become a regional leader in Central Asia. Thus, the country's international reputation holds immense value for them, and their goal of international recognition is evidenced by Kazakhstan's chairmanship of the OSCE in 2010. To maintain a favorable reputation within the international community, Kazakhstan also strives to preserve its image of interethnic and interreligious harmony within its borders³²⁶.

Over a short historical period, a new and, most importantly, effective system of national, economic, and social relations has been constructed, the advantages of which are highly recognized by the global community today. Kazakhstan has indeed become a recognized strong and peace-loving state³²⁷. Modern Kazakhstan is in search of its uniqueness and distinctiveness. Within this framework, different identities compete for the key dominant position in Kazakhstan. On one hand, there is an inclusive "Kazakhstani" identity that unites all indigenous and non-indigenous citizens of Kazakhstan. On the other hand, there is an exclusive "Kazakh" identity, characterized by the Kazakh language, history, and references to nomadic culture. The state symbols of the republic often feature images of a yurt, a rider galloping across the steppe, and/or an eagle soaring above the steppe. The nomadic mobility aligns with the declared "multi-vector" foreign policy position³²⁸.

The state should pursue a cultural policy based on multiculturalism, focusing on people and events that unite different ethnic communities. Some argue that the Republic of Kazakhstan, being a young country, began writing its history relatively late, especially in terms of connecting the nation's continuity to ancient Kazakhstan. However, there are figures and events from more recent history that are acceptable to all ethnic communities in the country and do not provoke conflicts with neighbors. The ruling elite persistently insists on constructing the nation's identity around characters from more distant history. The state should not ignore the past; on the contrary, it is part of the cultural heritage of the Republic of Kazakhstan and deserves continuity. At the same time, it would be more appropriate to focus attention on individuals who have made significant contributions to the creation and development of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

R.A. Nurtazina highlights several key elements of Kazakhstan's national identity, such as the Kazakh language, culture, history, as well as shared values and principles. She also emphasizes the

³²⁶ Kesici Ö. The Dilemma in the Nation-Building Process: The Kazakh or Kazakhstani Nation? // *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*. 2011. V.10, N 1. P. 43-44.

³²⁷ Auanasova A. M. Iz istorii gosudarstvennogo stroitel'stva nezavisimogo Kazakhstana // *Memleket Tarikhy. Istoriya gosudarstva*. 2011. N.4. P. 20-21.

³²⁸ Zhurasova A., Yeseyeva G. Voprosy natsional'noy identichnosti v Kazakhstane // *Świat Idei i Polityki*. 2021. N. 2. P. 88.

importance of state policies regarding national identity, which should contribute to the preservation and development of Kazakh culture and language, as well as strengthen the sense of belonging to the nation. In contemporary society, the national idea and interethnic relations are becoming important socio-psychological issues, influenced by the rise of national self-awareness and globalization. Historical examples exist where dissatisfaction and societal crises led to negative consequences, including ethnic intolerance. In such situations, national belonging can serve as a primary mechanism for compensation and alleviate people's psychological state. However, it can also increase susceptibility to nationalistic ideas and slogans and make ethnic elites easily manipulative. Therefore, state national policies should take into account the psychological state of national self-awareness and work towards strengthening national dignity and well-being to prevent negative consequences³²⁹.

The process of constructing national identity in Kazakhstan revolves around the core Kazakh identity. Due to the unique ethnic structure of Kazakhstan, there is often a discourse on creating a common interethnic political identity within the framework of "shared homeland" consciousness. In the country, there is no struggle for separation from a larger political entity for the independence of any small nation. After gaining independence, Kazakhstan did not raise the question of annexing lands inhabited by ethnic Kazakhs. It is worth noting that attempts are made to unite the ethnically diverse population into a political union, influenced by the common Soviet past and Soviet legacy. The Soviet period does not correspond to the Eastern type of civilization, and the Soviet Union does not fit the definition of a colonial state. In the process of constructing identity in Kazakhstan, political identity is built upon Kazakh national identity, but the emphasis on the "shared homeland" is often used for all ethnic groups. The construction of Kazakh national identity traces its roots from the Kazakh Khanate to the Turkic Khaganate, the Huns, and even the Scythians. All historical elements of national identity, built upon an ethnic core, are intensively utilized in the process of its construction.

According to N.P. Kalashnikova's data, 94.9% of citizens positively assess the interethnic situation in the country, and 94.5% feel themselves as representatives of the unified people of Kazakhstan. Thanks to such a policy, Kazakhstan considers civil peace, social harmony, interethnic, and social stability as conceptual foundations of democracy. It has undergone a transformation from the paradigm of divisive elements in interethnic relations to the principles of unifying and integrating relationships³³⁰.

The essence of Kazakhstani democratization lies in the formation of new consolidating

³²⁹ Nurtazina R. A. Diskurs po teoretiko-metodologicheskim podkhodam issledovaniya natsional'nykh idey v Kazakhstane // Molodoy uchenyy. 2015. N. 6 (86). P. 30.

³³⁰ Kalashnikova N. P. Obshchestvennoye soglasiyev kontekste natsional'noy idei «mәngilik yel» // Gosudarstvennoye upravleniye i gosudarstvennaya sluzhba. 2015. N. 1. P. 161.

mechanisms of integration and cooperation, as well as the realization of the importance of common interests. The question of forming social consensus is closely related to the multi-ethnic nature of Kazakhstani society. Social unity, interethnic harmony, a stable economy, and high international reputation are reliable guarantees against the upheavals that the Kazakhstani people experienced in the 20th century. It is important to cherish these achievements to never repeat the sad pages of the past³³¹.

2.2. External political factors shaping the national identity of Kazakhstan in the 21st century

Kazakhstan's foreign policy has played a significant role in shaping its national identity in the 21st century. Here are some key factors:

1. Multilateral diplomacy. On March 2, 1992, Kazakhstan became a member of the **United Nations (UN)**, a universal organization of the international community. Kazakhstan's status as a non-nuclear-weapon state played an important role in integrating the global community. However, the decision to renounce nuclear weapons was not made immediately because Kazakhstan needed responsible guarantees from a major nuclear power. On December 5, 1994, a memorandum on the territorial integrity, non-economic pressure, and inviolability of independence of Kazakhstan was signed during a meeting of leading states.

In connection with the Lisbon Protocol in May 1992, Kazakhstan's nuclear missiles were dismantled and gradually transported to Russia. The value of the uranium in the nuclear warheads was returned to the country. Kazakhstan's renunciation of nuclear weapons had a positive influence on the international community, as it was crucial to establish a non-proliferation agreement in our complex times. The Republic of Kazakhstan demonstrated its responsibility in the modern world order.

The Republic of Kazakhstan actively participates in the activities of the UN, particularly in the fields of education, science, and culture through UNESCO. Joining UNESCO in 1992 provided a new impetus for the development of humanitarian cooperation and the expansion of cultural ties. In 1994, the UNESCO Office was opened in Almaty, which operates in four countries: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan³³². Activities in each country are carried out through National Commissions for UNESCO and a network of partners in the respective areas of competence. UNESCO's main mission is to build peace and foster human development through education, science, culture, communication,

³³¹ Kalashnikova N.P. Konsolidiruyushchiye proyekty Assamblei naroda Kazakhstana: obshchnost' istorii i pamyati // Vestnik RGGU. Seriya «Yevraziyskiye issledovaniya. Istoriya. Politologiya. Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya». 2020. N. 3. P. 128.

³³² UNESCO. URL: <https://www.unesco.org/ru/fieldoffice/almaty> (Date of access: 12.05.2023).

and information.

Action in each country is carried out through the National Commissions for UNESCO and a network of partners in the respective fields of competence. UNESCO's main mission is to create peace and human development through education, science, culture, communication and information.

Cooperation with UNESCO has been an important focus of Kazakhstan's foreign policy for many years. In 1994, Kazakhstan ratified the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, becoming the first country in Central Asia to include natural reserves in the World Heritage List. The work on increasing the representation of Kazakhstani sites in this list continues. At the moment three sites of the cultural and natural heritage of Kazakhstan are included in the UNESCO World Heritage List: "Mausoleum of Haji Ahmed Yasawi", "Petroglyphs of the archeological landscape of Tamgaly" and "Sary-Arka - steppes and lakes of Northern Kazakhstan". In addition, the Korgalzhyn and Naurzum state nature reserves have been inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List³³³.

Kazakhstan deals with interethnic and interreligious tolerance at the UN. It is part of the Group of Friends of the Alliance of Civilizations, uniting more than 80 countries and international organizations. Kazakhstan actively promotes inter-civilizational and global inter-religious dialogue, fostering tolerance and mutual adaptation of cultures. It also initiated the proclamation of 2010 as the International Year for the Rapprochement of Cultures, to promote cultural diversity and interpenetration between different cultures. Kazakhstan actively cooperates with the United Nations in the area of the environment, particularly in climate protection, prevention of desertification, transboundary air pollution, preservation of biodiversity and protection of the marine environment of the Caspian Sea. The country also combats terrorism and organized crime through cooperation with the counterterrorism committees of the UN Security Council. Kazakhstan supports increased interaction between the UN and regional organizations in combating international terrorism, drug trafficking, illegal migration and religious extremism. It also actively cooperates with the UN in the area of peacekeeping and supports UN peacekeeping capacity-building efforts. Kazakhstan actively participates in the work of major UN bodies such as the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the General Assembly of the United Nations to address a wide range of issues. In general, Kazakhstan strives to use the UN for successful development of the country and to achieve economic prosperity and well-being of its citizens³³⁴.

As a result, the Republic of Kazakhstan was recognized by all states. Diplomatic relations were established with most of these countries, and an infrastructure and certain channels connecting the republic to the outside world were formed. Thus, in a short period of time, historically important tasks

³³³ Zhanbulatova R., Malinbayeva A. Respublika Kazakhstan I Organizatsiya Ob'yedinennykh Natsiy: vektory sotrudnichestva // 2017. CONCORDE. N 3. P. 82.

³³⁴ Ibid. P.84-85.

were resolved, and cooperation, high trust and fundamental friendship with neighboring countries in the field of politics and international law were established on every perimeter border of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan's national security issues are named as the main strategic priorities in the work of "Kazakhstan-2030" ³³⁵.

Kazakhstan became a member of the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe** (OSCE) in 1992³³⁶, shortly after gaining independence from the Soviet Union. Kazakhstan's membership in the OSCE reflects its commitment to promoting peace, security and cooperation in the Euro-Atlantic region and beyond.

Kazakhstan's membership in the OSCE is an important part of its foreign policy strategy. Through participation in the OSCE, Kazakhstan has been able to engage with other countries on a wide range of issues, including conflict prevention and resolution, human rights, and economic cooperation.

One of the key areas where the OSCE has played a significant role in Kazakhstan's foreign policy is the promotion of democratic governance and the rule of law. Kazakhstan works closely with the OSCE on issues such as electoral reform, civil society development, and judicial reform to strengthen democratic institutions and practices in the country. Kazakhstan seeks to promote peace and stability in the region and to advance its own national security interests.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is of strategic importance for Kazakhstan in terms of security and economic cooperation in Central Asia and the region as a whole. Kazakhstan became a member of the SCO in 2001³³⁷, along with China, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Currently, the SCO has six members and four observer states.

Kazakhstan actively participates in numerous SCO initiatives aimed at security, economic and cultural cooperation. In the field of security, the SCO cooperates in combating terrorism, extremism and drug trafficking, as well as in resolving regional conflicts. In economic cooperation, the SCO works to promote trade, investment and transport links in the region. In culture and education, the SCO supports student and scientific exchanges, as well as cultural delegations between member states.

According to Kembayev, the creation of the SCO and its activities are of great importance to Kazakhstan for the following reasons:

The SCO adheres to the principles of international law, which is an important factor for Kazakhstan. The main goals of the SCO include ensuring global and regional security through equal

³³⁵ Taubayeva M. E., Umirzakova A. S. "Soft Power" Policy Of The Republic Of Kazakhstan In The International Community // Current Issues of Social Sciences and Humanities. 2022. V 3, NUU Conference 2. P. 184-185.

³³⁶ Organizatsiya po bezopasnosti i sotrudnichestvu v Yevrope, <https://www.gov.kz/memleket/entities/kgd/press/article/details/75993?lang=ru> (Date of access: 12.05.2023).

³³⁷ Shanghai Cooperation Organization // URL: <https://dppa.un.org/en/shanghai-cooperation-organization> (Date of access: 12.05.2023).

partnership and the development of economic, social and cultural cooperation among member states. Kazakhstan aims at cooperation and good neighborly relations with all states in accordance with the principles and norms of international law. The Constitution of Kazakhstan enshrines the principles of social harmony, political stability and economic development for the benefit of all people. The activities of the SCO correspond to the vital interests of Kazakhstan as they ensure stability, security and development of economic relations with neighbouring states. Kazakhstan is an active participant in the SCO and contributes to the achievement of its goals³³⁸.

The SCO allows Kazakhstan to discuss security and cooperation issues on an equal footing with neighboring states, including China and Russia. Thus, the SCO plays an important role in Kazakhstan's foreign policy and corresponds to its interests. Despite the challenges, the SCO is of vital importance to Kazakhstan. The organization promotes peace and security in Eurasia, as well as the development of economic, social and cultural cooperation. The organization will promote the observance of international law, peaceful coexistence and the solution of global crises. Kazakhstan also supports the intensification of economic interaction in the SCO and can support the establishment of a free trade zone. It seeks peaceful coexistence and close interaction between different geopolitical poles. Kazakhstan sees the SCO as a model of successful interaction between Eurasia and China and looks forward to transforming the SCO into an equal Eurasian-Chinese alliance to ensure security and develop cooperation³³⁹.

