

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE FORMATION OF KAZAKH NATIONAL
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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN POST-SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN

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The aim of the thesis is to analyze the relationship between language and the formation of national identity in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. The launch of language policies in the Republic of Kazakhstan right after the break up of the Soviet Union aim to promote the status of Kazakh language as well as to support its use in state and public life spheres as a means of communication and to foster the national consciousness among the public. Although, official efforts combined with the discourses of the political elites aim to promote the status of the Kazakh language, various factors such as, the demographic structure, the quality of the Kazakh language and the rural and urban dichotomy, hindered the effective enforcement of these policies. The main argument of the thesis is that due to the existing factors which are mentioned above the usage of Kazakh language by the people of Kazakhstan as a means of communication in the short-run does not seem to be attainable. The Kazakh language, within the process of national identity formation, acts and would remain to act as a symbolic tool.

Keywords: nation-building, language, national identity, Kazakhstan

ÖZ

SOVYET SONRASI KAZAKİSTAN'DA DİLİN ULUSAL KİMLİK OLUŞUMUNDAKİ ROLÜ

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Bu tezin amacı Sovyet sonrası Kazakistan'da dil ve ulusal kimlik oluşumu arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir. Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasının hemen ardından bağımsızlığını kazanan Kazakistan Cumhuriyeti'nde uygulanan dil politikaları Kazak dilinin desteklenmesinin yanı sıra bu dilin devlet kurumlarındaki ve kamusal alanlardaki kullanımının teşvik edilmesini ve halk arasında milli bilincin yaygınlaşmasını amaçlamıştır. Her ne kadar resmi çabalar ve siyasi aktörlerin söylemleri Kazak dilinin statüsünü artırmayı hedeflese de, demografik yapı, Kazak dilin niteliği ve kırsal-kent ikiliği gibi faktörler dil politikalarının etkin bir şekilde uygulanmalarını engellemiştir. Bu tezin temel iddiası, sözü edilen faktörler nedeni ile kısa vadede Kazak dilinin Kazakistan halkı tarafından iletişim aracı olarak kullanılamayacağıdır. Kazak dili, ulusal kimlik oluşum sürecinde, sembolik bir unsur olmuş ve olmaya devam edecektir.

Anahtar sözcükler: ulus inşası, dil, ulusal kimlik, Kazakistan

To my family

Aileme

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CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introducing the Study

The break up of the Soviet Union in 1991 marked the end of the Cold War by abolishing the bi-polar world order. Unsurprisingly, the end of the war did not mean to be a fresh start for the rest of the world either for Russia itself or for the newly independent republics of the Soviet Union. The newly independent countries had to cope with the rules and requirements of the world order. The process of transition imposed differing problems to each of these countries in varying degrees. These young republics had to adopt a market-economy together with other liberal reforms in accordance with the dominant power structures which dispose the power and balance in world politics. Besides the restructuring part of their agenda, to organize their state structures and to declare their independence as nation-states the ex-Soviet countries and their leaders together with their elites took charge and assumed the task of building their nations by awakening the national sentiments of their people. As an ex-Soviet republic, Kazakhstan was also embedded with problems of being a nation-state with its vast geography, resources and unique demographic structure. This process of transition is a never ending one and it disposes serious challenges and problems in front of these countries. In this thesis, the case of Kazakhstan in relation to the role of language in the formation of nation and national identity in post-Soviet Kazakhstan will be analyzed.

Kazakhstan, like other ex-Soviet countries, had also faced with the challenges of being a nation-state. The Republic of Kazakhstan, with its vast geography and natural resources is considered to be one of the most conspicuous republic in the post-Soviet space. As Olcott says “Kazakhstan is an accidental country, a nation that was carved out of a Soviet republic whose boundaries were

never intended to be those of an independent state”.¹ It is the ninth largest country in the world with its surface of 2,727,300 km. The population of Kazakhstan is 15.394.600 according to the Kazakh statistical agency.² Statistical data from the Kazakh Statistical Agency show the rate of ethnic composition in Kazakhstan as of the date January 1, 2007 as Kazakh (Qazaq) 59.2%, Russian 25.6% and other ethnic groups including Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Germans, Tatars and Uygurs and others 15.2%.³ Hence, it is the special nature of Kazakhstan what makes it different in terms of demography when compared to other post-Soviet republics. The diverse demographic situation in the Republic puts serious obstacles in the formation of a Kazakh national identity. The establishment of a national-identity is one of the most important requisite of nation-building process. The diverse nature of Kazakhstan together with the dominance of Russian culture puts barriers in the formation of the national identity understandably as “Kazakhs and Kazakhstan are much more closely interwoven with Russians and Russia’s culture”⁴ than any other Central Asian republic in the post-Soviet geography. Unsurprisingly, the Russian is the most commonly used language in this geography as far as the degree of interaction with Russians are considerably high in Kazakhstan when compared to other republics.

In order to accomplish the process of nation-building in favor of the people of Kazakhstan, the government of the newly independent republic adopted nationalist policies. These policies aimed the standardization of Kazakh culture through out the country. However, the process of cultural standardization would not seem to be achieved easily in Kazakhstan. Cultural standardization, on the other hand, is an important marker in the debate of establishing a nation-state as scholars

¹ Olcott, Martha B. 1995. *The Kazakhs*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.

² *O migratsii i demograficheskoy situatsii v Respublike Kazakhstan* (On migration and demographic situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan). Online available at <http://www.stat.kz/index.php?lang=rus&uin=1171952771>

³ Ibid

⁴ Fierman, William. 1998. “Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in policy documents 1987-1997”, *Communist and Post-Soviet Studies*. Vol, 31, No. 2, p.173

from different fields such as socio-linguistics and nationalism reflect the importance of establishing a common culture in modern terms to foster a national identity. Similarly, Fierman mentions that, “In the West, territorial centralization and consolidation went hand in hand with a growing cultural standardization”.⁵ However, when we take into consideration the special demographic structure of the Republic of Kazakhstan together with its Soviet past it is easy to see that the cultural standardization process would take time and requires serious political, cultural and social efforts. According to Laitin, ethnic heterogeneity is powerful a source of democratic instability, regional assertiveness, and civil war.⁶ Although, the political elites of Kazakhstan adopted a much more strict nationalist approach in the beginning, the potent of creating an internal conflict, due to the size of its non-Kazakh population required the alternation and the softening of these policies. As this thesis will handle the issue of nation-building within the framework of language issue it is important to note that the ethnic diversity of the population also hindered the application of language policies suitably. According to Fishman, “the language problem of the ethnically fragmented ‘new nation’, reflect its relatively greater emphasis on political integration and on the efficient *nationism* on which it initially depends”.⁷ Thus, the ethnic composition of Kazakhstan requires a delicate action and analysis. Besides the demographic situation, the Soviet past puts barriers in the establishment of a well-organized process of transition by adopting and implicating language policies.

The whole process of transition, nevertheless, is a complex one in itself as there are various dimensions which would be taken into consideration by the political agents. By adopting the modernist approach in the question of nationalism, one can describe the idea of being a nation “as an aggregate of people linked by co-

⁵ Fierman, William. 1998. “Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in policy documents 1987-1997”, *Communist and Post-Soviet Studies*. Vol, 31, No. 2, p.173

⁶ Laitin. David. 2000. “What is a Language Community”, *American Journal of Political Science* 44(1), p.142

⁷ Fishman, Joshua A. 1968. ‘*Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of Developing countries*’. New York: John Wiley and Sons, p. 492

residence or common socio-cultural characteristics took political and cultural connotations in struggles with and between states and over state-building”.⁸ As it is obvious, in accordance with this description, the urgent need of Kazakhstan to establish a nation through the use of commonality becomes significant. Language with its communicative aspect operates very actively in almost every nation-building process as mentioned above. Through the procurement of a well-established state language the communication between the individual’s of one nation would be actively operating and that would result in the formation of a national identity. Hence, there would be a link between the question of creating commonality and language. Joshua A. Fishman treated the issue of the problems of developing nations in the early 1970s deliberately. Fishman argues that;

Since languages normally function in a social matrix and since societies depend heavily on language as a medium (if not as a symbol) of interaction it is certainly appropriate to expect that their observable manifestations, language behavior and social behavior, will be appreciably related in many lawful ways.⁹

The creation of a nation basically requires solidarity among the people of that nation and language would be used as an element in the creation of solidarity among the citizens. The communicative aspect of language, hence, facilitates the whole process of building a nation. However, in the case of Kazakhstan the process of establishing a common language for the people of Kazakhstan is not a very smooth one. According to Fishman, it is the nation’s urgent need to attain greater national integration “in terms of a usable socio-cultural past or in terms of a usable political past, in relation to its current territorial limits”.¹⁰ As soon as the Republic of Kazakhstan declared its independence, language turned out to be one of the most important authentication element of the political elite whose origins depends on the

⁸ Calhoun, Craig. 1993. “Nationalism and Ethnicity”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 19, p. 213

⁹ Fishman, Joshua A. 1972. *Language and Nationalism: Two integrative essays*. Rowley: Newbury House, p. 7

¹⁰ Fishman, Joshua A. 1968. ‘*Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of Developing countries*’. New York: John Wiley and Sons, p. 491

Soviet times. The launch of nationalist policies in the newly establishing Kazakhstan, thus, involves the use language, especially in the very beginning of the country's dependence, as a key component that would relate their pre-Soviet past with their modern nation-states by recreating and restructuring the Kazakh language. Nationalist attempts put stress on the authenticity, purity, and nobility of the beliefs, values, and behaviors that would organize the references of one community.¹¹ In accordance with Fishman, it is not surprising to mention that the political elites of the Republic of Kazakhstan tried to establish a link between their past by adopting the Kazakh language as the language of their ancestors. Through the adaptation of a common language with its past references legitimizes the position of that language by regulating the perception of the people of the nation concerned. The political actors not only used and manipulated their historical knowledge as a tool to foster the national awakening of their people but also they use some other special components, such as language, to verify and glorify the nationality of their people. Each and every step which is put by the leaders and political agents of these newly emerging nations requires a process of verification. In line with the ideology of basing their national argument on a verified asset, as Fishman argues "a particularly frequent directive source of nationalist language planning was the image of the noble and uncontaminated peasant who kept his language pure and intact, precisely as it had been in the golden past".¹² The use of the glorified past in the early years of independence in a nationalist way disturbed the above mentioned non-Kazakh population, particularly, the Slavic population as they felt themselves threatened. Hence, the changes and modifications which were made in official language documents in time verified the importance of language use in creating a national identity not only as a means of communication but as a symbol of identity politics.

