

**ЭКОНОМИКА ФАКУЛЬТЕТИ
МЕНЕДЖМЕН ЖӘНЕ МАРКЕТИНГ КАФЕДРАСЫ
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COMMON PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN ECONOMY AND WORLD POLITICS

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**KAZAKHSTAN'S PATH TOWARD CIVIC NATION BUILDING AND THE NEED IN
POSITIVE NATIONALISM**

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Annotation

This article contains analysis of nation-building policy of Kazakhstan's government since gaining independence. Article argues that government's 'Kazakhification' policy, 'Oralman' program (repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs) and promotion of Kazakh language and culture were not aimed at giving titular nation a dominant position, pressuring ethnic minorities and building ethnic state model. Instead Kazakhstan's government granted the right to use and develop their own mother tongue and culture to all ethnicities manoeuvring between the revival and consolidation of Kazakh identity and recognition that Kazakhstan is a multiethnic state which resulted in creating two nations: Kazakh and Kazakhstani. Government's attempt in building civic state model at this moment is failing because dilemma between Kazakh nation and Kazakhstani nation is leading to increase of negative nationalism. The main conclusion that is outlined in this article is to supplement nation-building policy with positive nationalism for consolidation of nation under common will.

Түйін

Бұл мақала Қазақстан үкіметінің тәуелсіздіктен бері ұлт-құрылыс саясатын талдайды. Мақала үкіметтің "Қазақландыру" саясатының, «Оралмандар» бағдарламасының, қазақ тілі мен мәдениетін қолдауның мақсаты титулдық ұлтқа басымдық жағдай жасау үшін, азшылықтарға қысымшылық көрсете үшін немесе мемлекеттің этникалық үлгісін құру үшін жасалмағанын айтады. Керісінше Қазақстан үкіметі барлық ұлттарға өз тілі мен мәдениетін дамыту жақтарын беріп, бір жағынан қазақтық рухын қайта күшейтіп, қазақтарды біріктіру, екінші жағынан Қазақстанның көп ұлттық мемлекет екенін мойындап, екеуінің арасында маневр жасағаны екі ұлттың құрылуына әкелді: Қазақ және Қазақстандық. Сондықтан осы сәтте мемлекеттің азаматтық үлгісін құру барысында үкіметтің әрекеті сәтсіздікке ұшырап тұр, өйткені Қазақ ұлты мен Қазақстандық ұлт аралығындағы дилемма негативті ұлтшылдықтың ұлғаюына алып келді. Халықты ортақ мүддеге ынтымақтастыру үшін мемлекеттің ұлт-құрылыс саясатына қосымша ретінде позитивті ұлтшылдық қажет екені мақаланың басты түйіні болып табылады.

Keywords: Kazakhstan, nation-building, positive nationalism, negative nationalism, national unity, ethnic politics.

Introduction

One of the main legacies that Soviet Union left for Kazakhstan after its collapse was (and it is today) multiethnic population in which ethnic Kazakhs constituted less than a half. However, since gaining Independence in 1991 the ethnic portrait of the country gradually changed for the benefit of natives i.e. the

share of Kazakhs in total population reached 63% in 2010 which owes on the one hand to the massive emigration of non-Kazakhs during 1990's and on the other - to the repatriation programmes. /1, p.15/ This is the result of government's nation-building policy aimed at transforming Kazakhstan to really 'land of Kazakhs' by increasing representation for its titular nationality but at the same time supporting other ethnic groups.

This policy became a subject for criticism for many scholars as an attempt for nationalising country. However, as a resident of Kazakhstan who can see in fact the result of nation-building policy, in this article I've tried to look into government's policy deeper and analyse from other side of coin. In fact, people of Kazakhstan live in peace regardless of its multiethnic society and we may say with confidence that government partly achieved its goal. According to the Census 2009 there are 125 ethnicities and nationalities in Kazakhstan. /2, p.20/

After analyzing the evolution of national-building policy after 22 years I've come to conclusion that government's goal was based on smooth move toward civic state model. However, disputes between Kazakh nation and Kazakhstani nation may be seen today. Obvious example may be given by disagreement over adoption of National Unity Doctrine in 2009.