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is an organization founded on September 25, 1969 in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, to promote cooperation and solidarity among its member states and to defend the rights and interests of the Islamic world. Kazakhstan joined the organization, which has a total of 57 members, in 1995. The purpose of the organization is to develop cooperation among Islamic countries, protect the interests of Islamic countries and spread the message of Islam throughout the world. Kazakhstan cooperates with the OIC to develop relations with the Islamic world, preserve Islamic culture and values, provide economic cooperation and promote peace and stability among Islamic countries.

Central Asia is becoming a center of competition in regional projects. Cooperation with the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) also promises promise, especially given the increasing problems in the Islamic direction. However, the influence of the OIC and the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) remains weak in Central Asia. A foreign policy based on the Islamic direction requires greater efficiency and optimal political interaction, taking into account the common algorithm for the states of Central Asia. Kazakhstan's cooperation with the Islamic world should be considered in

³³⁸ Lukin A.V. Problemy i perspektivy razvitiya Shankhayskoy Organizatsii Sotrudnichestva: mneniya ekspertov // *Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya*. 2011. N. 2(17). P. 83-85.

³³⁹ Kembayev ZH. Problemy i perspektivy chlenstva Respubliki Kazakhstan v Shankhayskoy Organizatsii Sotrudnichestva/ URL: https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=31305951&pos=27;-8#pos=27;-8 (Date of access: 17.05.2023).

the context of Central Asia's interdependence geographically, culturally and geopolitically. Further effective participation in all-Islamic affairs and the use of the potential of the OIC and the Arab world will make it possible to solve regional, national and military-political problems. For this purpose, it is important to form a unified political bloc in Central Asia³⁴⁰. Kazakhstan has hosted various meetings, conferences and working groups organized within the OIC. In addition, the country is implementing projects and programs aimed at expanding cooperation with the Islamic world in the cultural, educational and economic spheres. Kazakhstan's position within the OIC is to strengthen the country's relations with the Islamic world, develop dialogue between Islamic countries and expand cooperation based on common interests. The country makes efforts to support the goals of the OIC and strengthen cooperation between Islamic countries.

2. Balancing between East and West. For Kazakhstan, this balancing act has several important aspects:

Economic aspect: Kazakhstan is a resource-rich state with rich reserves of oil, gas and other minerals. The country seeks to develop economic relations and attract investments both from Eastern countries (e.g. China, Russia) and from Western countries (Europe, USA). Such diversity of partners helps Kazakhstan to diversify its economy and strengthen its position on the world stage.

Political aspect: Kazakhstan strives to maintain diplomatic relations and strengthen political cooperation both with Eastern and Western countries. This includes support for international organizations and participation in regional and global initiatives. Kazakhstan also tries to play a constructive role in international dialogues and solving global problems.

The cultural and educational dimension: Kazakhstan attaches great importance to the preservation and development of its culture and national identity, while being open to the influence and experience of other cultures. The country develops educational programs, student exchanges and cultural and scientific ties with Eastern and Western countries to enrich its cultural and intellectual base.

In general, the balancing of East and West allows Kazakhstan to use the advantages and resources of both regions for its internal development. The country seeks to create favorable conditions for economic growth, political and social reforms, and to strengthen its position as a strategic and independent actor in the international arena.

In an interview with Kazakh President Kassym Jomart Tokayev in 2020, he was asked the question, "How does Kazakhstan manage to maintain a balance between the West and the East and how does it position itself as a 'bridge of Eurasia'?" His answer to this question was as follows:

"Our country is located not at the crossroads of Islamic, Confucian and Eastern Christian

³⁴⁰ Osmonaliyev K. M. Karagulov A. O. Islamskiy faktor vo vneshney politike tsentral'no-aziatskikh gosudarstv // Zaochnaya Ekspertnaya Panel' «Aktual'nyye Problemy Mezhdunarodnoy i Regional'noy Bezopasnosti». P. 98-99.

civilizations. In addition, we have deep historical, mental and economic ties with the East and the West. We aspire to function as a link between the West and the East in political and civilizational dimensions. As you know, Kazakhstan is an active participant in a number of authoritative Eurasian structures, including the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the OSCE and the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia. Every three years Kazakhstan holds congresses of leaders of world and traditional religions. We reasonably position ourselves as a transit trade bridge between Europe and Asia. Kazakhstan has always sought to become an important link in the framework of transport and communication projects that connect the two continents. We should add here the cultural and historical component. Recall the great migration of peoples from east to west or the Great Silk Road, the transport artery that still has no analogues in the history. All this, of course, predetermined the unique symbiosis of eastern and western cultures in Kazakhstan. Multi-vector policy, balance, constructivism are the fundamental principles of our foreign policy. And this foreign policy, in my opinion, best suits the geopolitical status of our country. Its geographic location, after all. But within the framework of this foreign policy we are primarily focused on the strategic partnership and allied relationship with Russia. This is a moment of principle for us"³⁴¹.

3. Diversification of the economy is the process of reducing the economy's dependence on certain industries or sources of income by developing and expanding different sectors of the economy³⁴².

In the context of Kazakhstan, economic diversification is of strategic importance and a key priority to ensure sustainable and sustained economic growth. Kazakhstan, as a country, has historically been heavily dependent on revenues from the production and export of oil, gas and other natural resources. Diversification of the economy is aimed at the development and expansion of other sectors, such as industry, agriculture, tourism, information technology, finance and services. Diversification of the economy will be carried out by unlocking the potential of the agro-industrial complex, industrialization, taking into account the transition to indirect tools of business support to stimulate the development of efficient enterprises, as well as qualitative digitalization. The Minister of National Economy said that a new institutional framework will be created, which will provide conditions for the qualitative and sustainable development of the economy in the new economic reality. Measures will be taken to form a new economic structure, based on a competitive non-resource sector and inclusion in regional and global value chains³⁴³.

³⁴¹ Eksklyuzivnoye interv'yu prezidenta Kazakhstana Kasym-Zhomarta Tokayeva Mezghosudarstvennoy teleradiokompanii «Mir» // 01.05.2020. URL: <https://mir24.tv/articles/16408307/eksklyuzivnoe-intervyu-prezidenta-kazahstana-kasym-zhomarta-tokaeva-mezghosudarstvennoi-teleradiokompanii-mir> (Date of access: 20.05.2023).

³⁴² Kovalenko M.G. Diversifikatsiya ekonomiki regiona i yeye rol' v preodolenii vnutrireional'nykh razlichiy // Vestnik Adygeyskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. 2012. Seriya 5: Ekonomika, issue 4 (111), P. 63.

³⁴³ Diversifikatsiya ekonomiki Kazakhstana budet provodit'sya cherez raskrytiye potentsiala APK, industrializatsiyu i provedeniye kachestvennoy tsifrovizatsii // Ofitsial'nyy informatsionnyy resurs Prem'yer-Ministra Respubliki Kazakhstan.

The benefits of economic diversification include:

Reduced vulnerability: Diversity of economic sectors reduces the risk and vulnerability associated with fluctuations in commodity prices and changes in the global economy. This allows us to better cope with external shocks and mitigate their impact on the national economy.

Creating new jobs: Diversifying the economy creates new jobs in different sectors, which improves employment and social well-being.

Fostering innovation and development: Diversity of economic sectors fosters innovation and technological advancement. This allows the country to be more competitive, attract investment, and lead to productivity growth.

Expanding export potential: Diversifying the economy helps expand a country's export potential by increasing the volume and diversity of exported goods and services. This promotes international trade and attracts foreign investment.

The development of a knowledge-intensive economy based on knowledge and creativity is a complex and long-term process that requires government support. This may require the institutionalization of initiatives aimed at developing the economy and moving away from dependence on resource revenues. At the same time, competition in international markets and the difficulty of meeting demand in the domestic market must be taken into account. One of the main problems in diversifying the economy is insufficient motivation for businesses to reorient their efforts, which is also limited by the presence of monopolies in fundamental sectors of the economy. It is important to form a core of medium-sized businesses from the new generation in order to achieve economic progress through real industrialization. In the context of Kazakhstan's rapid development of digitalization, the digital economy also requires new approaches in intersectoral interaction. Initiatives aimed at using the Internet to benefit from the development of industries whose products or services can be demanded online should be supported. It may be necessary to create a suitable ecosystem to stimulate research and development work, as well as to attract foreign direct investment. It may also be possible to benefit from the use of foreign-educated talent, which would support the national economy. Kazakhstani President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev noted that the country's economy is still dependent on mining, and it is necessary to diversify the economy for progressive development³⁴⁴.

4. The promotion of Kazakh culture is an important aspect of Kazakhstan's foreign policy, and

23.02.2021. URL: <https://primeminister.kz/ru/news/diversifikaciya-ekonomiki-kazahstana-budet-provoditsya-cherez-raskrytie-potenciala-apk-industrializaciyu-i-provedenie-kachestvennoy-cifrovizacii-231410> (Date of access: 22.05.2023).

³⁴⁴ Kasymova A. Diversifikatsiya ekonomiki: kakiye vozmozhnosti yest' u Kazahstana// kazinform. 04.04.2023. URL: https://www.inform.kz/ru/diversifikaciya-ekonomiki-kakie-vozmozhnosti-est-u-kazahstana_a4053105 (Date of access: 21.05.2023).

it is implemented through various initiatives and programs. This is based on the experience of various countries and regions, which shows that using a comprehensive approach in branding culture has several aspects. Firstly, it is the expansion of economic specialization in the sphere of culture. Secondly, the formation of an integral system of measures and managerial decisions for the development of the whole cultural landscape, related to the key state trends³⁴⁵.

Over the years of Kazakhstan's independence, a legal and regulatory framework has been developed in the field of culture. In 2019 the new Law on protection and use of objects of historical and cultural heritage was adopted to improve the legislation and ensure preservation and popularization of such objects. In 2020 24 normative legal acts were adopted to tighten measures on protection and use of historical and cultural heritage³⁴⁶.

One such initiative is the establishment of the Abai Cultural House, which is built upon Kazakh public associations abroad. The objective of this project is to promote Kazakh culture and national brands by organizing concerts, festivals, and exhibitions. Additionally, there are youth competitions and excursions to Kazakhstan's sacred sites. The international arts festival "Kasietti kazak eli" and the Moscow youth contest of Kazakh song "Altyn küz" contribute to the popularization of national music and the showcasing of talent³⁴⁷.

Museums, which have significant image potential and are the main cultural and educational center, whose main mission is to preserve the historical, artistic and cultural heritage of the nation. The state supports museums as the most important cluster of the cultural policy of the country. Currently in the Republic of Kazakhstan there are 253 museums, which have a different focus depending on their profile. At the same time, each museum is a multifunctional organism that combines different types of activities: research and collection, exhibition and exhibition, research and cultural and educational. In accordance with the Concept of Cultural Policy, approved by Presidential Decree No. 939 of November 4, 2014, museums play an important role in the development of science and research activities. They conduct scientific research and regular field expeditions, including archaeological, ethnographic and archaeographic ones. In 2014, the National Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan was opened, which is the largest cultural center in Central Asia³⁴⁸. The content and ways of preserving cultural memory create a favorable environment for museum experiments involving the use of artifacts, communication, mass-media projects, as well as space and other tools. This contributes to an effective "pyramid of brands.

³⁴⁵ Povalyashko G.N., Khazbulatov A.R. Brending Kazakhstanskogo kul'turnogo landshafta // KazNU Bulletin. Philosophy series. Cultural science series. Political science series. 2015. N. 3 (52). P. 135.

³⁴⁶ Ministerstvo kul'tury i sporta Respubliki Kazakhstan // Kul'tura. URL: <https://www.gov.kz/memleket/entities/mcs/activities/343?lang=ru> (Date of access: 21.05.2023).

³⁴⁷ Prodvizheniye kazakhskoy kul'tury. <https://www.oq.gov.kz/ru/d-culture> (Date of access: 19.05.2023).

³⁴⁸ Ministerstvo kul'tury i sporta Respubliki Kazakhstan // Kul'tura. URL: <https://www.gov.kz/memleket/entities/mcs/activities/343?lang=ru> (Date of access: 21.05.2023).

In the same way archaeological parks, which combine areas of conservation of monuments and museum exhibitions, as well as moving and reconstructed objects placed on their historical sites, represent the optimal form of preservation of natural and historical and cultural heritage³⁴⁹.

The "Qasietti jer" project organizes excursions to sacred places of Kazakhstan for representatives of the Kazakh diaspora, which contributes to their acquaintance with the history and culture of the country. The "OQ-kitap" project is aimed at shaping the image of a successful Kazakh and passing on experience through the publication of books and the creation of an electronic library. The cultural project "Qazaq fashion" aims to promote national stylistics in the fashion industry and the development of Kazakh applied art.

The Sport álemi project aims to popularize national and traditional sports among the diaspora. This contributes to the preservation and promotion of national sports traditions and cooperation with national sports associations³⁵⁰.

Kazakhstan's foreign policy has employed a strategic approach that emphasizes cultural diversity and prioritizes the promotion of Kazakh culture. This strategy aims to strengthen Kazakhstan's cultural identity on the international stage, preserve its cultural heritage, and enhance cultural interactions with the international community. Kazakhstan actively promotes and disseminates Kazakh culture on international platforms through cultural diplomacy. It seeks to showcase the richness of Kazakh culture to a global audience by organizing cultural events, festivals, exhibitions, and artistic performances. Additionally, Kazakhstan strives to promote Kazakh literature, art, and music at an international level by supporting Kazakh artists, writers, and musicians on international platforms. Furthermore, Kazakhstan's cultural policy aims to achieve broader international recognition and appreciation of Kazakh culture through the preservation of cultural heritage, promotion of UNESCO-listed historical and cultural sites, and cultural tourism projects. These efforts strengthen Kazakhstan's cultural distinctiveness, garner greater international recognition, and facilitate closer relations with other countries through cultural interactions. Overall, these initiatives and programs promoting Kazakh culture contribute to the strengthening of national identity, support for compatriots abroad, and attracting the attention of the international community to Kazakhstan's rich heritage and creative potential.