¹¹ Fishman, Joshua A. 1972. *Language and Nationalism: Two integrative essays*. Rowley: Newbury House, p. 8

¹² Ibid, p. 69

The development of a nation-state which is understood in the Western sense could not fit with the conditions and historical development of some of the developing nations. Thus, it is the case of Kazakhstan where differences paved the way to foster the development of a national identity which is exposed to both internal and external agents. The special geographic situation as well as the delicate geopolitical location requires an indebt analysis of the country's sociopolitical situation in terms of culture, language and finally nationality. In this study, both of these factors will be mentioned and the applicability of the language policies will be discussed. Not only the future steps effect the current situation of language and its dissemination throughout the country but also it is the Soviet legacy which imposes a great consideration to the whole process restructuring the language acquisition and the formation of a national identity within the Republic. Simply, the historical development of Kazakhstan did not include the same components which are involved in the nationalist discourse of Western literature of nationalism. In other words, the Soviet attempts to assimilate the culture of Kazakhstan changed the course of its natural development of being a nation. As a result, the development of a common language, common traits with a common history does not seem to be attainable for Kazakhstan. However, it is not a must that every nation-state would pass through same stages. Every country has its own dynamics and unique properties. Accordingly, every process of nation-building has its own course based upon their properties.

The Soviet past and the exposure to the policies of Russification and *korenizatsiya* of the Soviet Union did not leave space for the enhancement and development of the Kazakh language and these policies also did not give the Kazakh language the possibility of being used efficiently among the Kazakh people. Furthermore, the contradictory policies and constitutional changes which took place in the political and social agenda of the country in the post-Soviet period put the language situation in a complex process. Although it was highly motivated and fed with nationalistic feelings, the language policies could not be able to enforced practically throughout the Republic. There are various domestic and external factors

affecting the language situation in the country one of which is demography as mentioned above. Besides the demographic concerns, there are also other internal issues which affect the whole process in language planning such as the promotion of the Kazakh language by adapting the language with the current needs. The modern necessities and requirements of being a national language together with political concerns form the basic frame of the language debate. In this respect, by taking into account the link between nationalism and language, it is argued that in post-Soviet Kazakhstan, language is used as a political and symbolic element of national identity formation process rather than being a means of communication in the short run. In other words, the thesis argues that due to the existing factors the usage of Kazakh language by the people of Kazakhstan as a means of communication in the short-run does not seem to be attainable. These factors are given as, the demographic structure, the nature of language, and the rural and urban dichotomy sourced from the presence of Russified Kazakhs and urban Kazakhs who are much more close to the Kazakh culture in the same geography. The role of language in the formation of Kazakh national identity will be discussed by examining official documents and again it will be argued that it is the symbolic aspect of language which becomes obvious in the case of Kazakhstan.

1.2 Methodology

In this thesis, documentary research is chosen as the research method. Official documents are carefully and critically analyzed. By adopting the documentary research method the evaluation of past and present documents will be obtained. As it is known, sources of documentary research include the study and examination of historical documents such as official documents, laws, declarations, statutes and people's accounts of events and periods, reports based on official statistics, governmental records, mass media, novels, plays, drawings, and personal documents such as dairies and biographies. In this thesis, official documents including, language laws, governmental declarations, reports, personal documents and personal discourses are used as primary sources. In this thesis the 1993

Constitution of Kazakhstan together with the current Constitution of Kazakhstan, declarations and statements of the officials of the Republic of Kazakhstan as the President Nursultan Nazarbaev in official web-sites and academic publications are used. Besides the laws and decrees, official state programs such as the “Cultural Heritage Program for 2004-2006” are examined together with other programs such as the “Law on the Languages of the Republic of Kazakhstan (1997)”, “Conception of Broadening the Sphere of Use of Kazakh Language (2006)”, State Program on Functioning and Development of Languages from 2001 to 2010 (2001)”, “On the Problem of Transition to Latin (2007)” and “Language Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan (2005)”. In addition to the primary sources academic books and international publications treating the issue of socio-linguistics, nationalism and nation-building, politics, linguistics, sociology, sociology of language are used. Documents of the existing literature in French and English on the issue of national identity, language and nationalism, nation-building and sociolinguistics are also used. Major academic scholars are adopted to base the argumentation of the thesis on accurate terms. William Fierman, Joshua A. Fishman, William O’Barr, David Laitin, Pierre Bourdieu are the scholars who are referred frequently in the thesis.

Limitations of the thesis lie in the fact that no part of the study was conducted in Kazakhstan and therefore, no interviews and sources only available in this country were included in the study. Moreover, the obstacles sourcing from the limitations due to the translation of documents from Russian or Kazakh to English prevented me to set out much more accurate debate within the framework of my issue. The interpretation and the analysis of the data objectively relies on the identity of the author of this thesis. I tried to keep my objectivity as much as possible in the whole process of preparation of the thesis.

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is composed of six chapters. The first chapter of the thesis introduces the main argumentation and it explains the methodology and the organization of the thesis. The main sources of the study together with the names of major scholars are introduced.

The second chapter is dedicated to the literature review on language politics and sociolinguistics within the framework of nation-building. This chapter treats the link between language and nationalism in the framework of nation-building process by basing itself on Fishman's approach basically since Fishman has the power of explaining the case of post-Soviet Kazakhstan.

The third chapter involves the description of the pre-Soviet and Soviet times language and nation-building policies in Kazakhstan in order to provide a brief historical information. The chapter explains the language policies adopted during the Soviet period by emphasizing the leaders and their attitudes towards language and nation-building.

In the fourth chapter, language policies of the Republic of Kazakhstan are given and studied. While giving a brief overview of the nation-building process right after the declaration of independence, the chapter analyzes the official documents and policies of the Kazakh government in the light of the views of some scholars such as Fishman, O'Barr, Das Gupta, etc.

In the fifth chapter, factors affecting the effective enforcement of language policies in post-Soviet Kazakhstan are mentioned by basing the whole argument to the issue of national identity formation in Kazakhstan. The chapter gives the factors

affecting the language situation in the republic in order to base the argumentation on a solid basis.

Finally, the sixth chapter includes concluding remarks are given in order to summarize the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE PROCESS OF NATION-BUILDING

The use of language as an element of national identity marker is studied and discussed by many scholars since the emergence of nationalism and nation-states. In this chapter the link between nationalism and nation-building with language will be discussed in the light of the views of leading scholars in the fields of sociolinguistics, nationalism and nation-building.

2.1 Literature Review

The dissolution of the Soviet Union paved the way for the emergence of independent republics. All of these newly independent republics entered into a new phase of transition in order to establish a nation-state. The efforts of building a nation-state in modern terms include various stages of transition depending upon the historical and political past of each and every country. The use of language as an element of national identity is widely used and studied by scholars. The link between nationalism and language would be worth to be taken into consideration.

The modern era required the emergence of countries with an established statehood together with national borders. The gradual elimination of old elements brought new demands on the agenda of the newly emerging nation-states. The launch and then the enforcement of nationalist policies, thus, is a part of the transition process. The process of transition, however, is a never ending one as it requires a long period of adaptation and internalization by the people who are the subject of these policies. Therefore, the changing characteristic of nation-building depends on people and on their willingness of adopting these policies within their cultural, social, and political life. The successful achievement of the nation-building policies, hence, relies on the fact that the combination of official policies with the

willingness of the people. Moreover, every country has its own domestic and external conditions which would effect the successful operation of the nation-building policies. That is why the changing characteristic of nation-building was mentioned above. However, with the start of the debates concerning nationalism and later on nation-building, there are generally discussed terms and concepts and their relation among each other. Still, it is important to note that neither the past nor the current debates on nation-building and nationalism could be able to give definite and concrete definitions because the nature of the issue of nationalism would be considered as a flexible one. As a result, the relation between language and nationalism is not also includes a definite and concrete basis. It would be helping to give some nationalist debates with its relation to language in order to establish a basis for the argumentation of the thesis.