Nation-building theories (ethnic and civic), strategic programmes of President Nazarbayev, National Unity Doctrine, statistical data, scientific research works and analytical reports of prominent foreign and local scientists are used for analysis. In the article, I relied on such research methods as comparison, epistemological foundations, analysis, synthesis, abstraction, statistical and content analysis. The first part of article considers the nation-building strategy of Kazakhstan's government since independence and the next will be stressed on how this policy reflected to modern Kazakhstan concluding with the improvement proposal.

Nation-building policy of Kazakhstan's government since Independence

In the wake of independence with the fact that there was only 40,1 % of ethnic Kazakhs in the country with the name "the land of Kazakhs" the government's policy was oriented toward increasing titular nation at least to half from the whole population. As Nazarbaev outlined in his strategy for development in 1992 "the interests of the native nation (Kazakhs) in individual instances will be stipulated in particular, as is done in a series of states. This concerns the revival of the national culture and language, the restoration of spiritual-cultural and other ties with the Kazakh Diaspora, and the creation of some kind of preconditions for the return to their homeland of people who were forced to leave Kazakhstan." /3/

This policy was largely criticized as Kazakhification in negative sense, as 'nationalizing nationalism', as exclusion and oppression of other ethnic groups which can be described as preservation of ethnic nationalism. However, all of those negative feedbacks have no ground because of many reasons. According to Anthony D. Smith (1991) and Melvin Kohn (1969), an ethnic state model emphasizes a community of birth and native culture, associated with a form of biological / genealogical determinism. A nation, under this conception, is a community of common descent. In Hobsbawm's view (1992) it is a community which existed prior to nationalist mobilization and distinguished itself in some way from foreigners. The type of nationalism which no way could even thought to be established in newly independent Kazakhstan with more than hundred ethnicity groups. Kazakhstan could not even be able to preserve ethnicity-based conception of nationhood. On the one hand Kazakhstan has close ties with Russia, on the other hand because of its geographic location that demand to maintain friendly relations with all, particularly neighbouring, countries, and Kazakhstan's preservation of 'multivectoral' foreign policy.

Besides the promotion of Kazakh language and culture was not new phenomenon, it was active even during Soviet time. Widely spread Soviet culture along with Russian language long before the independence came had been splitting the Kazakh society into two groups: Kazakh - and Russian-speaking. /4, p. 441/ The government has attempted Kazakhification to counterbalance the strong Russification of ethnic Kazakhs during the Soviet period that led to a decline in their mother tongue, Kazakh. How other ethnicities and nationalities would smoothly integrate into Kazakhstani society without concord among Kazakh ethnicity itself and move further in a harmony under one common national idea. The unity of Kazakh ethnicity was regarded as the main guarantee for co-existence of all nationalities and peoples on the territory of republic.

The policy oriented to the return to homeland of Kazakhs who were forced to leave resulted in repatriation policy of N.A. Nazarbayev called "Oralman programme". However, this programme also did not force to leave other ethnicities and actually did not decrease the percentage of other ethnicities. Over the past 20 years, only about a million ethnic Kazakhs have returned or migrated to Kazakhstan under the state-run Oralman scheme. /5/ It is true that at the beginning of 1990 big amount of population emigrated the country. The loss of population amounted – 57686 in 1991 and in 1993 this number was already fourfold and reached –219025 but the peak of net emigration fell to 1994 when the country left more than 400 thousand people. /1, p.9/ Nevertheless, the reason cannot be referred to government's pressure to leave. As G. R. Dadabayeva, Doctor of Sciences, noted that "the economic crisis advent in early 1990-s became the main reason of the Slavic people exodus from Kazakhstan." /4, p.441/ Further she also noted about stopping Russian people exodus in the second half of 1990s that "could be explained not only by growing economic conditions but also because the president had become the main guarantor of interethnic concord." /4, p. 443/