Summing up, Kazakhstan's active participation in international organizations such as the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization has helped establish it as a responsible member of the global community. Through engagement in these organizations, Kazakhstan has been able to promote its national interests and values,

³⁴⁹ Povalyashko G.N., Khazbulatov A.R. Breeding Kazakhstanskogo kul'turnogo landshafta // KazNU Bulletin. Philosophy series. Cultural science series. Political science series. 2015. N. 3 (52). P. 135.

³⁵⁰ Prodvizheniye kazakhskoy kul'tury. URL: <https://www.oq.gov.kz/ru/d-culture> (Date of access: 19.05.2023)

such as contributing to peace and stability in the region.

Kazakhstan's geographical location at the crossroads of Europe and Asia has influenced its foreign policy in balancing relations with both the East and the West. Kazakhstan develops strategic partnerships with China and Russia while also seeking closer ties with the European Union and the United States. This balancing act has helped Kazakhstan maintain its independence and sovereignty, as well as benefit from the economic and strategic advantages of partnerships with various countries.

Kazakhstan's foreign policy has been directed towards diversifying the country's economy and reducing dependence on natural resources such as oil and gas. This entails attracting foreign investment and developing economic ties with other countries, particularly in agriculture, industry, and technology. Such economic diversification has helped Kazakhstan become less reliant on any single country or sector and has contributed to the growth of national pride and the country's distinctiveness.

Kazakhstan's foreign policy also places special emphasis on promoting Kazakh culture and language as a means of strengthening national identity. This includes initiatives such as establishing Kazakh cultural centers in other countries and organizing cultural festivals and events both within Kazakhstan and abroad. By showcasing Kazakh culture to the world, Kazakhstan has been able to strengthen the sense of national identity among its citizens and promote its unique cultural heritage on the global stage.

In conclusion, Kazakhstan's foreign policy has played a significant role in shaping its national identity in the 21st century by promoting its values, diversifying its economy, balancing relations with various countries, and showcasing its unique cultural heritage.

2.3. Cultural policy in the context of nation building and the formation of a national state identity: analysis of modern practice

The state is a key player in the application of identity politics. With the tools and mechanisms at its disposal, the state works to strengthen civil unity, civic consciousness, and to create socio-economic, political and cultural conditions for the improvement of the social well-being of citizens, thus constructing the desired reality. In addition, civil society institutions, interest groups united on a worldview basis, patriotically-minded and proactive citizens, and religious communities are involved in these same activities. According to the constructivist approach, cognitive activity is the construction of ideas about the social world. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman note that "man is biologically predestined to construct and inhabit the world with others. This world becomes for him the dominant and definite reality. Its limits are set by nature, but, once arranged, this world has the opposite effect on

nature. In the dialectic between nature and the socially constructed world, the human organism itself is transformed. In the same dialectic, man produces reality and thereby produces himself³⁵¹.

The work of forming a common identity becomes a priority of social and cultural policy, a source of development of nation-state communities under the destabilization of the world order³⁵². In every developing society, identity crises and identity-seeking efforts have been paralleled by changes in the order and balance of social relations related to culture. Every nation is undoubtedly a society; but not every society can be a nation. In other words, the relationship between the existence of a nation and the existence of a community cannot be reciprocal or symmetrical³⁵³.

As the Russian philosopher P.B. Struve noted in 1918, *"the nation is constructed and created by national consciousness"*³⁵⁴. The term "nation-building" itself appeared in English-language literature in the early 1960s. There is an ongoing debate about the meaningful interpretation of the concepts of nation, nation-building and nationalism. It is possible to define modern strategies of nation-building more broadly, as a policy of consolidation of "people living in the same administrative territory" in the institutional forms of a single community. Rapid change is turning people toward understandable, tangible forms of identity representation in the symbolic public space and in the practices of everyday life. In societies undergoing profound transformations, national and ethno-cultural reference points of identity are visibly present in everyday consciousness, determining the position of the individual in the confrontation between "us" and "them"³⁵⁵.

Cultural and political boundaries rarely coincide. Contemporary cultural political issues are even more connected to the category of national, regional, or local identity than in earlier times. Political communities (states) have usually united several cultures, and cultural communities have developed over state borders. Attempts to bring these boundaries in line with each other are characteristic of the relatively short-lived historical period referred to as modernity. Attempts to match the boundaries of politics and the boundaries of culture are made again and again at the present time. The understanding of the essence of the nation and, accordingly, the criteria of national affiliation, widespread in one or another country, only sets the space for discussion. It formats, so to speak, the public discussion of citizenship - it determines in which categories this discussion will take place, on which assumptions it will be based, which of them will be taken for granted by the participants of the discussion, and which

³⁵¹ Berger P.L., Luckmann T. The social construction of reality. A Treatise on sociology of knowledge. – NY.: «Garden City Anchor Books», 1966. P. 204.

³⁵² Semenenko I.S. Dilemmy natsional'noy identichnosti: politicheskiye riski i sotsial'nyye priobreteniya // Polis. Politicheskiye issledovaniya. 2009. N. 6. P. 22.

³⁵³ Yıldız S. The social feature of the identity and the national identity concepts // Millî Folklor. 2007. V 19. N 74. P. 13.

³⁵⁴ Qtd. in: Tishkov V. A. Rossiyskiy narod: kniga dlya uchitelya. – M.: Prosveshcheniya, 2010. P.15.

³⁵⁵ Semenenko I.S., Lapkin V.V., Bardin A.L., Pantin V.I. Mezhdru gosudarstvom i natsiyey: dilemmy politiki identichnosti na postsovetском prostranstve // Polis. Politicheskiye issledovaniya. 2017. N. 5. P. 60.

of them will be considered contrary to common sense. Who, why, under what conditions, and with what resources seeks to solve this intractable problem³⁵⁶? The answer to these questions means an objective approach to cultural problems. The philosophy of culture, which considers culture as a whole, is not a sufficient basis for political action.

Culture is a very important resource in the formation and construction of a nation. In other words, a nation is a cultural (ethnic) community. Culture can be seen as a resource between people with both contrasting and similar identities. It can unite or divide a nation. It is used in the "voluntary" and "organic" approaches to defining the nation³⁵⁷. While the organic approach emphasizes the role of culture in illuminating the specificity of the nation, the voluntary discourse focuses on the universal value of culture³⁵⁸.

"Culture" is the genetic code of a nation. The presence of an effective infrastructure of cultural institutions and mechanisms ensuring the preservation and enrichment of national and world cultural heritage, the creation, transmission and use of quality cultural values, reflects the size of a developed state. The word "culture" comes from the Latin word "cultura", and originally meant "cultivation of the land". Philosophers introduced the term "culture" to science a little over 200 years ago: it first appeared in German books and dictionaries in the last quarter of the 18th century³⁵⁹. L.E. Kertman found more than 400 definitions of the word "culture", and this diversity has only increased over the years, which once again makes us recognize the exceptional complexity and versatility of this phenomenon.

Culture is a diverse, artificial, different world from nature, created by many generations of people³⁶⁰. Hegel philosophically expounded the concept of "culture," using "Objective Geist" as its synonym. Hartmann, a follower of Hegel, took the concept of culture out of the metaphysical realm into the realm of empiricism. Spengler understood culture as the external manifestation of the soul of a people³⁶¹. Each nation has its own worldview, from which comes all the wealth of cultural forms, on the basis of which the collective soul lives, feels, creates. In the work of Todorov and Ilan³⁶², culture also refers to memory, which uses the same language, history, traditions and customs, as well as the rules

³⁵⁶ Malakhov V. Kul'turnyye razlichiya i politicheskiye granitsy v epokhu global'nykh migratsiy. – M.: «Novoye literaturnoye obozreniye; Institut filosofii RAN.», 2014. P. 10, 121.

³⁵⁷ Slaveski S., Popovska B. Culture as a resource in nation-building: the case of Macedonia // *European Quarterly of Political Attitudes and Mentalities*. 2016. V. 5, N 2. P. 47.

³⁵⁸ Eydkheym KH. Kogda etnicheskaya identichnost' stanovitsya sotsial'nym stigmatom? // *Etnicheskiye gruppy i sotsial'nyye granitsy: Sotsial'naya organizatsiya kul'turnykh razlichiy: sbornik statey / Pod red. F. Barata; Translated from Eng. I. Pil'shchikova. M.: Novoye izdatel'stvo, 2006. P. 50.*

³⁵⁹ Ger'ye V.I. Respublika ili monarkhiya ustanovitsya vo Frantsii? // *Sbornik gosudarstvennykh znaniy / Pod. red. V.M. Bezobrazova. SPb., 1877. T. 3. P. 165.*

³⁶⁰ Filer A.YA. Kul'tura. Kul'turologiya. KHKH vek // *Entsiklopediya. – SPB., 1998. T. 1. P. 339.*

³⁶¹ Shpengler O. The decline of the west: perspectives of worldhistory 1918 / Translated from Eng. by Giovanni S.. – İstanbul: «Dergâh Yayinevi», 1978. P. 115.

³⁶² Todorov T., Ilan G. The coexistence of cultures // *Policy Futures in Education*. 2011. V 8, N 3. P. 223-232.

that allow for a shared life. Thus, culture is a unique instrument of political regulation, capable of smoothing conflicts, harmonizing the international climate, activating humanitarian processes, and bringing people together.

The concept of cultural policy becomes highly significant at the beginning of the twentieth century. We can consider cultural policy as a means to be used to achieve the goals and objectives set in the field of culture. This concept first appeared within UNESCO in the 1960s, during the presidency of the Director-General Rene Maheu, which was reflected in Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that *"everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of society, to enjoy the arts, to participate in scientific progress and to enjoy its benefits"*³⁶³.

Cultural policy can be characterized as the creation of favorable conditions for each member of society, aimed at maintaining the participation of people in cultural life, development of their creative potential, public organizations, economic and social benefits. Cultural policy is a policy of state institutions, ministries, local administrations, non-governmental organizations, associations, universities, implemented for the protection and development of culture³⁶⁴. Cultural policy is the main ideological platform of every developed state, which forms the main value directions of society and the creative initiative of the individual. The modern state is a "nation state" and culture has a unique role in the formation of modern states. The state, as the guarantor and guardian of national culture, draws its legitimacy from it³⁶⁵.

Cultural policy is a set of measures developed and implemented by the state to maintain the national culture and language and aimed at forming a positive image of the country in order to strengthen its image in the world. There are three important goals intertwined in cultural policy:

1. Creating a positive image of the state to ensure the use of culture and cultural relations as a special tool.

1. Promoting the cultural values of the country, disseminating the national culture and language and enhancing achievements abroad.

2. Creation of favorable conditions for the implementation of political, economic and other tasks of the country in the international arena.

Cultural policy means state activity in the sphere of culture, where certain actors have clearly defined functions, goals, methods and means, corresponding to political interests of the country. An effective cultural policy should be based on a strategic approach and contain a well-developed plan for

³⁶³ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations: Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights> (Date of access: 12.05.2023). Article 27.

³⁶⁴ Kok S. Fenomen globalizatsii i kul'turnaya politika // Voprosy politologii. 2020. N. 1(53). P. 106.

³⁶⁵ Malakhov V. Kul'turnyye razlichiya i politicheskiye granitsy v epokhu global'nykh migratsiy. – M.: «Novoye literaturnoye obozreniye; Institut filosofii RAN.», 2014. P. 12.

the development of cultural cooperation.

Each country has its own general concept of the actions to be taken by the state authorities in the field of culture, as well as its rationale and objectives. In general, it turned out that there are four different approaches:

1. Cultural policy is integrated into overall planning.

2. The state believes that it has responsibility for culture based on the role it has played in relation to the nation and that the state has a responsibility to replace private initiative, which is not always able to do so successfully.

3. One should be wary of centralization and the dominant role of the state in the direct management of cultural institutions, because the danger that cultural action is reduced to uniformity prevents the neutralization of a contradictory element in the arts. Those who support this approach prefer to limit state intervention to financial aid, free of all conditions.

4. In some developing societies cultural development is seen as necessary to raise awareness of statehood and thus to promote the growth of an original culture that will meet both the deepest aspirations of people and the demands of the modern world; state intervention is important because private action is still clearly inadequate. In any case, state intervention should not harm freedom of creation, and public passivity should be avoided at all costs³⁶⁶.

Culture is a complex category, which does not allow us to make any calculations, determine an exact forecast of development or formulate a certain formula. It is safe to say that no country in the world has clear cultural standards and norms. Today a cultural person is brought up by the books he reads, the movies he watches, the songs he listens to, and the environment in which he lives. Therefore, it is very important to develop a quality product of culture, to form adequate life values.

The field of cultural policy includes such concepts as history, language, religion, national identity, national minorities, cultural heritage, globalization, education, art, science, technology, creativity, integration with culture, cultural identity³⁶⁷. A nation-state is a geopolitical unit with sovereignty within a certain geographical and political boundary, a form of political organization. The term "nation-state" does not necessarily mean a national (ethnic) state, whose people have a certain linguistic, religious and symbolic identity. Multilingual and multicultural societies most often adopt the nation-state approach, meaning that an ideological national (not ethnic) identity must be established to ensure unity in society. "Identity" is the cultural characteristics that define the identity of people and the quality of societies and

³⁶⁶ Cultural policy a preliminary study, Published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Place de Fontenoy, Imprimerie Blanchard. –Paris, 1969. P. 10-11.