The age of nationalism which began in the late 18th century welcomed the formation of new nation-states with their own culture by sharing a common history, origin, language and values. By placing the nationalist attempts into modern terms, it would be fruitful to remind the “imagined communities” of Anderson as treating the concept of language by stressing its symbolic role. Similar with the congruent borders of Gellner, Anderson argues that;

The creation of these artifacts towards the end of the eighteenth century was the spontaneous distillation of a complex ‘crossing’ of discrete historical forces; but that, once created, they became ‘modular’, capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations.¹³

Like Anderson, Laitin also argues that, the formation of national identity is constructed through the use of certain elements. People are connected to their history and this behavior links them to their social and national identity. Hence, Laitin also related the issue of language in terms of the formation of national identity with

¹³ Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London and New York, 1983, p. 4

modernity. According to him, in the modern era the modern project of nation-building comprises the reinsertation of a folk language as a key component to a nation's identity while the launch of language policies might be considered as tools to create modern nations.¹⁴ To this end, it would not be irrelevant to argue that as a pre-requisite of modern age, language, in general terms, acts as a tool, if not as a symbol, in establishing a common national identity. Moreover, when we continue with the idea of modernity, we could be able to reach the conclusion that, the relationship between nationalism and language is very obvious in some countries as they based their claims upon modern concepts such as adoption of secularism as an aspect of nation-state. Secularism is mentioned by Fishman in his writings in its relation to language, because in a multi-ethnic setting there might be numerous religions. The relation of language and nationalism with secularism will be mentioned later on.

Accepting nations as “imagined communities” it becomes easy to understand the link between nationalism and language. The formation of nation-states on common traits and features paved the way for the spread of national consciousness among the people. Thus, as soon as the political units of any country turned their face to the ideal of nationalism they had to describe and depict the image of being part of one culture which is standardized through the use of certain concepts and symbols. Stalin, in his attempts to place his policies on a true basis described the concept of nation, according to him “a nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture”.¹⁵ The importance given to the language, hence, became visible in the descriptions which were made in the early 1900s. Accordingly, in order to provide the acceptance of the national discourse by the people of a country, the political elite have to use certain elements and components. Fishman argues that nationalism requires certain elements to keep the mechanism alive, accurate, and verified. Fishman's description of

¹⁴ Laitin, David. 1998. *Identity in Formation: the Russian-speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, p. 24, 25

¹⁵ Slezkine, Yuri. 1994. “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism”, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53 (2), p. 415

nationalism as the “organizationally heightened and elaborated beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of societies acting on behalf of their avowed ethno-cultural self-interest”¹⁶ puts forward the fact that people believe in commonality and coherence in their social and political life in order to be a part of a nation. The establishment of a coherence within a nation-state is of paramount importance as it serves to be the leading factor in preventing the emergence of possible conflicts as well as the ignorance of the national identity. At that point, the importance of the use of language as an element of authenticity and commonality makes sense. Fishman argues that, “vernacular so commonly becomes such a symbol that it is the *carrier* of all other notions and symbols advanced by nationalism”.¹⁷ The emphasis given on the symbolic aspect of language in the context of nationalism serves to be an important point of verification in accordance with the main argumentation of this thesis. To this end, in line with what Fishman says, language is not only a means of communication but it could be considered as a tool that would secure the transference of the historical and traditional data from one generation to another by creating commonality among people as assuming the task of being a national symbol. In general speaking, when the language of one nation is deteriorated the cultural deterioration becomes inescapable too. Before moving further in the matter cultural standardization, achieving authenticity in nation-building projects by using and recreating history should be taken for granted in terms of its reference to language. As mentioned previously too, Fishman argues and underlines the fact that the use of the history of one nation helps the verification of nationhood in the eyes of the people. In order to be accepted and internalized by the public or the member of one nation, the national claims should have legitimacy and authenticity. To achieve high levels of accuracy not only remains on the action of recreating or restructuring the history but it also requires the glorification of the historical data concerned. The link between education, authenticity and the binding feature of language is mentioned above. In order to stress the significance of language as an asset of

¹⁶ Fishman, Joshua A. 1972. *Language and Nationalism: Two integrative essays*, Rowley: Newbury House, p. 5

¹⁷ Ibid, p.54

authenticity and verification strengthens our argument that places language among the symbols of nationalism.

Apart from using language as an element in education, Fishman treats the issue by directly and indirectly linking language with authenticity. Fishman generally relates the matter of language to modernity, however, according to him right in the beginning of establishing a nation it is important to return back to origins. In other words, in the way of that pursues modernization, language serves as an element that attaches pre-modern elements to modern ones in order to meet urban needs.¹⁸

The standardization of culture, however, is an important tool in the formation of nation-state. In order to provide cohesion it would be better to standardize cultural linkages among people. Laitin argues that, the aim of cultural standardization through the use language as well as other tools aim to create a common culture which would help the assimilation of other minority group within the common culture.¹⁹ The use of historical past by glorifying it, hence, makes sense at that point. Moreover, the current needs in a modern society requires high levels of education in order to response the needs of industry and technology which are considered to be the important components of modern nations. Invent of print capitalism as a result of industry and development in the modern world, brought the language to the core of the nation-building attempts. Similarly, Anderson argues that language would also act as an important tool in regulating the modern structure of nation. According to him;

¹⁸ Fishman, Joshua A. 1972. *Language and Nationalism: Two integrative essays*. Rowley: Newbury House, 1972, p. 70

¹⁹ Laitin, David. 1998. *Identity in Formation: the Russian-speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, p. 25

- i. The print languages created unified fields of exchange and communication below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars.
- ii. The print-capitalism gave a new fixity to language, which in the long run helped to build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation.
- iii. The print-capitalism created languages-of-power of a kind different from the older administrative vernaculars. Certain dialects inevitably were 'closer' to each print-language and dominated their final forms.²⁰

The standardization of education, generally, depends upon the regulation of the system of education. The use of one and standardized educational system with a common language would help and accelerate the process. Hence, the universality of language is once again emphasized. According to Chomsky, "the faculty of language enters crucially into every aspect of human life, thought, and interaction".²¹ Thus the obtainment of cultural standardization would easily be combined with the use of language as a tool in nation-building policies. The acceptance of these nation-building policies relies on the fact that people are educated to believe in their national character through the use of other components of nationalism. Hence, education as a basic need in terms of modernity provides us with the idea that language would act as an operating tool in nation-building policies. Fishman also argues that establishing the ethnic-cultural unity among people would take time and until the complete commitment to the cultural unity is achieved a stable and well-organized language policies should be launched and implicated.²² Hence, the launch of language policies should be considerably taken into account, as they contribute to the establishment of a national unity. As far as the establishment and enforcement of such successful and well-organized policies could not be achieved, there would be problems in the operation of these purposes in favor of one culture which is the need of being a nation-state, the issue of cultural standardization. The ethnic diversity,

²⁰ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, p. 44, 45

²¹ Chomsky, Noam. 200. "New Horizons in the Study of Language and Mind", Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, p. 3

²² Fishman, Joshua A. 1968. *Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of Developing countries*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, p. 7

thus, could be a source of conflict since the adoption of one common standardized culture would not always be acceptable for the minorities in one republic.

Apart from the issue of cultural standardization, the treatment of language as a matter of fact in politics and social life spheres heavily depends on the field of socio-linguistics. Apart from being subject to linguistics, the relationship between social and cultural motivation and language became popular with William Labov, who did not merely made contributions to linguistics but he also put initial steps in founding the roots of sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics is the study of the effect of any and all aspects of society on the way language is used. Starting with 1960s the field of sociolinguistics attracted numerous scholars to direct their efforts to the issue of language in social context. Within a period of time, apart from linguistics and semantics, sociolinguistics field of inquiry led the scholars to relate the matter of language with politics. Together with Labov, Weinreich and Hymes, the study of sociolinguistics started to ask questions about bilingualism and multilingualism in socially and ethnically heterogeneous contexts. Joshua A. Fishman, as mentioned previously, also took charge of the issue in order to handle the issue of language in a multi-faceted way by analyzing the issues of bilingualism and multilingualism within various contexts. The term sociology of language is interchangeably used with the term socio-linguistics, however, the former term has a different description than that of the latter as mentioned above. Sociology of language focuses on the language's effect on the society. Fishman and his colleagues closely associated themselves to the language's effect on the society and they evaluated the relation between language in social context with a broad point of view which was called as macro-sociolinguistics. Language serves to be a politically symbolic tool as well as being a component of nationalist policies. "We know of no system of government which does not involve the use of language".²³ "Language is thus a prerequisite upon which all governmental systems are predicated".²⁴ As it is discussed by O'Barr, language

²³O'Barr, William M. & O'Barr, Jean F. 1976. *Language and Politics*. Mouton & Co., Publishers: The Hague, p.4-5

and politics can not be separated from each other. The politicization of language is classified by O'Barr, as he mentions that governments are obliged to use verbal communication systems.²⁵ O'Barr mentions that the relationship between politics and language has a changing characteristic depending upon the structure of the country concerned. Initial conditions as well as the past experiences shape the behavior of any government. Moreover, these classifications would shed light in treating the case of Kazakhstan, as language policies are, unsurprisingly, manipulated and administered by politics.

Additionally, as mentioned various times, the link between the formation of national identity and language is widely studied by scholars. As O'Barr underlines, "language planning, as an attempt to deliberately interfere with a language or one of its varieties; it is human intervention into natural processes of language change, diffusion or erosion".²⁶ To move further, Wardhaugh also mentions that, "the planning focus may be either on the status of the language or on changing the condition of that language or both, as they are not mutually exclusive".²⁷ Hence, the state as a key actor in the decision-making mechanism of language policies implements certain policies in favor of one political group or another. The use of language in politics not only emphasized by O'Barr, but Bourdieu also emphasized the symbolic aspect of language by giving importance to the strength of that aspect in terms of politics. In other words, Bourdieu also argues the power remains behind the use of language as a tool of power in political and social relations.²⁸

²⁴ O'Barr, William M. & O'Barr, Jean F. 1976. '*Language and Politics*'. Mouton & Co., Publishers: The Hague.