Eventually, Kazakhstan government's practice shows that is not attempting to build national identity based solely on Kazakh ethnicity and to force other ethnic groups to assimilate, indeed the policy based on preserving multiethnic civic nation that would embrace all of its citizens, regardless of their national, ethnic or cultural identities in which Kazakh culture and language serves as the instruments of national consolidation. Civic nationalism, according to Maurizio Viroli (1995), portrays itself as a voluntaristic political community formed by the recognition that the self-interest of each citizen is promoted by commitment to the common good. Central concept of civic nationalism, as Hobsbawm notes, is the equality of a sovereign citizen-people with the state, regardless of language spoken, distinct cultural practices, racial characteristics or other potential cleavages

As Beate Eschment writes "nation-building policy in Kazakhstan has so far never enforced a systematic programme of Kazakhification. Rather, it has manoeuvred between the revival and consolidation of Kazakh identity and recognition that Kazakhstan is a multiethnic state." /6, p. 130/ The Kazakhstani elites have sought to portray the country primarily as a homeland of Kazakhs as well as a multiethnic republic in which various nationalities peacefully cohabit. /7, p.17/ As R.G. Suny wrote in his article in 2001 about Kazakhstan that "what is most evident after a decade of post-Soviet "transition" is that moderate state officials have made strategic choices to promote an inclusive civic identity that best guarantees peaceful relations among its multiethnic population. /8, p 884/

Kazakh nation or Kazakhstani nation? Ethnic nation or Civic nation?

In the programme "Kazakhstan – 2030" President Nazarbayev put a question: "Today it is not everybody that can answer the seemingly simple question: 'Who are we – the Kazakhstanis?' Settlement of the problem of self-identification will take a certain amount of time and require a certain level of historic development." /9, p. 10/ Our President, therefore, realised from the beginning that the process of nation-building is not an easy task ipso facto outlining the seriousness of this issue.

Asking this question Nazarbayev first introduced the term 'Kazakhstani'. It is clear that next to the 'Kazakhification' of the state, the government has been considering its non-Kazakh population as a consolidation factor of a nation with a serious, too. Rather than assimilating minority ethnicities within the Kazakh nation, government kept them within the boundaries of a civic Kazakhstan creating Kazakhstani nation. In the wake of independence citizenship was granted to all people in Kazakhstan, regardless of ethnic background. The main institution created by government for building Kazakhstani nation was the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan which was established in 1995 and chaired by President Nazarbayev, in order "to work out proposals over the state policy, making for the development of friendly relations between peoples residing on the territory of Kazakhstan, to promote their cultural and spiritual revival and development on the basis of observance to principles of equality." As of today, government's policy resulted in work of more than 100 national and 170 weekend schools in the country where 23 native languages have been teaching. 29 divisions on teaching of 12 native languages work in three schools of national. The Government of the country allocates KZT 12 million for finance support of these schools. /10/ In the information field, more than 35 ethnic newspapers and magazines work actively. The largest 6 ethnic republican newspapers operate under government's support./11/

After 22 years of independence, problems in identifying national identity of people of Kazakhstan and in nation-building policy still occur. Since Independence, Kazakhstan's government has been balancing between on the one hand identifying Kazakhstan's nation as the ethnic centre for Kazakhs and on the other hand as country with multiethnic identity which resulted in formation of two nations: Kazakh and Kazakhstani. So that national minorities *are* excluded from the origins of the statehood, the Kazakh nation, but are kept within the boundaries of a civic Kazakhstan. /12, p.51/ At this moment, Kazakhstan government's attempts to create a civic national identity somehow are failing because it has not yet provided a consolidating national identity that causes tensions between ethnic nation and civic nation of Kazakhstan.