³⁶⁷ Spivak D. Kul'turnaya politika v okruzhayushchem mire // Fundamental'nyye problemy kul'tury. SPb., T. IV. 2008. P. 22 .

distinguish them from other people and societies. Most countries have a core, or mainstream, culture to which all or almost all members of a given society are committed to varying degrees. This national culture is usually supplemented by "subordinate" cultures that exist at the level of subnational or, more rarely, transnational groups bound by religion, race or ethnicity, territory, class status - in short, by what gives these people a sense of community³⁶⁸.

Culture, on the other hand, encompasses material and spiritual values specific to society, created in the process of historical and social development, transmitted through learning from generation to generation³⁶⁹. Culture played an important role in nation-building in Europe in the 19th century, but as a result of globalization and subsequent migration waves, the relationship between nation, state and culture has changed significantly in the 20th and 21st centuries. This leads to a situation in which almost all national-cultural communities are a majority in their "own" nation-state, but also a minority in other countries. Although states such as Sweden and Ireland are now approaching this ideal, very few European nation-states have ever qualified as nation-states³⁷⁰.

In the Netherlands, this development has long been considered part of cultural policy. In the 1990s, this led to an increased emphasis on cultural diversity in cultural policy and a distortion of information about cultural minorities from abroad. At that time, cultural diversity was seen as a threat to national identity, and, surprisingly, the role of cultural politics in the debate about national identity has been negligible since then, and the debate about national identity has largely degenerated into domestic political themes. Moreover, very little attention has been paid to Dutch communities abroad; they are occasionally mentioned in policy documents concerning foreign cultural relations and mostly related to heritage and tradition.

Thus, one rarely sees a situation in society where there is only one language and one culture. But in many countries several languages and cultures are spread and arise as a result of exchanges with other communities. It should also be noted that multiculturalism is not a universal solution for resolving ethnic conflicts. Many other elements, such as the presence of political culture, economic interests, international context, and especially historical tradition, can be crucial to the survival of a society with significant minority demands. It is important to create political communities with a common language and shared culture. The reason language is considered the most effective tool for nation building is that it is a cultural identity, and this identity is based on a social perception that serves to shape the nation.

National identity must be carefully guarded, maintained, and reinforced. However, given that

³⁶⁸ Huntington S. Kto my? Vyzovy amerikanskoj natsional'noy identichnosti. M.: OOO «Izdatel'stvo ACT»: OOO «Tranzitkniga», 2004. P. 106.

³⁶⁹ Kekevi S., Kılıçoğlu G. Identity and culture in international relations // Batman University Journal of Life Sciences. 2012. V1, N 1. P. 1184.

³⁷⁰ Tilly C. Coercion, Capital, and European states, ad 990-1990. «Wiley-Blackwell», Revised edition, 1992. P. 3.

there may be more than one ethnic group in a country, it is essential to develop a cultural policy that embraces all these differences in the nation-building process in order to guarantee that other groups belong where they live. Liberal democracy requires that citizens have a sufficiently high degree of self-denial and mutual solidarity. Consequently, the politicization of ethnic differences is not compatible with these requirements. There are successful examples of stable multi-ethnic countries, such as Switzerland, which indicate that members of a national minority have no reason not to have a deep understanding of their ethnicity and at the same time a strong sense of patriotism and commitment to the larger society. This strong sense of patriotism, which the Swiss have, makes them a "one nation state" and a "federation of nationalities. Nevertheless, there are numerous examples of countries where the institutionalization of ethnic minority identity and rights has not prevented civil wars (e.g., Lebanon, Yugoslavia). Moreover, some multinational countries, whose long-term stability was once taken for granted, are now becoming increasingly unstable (e.g., Belgium, Spain)³⁷¹.

The sphere of cultural policy includes television and radio broadcasting, film industry, performing arts, museums, historical monuments, etc. In this framework, cultural policy is a policy implemented by the authorities in order to support and regulate all activities in the above-mentioned sectors. Defining the state as the main subject of cultural policy, researchers assign the secondary role of "object of management" to cultural figures and institutions. From the point of view of the state, the goal of national policy is to ensure high influence and achieve the prestige of the country. Cultural policy is the cultural basis of politics. If a policy is incompatible with culture, that policy is not supported by the nation. Bennett argues that theoretically this subject is mainly dealt with in the humanities and sociology. He states that the most prominent controversy in cultural policy research is the relationship between culture and politics³⁷². Miller and Yudice emphasize the goal of cultural policy research: to identify the relationship between culture and politics, or to understand which aspects of culture can be managed³⁷³. Cultural policy serves a variety of purposes, but mainly it is aimed at economic and social development. In cultural policies designed for economic development, topics such as globalization of the economy, post-industrial urban transformation, and new industries are priority areas of research. In cultural policies designed for social development, the main areas of interest are the use of culture, cultural globalization, and what policies should be developed to develop and protect culture³⁷⁴.

The experience of social development shows that man is the source of all culture. This is due to

³⁷¹ Tilly C. *Coercion, Capital, and European states, ad 990-1990*. «Wiley-Blackwell», Revised edition, 1992. P. 3.

³⁷² Bennett O. *Intellectuals, Romantics and Cultural Policy // International Journal of Cultural Policy*. 2006. V 12, N 2. P. 123.

³⁷³ Oğuz E.S. *Türk devriminin kültür politikaları ve türkiye'de kütüphane kurumunun gelişimine etkileri // Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2011. V 6, N 12. P. 114.

³⁷⁴ Wise P. *Cultural policy and multiplicities // International Journal of Cultural*. 2002. Policy, V 8, N 2, P. 152.

his unique ability to set goals and carry out activities aimed at achieving them. At the same time, human consciousness, of course, plays a key role in the formation of all culture. Thanks to his consciousness, man not only sets goals for himself, but then turns to the search for different ways to achieve them, which leads to the emergence of culture.

It is an undeniable fact that culture and the arts need the protection of the state at home and everywhere else in the world. The level of knowledge and culture of a society and the attitude of leaders toward cultural activities are very important factors in the development or decline of the arts. If we go back a bit and look at the historical process, we see that the relationship between the state and art in question is similar in both the Eastern and Western worlds, especially in imperial times. For example, artists such as Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, Da Vinci, Holbein, Shakespeare, Mozart, Bach, who are considered the stars of the artistic world, either worked in the palace directly under the king, or performed their duties under the aegis of ruling families, who had a say in the politics of the era. It would be wrong to say that support for cultural and artistic activities in the Middle Ages had a background that defined political relations as well as cultural relations, and that administrators often viewed such artistic activities as an instrument of political competition. Cultural policy is responsible for producing, accounting for, transmitting to future generations, and promoting concrete and intangible cultural elements in relation to market conditions and general social conditions. This process has been observed throughout history, sometimes under the full control of states, sometimes with the participation of civic³⁷⁵.

People who live together within certain geopolitical boundaries, share a common past and cooperate constantly form a society. The most important feature of a society is undoubtedly its culture, language and education. These sociocultural factors are important in terms of existence in society. Identity is also the social perception that helps a society become a nation. *"(...) Without the state there is no national culture. Without national culture there can be a country and a land, but there is no identity. The creation of the state and the formation of national culture occur simultaneously. If it is argued that waiting for famine to end is a condition for taking up culture, then the formation of national culture can take a long time. Culture is not a luxury; it is not superfluous. It corresponds to the creation and constant search for identity... When one day a satiated audience appears, it is sad to see someone stand up and say: I am no longer hungry, but I don't know who I am or what country I live in".* Cultural policy is responsible for the production, recording, transmission and promotion of concrete and intangible cultural elements to future generations. When it comes to culture, sometimes social values and their reflection in everyday life can only be considered as art or, in particular, popular art works. Cultural policy is

³⁷⁵ Durmuş T. I. Kültür ve sanatın gelişiminde devletin rolü, 2016. URL: <https://www.star.com.tr/acik-gorus/kultur-ve-sanatin-gelisiminde-devletin-rolu-haber-1109565/> (Date of access: 28.04.2020).

characterized by the breadth of the boundaries of the definition of culture. An important indicator is the responsibility of the institutions that form and implement cultural policy. On the other hand, culture is an element that can be studied and therefore taught. In this context, important responsibilities fall on those who create cultural policies and on the followers in maintaining a balanced relationship between teaching, encouraging and developing creative practices. Each of the outlined areas of the new cultural policy requires a number of activities, and their successful implementation is another step toward the formation of a developed state with a high level of cultural development³⁷⁶.

When developing cultural policy it is necessary to assess the needs and possibilities to meet them. In most countries very little is known about these aspects: people do not even know what methods can be used to identify the facts of cultural activity and what are the needs of the public. Which members of the public actually express their interests? What is provided? By what types of institutions? With what equipment? With what personnel? At what cost? What are the actions and costs of the state, local communities, public associations, individuals in each sector (creation, distribution, training, preservation)³⁷⁷ ?

In order to examine the content and focus of cultural policy in the context of the globalization process, it is necessary to make a few clarifications about the cultural industries. In recent years, the development of cultural industries has posed serious problems for policymakers. A need has arisen to define a cultural policy that, on the one hand, would protect the unique cultural space of states from external influences, and, on the other hand, would stimulate cultural production within the country. Because of globalization, economics, ideology, and political practices have become an increasingly integrated and homogeneous world, and with the possibilities that information technology brings, we can now speak of a globalized culture.

Robertson³⁷⁸ believes that global culture is the result of the interaction of other cultures. Public action has traditionally been based on two major strategic concepts: the promotion and protection of indigenous culture from the outside world. In an economy organized as a worldwide network, policies must constantly promote exchanges between indigenous and other cultures and aim to strengthen and develop indigenous cultures³⁷⁹. The receptive masses gradually reconstruct their identities on the basis of the representation of cultural industries, which leads to radical changes in consciousness and the

³⁷⁶ Feinmann J. P. Defanse de la culture // El Pais, 06.06.2004. P. 14. Cm. Duman L. Kazakistan'da Değişim ve Dönüşüm: Yeni Bir Uluslaştırma "Başarısı" mı? // OPUS Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi. 2019. V 10, N 17. P. 1993-2026.

³⁷⁷ Cultural policy a preliminary study, Published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Place de Fontenoy, Imprimerie Blanchard. –Paris, 1969. P. 12.

³⁷⁸ Robertson, R. Globalleşme: zaman-mekân ve homojenlik-heterojenlik. Into Topçuoğlu, A., Aktay, Y. (Eds.), Postmodernizm ve İslam, Küreselleşme ve Oryantalizm. İstanbul: «Vadi Yayınevi», 1999. P. 53.

³⁷⁹ Bonet L., Négrier E. Ulusal Kültürlerin Sonu mu? Çeşitlilik Sınavlarında Kültür Politikaları / Translated from Eng. by Ergüden I. – İstanbul: «Bilgi University Publ. » 2011. P. 67.

perception of reality. It is the concept of multiculturalism that is being imposed everywhere in the most industrialized societies through the mechanisms of globalization and the transition to postmodernism. Postmodernism is characterized by a complete break from modernism, while for others it is a disguise/new version of modernism. Some perceive postmodernism as the end of history and an affirmation of the extinction of nation-states. Others argue that it highlights social representation, makes borders transparent, breaks down social, political, economic, psychological barriers, and thus gives people unprecedented equality of opportunity. The preparation and implementation of cultural policies coincide with different goals in different socio-political frameworks. In addition, they have some common characteristics, such as the need to adapt to the effects of globalization.

Particular attention should be paid to social and cultural programs that emphasize cultural identity as well as a sense of community. Cultural policy reflects the collective will of a country's citizens, who more or less accept the value of cultural activities depending on social, political and ideological aspects rather than on the economic dimension.

The role of culture in foreign and domestic politics has become a special field of study in the context of contemporary international relations. Cultural diplomacy at the beginning of the twenty-first century has gained significance and become planned. The attention of states, governments and international organizations to culture thus stems from the fact that many methods of foreign policy have become ineffective and states are not achieving the necessary results in the global competition for leadership. Culture and cultural relations have many different functions, but primarily serve as an effective means of communication and balancing in controversial situations. With a significant positive impact, they can even out crisis situations, harmonize the international climate, and accelerate reforms. Cultural ties can often unite states even in the absence of diplomatic relations. In such cases, the use of cultural potential in the interests of the state becomes especially important. Understanding of the role of culture in international processes is manifested through the increased interest in it on the part of the scientific community, which contributes to the formation of cultural policy of the states in the world arena³⁸⁰.

To identify cultural needs, sociological studies are conducted that use certain data (e.g., the difference between the cultural patterns of two societies or two groups) and take into account desirable and possible goals. People can only desire what they are convinced and certain of based on their experiences. To understand people's cultural needs, one must match them with real life conditions based on tradition, or with innovations, and, by offering choices, encourage them to indicate their preferences. If offered the opportunity to apply new cultural forms to everyday life, people will understand them

³⁸⁰ Kok S. Fenomen Globalizatsii i kul'turnaya politika // Voprosy politologii. 2020. N. 1(53). P. 112.

better and be more interested in them. This is especially important for young people.