²⁵ O'Barr, William M. & O'Barr, Jean F. 1976. '*Language and Politics*'. Mouton & Co., Publishers: The Hague

²⁶ Wardhaugh, Ronald. 2002. "*An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*", Fourth Edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, p.353

²⁷ O'Callaghan, Luke. "War of Words: Language Policy in Post Independence Kazakhstan", *Nebula* 1.3, Dec 04 – Jan 05, p.198

²⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre. 2001. "*Langage et Pouvoir Symbolique*", *Le Seuil*

Along with Bourdieu, Chomsky had also mentioned that, “questions of language are basically questions of power”.²⁹ That is the reason why within the framework of this thesis, the symbolic aspect of language is mentioned many times in various contexts. Political agents in differing settings, particularly in the newly established ones, usually try to manipulate language in favor of their own titular ethnies in order to base their national argument to that ethnies. That makes sense when the distribution of power is concerned. As elites of one nation would obtain and dispose the right to rule the country and sources of that country through the use of a legitimized argument. Within this framework, language with its communicative as well as symbolic role is a unique tool that would act as a bridge between people and politics. However, as we mentioned above, it is again the task of the politics to launch language policies in well-organized way in order to achieve the purpose. Language planning policies act as catalyst in political and cultural spheres. The attempts of nation-building includes certain aspects, in order to summarize the above mentioned issues it would be suitable to refer to Urciuoli;

Control of key domains, especially education and law; overt or covert idealization of linguistic elements and the effect this may have on what had been one language; the breaking up of older networks and the redefinition of ethnicity; the incongruity of policy and practice and the difficulties of rationalizing and controlling outcomes; and the problem of getting speakers to think of themselves as members of a nation.³⁰

As Urciuoli summarizes the points which were given up to now, it is suitable to move further and argue that language in the context of nationalism act as a binding force as the modern era usually requires the elimination of old concepts and norms such as religion. Fishman places secularism in the center of modern nations like other modernist scholars. Although, it is beyond the aim of the thesis to handle the relationship between secularism and nationalism, to verify the place of language

²⁹ Chomsky cited in, Schmid, Carol L. 2001. *The Politics of Language: Conflict, Identity, and Cultural Pluralism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 9

³⁰ Urciuoli, Bonnie, “Language and Borders”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 1995, p. 534

within the framework of nationalism it would be beneficial to underline the link between modernity, secularism and language in national discourse. Generally it is the launch of modernity in world politics that puts significance on secularism. The term is started to be discussed. Even today it is debatable to what extent nation-states are able to establish secular statehood, however, in general terms the replacement of religious terms with modern necessities puts the secularism on forehead. Fishman argues that “language becomes part of the secular religion, binding society together”.³¹ This phrase, obviously, puts emphasis on the use of language in secular state structures. In spite of the use of religion as a binding factor, language helps the creation of a solid ground for the legitimization of the national attempts. Fishman continues and argues that, “there is no doubt that the unity of language is more durable for survival and permanence in this world than the unity of religion”.³² The reason why Fishman puts that much emphasis on the language as a tool might be explained by the development and the adoption of a pro-Western approach in defining the relationship between language and nationalism. Moreover, in a multi-ethnic setting with various religions, it becomes much more obvious that the use of language as a tool is easier, though it hinders certain difficulties too. Rather than playing with the religious matter which would cause the emergence of fundamentalist and radical views, the use of language seems to be less problematic. Moreover, as mentioned various times earlier, the language could be used in daily life practices and social settings. The use of language in the field of education, for example, is enough to reveal the fact that it is an effective tool in transmitting consciousness and national identity.

To continue with Fishman, it would be suitable to give his list of variables in relation to the organization of reported relationships and differences. He lists certain variables that would hinder or promote the use of language in building a nation-

³¹ Fishman cited in ,Schmid, Carol L. 2001. *The Politics of Language: Conflict, Identity, and Cultural Pluralism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 9

³² Rendessi cited in Fishman, Fishman, Joshua A. *Language and Nationalism: Two integrative essays*. Rowley: Newbury House, 1972, p. 49

state. According to him there are demographic variables, economic variables, educational variables, religious variables, historical variables, ideological variables, political-governmental variables, interest articulation variables, interest aggregation variables, party system variables, political leadership variables, horizontal power distribution variables, bureaucracy, police and legal system variables.³³ In the presence of these variables, it seems possible to achieve a linguistic homogeneity. Some of the above mentioned variables will be taken into consideration in the framework of this thesis in the next chapters. As this thesis bases its argument on Fishman's views in terms of the relationship between nationalism and language, it would be suitable to categorize his views in certain main title in order to evaluate the case of Kazakhstan in the post-Soviet period in the next chapters. In order to be brief and clear I put the views of Fishman into three categories in accordance with the above mentioned points. One of which is the use of language as an asset of verification authenticity. According to Fishman, "since languages normally function in a social matrix and since societies depend heavily on language as a medium (if not as a symbol) of interaction it is certainly appropriate to expect that their observable manifestations, language behavior and social behavior, will be appreciably related in many lawful ways."³⁴ As mentioned before according to Fishman, the use of language would be very helpful to transfer the national history, national traditions to the people. Additionally, the communicative aspect of language, though, would not be reached every time, however, the use of language is even enough to recall the historical data in the minds of people. Hence, the role assumed to language in modern nation-states is once again goes beyond to be a tool of communication but it serves as a symbol that unifies people under its umbrella structure by replacing religion is secular structures. The other category would involve the link between secularism and language as it is discussed above. The last but not the least category is the emphasis put on the link between the language and the ethnic diversity in terms of multilingualism. According to Fishman, "the

³³ Fishman, Joshua A. 1968. *Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of Developing countries*. New York: John Wiley and Sons p, 56,57,58,59,60

³⁴ Ibid.

language problem of the ethnically fragmented “new nation”, reflect its relatively greater emphasis on political integration and on the efficient *nationism* on which it initially depends”.³⁵ Hence, according to Fishman, multilingualism together with ethnic diversity would prevent the effective management of language issue. The categorization of Fishman’s arguments would enable us with the facility of assessing the challenge of language issue in post-Soviet Kazakhstan.

It is mentioned that the formation of a national identity and the launch of national consciousness could be achieved through the use of certain elements one of which is language. The relationship between language and nationalism and nation-building could not be discarded as language with its symbolic importance besides its feature of being a means of communication help the internalization of the people the policies of nation-building. Besides the components of language planning such as of purification, verification, authentication, standardization, one should be aware of the fact that the linkage which is established between language and nation-building is a Western concept that shapes the development of the relationship between each other. As Schmid mentions, “the notion that nations are really language groups and that nationalism is a linguistic movement is therefore a primarily a Western idea”.³⁶ Fishman and his colleagues adopted this Western understanding of the relationship between nationalism and language. The Western understanding of nations and national units with the idea of modernity paves us the way to reach to the point that in order to be a nation, the boundaries should be congruent.³⁷ As a reverse approach, unlike to the modernist idea which accepts the issue of language as a founding component of national identity, Smith argues that “language follows the growth of nationalistic fervor; it does not create it”.³⁸ However, both of these views still treat

³⁵ Fishman, Joshua A. 1968. ‘*Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of Developing countries*’. New York: John Wiley and Sons, p. 492

³⁶ Schmid, Carol L. 2001. *The Politics of Language: Conflict, Identity, and Cultural Pluralism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 9

³⁷ Gellner, Ernest, “*Nations and Nationalism*”, Basil Blackwell, 1983

³⁸ Smith cited in Schmid, Carol L. 2001. *The Politics of Language: Conflict, Identity, and Cultural Pluralism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 9

language as a tool or as a component that might be used within the process of nationalization.

Up to now, language is accepted to be one of the most important element of binding the nation to foster unity and sovereignty by providing authenticity, etc. Moreover, we should take a look at the issue of national borders, or in other words, boundaries. We might regard any national community as a group of people who are gathered under a political unit.

The different nature of each country and their cultural differences makes the process of transition unique in itself, however, the universal meaning of being a nation rests similar. These cultural differences may contain various aspects such as cultural traits, political features and structure, and social ones. All of these aspects have an obvious and exact influence on nation-building efforts and nation-building policies, and the success of a nation-building policy remains on the fact that the use of these various features in a coherent way without causing any disturbance and inequality within the country.

According to Urciuoli, “borders emerge in specific contexts as a metonymy of person, language, and origin category”.³⁹ When language is considered to be a border or boundary for the people of one nation, the symbolic aspect of it verified once again by assisting the argument of this thesis. Schmid explains that, “a common vernacular also establishes effective boundaries between different groups”⁴⁰ by creating a mobilization between ethnic groups, even if in some cases that might cause a social disturbance. To this end, the argument that language creates borderlines among different groups by defining their national identity, proves the fact that no matter how language operates in the transference of national data among people of one nation, it would act as a symbol of power in creating significant fault

³⁹ Urciuoli, Bonnie, “Language and Borders”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 1995, p. 525

⁴⁰ Schmid, Carol L. 2001. *The Politics of Language: Conflict, Identity, and Cultural Pluralism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, p.9

lines in between different groups, or in other words different nationalities. Accordingly, the purpose of launching language policies to promote a titular language would not be effective in short-term, however, by repeating the same national discourse these policies might help the urgent need to launch of a national awakening and later on the spread of the national consciousness among the people of one nation.