Apparent clash between Kazakh nation and Kazakhstani nation happened over the adoption of National Unity Doctrine in 2009 when activists called themselves Kazakh National Patriots made a strong opposition to it. In October 2009, with the initiative of President Nazarbayev, the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan (APK) which was established with the purpose to oversee the work of ethnic minority cultural preservation and as a major institution for civic nation-building, presented National Unity Doctrine according to which all citizens of Kazakhstan were regarded as 'Kazakhstanis'. It was aimed at "consolidating political stability, unity, and accord," Nazarbayev said. The Doctrine was met with strong opposition by Leaders of Kazakh Nationalist movements including Dos Kushim of Ult Tagdyry and Mukhtar Shakhanov of Memlekettik Til. As a response they issued "Concepts of National Policy of the RK" in January 2010. This document called, first of all, for change of country's name to the Kazakh Republic; to recognize the Kazakh nation as state-forming; to reject the idea of a 'Kazakhstani nation' and accept 'Kazakh nation'; turning the Kazakh language into uniting factor for all ethnic groups. This statement was received with surprise, and did not represent majority population's view including ethnic Kazakhs.

In February 2010, the Institute of Political Solutions carried out a survey that examined public attitudes on inter-ethnic relations. The survey among 2,300 people in 16 towns and cities showed that the percentage of individuals characterizing relations between ethnic groups as friendly was at 39 %; 46 % saw certain problems. The poll showed most people rejecting the idea of ethnic Kazakhs having a special role: 31 % backed the concept, but 60 % supported the idea that all citizens should thought of as "state-forming." Just one in five people supported changing the official name of the country. /13/

Nevertheless, both sides achieved consensus after the dialogue on the final version of the National Unity Doctrine, and it was made public in May 2010. The revised Doctrine brought about three National Unity Principles: "One country, one destiny", "Various origins, equal opportunities", and "Development of a national spirit".

After a year, in May 2011, the IPS made again a mass survey on interethnic relations. The results showed that the number of respondents viewing interethnic relations as good keeps increasing in all the regions. /14/ The people who characterize interethnic relations friendly with no problem at all consist 56.2 %. However, answer 'no relationship and no common interests' prevail too with 20.1 %.

In this perspective and in the light of last tensions between two nations, to my mind, Kazakhstan needs in consolidation of nation under common will and build connections between two nations. In order to achieve it, positive nationalism could be used in its nation-building policy. Because we may observe some features of negative nationalism in Kazakhstan's society, especially among ethnic minority groups. According to IPS survey 2011 positive assessment of interethnic relations among ethnic Kazakhs was relatively higher (60.5%) in comparison with ethnic Russian (50.1%) and other ethnic groups (48.2%). Negative nationalism means defining itself in terms of what it is not. /15/ So that, for example, being Russian is not being Kazakh. The key feature of negative nationalism is a sense of victimhood /13/ which is present in each ethnicity groups in Kazakhstan. During an address to the UN General Assembly, Pope John Paul II spoke of these two nationalisms. One was *positive nationalism*, which the pontiff defined as the "proper love of one's country . . . and the respect which is due to every other culture and every nation." The other was *negative nationalism*, "an unhealthy form of nationalism which teaches contempt for other nations or cultures . . . and seeks to advance the well-being of one's own nation at the expense of others." /16, p.81/

What is the nation? According to Max Weber the common quality of nations is the fact that groups of people are expected to have a specific feeling of solidarity for one another. According to Hobsbawm, the nation is an imagined (and, what is more, a newly imagined) community. According to David Brown the nation is depicted as united by a common public culture, a way of life, a national character, which is shared by all citizens irrespective of ethnic origin. This means that a nation may be constructed regardless of ethnicity, language, culture but only is needed is common will, interests, beliefs, leaders. Moreover it is possible in Kazakhstan, even at this stage, to build connections between Kazakh nation and Kazakhstani nation. Those modern states which have been most successful in providing social harmony and political stability to their societies, have done so because they have managed to persuade these societies that the gap between the community denoted by civic nationalism, and that denoted by ethnic nationalism, was not a significant one, since it was in the process of being bridged. The consequent development of civic pride—in the institutions of the state or in those of civil society (or both)—becomes sufficient to generate a sense of common citizenship /17, p.37-38/ Nazarbayev stresses the attention that people of Kazakhstan already naturally unified nation because “it is our land in its borders, our parents who cultivated it, it is our common history in which we jointly suffered from bitter failures and shared the delight of our achievements. It is our children who are destined to jointly live and work in this land.” /9, p. 1