In the current century, every country experiencing the influence of globalization on cultural development should have universal principles in its cultural policy. Among these principles are the following:

- the only way to be universal in the face of globalization is to achieve patriotism through the implementation of necessary cultural policies and to contribute to a universal culture in a world that has become a "global village" due to the development of communication technologies;
- in today's world, it is impossible to analyze politics within the phenomenon of cultural identity, ignoring people's demands for their identity. One of the most decisive tests of future democracies is the ability to sustain pluralistic societies;
- the state is strong not because it is culturally homogeneous, but because it is able to manage cultural heterogeneity. In such a period, the idea of a single monopolistic cultural policy is unnecessarily costly and practically impossible. A new cultural policy will succeed to the extent that it helps to facilitate the organization of society by integrating multiple identities;
- for humanity to live in a peaceful and happy world, we must work to avoid turning the phenomenon of globalization into a global catastrophe. This requires the use of reason, common sense, and conscience, recognizing the responsibility to be just and ethical in our actions. The applicability of these principles will not be sufficient if they are included only in cultural politics. Clearly, there is a need for parallel practices with education, art and science policy, as well as public policy, in which consistent decisions will be made to create an ideal environment in which these principles will be applied³⁸¹.

In this context we can state: "the stronger a society is on the inside, the stronger it is on the outside. Finally, it is necessary to pay attention to the cultural influence in nation-building in terms of foreign policy. In today's world, the sphere of culture has become a real battleground between states wishing to establish their hegemony in the world and states trying to preserve their sovereignty. Countries that pay attention to the dissemination of their culture abroad and encourage activities to create a positive image of their state, achieve significant results and become leaders. Today many countries successfully demonstrate models of national cultural policy based on historical traditions, adapted to the real reality. In the process of globalization the richest national experience, which managed to connect the world culture with modernity, becomes an object of attraction for the countries that have just begun to promote their own culture, trying to keep up with modern conditions, and to form the image of their state. The changes and events in the world in recent years show that all countries need a serious cultural policy,

³⁸¹ Ibid. P. 112-113.

which is to minimize the unfavorable trends of emerging changes³⁸².

The concept of "soft power," which Joseph Nye pioneered in the 1980s, is rooted in the idea that alternative power structures exist in international relations alongside economic and military power. According to Nye, there are three ways to achieve the goal: to threaten the other side and, if necessary, to go to war; to "buy off" the other side; and to convince the other side through "soft power. Soft power is "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It is possible by persuading the other side through persuasive arguments and rational policy. Here, trust and the ability to persuade are essential elements of soft power. These elements also ensure the legitimacy of the use of power. A country's soft power potential determines the success of its public diplomacy as much as the integrity and effectiveness of its policies. Soft power, based on a "value-based" definition of power, explains how a country is seen as attractive and worthy of being called an example to others. According to Nye, soft power explains "the attractiveness of a country's culture, political perceptions, and policies. Recognition of a country's policies as legitimate to others also determines a country's soft power potential. Cultural soft power, sometimes called cultural diplomacy, is a form of soft power that seeks to promote the exchange of views and ideas, spread knowledge of other cultures, and build bridges between communities. Ultimately, it seeks to promote a positive vision of cultural diversity, emphasizing it as a source of innovation, dialogue and peace³⁸³. In this context, patriotism works as a necessary concomitant factor of soft power. One of the priority trends of contemporary governance is the exaltation of patriotism as a "consolidating basis" for politics. Being a patriot means not only having respect and love for one's history, but *above all, serving society and the country*³⁸⁴.

In contrast to "hard power," "soft power" explains spheres of influence and attraction beyond military and economic indicators. Various factors feed soft power: culture, education, art, print and visual media, cinema, poetry, literature, architecture, higher education (universities, research centers, etc.), nongovernmental organizations, science and technology, capacity for innovation, tourism, platforms for economic cooperation and diplomacy. Soft power emerges as a combination of these elements and gives us an idea of a country's cultural richness and social capital.

Accordingly, soft power elements can be viewed from the following angles:

1. The country's digital infrastructure and digital diplomacy opportunities.
2. The global reach and appeal of the nation's cultural and qualitative outcomes.
3. The attractiveness, worker and enterprise friendliness and innovation potential of the country's

³⁸² Ibid. C. 112.

³⁸³ Nye J. S., *Soft Power: The means to succeed in world politics*. – New York: «Public Affairs», 2004. P. 5.

³⁸⁴ Baranov N.A. «Myagkaya» i «umnaya» sila v sovremennoy politike: poisk prioritetov // *Kaspiyskiy region: politika, ekonomika, kul'tura*. 2015. N. 1. P. 108.

economic model.

4. The level of human capital in the country, the support of scholarships for students, and the attractiveness for students who want to study abroad.

5. The strength of the country's diplomatic network and its contribution to global engagement and development.

6. Freedom, commitment to human rights and democracy, and the quality of political institutions.

The first item that draws the most attention is digital diplomacy, a method of dealing with foreign policy issues via the Internet.

In today's world, where communication and politics are inseparable from each other, diplomacy needs a digital perspective. Digital diplomacy is facilitated by the high activity of people on social media, for example the high activity of politicians on Twitter. Thus, politicians from different countries can inform their citizens and other people in other countries using digital tools and communicate with them effectively.

However, this should be an interactive process, filled with positive elements for the individual and supported by the chosen strategy. The more an individual is confident that the social group to which he belongs corresponds to his needs, his state of mind, and his socio-political goals and values, the stronger his psycho-emotional connection to it, the stronger his identity with the group.

Identity as the unity of its psycho-emotional and rational sides has a symbolic expression, i.e. the relationship between the individual and the group finds its expression in symbols, signs, etc. A nation exists where its political and cultural communities coincide. Consequently, by forming and strengthening the nation, national identity forms and strengthens its state. National identity acquires special significance in multi-ethnic societies, since cultural differences existing in such societies can hinder the formation of a unified cultural and political community. World practice shows that ethno-cultural differences, splitting the national identity, thereby lead to the split of nation-states. Multi-ethnic states, which make up the majority of states in the modern world, face the task of forming a nation and national identity not on an ethnic but on a civic, political basis³⁸⁵.

With the establishment of a new statehood, the success of identity politics turns out to be an important factor of state consistency; in countries that are tackling the tasks of social and political modernization, it is actively used as a tool for implementing state development strategy, and its priorities and tools become the most important indicators that allow to assess the nature of the political regime³⁸⁶.

³⁸⁵ Kadyrzhanov R.K. Etnokul'turnyy simvolizm i natsional'naya identichnost' Kazakhstana / Pod obshch. red. Z.K. Shaukenovoy. – Almaty: «Institut filosofii, politologii i religiovedeniya KN MON RK», 2014. P. 7-8.

³⁸⁶ Semenenko I.S., Lapkin V.V., Bardin A.L., Pantin V.I. Mezhdru gosudarstvom i natsiyey: dilemmy politiki identichnosti na postsobetskom prostranstve // Polis. Politicheskiye issledovaniya. 2017. N. 5. P. 57.

At the end of the Soviet era, the cultural policy of the state lost its role as a key mechanism of identity formation and construction. Moreover, the state itself began to decompose; as a result, its borders were redefined and sovereignty had to be confirmed. The vector of socio-cultural and political development changed, the usual mechanisms of socialization were destroyed during the dismantling of the former institutions that did not meet the requirements of the transition to a post-industrial society. The disintegration of the Soviet space, united in its ideological predetermination, resulted in the disappearance of the "Soviet people" as a unique in its kind socio-ideological construct that served as a key factor in the mobilization development of a huge state³⁸⁷.

The very manner of emergence of new states in the post-Soviet space contextualized the consolidation around the "titular" nation as a priority of identity politics. Nevertheless, questions about the nature of this new statehood, about the trajectories of development and the prospects for social consolidation of post-Soviet societies have no unequivocal answers so far. Each example is unique in its own way. The experience of statehood in the young post-Soviet countries is often reduced to the existence of a single Soviet state as union republics (which should rather be seen as the experience of quasi-statehood). At the same time, the most important resource for nation-building, capable of ensuring the formation of stable foundations for a new statehood, is the resource of cultural and civilizational and ethno-cultural (capitalizing the rejection of the Soviet past, as well as as everything Russian and Russian, which are de facto attributes of the "titular nation" of the Soviet period). The concept of "nationalizing states," which R. Brubaker proposed two decades ago, has become one of the recognized reference concepts for understanding the political and institutional dynamics in the post-Soviet space³⁸⁸. Authoritarian practices in Central Asian states subordinate symbolic and memory politics to the interests of strengthening their respective personalist regimes. Within the framework of this dissertation the country model - Kazakhstan - is considered. This "case" is interesting not only for understanding the general characteristics and peculiarities of political-institutional transformations and sovereignty processes in the post-Soviet space, but also for assessing the prospects of reformatting the modern world order, including clarification of the future of "national" statehood as a form of organization of political coexistence³⁸⁹.

A Survey for Contemporary Practice. Within the scope of this research, a survey consisting of 10 questions was developed and conducted among various age groups, residents from different regions, and individuals with different ethnic backgrounds in Kazakhstan. The survey aimed to explore cultural

³⁸⁷ Spitsyna T. V. *Natsional'naya identichnost' v kontekste sotsiokul'turnogo krizisa v Rossii (konets XIX - nachalo XX veka)*. Diss... kand. filos. nauk. Belgorod, 2005. P. 4.

³⁸⁸ Semenenko I.S., Lapkin V.V., Bardin A.L., Pantin V.I. *Mezhdru gosudarstvom i natsiyey: dilemmy politiki identichnosti na postsovetском prostranstve // Polis. Politicheskkiye issledovaniya*. 2017. N. 5. P. 57.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.* P. 61.

policies and the formation of national identity in Kazakhstan. Special attention is given to the decision of the Kazakhstani government to transition from Cyrillic to Latin alphabet, as well as understanding the citizens' attitudes towards this change.

The survey addresses questions such as the participants' level of awareness about cultural policies, their attitudes towards Kazakhstan's cultural heritage, the frequency of their participation in local cultural events, and their connection to their own ethnic identity. Additionally, participants are asked to assess the contribution of cultural policies in shaping national identity, identify its shortcomings, and determine directions for improvement. Furthermore, the survey questions were prepared in two languages - Kazakh and Russian, with the Russian translation enclosed in parentheses.

Population and Sample. The study was conducted using a sample selected through quota sampling method. Quota sampling is the most preferred method among commonly used sampling methods. It provides higher representativeness and is more complex and advanced compared to other non-probabilistic methods. Quotas for each subgroup are determined based on calculating the representativeness of subgroups in the population. The study involved a total of 382 participants. Accordingly, the study was conducted with an equal number of participants in 5 cities representing the eastern, western, northern, and southern parts of Kazakhstan. The sample consists of 20.2% residents of Astana, 19.9% residents of Aktau, 20.2% residents of Almaty, 19.6% residents of Semey, and 20.2% residents of Shymkent. To ensure the sample corresponds to the population and demographic structure, the distribution of males and females was conducted in equal proportions.

Operation. The data analysis was conducted using the SPSS 25.0 software. The data obtained from the study were analyzed using the SPSS 20 software package. Information about variables and participants' sociodemographic characteristics was presented using frequencies and percentages.

Table 3. Demographic information

<i>1. What age group do you belong to?</i>	f ³⁹⁰	%	Valid ³⁹¹	Cumulative ³⁹²
Under 18	11	2,9	2,9	2,9
18 to 35 years old	183	47,9	47,9	50,8
35 to 50 years old	116	30,4	30,4	81,2
Older than 50	72	18,8	18,8	100,0
Total	382	100,0	100,0	

³⁹⁰ frequency

³⁹¹ Valid percent

³⁹² Cumulative percent

Participants were distributed as follows: 47.9% in the age group of 18-35 years, 30.4% in the age group of 35-50 years, 18.8% in the age group of 50 years and older, and 2.9% in the age group younger than 18 years.

Table 4. Distribution of Participants by Gender

<i>D1. Please indicate your gender</i>	f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Woman	192	50,3	50,3	50,3
Man	190	49,7	49,7	100,0
Total	382	100,0	100,0	

The survey participants were 50.3% women and 49.7% men. A quota sample was used to ensure an even distribution between men and women.

Table 5. Distribution of Respondents by Gender

Gender	Percentage distribution of group size in the total population, according to the 2021 census data	Percentage distribution of gender group size in the sample population in a survey
Man	48,7	49,7
Woman	51,29	50,3
Total	100,00	100,00

Based on the presented table, it can be concluded that the distribution of respondents by gender in the survey sample corresponds to the gender composition of the total population, confirming the reliability and representativeness of the study.

Table 6. Distribution of residential locations

<i>D3. Where do you live?</i>	f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Astana	77	20,157	20,157	20,157
Almaty	77	20,157	20,157	40,314
Semey	75	19,634	19,634	59,948
Aktau	76	19,895	19,895	79,843
Shymkent	77	20,157	20,157	100,0
Total	382	100,0	100,0	

The study participants indicated that 20.2% live in Astana, 20.2% in Almaty, 19.6% in Semey,

19.9% in Aktau, and 20.2% in Shymkent³⁹³. The distribution of participants by cities was done using a quota sampling method to achieve equal representation.

Table 7. Comparison of national belonging and self-identification

<i>3. Which nationality do you belong to?</i>	<i>4. What nationality do you identify yourself as?</i>									
	Kazakh		Kazakhstani		Russian		Other		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Kazakh	258	76,6%	47	13,9%	25	7,4%	7	2,1%	337	100,0%
Russian	0	0,0%	11	73,3%	4	26,7%	0	0,0%	15	100,0%
Uzbek	3	18,8%	10	62,5%	2	12,5%	1	6,3%	16	100,0%
Tatar	1	25,0%	2	50,0%	0	0,0%	1	25,0%	4	100,0%
Another nationality	5	50,0%	1	10,0%	2	20,0%	2	20,0%	10	100,0%
Total	267	69,9%	71	18,6%	33	8,6%	11	2,9%	382	100,0%

According to the survey participants' responses regarding their national belonging, 76.6% of those who identified themselves as Kazakhs also identified themselves as Kazakhs, while 13.9% stated that they are citizens of Kazakhstan, 7.4% identified themselves as Russians, and 2.1% identified with other nationalities. It is noted that 73.3% of participants who indicated their nationality as Russian also identified themselves as Kazakhs. There is a continuation of the presence of Russian and Ukrainian citizens who have been residing in the region since the Soviet era, but they are increasingly identifying themselves as Kazakhs.