Within the framework of the present chapter the language is generally treated as a component of nationalism that would help the formation of a national identity, and in the last part, the language is treated as a border that might form lines between various groups. As a result, both of these aspects of language generally strengthens the idea that language is a symbolic tool in the formation of national identity within the nation-building process.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE POLICIES BEFORE AND DURING THE SOVIET PERIOD IN KAZAKHSTAN

The chapter is examining the pre-Soviet and Soviet language policies in terms of nation-building in Kazakhstan. It will not be wrong to argue that in order to understand and evaluate the current language situation in the post-Soviet Kazakhstan, the historical development is of paramount significance. Since, Russian has been dominated the people of Kazakhstan since the period of Tsarist rule and after the consolidated language policies of the Soviet Union the Russian language both penetrated into the lives of the people as their mother tongue and as the symbol of the civilized and modern man. Hence, unlike the example of Kazakh, Russian both served to be a tool of communication and symbol in Kazakh SSR. As a result of Russian efforts, the Russian language is introduced as the symbol of 'civilization'. The symbolic nature of language was mentioned previously too, in this respect, the Russian language was also used a symbolic tool by launching it as the leading language which would combine various ethnic groups under its dominance.

Before discussing the situation in Soviet period Kazakhstan, the chapter will give a very brief summary of the situation in the pre-Soviet Central Asia. The evaluation of Central Asia would provide us with the understanding of Russian colonization in Central Asia generally, and it would better give an understanding about the situation in Soviet Kazakhstan. The borders of Kazakhstan were identified in the Soviet period. In this respect, it would be appropriate to evaluate the language situation by taking into consideration the Central Asian region generally.

3.1 Language Situation in the Pre-Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan

The issue of language in Central Asia and in Kazakhstan in the pre-Soviet period follows similar paths with that of Soviet language policies. Both of these periods involve a process of cultural assimilation. It is very well known that the languages of today's Central Asian Republics are attached to the Turkic language group, however, the impact of Persian and Arabic can not be ignored. It is beyond the aim of this thesis to examine a detailed historical background of the Central Asian population in the pre-Soviet era as far as we are dealing with the case of Kazakhstan, nevertheless a brief overview would provide a general understanding of the following sections about the Soviet era language policies. Hence, it would be suitable to start with explaining the situation in Central Asia in the pre-Soviet period briefly.

The beginning of literacy can be based upon the "Orkhon" and "Uighur" scripts until the very existence of the Arabic influence occupied the region with its strict ties to Islam and religion. The arrival of Islam to the region in 673 AD contributed to the development of Islamic education despite the fact that the public was speaking various Turkic or Iranian dialects.⁴¹ The expansion of Islamic doctrine turned the region into one of the main influential spheres of education depending upon Islamic teachings and putting the cities of Bukhara, Khiva and Samarkand to a leading status.

With the start of the colonization process by the Russian Empire in 1552 led by the Ivan IV of Russia, the region gradually introduced with the new Russian rule in every aspect of life which would later on contributed to the development of the Central Asian region while putting them into a sphere of influence. Their

⁴¹ Dickens, Marks, "Soviet Language Policy in Central Asia",
<http://www.oxuscom.com/languagepolicy.htm#intro>

vulnerability sourced from the historical stages which they passed through; the khanates of Khiva, Bukhara, and Kokand failed to join together despite their sedentary lifestyle and thus their greater opportunity to achieve unity. As a result, these khanates were vulnerable to attacks by Russia and Manchu-governed China in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴² When we turn back to Kazakh people as Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, describe as, “around the end of the fifteenth century, the Kazakhs emerged as a distinct people with their own land, however, they had to cope with the external pressures too”.⁴³ Furthermore, the divided structure of the region facilitated the realization of the policy objectives of the Tsarist Empire. In addition to this, the dominance of education motivated by Islamic views served in the interest of the Empire. As far as the access to the education was limited, except a limited minority of wealth people, the levels of receiving education remains low. Hence, the Empire took the advantage of that situation in favor of its own ideology. Because, education in the group’s own mother tongue would not only contributed to the development of its culture and language, but it would also foster the group awareness of the population when they got interaction with the Russian culture. When we back to the roots of Islamic education, we would realize that, the education was practiced through the establishment of “*mektebs*” and “*medressehs*”. Furthermore, women were experiencing difficulties due to their status in religious life in terms of having access to educational facilities. As a result, the Tsarist colonizers intended to spread the “great Russian culture” as a counter attack against the expansion of the pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic ideas coming from the Ottoman Empire by opening up Russian schools in the localities of Central Asia. As Ornstein argues, “most of the Tsars entertained little sympathy for the languages and cultures of the non-Russian subject peoples, and followed a policy of Russification, of varying intensity”.⁴⁴ Furthermore, to continue with Haghayeghi in order to classify the process of colonization one would quote that, “the general colonization strategy

⁴² Manz, Beatrice F, “*Central Asia in Historical Perspective*”, Boulder: Westview Press, 1994, p.33

⁴³ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. ‘*Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*’. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 21

⁴⁴ Ornstein, Jacob. 1959. “Soviet Language Policy: Theory and Practice”, *The Slavic and East European Journal*, Vol. 3, No.1, p. 1

was based on three broad objectives: political, economic, and cultural”.⁴⁵ The third objective to influence the region’s cultural structure can be linked with the use of language tool in search for the practice of Russification (*russifikatsia*) policies of the Russian Empire. The implementation of the Tsarist cultural policies could only be implemented through the use of education as an improved apparatus, although the education was limited by certain areas to the access of certain people. As is mentioned above too, the tool of education in the titular or group language would really contribute to resist to the challenging external factors. However, in a broad sense, the reverse had happened in Central Asia. With that aim in mind, attempts were made to establish schools that would teach and glorify the Russian culture to the Central Asian children. “Between 1879 and 1886 two Russian high schools and fourteen Russian elementary schools were established in Tashkent to serve the growing needs of the migrant population (Russian) and to increase the level of Russian cultural exposure in Turkistan”.⁴⁶ Additionally, The 1897 census had revealed that the literacy rate for general population was 28.4%, the lowest of any European state. Among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Tajiks, Turkmen, and Uzbeks the rates were 1.0%, 0.6%, 3.9%, 0.7%, and 1.9% respectively.⁴⁷ The number of Russian and Ukranian settlers in the Kazakh steppes increased from 533,915 (12.8% of the entire population) in 1897 to about 1.5 million (30% of the entire population) in 1917.”⁴⁸

In the era of colonization there were also some anti-Tsarist movements such as the “Jadid Movement” aimed to provoke anti-Russian sentiments by putting up the Muslim religious identity to the forefront. The “Jadid Movement” puts its

⁴⁵ Haghayeghi, Mehrdad. 1995. “*Islam and Politics in Central Asia*” St. Martin’s Press: New York, p. 3

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 9

⁴⁷ Dickens, Marks, “Soviet Language Policy in Central Asia”, Online available at, <http://www.oxuscom.com/languagepolicy.htm#intro>

⁴⁸ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. ‘*Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*’. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 21

emphasis on the field of education by offering an ethnic awakening of the Central Asian population through the use of the Turkic language. Hence, the use of language in fostering ethnic awareness, when the interaction with external sources was happened shows language acts as an agent of power and it promotes the ethnic awakening. Nevertheless, the divided structure of the region effected the operation of language as a tool. The leading figure of the movement was the Crimean Tatar Ismail Bey Gaspirali who aimed to improve the literacy levels of the Muslims of Russian Empire, however, the never ending clashes between different ethnies together with the divided structure of the region inhibited the emergence of not only a highly educated society but also a low level of literate society in the region. In addition, the Jadid movement seemed to be a threat to the interest of the Russian Empire, thus, the continuation of Jadid education was banned by the authorities. By 1912, only 0.9% of the children in the Samarkand region were in school – in the Ferghana region, the proportion was only 0.5%. As a result, “the vast majority of Central Asians remained by and large illiterate”.⁴⁹ To conclude, the development of titular languages in the Central Asian region could not be achieved due to several factors which are mentioned above. In this respect, it would not be suitable to talk about the formation of a solid language development in the region.

3.2 Language Policies of the Soviet Union

The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 aimed to create a new Soviet Socialist Union by gathering under its umbrella term many different nations led by the Marxist-Communist ideology. In accordance with this ideology the major aim of the newly established Soviet Union was the creation of a new generation of “*homo sovieticus*” through the use of different intermingling policies aiming at merging the different nations under one superior identity. In order to merge these nations it was required to create these nations by dividing them into different republics. By creating new republics the Soviet leaders aimed to build new nations

⁴⁹ Dickens, Marks, “Soviet Language Policy in Central Asia”,
<http://www.oxuscom.com/languagepolicy.htm#intro>

with their own culture and language. In other words, they aimed to achieve the amalgamation of cultures through the use of the sense of being different. In the Soviet Union the communist regime deliberately set out “to *create* ethno-linguistic territorial ‘national administrative units’, i.e. ‘nations’ in the modern sense, where none had previously existed or been thought of, as among the Asian Moslem peoples”.⁵⁰ However, not every language received the same attention in the same degree. Some languages were promoted such as Kazakh, Kyrgyz while some languages left to be disappear. In this respect it can be argued that the creation of a Soviet nation was based on the use language both in local and general meaning. In the local sense, in order to create nations under the Soviet Union, language was used as a tool to categorize people in terms of their ethnic origins. On the other hand, in general meaning throughout the Union itself, Russian was used as a binding tool which acts as a bridge between these different nationalities. Hence, it would be suitable to interpret that the Soviet nation-building policies kept Russian on the forehead. Whole process of composing and fostering national awareness based upon language. As Graham Smith mentions, “the idea of Soviet Republics based on Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Tadjik and Turkmen ‘nations’ was a theoretical construct of Soviet intellectuals rather than a primordial aspiration of any of those Central Asian peoples”.⁵¹ The creation of nations through the use of language would help the people of these nationalities to realize the differences between them and it would be easier to led these people to another superior identity which was the Soviet identity filled with the Russian cultural elements.