Conclusion

Post-Soviet Kazakhstan’s condition was critical with a task to manage and maintain peace in population with more than hundred ethnicities and set the new born state on feet. No doubt the government made a big progress in building nation of Kazakhstan. The Nazarbaev leadership has carefully cultivated an image of Kazakhstan as an “oasis of stability” and credited itself with maintenance of “inter-ethnic harmony.” /7, p.16/ Nevertheless, today it is divided into two groups that need in consolidation in order to move ahead for better life within one state under one national idea. Suny defines identity as a search for something solid in a constantly changing world. That’s why Kazakhstan needs in common national identity in today’s globalised world.

My offer is to bring to Kazakhstan’s society positive nationalism. This form of nationalism makes citizens feel especially connected to their compatriots, and assumes that when our people are better off they’re more willing and better able to add to the country’s well being. A society built upon positive nationalism is more tolerant and inclusive. Kazakhs are hospitable nation by nature however as prominent intellectual and philologist Murat Auezov said: “We need a spiritual consolidation of people of Kazakhstan around the principles that we all share and understand.”

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Резюме

В статье представлен анализ политики национального строительства Правительства Казахстана с момента обретения независимости. Принятые Правительством политика «Казахофикации», программы для оралманов (этнических казахов-репатриантов), поддержка казахского языка и культуры не были направлены на предоставление титульной нации доминирующего положение, оказывая давление на этнические меньшинства, или на построение этнической модели государства. Скорее правительство Казахстан гарантировало право использовать и развивать свой родной язык и культуру для всех национальностей, маневрируя между возрождением и консолидацией казахской идентичности и признанием того, что Казахстан - многонациональное государство, которое привело к созданию двух народов: казахского и казахстанского. В настоящее время, можно сказать, что попытка правительства в создании гражданской модели государства терпит неудачу, потому что дилемма между казахской нацией и казахстанской нацией привело к увеличению негативного национализма. Главный вывод, который описан в этой статье, - это необходимость дополнить государственную политику национального строительства позитивным национализмом для консолидации народа под общей волей.

Özet

Bu makalede Kazakistan hükümetinin bağımsızlık sonrası izlediği ulusal kimlik inşa etme politikasının analizi yapılmaktadır. Hükümetin kabul ettiği 'Kazaklaştırma' politikasının, 'Oralman' programının (yurt-dışında yaşayan Kazakların ata yurduna dönmesi) ve Kazak dili ile kültürünün geliştirilmesinin, Kazakları baskın konuma getirme, azınlıkları sindirme ve etnik temelli bir devlet modeli inşa etme amaçları taşımadığı ileri sürülmektedir. Aksine Kazak hükümetinin her halka kendi dil ve kültürlerini geliştirme haklarını tanıdığı ve bir yandan Kazak ulusal kimliğini ihya etme ve geliştirme amaçlarının, diğer yandan ise Kazakistan'ın çok-etnikli bir devlet olduğunu kabul etmenin hem Kazak hem Kazakistanlı milletlerin ortaya çıkışını netice verdiği iddia edilmektedir. Halihazırda hükümetin sivil milliyetçiliğine dayalı bir devlet modeli inşa etme girişiminin başarısız olduğu söylenebilir, zira Kazak milleti ile Kazakistanlı milletin bir arada olması menfi milliyetçiliğin ortaya çıkışını beraberinde getirmiştir. Her halukarda Kazakistan'daki ulusal kimlik inşa etme politikasının tüm toplumu ortak bir irade altında kapsayacak olan müsbet milliyetçiliğe dayalı olması gerektiği sonucuna ulaşılmaktadır.

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