Table 8. Distribution of language usage in home and everyday life

<i>5. Which language do you speak at home and in everyday life?</i>	f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
In Kazakh	233	61,0	61,0	61,0
In Russian	25	6,5	6,5	67,5
In Kazakh and Russian	106	27,7	27,7	95,3
In another language	18	4,7	4,7	100,0
Total	382	100,0	100,0	

61.0% of the participants stated that they speak the Kazakh language in their everyday life, 27.7%

³⁹³ The SPSS program rounded decimal values in the calculations.

speak both Kazakh and Russian languages, 6.5% speak Russian language, and 4.7% speak another language.

Table 9. Distribution of frequency of Kazakh language usage in everyday life.

<i>6. How often do you use the Kazakh language in your daily life?</i>	f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Daily	331	86,6	86,6	86,6
Several times a week	24	6,3	6,3	92,9
Rarely, only when necessary	24	6,3	6,3	99,2
Never use	3	,8	,8	100,0
Total	382	100,0	100,0	

86.6% of the participants indicated that they use the Kazakh language on a daily basis, 6.3% use it several times a week, 6.3% rarely use the language, only when necessary, and 0.8% do not use it at all. It is evident that the Kazakh language is actively used in society.

Table 10. Position on the transition to Latin script in the Kazakh alphabet

<i>7. How do you feel about the transition to Latin script in the Kazakh alphabet?</i>	f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
I support the transition to Latin script	185	48,4	48,4	48,4
I do not support the transition to Latin script	118	30,9	30,9	79,3
I do not have an opinion on this matter	79	20,7	20,7	100,0
Total	382	100,0	100,0	

48.4% of the participants expressed support for the transition to the Latin alphabet, 30.9% expressed opposition to this change, and 20.7% stated that they have no opinion on this matter.

Table 11. Comparison of attitudes towards the transition to the Latin script in the Kazakh alphabet and residential locations

<i>7. How do you feel about the transition to Latin script in the Kazakh alphabet?</i>	<i>D3. Where do you live?</i>									
	Astana		Almaty		Semey		Aktau		Shymkent	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I support the transition to Latin script	46	24,9%	32	17,3%	39	21,1%	30	16,2%	38	20,5%
I do not support the transition to Latin script	14	11,9%	32	27,1%	25	21,2%	24	20,3%	23	19,5%
I do not have an opinion on this matter	17	21,5%	13	16,5%	11	13,9%	22	27,8%	16	20,3%

Participants expressing support for the transition to the Latin script, amounting to 24.9%, indicated that they live in the city of Aktau, while 17.3% reside in Almaty, 21.1% in Semey, 16.2% in Shymkent, and 20.5% in Astana.

Table 12. Attitude towards the transition to the Latin script in the Kazakh alphabet: Comparison of responses between men and women

7. How do you feel about the transition to Latin script in the Kazakh alphabet?	<i>D1 Please specify your gender</i>			
	Woman		Man	
	n	%	n	%
I support the transition to Latin script	89	48,1%	96	51,9%
I do not support the transition to Latin script	62	52,5%	56	47,5%
I do not have an opinion on this matter	41	51,9%	38	48,1%

Those supporting the transition to the Latin alphabet comprise 48.1% women and 51.9% men.

Table 13. Participation in cultural events

8. How often do you participate in cultural events related to Kazakh culture and traditions?	f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Almost never	25	6,5	6,5	6,5
Rarely	112	29,3	29,3	35,9
Sometimes	64	16,8	16,8	52,6
Often	135	35,3	35,3	88,0
Very often	46	12,0	12,0	100,0
Total	382	100,0	100,0	

The percentage of participants claiming to frequently participate in cultural events related to Kazakh culture and traditions is 12.0%, while those who say they participate often make up 35.3%. Those who occasionally participate account for 16.8%, while those who participate rarely make up 29.3%. The percentage of those who almost never participate is 6.5%. Nearly half of the participants indicated that they frequently participate in cultural events.

Table 14. The significance of belonging to the Kazakhstani nation

9. What does being a Kazakhstani mean to you?	f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Feeling like a part of the nation, sharing common values and traditions	113	29,6	29,6	29,6

Continuation of Table 14

<i>9. What does being a Kazakhstani mean to you?</i>	f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Identifying with the state and its history	23	6,0	6,0	35,6
Respecting the culture and language of the people who welcome you as a citizen	45	11,8	11,8	47,4
All of the above	201	52,6	52,6	100,0
Total	382	100,0	100,0	

29.6% of the participants identified themselves as Kazakhs who feel a part of the nation, sharing common values, traditions, and customs. 6.0% identified it as identification with the state and history. 11.8% considered it as a manifestation of respect for the culture and language of recognized citizens. 52.6% stated that all these statements characterize the Kazakhstani nationality.

Table 15. Perceptions of Kazakhstani Identity: Defining the Status of Kazakhstani Citizens by Gender

			Gender		Total
			Woman	Man	
<i>9. What does being a Kazakhstani mean to you?</i>	Feeling like a part of the nation, sharing common values and traditions	% overall summary	19,4%	10,2%	29,6%
		Standardized Residual	2,3	-2,3	
	Identifying with the state and its history	% overall summary	3,4%	2,6%	6,0%
		Standardized Residual	,4	-,4	
	Respecting the culture and language of the people who welcome you as a citizen	% overall summary	6,5%	5,2%	11,8%
		Standardized Residual	,5	-,5	
	All of the above	% overall summary	20,9%	31,7%	52,6%
		Standardized Residual	-2,1	2,1	
	Total	% overall summary	50,3%	49,7%	100,0%

Women, to a greater extent than men, emphasize the importance of ethnic traditions and values, while men tend to highlight the significance of a comprehensive approach to shaping Kazakhstani identity.

Table 16. Strengthening and Developing Kazakh National Identity: Proposals and Recommendations

<i>10. What, in your opinion, can be done to strengthen and develop Kazakh national identity in the Republic of Kazakhstan?</i>	f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Improvement of education in the Kazakh language	146	38,2	38,2	38,2
Preservation and promotion of Kazakh culture and traditions	90	23,6	23,6	61,8
Development of interethnic dialogue and tolerance	14	3,7	3,7	65,4
Ensuring equal opportunities for representatives of various nationalities	20	5,2	5,2	70,7
Supporting the national economy and industry	37	9,7	9,7	80,4
Improving legislation to protect the rights of national minorities	3	,8	,8	81,2
Development of a state strategy for the development and strengthening of national identity	49	12,8	12,8	94,0
I'm not sure how to answer	23	6,0	6,0	100,0
Total	382	100,0	100,0	

According to the participants, the most important measures for strengthening and developing Kazakh national identity in the Republic of Kazakhstan are identified in the following three main directions: the development of education in the Kazakh language, mentioned in 38.2% of the responses; the preservation and promotion of Kazakh culture and traditions, according to 23.6% of the responses; the development of a state strategy for the development and strengthening of national identity, indicated in 12.8% of the responses.

Hypotheses of the study

Hypothesis 1: During the Soviet Union period, there was an influence on language and education, leading to the practice of using the Russian language as a second official language, and to this day, the Soviet education system is still maintained in some regions.

Table 17. Distribution of language usage in home and everyday life

<i>5. Which language do you speak at home and in everyday life?</i>	f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
In Kazakh	233	61,0	61,0	61,0
In Russian	25	6,5	6,5	67,5
In Kazakh and Russian	106	27,7	27,7	95,3
In another language	18	4,7	4,7	100,0
Total	382	100,0	100,0	

Participants of the survey reported that 61.0% of them speak the Kazakh language in their everyday life, 27.7% speak both Kazakh and Russian languages, 6.5% speak Russian, and 4.7% speak another language. Languages used during the Soviet Union period are still used in this region. The fact that 27.7% of the participants speak both Kazakh and Russian languages serves as evidence that Russian has become the second official language.

Hypothesis 2: The legacy of the political and cultural sphere of the Soviet Union inherited by Kazakhstan continues to have a significant influence on the formation of national identity and cultural values in society, despite the Soviet Union's efforts to develop its own culture and identity. It continues to impact Kazakhstan's national identity and culture in the present day.

Table 18. Participation in cultural events

<i>8. How often do you participate in cultural events related to Kazakh culture and traditions?</i>	f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Almost never	25	6,5	6,5	6,5
Rarely	112	29,3	29,3	35,9
Sometimes	64	16,8	16,8	52,6
Often	135	35,3	35,3	88,0
Very often	46	12,0	12,0	100,0
Total	382	100,0	100,0	

The proportion of participants who often and very often participate in cultural events related to the culture and traditions of the Kazakh people is 47.3%. Those who participate occasionally make up 16.8%, those who rarely participate account for 29.3%, and those who do not participate at all make up 6.5%. Approximately half of the country's population actively participates in these events, which contribute to the development of Kazakhstan's culture, while the other half does not show regular participation. This indicates that citizens residing in the Republic of Kazakhstan have not fully adapted to this culture yet.

Hypothesis 3: The attitudes of individuals from different ethnic groups towards Kazakh culture, language, and alphabet vary depending on their nationality.

Support for the switch to the Latin script is not a priority for ethnic Russians, unlike Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Tatars, whose languages are of Turkic origin.

Combination Table 5. For question 3 and question 8

			<i>3. Which nationality do you belong to?</i>					Total
			Kazakh	Russian	Uzbek	Tatar	Another nationality	
8. How often do you participate in cultural events related to Kazakh culture and traditions?	Almost never	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	5,3%	20,0%	6,3%	0,0%	30,0%	6,5%
		Standardized Residual	-,9	2,0	,0	-,5	2,9	
	Rarely	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	29,1%	20,0%	31,3%	75,0%	30,0%	29,3%
		Standardized Residual	-,1	-,7	,1	1,7	,0	
	Sometimes	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	16,6%	33,3%	18,8%	0,0%	0,0%	16,8%
		Standardized Residual	-,1	1,6	,2	-,8	-1,3	
	Often	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	36,5%	20,0%	37,5%	0,0%	30,0%	35,3%
		Standardized Residual	,4	-1,0	,1	-1,2	-,3	
Very often	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	12,5%	6,7%	6,3%	25,0%	10,0%	12,0%	
	Standardized Residual	,2	-,6	-,7	,7	-,2		
Total		% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Representatives of non-titular nations tend to participate least actively in national cultural activities of ethnic Kazakhs.

Combination Table 6. For question 3 and question 9

			<i>3. Which nationality do you belong to?</i>					Total
			Kazakh	Russian	Uzbek	Tatar	Another nationality	
9. What does being a Kazakhstani mean to you?	Feeling like a part of the nation, sharing common values and traditions	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	31,8%	0,0%	25,0%	25,0%	10,0%	29,6%
		Standardized Residual	,7	-2,1	-,3	-,2	-1,1	
	Identifying with the state and its history	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	5,0%	20,0%	6,3%	25,0%	10,0%	6,0%
		Standardized Residual	-,7	2,2	,0	1,5	,5	
	Respecting the culture and language of the people who have accepted them as citizens	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	8,6%	46,7%	18,8%	25,0%	50,0%	11,8%
		Standardized Residual	-1,7	3,9	,8	,8	3,5	
	All of the above	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	54,6%	33,3%	50,0%	25,0%	30,0%	52,6%

Continuation of Combination Table 6

		3. Which nationality do you belong to?					Total
		Kazakh	Russian	Uzbek	Tatar	Another nationality	
	Standardized Residual	,5	-1,0	-,1	-,8	-1,0	
Total	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

For Russians, national identity emphasizes its state form while maintaining the traditions of non-titular nations in Kazakhstan.

Combination Table 7. For question 3 and question 10

			3. Which nationality do you belong to?					Total
			Kazakh	Russian	Uzbek	Tatar	Another nationality	
10. In your opinion, what can be done to strengthen and develop Kazakhstani national identity in the Republic of Kazakhstan?	Improving education in the Kazakh language	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	40,7%	6,7%	31,3%	0,0%	30,0%	38,2%
		Standardized Residual	,7	-2,0	-,5	-1,2	-,4	
	Preserving and promoting Kazakh culture and traditions	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	25,2%	6,7%	18,8%	25,0%	0,0%	23,6%
		Standardized Residual	,6	-1,3	-,4	,1	-1,5	
	Developing interethnic dialogue and tolerance	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	2,4%	26,7%	6,3%	0,0%	10,0%	3,7%
		Standardized Residual	-1,2	4,7	,5	-,4	1,0	
	Ensuring equal opportunities for representatives of different nationalities	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	3,0%	26,7%	18,8%	0,0%	30,0%	5,2%
		Standardized Residual	-1,8	3,6	2,4	-,5	3,4	
	Supporting the national economy and industry	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	8,9%	6,7%	12,5%	50,0%	20,0%	9,7%
		Standardized Residual	-,5	-,4	,4	2,6	1,0	
	Enhancing legislation to protect the rights of national minorities	% в 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	0,3%	0,0%	6,3%	0,0%	10,0%	0,8%
		Standardized Residual	-1,0	-,3	2,5	-,2	3,3	

Continuation of Combination Table 7

			<i>3. Which nationality do you belong to?</i>					Total
			Kazakh	Russian	Uzbek	Tatar	Another nationality	
	Developing a state strategy for the development and strengthening of national identity	% В 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	13,9%	0,0%	6,3%	25,0%	0,0%	12,8%
		Standardized Residual	,6	-1,4	-,7	,7	-1,1	
	I'm not sure how to answer	% В 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	5,6%	26,7%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	6,0%
		Standardized Residual	-,3	3,3	-1,0	-,5	-,8	
Total		% В 3. Which nationality do you belong to?	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The priority for Russians is not the development of education in the Kazakh language, but the development of interethnic dialog and tolerance, as well as ensuring equal opportunities for representatives of different nationalities. However, it should be noted that a significant portion of the surveyed Russian respondents could not express a definitive opinion on this specific question.