Therefore, language was served to be a very influential tool in the process of accomplishing the task of creating a “Soviet identity”. The process not only involved merely the dimension of language, it also included the ethnic stratification of different ethnic groups within the Union. However, it is still related with language issues, as the ethnic stratification was accomplished through the use of

⁵⁰ Hobsbawn, Eric. 1992. “*Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*”, Cambridge University Press, p. 166

⁵¹ Smith, Graham cited in Hobsbawn, “*Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*”, Cambridge University Press, 1992 p. 166

language that the newly founded Soviet Union wanted to spread its Marxist ideology by putting the emphasis on the equality of all nationalities and ethnic groupings and languages on an equal basis. Until 1930s, the leading figures of the Soviet Union aimed to create an atmosphere of equality among the various ethnic groups. They are classified as being different nations based upon the use of their languages as a national marker. Landau and Kellner-Heinkele, make it clear that the purpose of the nationalizing policies of the Soviet Union not only based on the fact that there is another reason to create these nations with their languages. To quote Landau and Kellner-Heinkele;

One cannot understand Soviet language politics unless they are perceived as an integral part of the regime's general purposes and a component of the very sensitive issue of its nationality policies whose objectives were to form a new homo sovieticus, shaped by Communist ideology and ethnic engineering, as well as to ensure the future of the Soviet Union.⁵²

The process of a rapid nation-building had been initiated throughout the Soviet Union as the Marxist ideology required the amalgamating of different nations. Putting different nations under the “Soviet identity” necessitated the emergence of a solid nation-building process in the early years after the October Revolution. The need to create the awareness of being a nation is somehow related with the Central Asian population within the Soviet Union, because these Central Asian people “were not as developed and modernized as it was mentioned in the objectives of the Bolshevik Revolution”. Moreover, the foundation period of the Soviet Union intersects with the age of nationalism. At that period being a nation and keeping a nation's basic interests and rights alive was the growing tendency in world politics. The aim of the Bolshevik Revolution was proclaimed in the “Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia on November 1917 as;

- 1- Equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia
- 2- The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination up to separation and the formation of independent states.

⁵²Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 51

- 3- Abolition of any national and national-religious privilege or restriction.
- 4- Free development of national minorities and ethnographical groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.⁵³

Obviously, the aim of this declaration was to attract and gain the support of the Moslem communities within the Union by stressing the anti-colonial feature of the Revolutionaries. The hidden aspiration of the Soviet rulers to further consolidate the Bolshevik ideology by taking the Moslem support back their sides was again expressed with an open governmental declaration signed by both Lenin and Stalin, it would be helpful to refer a related part of this declaration cited in Pipes;

Moslems of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, Kirghiz and Sarts of Siberia and of Turkestan, Turks and Tatars of Transcaucasia, Chechens and Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, and all you whose mosques and prayer houses have been destroyed, whose beliefs and customs have been trampled upon by the Tsars and oppressors of Russia: Your beliefs and usages, your national and cultural institutions are forever free and inviolate. Organize your national life in complete freedom. This is your right. Know that your rights, like of those of all the peoples of Russia, are under the mighty protection of the Revolution and its organs, the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and peasants.⁵⁴

The stress put on the national awareness of the Central Asians and other regions by the Soviet Union by taking into account the Muslim borderlands verified the fact that the previously mentioned Muslim identity as a dominant one in the region was of great significance. However, the situation brings forward a contradiction of the regime itself. The main fight of the Socialist cause was against any kind of backwardness sourced from the historical habits and living styles of the people. May it be the religious references made by the public in their daily lives or may it be a strong ethnic and national attachment based on territory, common culture, linguistic aspects, and etc. While trying to eliminate national and class

⁵³ Tishkov, Valery. 1997. *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union: The Mind Aflame*. London: Sage Publications, p. 29

⁵⁴ Lenin and Stalin cited in Pipes, Richard. 1997. *The Formation of the Soviet Union*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p. 155

differences, the early attempts of the Soviet rulers was ironically based on creating nations depending upon their commonalities coming from their past. With this motivation they used language as an aspect of commonality because religion is thought to be eliminated from the lives of these people, although they offered excess amount of freedom of these nations. Moreover, as they perceive the phase of nationalism as a temporary step towards the way to Communism. To create nations, the Soviet rulers promoted national languages. The importance put on the language might be related to the elimination of religion from the lives of the Soviet people. As the Bolshevik revolution has an atheist stance, language becomes the major tool in the formation of national awareness. As Marx and Engels argued that “religion was an historical phenomenon characteristic of a particular phase in man’s socioeconomic development”.⁵⁵ Thus the situation is called as an obliged “nation-building process” by some scholars in which the consolidation of national awareness through the use of language as an element would then provide the rulers of the Union the opportunity of turning the society into the world’s first state of workers and peasants. Lenin, in a way, was a pragmatic leader to evaluate the contextual conditions and to develop a specific strategy accordingly. Thus, the attribution to the importance of the national awareness together with certain freedoms and rights, including the issue of language, might be evaluated as a pragmatist attempt to consolidate the future position of the Soviet Union by introducing initial solutions to the internal problems of the Union in the long path towards establishing a multi-national Soviet structure. In other words, these efforts were not only based upon the creation of nations with their own culture and language, but they can be considered as appeasement attempts of the Union.

The launch and merging of nations under the umbrella term of Soviet identity requires certain arrangements and the process also necessitates the clarification of the basic concepts. Accordingly, Stalin described the concept of being a “nation” in the early 1913 as “a historically evolved, stable community

⁵⁵ Engels and Marx cited in Haghayeghi, Mehrdad. 1995. *“Islam and Politics in Central Asia”* St. Martin’s Press: New York, p. 11

based on a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture”.⁵⁶ The description of Stalin indicates the gravity given to the concept of nation to create a nationally aware population in the Soviet Union’s nationality policy.

Moreover, when we look at the Marxist ideology in order to reach communism, people should be aware of being a nation before hand. According to Marxist ideology, for a community of people it is not possible to reach the stage of communism without passing certain previous stages. The ideology stresses “the rapprochement of nations and the friendship of people”.⁵⁷ Slezkine marks the duality of the situation by stressing the Lenin’s position in nation-building process by merging different re-created nationalities.

Lenin’s acceptance of the reality of nations and “national rights” was one of the most uncompromising positions he ever took, his theory of good (“oppressed-nation”) nationalism formed the conceptual foundation of the Soviet Union and his NEP time policy of compensatory “nation-building” (*natsional’noe stroitel’stvo*) was a spectacularly successful attempt at a state-sponsored conflation of language, “culture”, territory and quota fed bureaucracy.⁵⁸

It is quite obvious in the above written phrase that language as an important tool to develop of a given public’s political and national awareness, as is mentioned in the words of Stalin too, has always been open to manipulation of the state policies. Language helps and justifies the national course of a country by further improving the level of mass public. Thus, it is argued that the Soviet language policies had long been planned just before the Revolution. Lenin and Stalin together with some academicians planned the policies with a great care in

⁵⁶ Slezkine, Yuri, “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism”, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53 (2), 1994, p. 415

⁵⁷ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. ‘*Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*’. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 55

⁵⁸ Slezkine, Yuri, “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism”, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53 (2), 1994, p. 414

order to stabilize all possible conflicts and segregation within the Union. Moreover in relation with the objectives to reach a Communist society the decree of 1919 “On the Eradication of Illiteracy among the Population of the Russian Federation” initiated the fight against illiteracy officially. While Lenin gave lip service to the acceptance of national equality and equality of all languages in order to create national awareness it is still debatable to what extent Lenin was sincere in his attempts to create the national awareness of the Soviet Union people by dividing them into republics. However, it would be suitable to mention the difference in terms of the ways of enforcing language and nation-building policies between the period before and after 1930s. Before analyzing the policies of Lenin, it is helpful to mention that with the creation of national republics in accordance to their languages and the promotion of certain languages under the Soviet language policies verifies the fact that language acts as an inseparable element of a nation and it was used as a symbolic tool in the process reaching communism in the formation of national borders. However when the national awareness was reached the spread of a common Soviet identity was provided through the use of Russian language as the symbolic identity marker.

As far as the main course of the Bolshevik Revolution depends upon the elimination of ‘backwardness’ and creation of a socialist Soviet Union, it was the education that seemed to be the most important aspect in unifying the people of Soviet Union under a single identity. The “Soviet Literacy Campaign” came to being as a result of this ideology and Lenin, for the most part, believed in education in mother tongue. He based this argument on scientific grounds that one can only shows development in socioeconomic terms, in accordance with the Marxist ideology, only if he is educated in his own native language. He focused on two key elements. On the one hand Lenin believed that no language, and especially not Russian, should be given the status of “state language”. On the other he promoted the concepts of national equality and self-determination.⁵⁹ Unlike to the

⁵⁹ Kirkwood, Michael. 1991. “Glasnost’, ‘The National Question’ and Soviet Language Policy”, *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1, p. 61

former Russian Empire's aspiration to glorify the Russian culture, Bolsheviks, particularly Lenin, adopted the rhetoric on language and nationalistic freedom for those who were suppressed before. Basically Lenin gave various people considerable cultural freedom, in preparation to world revolution.⁶⁰

As Lenin believed to give freedom to those people in order to build up a bridge between the Central Asian Soviet People with the Slavic ones, the Soviet leader not only devoted the improvement of these native languages both in written and dialectical way but also promoted the usage of native tongues in the field of education. However, it was hard to establish a multinational and multilingual state as some of the native languages did not have a satisfactory writing system which requires the formation of new system. By a decree in 1922 and in 1926 the First-All-Union Turkological Congress adopted a resolution that the Latin script should be adopted for all the Turkic Languages.⁶¹ This decree involved both practical and political considerations. Lenin was a much more pragmatist leader who aimed to take the opportunities on time and turn them into advantages in favor of the spread of the socialist ideology. During his reign there made some linguistic changes in order to develop titular languages and to build up a bridge between the vast majority of the Slavic population and Central Asians. The modernization of these languages is divided into three phases;

- 1- Enrichment of local languages through codification and standardization. (Alphabet Reforms)
- 2- Manipulation of the vocabulary by removing foreign accretions, chiefly Persian and Arabic, and subsequently introducing Russian or other loanwords needed to create a new technological vocabulary.
- 3- Introduction of Russian as a language of inter-ethnic communication, a dominant lingua franca for the entire area, encourages in education and obligatory for advancement in officialdom and public careers.⁶²

⁶⁰ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *'Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States'*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 53

⁶¹ Kirkwood, Michael, "Glasnost", 'The National Question' and Soviet Language Policy", *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1, 1991, p. 62

Briefly, what makes Lenin different than all other Soviet leaders was his pluralist approach with regards to the formation of new nations in Central Asia and other regions to promote the advancement of people by letting them feel the freedom of practicing their national awareness. Lenin, envisioned the eventual use of a single language as a means for achieving solidarity under socialism. At the same time, he opposed the idea of forcible coercion to impose Russian upon the peoples of the Soviet Union. In 1914 he stated: “We do not want to drive them (the non-Russian peoples) into paradise with a stick.”⁶³

The beginning of 1930s marked the initial steps of a crucial change in the Soviet nation-building policies, of course, in the language policies too by Stalin. Unlike Lenin, Stalin favored the creation of a Soviet socialist state under the leading power of the Russian dominance. The regime moved from the “emancipation phase” to the “coordination phase”, the centre and periphery differences and the centralization of the political power became visible.⁶⁴ By the end of 1930s and early 1940s the Latin alphabet changed into Cyrillic script. The growing importance of the Russian language might be analyzed into three different perspective. A) in order to facilitate the standardization of many titular languages under one widely used alphabet throughout the Soviet Union. B) political considerations of integrating the non-Russian population with the Slavic culture. C) because of the inter-state migrational movements, Russian populations moved towards Central Asia, particularly Kazakhstan, thus the situation requires a basic foundation of the Russian language to facilitate the life of these Russians. By a decree on which was reinforced on March 1938 “On the Obligatory Study of the Russian Language in Schools of National Republics and Region” the Russian

⁶² Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 52

⁶³ Ornstein, Jacob. 1959. “Soviet Language Policy: Theory and Practice”. *The Slavic and East European Journal*, Vol. 3, p. 3

⁶⁴ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 53

language had to offered to the public as a “second mother tongue”. The aim of this discourse is that it requires not only the learning of the Russian language for technical use but also the language would be internalized by the individuals of the non-Russian population.

After Stalin, Khrushchev had a controversial nationality policy. He tried to rehabilitated the deported nationalities of Stalin while trying to emphasize the construction of communism through the merging of nations under the single Soviet identity. With that aim in mind, the 1958-9 education reform abolished the principle of an optional system, which meant that parents could choose which school to send their children.⁶⁵ With this option, the influence of the Russian dominance was again verified thanks to the advantageous situation of the Russian population living in periphery. Russian language was promoted by Khrushchev, ruled the Union between the years 1953-64, too as a “second mother tongue” of the Soviet People, by turning this monolingual, in the pre-Soviet times, Central Asian people into a bilingual one. Moreover the choice of parents to decide on whether to send their children to Russian or native schools would much more based on pragmatic preferences of the families. Through the inter-state migration of the Slavic population and through an ethnic stratification by putting the Russian nationality in the forefront the most qualified jobs and skills were filled by this population. In order to have a good career opportunity, a Kazakh child, for example, had to learn Russian. Hence, it was the reason why the choice of a Central Asian family was in favor of the Russian language. Under Brezhnev (1964-82) Russian was considered “a national treasure and endowed with the role of facilitating the convergence of nationalities and their eventual fusion, thus forging the “new historical community” – the Soviet People”.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ “The History of Soviet Language Policy Reconsidered”, *Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University* (1999), <http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/publicn/46/shiokawa/shiokawa-eng.html>, prg.6

⁶⁶ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. ‘*Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*’. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 55

The extended penetration of the Russian language in the education sphere especially in terms of native schools was a very characteristic of the Brezhnev era. Especially with the May 1979 Tashkent Conference of “The Russian Language – the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR” the recommendations and remarks made about the visible increase of Russian into the daily usage of many Central Asians, particularly the urban ones. Implementation of these recommendations have been practiced right after the conference. In all levels of education starting with the beginner level to the higher and specialized levels of education and besides legal and institutional documents were under the dominance of the Russian language.

The policies of ‘glasnost’ and ‘perestroika’ of Gorbachev marked the beginning of the end of the Soviet Union by encouraging the way up for the open declaration of nationalistic feelings in the former Soviet space. This policies led to the initial steps of language policies in certain Baltic Republics and Georgia in the Caucasus, besides them some of the Central Asian Republics also showed tendencies to pass their national language laws in the late 1980s and early 1990s, such as Uzbekistan. However, the bilingualism rate in these Central Asian nations seemed to be really higher, as it was given in details by the last Soviet census of 1989. In the 1989 Soviet Population Census, although 97% of Kazakhs considered Kazakh to be their first language, 60.4% regarded themselves as bilingual and many preferred to use Russian, chiefly in Alma-Ata.⁶⁷ The special situation of Kazakhstan with regards to its sizeable Russian population should be taken into consideration as having a kind of a leverage effect in the process of Russification. As a contrary example to verify how powerful Soviet language policy might be Uzbeks, they were more successful in preserving their own language, despite the prodding from above, chiefly since the early 1950s, to encourage substantially the teaching of Russian.⁶⁸ However, when the size of the Russian population living in

⁶⁷ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 55

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 57

Uzbekistan is taken into account the Republic had also been influenced considerably too. Therefore, the Soviet nation-building process used the tool of language very effectively during its legacy. While it was exposed to harsh criticisms from some scholars, it did create an educated and skilled population which has never been accomplished in any other Muslim country. However, it also deteriorated the cultural development of these Republics which became highly obvious in the post-independence era as we will argue the case of Kazakhstan in the next chapters.

CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGE POLICIES OF POST-SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN WITHIN THE PROCESS OF NATION AND STATE-BUILDING

The chapter mainly provides the analysis of official policy documents which are regulating language affairs in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. To give a general portrait of the situation of Kazakhstan in the early years of independence would help the true understanding of these documents which would help to understand the relationship between language and national identity in Kazakhstan.

The wave of independence starting with the year 1989 in the Soviet Union itself not only marked the beginning of a new era but also it also brought a challenging period of transition not only in economic and political means but also in social and cultural terms too for the post-Soviet republics as well as the Republic of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan, with its vast geography and natural resources is considered to be one of the most significant republic in the post-Soviet space. In this respect, due to its geographical size and its unique demographic structure Kazakhstan serves to be an important example in the ex-Soviet Eurasian region. The management of nation-building policies, not surprisingly, involves certain conditions which would effect the over all enforcement of these policies. These conditions might be called as challenges of transition. These challenges will be mentioned in the next chapter in a much more detailed way, however, it would be helpful to briefly mention them successively. The demographic factor and the external concerns like the presence of Russia is one of the most leading condition which effects the whole picture. Furthermore, the nature of Kazakh language can also be considered as an important condition, and finally the rural / urban dichotomy is worth to be regarded. As Kolsto emphasizes that, “nation-building seems to be a very a protracted process at the best, perhaps even a never-ending

project.”⁶⁹ This never-ending process is combined with the challenges of being a nation and as a result a complex period has started for Kazakhstan in the post-Soviet period.