Conclusions of the second chapter

This chapter examines specific examples of state cultural policy in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. The ethnic and civic components of important nation-building tools, such as demography and citizenship, language, and state symbols, are analyzed, and, finally, the influence of foreign policy factors on the construction of the Kazakh nation is highlighted. The following conclusions can be drawn from this chapter:

- Cultural politics broadly determines the meaning of social practices and affects subjectivity and identity, thereby playing a central role in shaping self-identity.
- Nation-building is a very sensitive process and must be done with many factors in mind, including the identity factor. Otherwise, national identity can be divisive and destructive rather than integrative.
- More than seventy years of being part of the Soviet Union has had a significant impact on all spheres of life in Kazakhstan. The influence of the Soviet culture is still felt today, despite the fact that the number of Russians living in Kazakhstan has been steadily decreasing since the first years of

independence. The cultural system, which formed the Soviet man from different peoples with different cultures and religions, is one of the most important factors in maintaining the Soviet influence today. The cultural policy of the Soviet period made it possible to determine how new identities would be formed, even if the USSR collapsed.

– In Kazakhstan after December 1991, a policy of popularizing the Kazakh language and culture was implemented. The purpose of this policy was to eliminate differences and ensure harmonization and unification in the country. At the same time, this policy, which, more often than not, focuses on the Kazakh identity and less often on the Kazakh identity, unequally takes into account the heterogeneous structure of the country's population. Therefore, Kazakhstan can hardly be considered a country consistent with Brubaker's notions of state nationalization, since the process of restructuring ethnicity and citizenship, as well as the role of the state in it, has been quite fluid and ambivalent in Kazakhstan.

– The demographic structures of societies can ensure stability in the state or become a cause of conflict. Structural differentiation in the society is caused by ethnic, ideological differences and other factors, which in case of negative scenario can lead to escalation of incidents up to armed conflict and even civil war. The world has witnessed ethnic conflicts in which millions of people have died in the last 30 years. In a multinational state, political power and administrative authority are not shared fairly for all ethnic groups, which can lead to ethnic conflicts. For example, in Kazakhstan, which is home to more than 130 ethnic groups, the people and authorities have been able to create acceptable conditions for living within a single nation. Kazakhstan in the difficult period after the collapse of the Soviet state has become a real homeland for all the peoples who have found a refuge there, and therefore it can and should establish itself as a center of intercultural and interfaith harmony in the development of the "dialogue of civilizations". Cultural policies aimed at ensuring tolerance and interfaith and intercultural harmony are welcomed in the country. In Central Asia, Kazakhstan's role as an international mediator in intercultural dialogue is growing and deepening day by day.

– Under the leadership of Nursultan Nazarbayev during the period of independence, Kazakhstan approached all ethnic groups with equal attention, thanks to a well-thought-out ethnic policy. If we look at the statements of K.J. Tokayev, who was elected president of Kazakhstan in March 2019, we can say that he continues to implement the national policy in the same vein³⁹⁴. One cannot say that Tokayev's democratization initiatives are limited to rhetoric only. Kazakhstan abolished the death penalty; banned the president's close relatives from participating in politics and holding senior positions in regions and

³⁹⁴ Tokayev K.J. *"All nationalities living in Kazakhstan are essentially one nation. "Our way of development is recognized around the world as the Kazakhstan model, or the Nazarbayev model. See.: Poslaniye Glavy gosudarstva Kasym-Zhomarta Tokayeva narodu Kazakhstana // Ofitsial'nyy sayt Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan. URL: https://akorda.kz/ru/addresses/addresses_of_president/poslanie-glavy-gosudarstva-kasym-zhomarta-tokaeva-narodu-kazahstana (Date of access: 15.03.2023).*

state corporations; repealed the law on the first president, and so on. The only problem is that the January 2022 riots, in which, according to new estimates, over a million people took part, showed the scale of socio-economic discontent accumulated in Kazakhstani society, and life is unlikely to become easier in the coming years.

– From the provided information, it can be inferred that representatives from various age groups, with different gender distributions and places of residence, participated in the survey. A quota sample was ensured to achieve equal representation. Kazakhs constituted the main nationality among the research participants, but other nationalities were also represented. The Kazakh language is actively used in the daily lives of the majority of participants, but there are also people who speak Russian and other languages. The use of language in daily life is linked to the place of residence, and a statistically significant difference was found based on this factor. The majority of participants support the transition to the Latin alphabet. A significant portion of the participants takes part in cultural events related to Kazakh culture and traditions. Overall, the participants identify themselves with Kazakh nationality and express the importance of strengthening and developing Kazakh national identity through education in the Kazakh language, preserving Kazakh culture, and formulating a national strategy. The study confirms that the legacy of the Soviet Union continues to have a significant influence on the formation of national identity and cultural values in Kazakhstan. Most respondents identify themselves as citizens of Kazakhstan and Kazakhs, emphasizing the preservation of the national identity formed during the Soviet era. Additionally, the influence of the Soviet Union on language and education remains noticeable. The Russian language is still used in some regions and serves as the second official language. Over a quarter of the survey participants speak both Kazakh and Russian, confirming the practice of using the Russian language. Preserving cultural events related to Kazakh culture and traditions is an important aspect of Kazakhstan's cultural development. However, only half of the country's population actively participates in such events, indicating that not all citizens have fully adapted to this culture. Overall, the study confirms that the legacy of the Soviet Union continues to have a significant impact on Kazakhstan's national identity, language, education, and culture at present.

CONCLUSION

This study analyzed the 'Political and Cultural Aspects of National-State Identity Formation in the Republic of Kazakhstan.' The continuity of Soviet and post-Soviet national policies should be noted as a key factor shaping Kazakhstan's nation-building. In this context, it can be argued that Soviet national policy finds its reflection in the state-building policies of modern Kazakhstan, particularly concerning the titular ethnicity. The ideological nature of national construction policy is confirmed by the fact that the Soviet model of nation-building created new nations and consolidated existing ones, while reflecting a cultural policy that was socialist in content and national in form. The experience of shared identity in Kazakhstan represents a contribution to the culture of coexistence based on a common history between the Kazakh and other ethnic groups, particularly the Russian. Different nationalities that lived together under one roof during the Soviet era, while maintaining their own identities, continue to live in harmony with the 'unity of differences.' Thus, it can be said that the identity of the USSR mutually influenced Kazakh national identity both in earlier periods and in the post-independence era, mutually constructing it through intersubjective interaction.

The legacy of the USSR remains in the memory of Kazakhstan, exerting a defining influence on the interaction between various communities living together in the country. In this context, it can be argued that the cultural heritage inherited by the country centuries ago has maintained its viability amidst structural changes that occurred after the socialist period, thus reestablishing the foundations of coexistence.

On December 8, 1991, the Soviet Union ceased to exist. Kazakhstan declared its independence on December 16, 1991. The proclamation of Kazakhstan's independence did not occur as a result of a separatist or national liberation movement; it was a 'forced' declaration of independence. States that gained independence faced a number of vital and pressing issues, such as the creation of their own nation, the establishment of a functioning state mechanism, and the transition to a new economic order that significantly differed from the Soviet model."

State-forming nation³⁹⁵ – the Kazakhs, one of the oldest Turkic tribes, began the search for ways to organize their own nation-building, like other states after gaining independence. Kazakh national identity has deep historical roots, and therefore the Kazakh state seeks to form its own national identity by drawing on folk Islam, history, and Kazakh geography. The first President of Kazakhstan, N.A.

³⁹⁵ The term "state-building nation" is commonly used to refer to a nation or ethnic group that forms the basis or shapes the statehood of a particular country. This expression emphasizes the special role of this nation in the creation and functioning of the state, as well as its influence on the country's political, cultural, and social life. In the context of Kazakhstan, the term "state-building nation" refers to the Kazakh people as the main ethnic group that has shaped the statehood of Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev, repeatedly stated that his country is a meeting place of civilizations. This authentic national identity, in which Islam, land, and tribal connections hold significant positions, is an important part of state-building. The most significant challenges for the state have been national identity and the dilemmas that arose in the country regarding national minorities and language. The problem did not lie in the Russian language or hostility towards Russia but rather in the fact that almost the entire Kazakh population spoke Russian or had forgotten their own language due to the policy of 'one nation, one religion, one language' implemented in the Soviet Union.

Kazakhstan is known as a region with the highest number of ethnic groups among the union republics of the Soviet Union, excluding the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). Furthermore, it is the only country where the ethnic group after which the state was named does not constitute the majority of the country's population. After gaining independence, despite significant demographic changes in favor of the Kazakhs, representatives of over 130 different ethnic groups continue to reside in Kazakhstan. Among the ethnicities, Russians form the largest group numerically after Kazakhs. The fact that the Kazakh population in Kazakhstan did not even constitute half of the country's residents by the end of 1991 made the process of creating a new national identity very challenging. The continuous influence of this fragmented population structure can be observed in the policies pursued by Kazakhstan prior to its independence.

When we sum up the issues mentioned throughout the research, it becomes evident that the policy pursued by Kazakhstan has three priorities :

1. Protecting the rights of the Kazakh ethnic group, which should be at the center of national construction;
2. Preventing human rights violations related to ethnic identity;
3. Developing a comprehensive demographic policy to prevent population decline.

Despite the challenges posed by the division of the country's population along ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural lines, significant steps have been taken in Kazakhstan in the field of national construction. Through immigration and citizenship policies and the implementation of programs developed in this area, the national-state identity in the process of nation-building can be characterized as follows:

1. Initially, the Kazakh language was declared the official language, followed by the creation of the state flag, state emblem, and state anthem. In Kazakhstan, the names of settlements, squares, and streets were changed with the aim of reducing the influence of the Soviet past and emphasizing the formation of national identity. Soviet creative heritage, including sculptures, monuments, and symbols from the period of being part of the USSR, were replaced with cultural artifacts associated with Kazakhstan. As one of the most important symbols of independence and national identity,

the capital was moved from Almaty to Astana. Significant investments were directed towards the city's infrastructure, and great efforts were made to create structures reflecting Kazakh identity in the new capital. All these measures were carried out within a tight timeframe, and the funding for expenses became possible due to the country's economy having the necessary resources.

2. The most important characteristic of a nation is its values. Adam Smith does not claim that nations remain unchanged from ancient times to the present day. However, in his view, the essence of nations remains unchanged. At the moment, the national essence remains unchanged. National borders may change, technological advancements may occur, and wars may be won or lost. What remains unchanged are the fundamental values of the nation. In the case of Kazakhstan, the country has experienced different political regimes throughout its history, different ethnic groups have ruled at different periods, and its borders have changed. However, the shared cultural, historical, and linguistic elements of the Kazakhs, that is, the fundamental values of the nation, have remained unchanged. For example, after proclaiming independence, Kazakhstan changed many socialist values and the economic system inherited from the Soviet era, but the national values of the Kazakh people, such as patriarchal customs, nomadic life, ancestral sports, traditional clothing, and cuisine, were preserved. Furthermore, the Kazakh people's attachment to their history, especially the period of the Great Migration and the struggle for independence, remains unchanged. In conclusion, as Smith asserts, the core values of the Kazakh nation have not changed, despite shifting political, social, and economic conditions. These values play a crucial role in the survival of the nation and the preservation of its identity. The preservation of traditions, which is one of the most important means of cultural transmission, is a key factor in maintaining identity continuity. Religious and secular traditions, such as the celebration of religious holidays, sacrifices, funerals, and weddings, are made possible through the preservation of culture, its education, and transmission from generation to generation. The country extensively utilizes communication media in the transmission of culture, which is one of the fundamental elements of identity, and places great importance on organizing events that reflect Kazakh culture.

3. If the primordialist approach fails to explain the fundamental nature of ethnic sentiment, then the socio-psychological approach of V.D. Berg comes to the forefront and sheds light on this question. Influenced by Darwinist perspectives, Berg asserts that social organisms are biologically programmed for kinship with others. Berg compares nations to extended super-families³⁹⁶, which is one of the reasons for attachment to ethnic communities. If there is kinship within an ethnic group, then there is cooperation and conflict in interethnic relations.

The ethnic structure and historical process of Kazakhstan can serve as a good example for

³⁹⁶ Berghe P.V.D. A Social-Biological Perspective. J. Hutchinson, A. D. Smith (Ed.) Nationalism. – Oxford: «Oxford University Press», 1994. P. 102.

understanding the socio-psychological approach of Van den Berg. Kazakhstan is a country located in Central Asia and is highly ethnically diverse. Kazakhs constitute the overwhelming majority of the population and speak the Kazakh language. Additionally, there are Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Turkmen, Tatars, and other ethnic groups residing in the country. According to Berg, people are genetically connected to each other, and therefore, he provides an explanation for the existence of ethnic groups and their reasons. In Kazakhstan, there are also kinship relations among different ethnic groups. For example, Kazakhs belong to Turkic peoples and have a language and culture closely related to Turkic culture. However, the ethnic structure of Kazakhstan cannot be explained solely based on biological factors. The country's history has led to the presence of numerous ethnic groups. Especially during Soviet times, there was a significant influx of immigrants from Russia, which influenced the ethnic composition of the country. Today, Russians and other ethnic groups residing in Kazakhstan also play an important role in the social, economic, and cultural life of the country.

It should be noted that the example of Kazakhstan allows for extrapolating Berg's views on the existence and causes of ethnic groups. However, it should not be forgotten that ethnic groups are formed as a result of more complex interactions, such as historical, cultural, and economic factors. Moreover, according to the primordialist approach, ethnic identity is an inherent characteristic of a person and is determined by cultural and physical traits inherited from ancestors. In other words, indigenous peoples in Kazakhstan also possess Kazakh culture and Kazakh identity, which they inherited from their ancestors. Similarly, the Kazakhs, who constitute the majority of the population of Kazakhstan, are part of Kazakh culture with their own physical and cultural characteristics inherited from ancestors, while other ethnic groups residing in Kazakhstan have inherited their own culture and identity from their ancestors. The preservation of the status of the Russian language as an official language due to the presence of a significant number of Slavic peoples in the country has contributed to the success of the nation-building policies. The presence of bilingualism in the country has shattered the cultural and linguistic homogeneity imposed by the national state. From a linguistic point of view, Kazakhstan has become a Central Asian republic where the Russian language was the most widely spoken. In addition to the policies applied in education and culture under Soviet rule for many years, a significant part of the population of Cossack communities in the region played an important role in preserving the Russian language on the territory of modern Kazakhstan.

4. Kazakhs in Kazakhstan have become the majority of the country's population today. Research conducted in this area up to the present time shows that this trend - the growth of the Kazakh population both proportionally and numerically - will continue. This situation can be interpreted in reverse order. The multi-identity complex structure of Kazakhstan has a significant influence on the state formation process. The existence of European-Christian populations has made secular governments

mandatory in countries with Muslim populations. As a result, intercommunal relations remain relatively calm, and the likelihood of ethnic, religious, and cultural conflicts in modern Kazakhstan is low. A society that seeks to unite under Kazakhstani identity advocates for an economically developed state of universal well-being. In the early years of independence, the first head of state, N.A. Nazarbayev, who pursued a policy of balancing Kazakh national aspirations and the Slavic minority, strengthened his position and regime through this policy in the country. It should be emphasized that the leadership of the first president Nursultan Nazarbayev played an important role in shaping national policies without serious crises. The instrumentalist approach to nation-building in Kazakhstan emphasizes practical goals of social cohesion, economic growth, and political stability, rather than focusing solely on promoting a particular ethnic or cultural identity. This approach is reflected in a number of political measures and initiatives aimed at promoting national unity, such as the celebration of national holidays and symbols, the promotion of the Kazakh language, and the establishment of institutions such as the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan, which represents the interests of ethnic minorities in the Republic. At the same time, the instrumentalist approach in Kazakhstan allows for balancing the promotion of national unity with the recognition and preservation of Kazakhstan's diverse cultural heritage. For example, the government supports initiatives to preserve and promote the traditions of various ethnic groups in Kazakhstan, while emphasizing common values and goals that unite all Kazakhstani citizens. Overall, the instrumentalist approach to state-building in Kazakhstan reflects a pragmatic approach to promoting national unity and identity, which seeks to balance the practical goals of stability and prosperity with the recognition of Kazakhstan's diverse cultural heritage.

5. The world is experiencing rapid changes and transformations. This process of transitioning from the "age of discoveries" to globalization is also altering relationships between individuals and societies. Initially, it was commonly believed that globalization would lead to the homogenization of cultures and a decrease in the significance of local (ethnic) identities. However, a reverse reaction emerged, resulting in an increased value placed on cultures and identities, and the rise of macro and micronationalisms. As a result, ethnic debates and/or conflicts have become more frequent, serving as indicators of identity crises. Kazakhstan is one of the countries experiencing the consequences of the globalization process. Gaining independence compelled Kazakhstan to rediscover its own identity and culture. In addition to other ethnic groups in the country, communication mediums such as the internet and social media have allowed the people of Kazakhstan to have more interactions with diverse cultures. This situation has caused some identity-related challenges in Kazakhstan. Due to its significant ethnic diversity, occasional tensions have arisen between different ethnic groups. However, the government of Kazakhstan has pursued various policies to address these issues. For instance, after gaining independence, greater importance has been attributed to Kazakh culture and language,

emphasizing the national identity of Kazakhstan. Additionally, institutions representing different ethnic groups have been established in Kazakhstan, and efforts to develop policies for protecting diverse cultures are ongoing.

6. Explaining the institutional transformations of identities and interests, Wendt argues that institutions themselves construct identities and interests. Considering sovereignty as an institution, Wendt asserts that this institution exists only through intersubjective understanding and expectations because there can be no sovereignty without the Other. Such understanding and expectations not only create a specific type of state but also a society with a particular structure, influenced by the relational nature of identities³⁹⁷. When the multinational structure with Soviet identity was being established in the USSR, "language" was one of the main elements of such a construction. Based on the phenomenon of language, a supra-identity of the USSR was formed. It can be said that language constituted the essence of the national system as an integrative element in the process of constructing societal identity by the state. With the establishment of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Kazakh identity began to be constructed by the state. At the same time, it can be argued that the USSR, defined by linguistic supra-identity, acted as an obstacle to the achievement of Kazakhstan's sovereignty. In other words, the "Soviet supra-identity" was based on Russian identity in terms of language and culture. It is also worth noting the effectiveness of the Soviet administration's policy of spreading the Russian-speaking population throughout the Soviet Union. Thus, it can be claimed that the Russian people are the ones who most closely identified themselves with the Soviet supra-identity. In this regard, independence is an important turning point in the formation of Kazakh identity. However, despite this linguistic dilemma, the new language policy of the state managed to reverse the growing trend of the weakening of the Kazakh language that occurred before independence. The Kazakh language became widely used in the public sphere, its weight increased in education, and publications in the Kazakh language hold an important place in the mass media. In the post-Soviet period, language became one of the ways for Kazakhs to feel themselves as part of a national whole—the Kazakh nation with a rich history and promising future. It can be said that at this stage, language was a part of national identity and played a significant role in nation-building.

7. Kazakhstan has changed its alphabet three times in the last 100 years: initially using the Arabic alphabet, then transitioning to Cyrillic during the Soviet period, and finally shifting to Latin. All these changes have had a negative impact on the Kazakh language. The transition to the Latin alphabet, which is believed to be done for the development of the Kazakh language, has been delayed until 2025 due to the need to create a psychological and social environment. The fate of the Russian language in

³⁹⁷ Wendt A. Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics // International Organizations. 1992. V 46, N 2. P. 391- 425.

the country is uncertain as a result of the Kazakhs' transition to the Latin alphabet and the expansion of the use of the Kazakh language as the language of instruction in schools. This decision can be interpreted as an indicator of the integration of Kazakh history and culture with other Central Asian countries, as well as the pursuit of national construction and the development of the Kazakh language in education in the post-independence period.

8. According to Onuf's theory of constructivism, individuals and society mutually construct each other. In this process, rules serve as elements that bind people and society together³⁹⁸. In Kazakhstan, social rules and legal norms play an important role in the process of state and societal construction. At the same time, ethnic and cultural identity and nationalism have had a decisive influence on national construction, which has spurred the exploration of Kazakhstan's historical "white spots" and the understanding of the space and role of ethnic and cultural identity. This process is an important step in the construction of their own identity and social structures for the people and the state of Kazakhstan.

9. In the constructivist approach, social and cognitive processes are also effective in determining the interests of states and interstate relations alongside material elements of power. Unlike dominant theories, constructivists argue that actors are not independent of their environment, but emphasize the process of mutual construction. Thus, states, as actors in the modern international system, interact with both internal and external structures during the construction process. Therefore, identity, which is the result of interactions with oneself and others, is shaped by internal elements such as history, demographic structure, religion, and external elements such as regional and international structures. In Kazakhstan, where in the early years of independence almost half of the country's population consisted of Kazakhs, while the other half comprised Slavs and other minority ethnic groups, an attempt was made to form a Kazakh identity that does not exclude other ethnic groups in the country, but focuses on its own history and culture. Through an analysis of historiography, myths, official rituals, discourses of the first president Nazarbayev, and actions of the new president Tokayev, the identity formed through Turkism and Islam does not exclude other ethnic elements, with an emphasis on Kazakhness and citizenship rather than Turkish ethnic affiliation and other religious groups through secularism. If the state authorities continue a policy supported by the citizens, Kazakhstan will continue its path as a country with a deeper understanding of citizenship, moving forward with secure steps. Undoubtedly, it is beneficial to maintain inclusive belonging not only for Kazakhs but for all people residing in Kazakhstan. Additionally, all citizens across the vast territories of Kazakhstan are in need of a workforce, and the resources are plentiful enough for everyone to thrive. Furthermore, according to Article 14 of

³⁹⁸ Onuf N. Constructivism: A User's manual, International Relations in a Constructed World, Edited by: V. Kubalkova, N. Onuf, P. Kowert. – New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998. P. 59.

the Constitution of Kazakhstan, adopted in 1995, "everyone is equal before the law and court," and in the same article, "no one may be subject to any discrimination based on origin, social status, duties and financial standing, gender, race, nationality, religious beliefs, or opinions." Article 19 of the Constitution provided constitutional guarantees to non-Kazakh communities: "Every person has the right to speak in their native language, live their culture, freely choose the language of communication, speech, education, and creativity." This does not mean that the Kazakhstani administration has abandoned nation-building centered on the Kazakh ethnicity. According to Hippler, for successful nation-building, it is necessary for national construction to be based on an integrative ideology. In other words, to form a nation, it is necessary to bring together groups that previously had weak connections with each other. It is also necessary to develop an effective state structure capable of controlling the territory within national borders. The transformation regarding nation-building in Kazakhstan seemingly reflects a structure in which the individual is at the center of politics and not merely an object of the political system. In Kazakhstan, from the perspective of nation-building politics, the era of Nursultan Nazarbayev ended in March 2019, and Kassym-Jomart Tokayev was elected as the head of state. It is particularly important to be able to execute this transition without any issues. It is not possible to say that Kazakhstan after Nazarbayev will resemble Yugoslavia after Tito, as some experts claim in studies on Kazakhstan. However, there is also a possibility that in a later period, the rise to power of politicians who do not take into account the realities of Kazakhstan could undermine the achievements in nation-building and lead the country into serious problems. Thus, the future of nation-building in Kazakhstan depends on preserving the policies developed during the period of independence, taking into account the ethnic diversity of the country's population. While the world grapples with many problems, from economic crises to wars and political upheavals, it is crucial for the country to establish a strong position both domestically and internationally. Identity is not so much about what sets us apart from others but the values we share ourselves. Whether consciously or unconsciously, when we declare who we stand for, we also indicate whom we do not stand for and whom we stand against. This is a universal opposition. An Arab proverb precisely describes this situation: "I against my brother, my brother and I against our cousin, and my cousin, my brother, and I against the stranger."

10. In our view, the process of forming the national-state identity of the Republic of Kazakhstan has led to a series of changes in the social, cultural, and political spheres of the country. However, while emphasizing history and culture, the government of Kazakhstan also maintains the multicultural character of the country, showing respect for the culture of other ethnic groups. Thus, Kazakhstan creates an image of a country that, while shaping its own national identity, simultaneously respects the identity of other ethnic groups.

11. Every approach has its strengths and weaknesses, and the choice of a specific approach

should be justified based on specific circumstances. However, it is worth noting that the constructivist approach, which views the nation as a socially constructed category, can be useful for analyzing national identity and shaping national policies, especially in the case of the Republic of Kazakhstan. According to the constructivist approach, national identity is formed and changed through social processes and is not an immutable and objective fact. Therefore, national policy should take into account this dynamism and work towards creating conditions that promote the development of positive identifications among national minorities and inclusivity. The conducted research shows that, for these reasons, a constructivist approach should be followed regarding Kazakhstan. According to this approach, national identity is formed not only based on cultural and historical particularities but also on social and political processes. In the case of Kazakhstan, national identity is shaped as a result of a long history where different cultures, traditions, and languages have blended. The constructivist approach allows us to understand that national identity is not static and homogeneous but rather a dynamic process that changes depending on socio-political factors and context. Therefore, when analyzing Kazakhstan's national identity, one should consider not only cultural and historical factors but also socio-political processes, including international integration, economic reforms, political changes, and other influencing factors. Only such an approach can provide a complete picture of the formation of Kazakhstan's national identity and its role in the modern world.

12. From the provided information, it can be inferred that the conducted survey had a wide representation of participants from different age groups, genders, and locations of residence. Kazakhs constitute the main nationality among the participants, but other nationalities were also represented. The Kazakh language is actively used in the daily lives of the majority of participants, but there are also people who speak Russian and other languages. It is noted that language usage in daily life is associated with the place of residence, and a statistically significant difference has been found depending on this factor. The majority of participants support the transition to the Latin alphabet. An important aspect of Kazakhstan's cultural development is the preservation and development of cultural events related to Kazakh culture and traditions. However, only half of the population actively participates in such events, indicating that not all citizens have fully adapted to this culture. The study confirms that the legacy of the USSR continues to have a significant influence on the formation of national identity, language, education, and cultural values in Kazakhstan. Kazakhs identify themselves as citizens of Kazakhstan and Kazakhs, emphasizing the preservation of the national identity formed during the Soviet period. The Russian language continues to be used in some regions and serves as the second official language. Overall, the study confirms that the legacy of the USSR remains a significant factor influencing the national identity, language, education, and culture of Kazakhstan at present.

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