The necessity of establishing a strengthened and an independent nation-state with its own national elements and symbols could not be achieved without launching consolidated and well-planned policies. In order to change these newly founded republics to functioning entities, “it is essential that the people transfer their political loyalty to the new state and feel themselves belonging to the state to forge a common identity”.⁷⁰ As mentioned in the earlier chapters too, the period of transition in order to be a nation-state requires certain elements and aspects such as a common history, shared traits, common ancestry, common language under the control of a developed political and economic unit. Thus, unsurprisingly, the state is thought to be the center of the control. When the state is successful in establishing an organized structure of statehood, the country obtains coherence and achievement not only in internal matters but also in its foreign relations too by taking its place in the world political order as an independent country. The Soviet past of the newly established Republic of Kazakhstan was mentioned in the previous chapter. In line with its historical background, it is not deniable to treat the transition process of Kazakhstan as a challenging one. Although the country developed a bureaucratic state structure thanks to the Soviet rule, the lack of having a local ability to cope with the requirements of being an independent nation-state remains problematic. As a consequence, in the new phase of nationalization the country lacked many aspects and elements as well as well nationally educated elites who have knowledge of their own state-language. The previous argument is verified by Akiner as she also mentions that;

⁶⁹ Kolsto, Pal. 1998. “Anticipating Demographic Superiority: Kazakh Thinking on Integration and Nation-Building”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 50 (1), p. 51

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 51

Kazakhs were bereft both of the organizational experience of such a period of preparation for the independence and of the ideological bonding of the fight for a common national goal: hence, there was no legacy of audacious deeds to celebrate, no emotive slogans and symbols, no heroes, no national myths.⁷¹

As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, nationality and the creation of separate national identities was used in Soviet times policies as an important strategy in defining the ethnic origins based on commonality. According to Fierman, “nationality was often considered in quotas for education and jobs, consequently, it became an important marker relevant to major life opportunities and limitations”.⁷² As the Soviet times policies strengthened the national consciousness under the dominance of an upper identity which is the Soviet one, “the foundations for ethnic group identification largely remained intact and acquired greater saliency in the post-Soviet Kazakhstan”.⁷³ Nevertheless, apart from following up a policy that puts emphasis on a comprehensive identity such as the Soviet one, the post-Soviet Kazakh rulers stressed the importance of a common affiliation, national identity. In other words, the formerly weak bonds of national and republican identity attained importance. The obtainment of this new republic identity requires the above mentioned points of commonality one of which is language while it poses real obstacles in the way to establish their own independent national identity. Almost for over a century, “Kazakh history and culture has been defined through Russian perceptions”.⁷⁴ Now it is the task of the new Republic to establish an identity based on commonality in accurate basis together with legitimate terms and concepts. The formation of a national identity goes hand in hand with nation-building policies. In accordance with what Fierman argues; “the

⁷¹Akiner, Shirin, *The Formation of Kazakh Identity: From Tribe to Nation-state*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Russian and CIS Program, 1995, p.60

⁷² Fierman, William, “Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in policy documents 1987-1997”. *Communist and Post-Soviet Studies*. Vol, 31, No. 2, 1998, p. 172

⁷³ Ibid, p. 172

⁷⁴ Akiner, Shirin, *The Formation of Kazakh Identity: From Tribe to Nation-state*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Russian and CIS Program, 1995, p.61

articulation of a Kazakh national consciousness gained momentum throughout the 1980s, but it had not yet matured into a liberation movement when the Soviet Union suddenly disintegrated at the end of 1991”.⁷⁵ In this context, the belated declaration of independence on 16 December 1991 was mainly linked with the unsatisfactory institutional and organizational background of the Republic as an independent one in the world political order as well as the special demographic structure of the Kazakhstan with a significant number of Russian minority within the country’s geography. Hence, it would be suitable to argue that it was the sudden emergence of the independence and the unprepared and the unexpected nature of nation-building process of the post-Soviet Kazakhstan what makes the process much more challenging. The lack of a rigid state apparatus and demographic difficulties led the country to adopt strict nationalistic policies similar with the other ex-Soviet republics. Although, the adoption and the launch of nationalist policies were based upon similar motivations, the degrees of these policies show differences from one republic to other. Similarly, the use of some symbols becomes much more significant and necessary while some becomes less obvious depending upon the country’s political and historical past. The importance of the Kazakh language reveals when the national identity of Kazakh is described with the land of Kazakhstan. The Kazakhstan is thought to be the land of Kazakh people and they are thought to have a knowledge of Kazakh language in order to defend their national identity within their own territory.

As Schlyter mentions, obviously, “the idea of nation-state grew strong and nation-building became an important political goal with language as one of its focal points”.⁷⁶ Language serves to be an inseparable element in the formation of a national identity in modern terms. As it was mentioned earlier, the Soviet Union established the ‘Soviet Identity’ through the use of strict language policies. Similarly Isabelle Kreindler describes the period as, “the Communist Party

⁷⁵ Akiner, Shirin, *The Formation of Kazakh Identity: From Tribe to Nation-state*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Russian and CIS Program, 1995, p.60

⁷⁶ Schlyter, Birgit, Changing language loyalties in Central Asia. In T K. Bhatia and W. C. Ritchie (eds) *The handbook of bilingualism*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004, p. 127

supported Russian not only as a common *lingua franca*, but also as a key component of a common Soviet cultural foundation”.⁷⁷ In the mean time, the task of nation-building involves the process of promoting cultural awareness and language in favor of Kazakh language and culture and these elements are almost act as the key tools in the post-Soviet Kazakhstan.

The language politics of the post-Soviet Kazakhstan show disparities and similarities at the same time with that of Soviet language policies. The disparity is sourced from the bureaucratic structure of the new republic with a centralized state structure remained from Soviet times with a highly bureaucratic infrastructure. Soviet language policy was highly centralized, as it was designed and controlled by the central authorities in Moscow and they were “first and foremost characterized by the dominance and influence of the Russian language”.⁷⁸ Consequently, in comparison with the Russian language, Kazakh could not be categorized as a well developed language to act effectively in state affairs. The central structure of the Soviet Union deliberately weakened the formation of a national body operating independently. Additionally, the weakened structure of the Kazakh language puts barriers to the effective enforcement of the policies. On the other hand, the post-Soviet nation-building efforts using the aspect of language show similarities with that of Soviet times. As Akiner mentions;

The official post-Soviet nation-building project employs many of the devices of the Soviet period such as, for example, the rewriting of history, the renaming of public places, the introduction of new emblems, institutions and cultural manifestations, and the elevation of the national language.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Kreindler cited in Fierman, William, “Language and Education in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: Kazakh-Medium Instruction in Urban Schools,” *Russian Review*. Vol. 65, No.1, 2006, p. 98

⁷⁸ Schlyter, Birgit, Changing language loyalties in Central Asia. In T K. Bhatia and W. C. Ritchie (eds) *The handbook of bilingualism*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004 p. 128

⁷⁹ Akiner, Shirin, *The Formation of Kazakh Identity: From Tribe to Nation-state*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Russian and CIS Program, 1995, p.62

It is not surprising to mention that the elites and the leading political figures of the independent Kazakhstan were educated in Soviet schools and their political motivation goes parallel with Soviet type politics, especially, in the very beginning of the independence. These leading political figures put great importance of the idea of being a nation while imposing the dominance of one titular ethnic group. Fierman argues that these figures could be named as nation-statists.⁸⁰ According to Fierman, “the nation-statists (generally members of the titular nationality) pressed for the culture of the titular group to acquire a privileged status in its home-territory”.⁸¹ The use of national symbols in order to establish congruent political and national unit is not used to motivate national consciousness but also these symbols are manipulated and politicized by the political actors in the post-Soviet Kazakhstan. The politicization of national symbols and elements are emphasized in previous chapters and the Kazakh case verifies the fact that in real life practices the manipulation of them is inevitable. “It was easy for nation-statists to ignore tasks of ethnic diversity while raising their titular culture higher than others in its own homeland”.⁸² The concept of homeland through the territorialization of national and cultural boundaries which are flexible in nature, helped the formation of a national identity requiring common traits. The launch and use of one standardized language could be categorized as an act necessary in the process of nation-building policies. As a result, this necessity legitimizes the act of nation-statists in elevating the status of their own titular group. In contradiction to the nation-statists, Fierman again argues that “there are civic-statists demanded that their republics of residence treat citizens of all ethnic groups as equals, and that their cultures receive no less state support and protection that the titular group’s”.⁸³ The demographic situation of the independent Kazakhstan puts the Russian minority, with the declaration of independence, in the category of civic-statists with their demands of sharing equal

⁸⁰ Fierman, William, “Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in policy documents 1987-1997”. *Communist and Post-Soviet Studies*. Vol, 31, No. 2, 1998, p. 172

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Ibid

rights with the titular nation. However, in the early years of independence the Kazakh government treat the issue of national consciousness strictly by refusing all other foreign and old references.

Language with its use as a means of communication and as a symbol of national identity is open to any manipulation easily. Similarly Dave argues that “language politics in Kazakhstan have largely been played out on the symbolic plane, including the state-regulated media and public domain, rather than in the street, marketplace, schools or inter-personal domain”.⁸⁴ The communicative aspect of language in the independent Kazakhstan can be linked to the Soviet times demographic situation which still effects the current language and other internal concerns within the country. When we look to the Soviet era, Russian population enjoyed numerous advantages of belonging the dominant nationality. They not only rejected to learn the language and thus the culture of the local nation but they changed and affected the cultural and linguistic climate of these people deeply. As it is emphasized in the previous chapter too Landau and Kellner-Heinkele mention that, “Russian colonization rested on the concept of bringing civilization, progress and Christianity to a “backward” population” which was the common way of perception of the Kazakh language and culture among the Slavic population; “Soviet ideology added ‘socialism’ to ‘progress’ and substituted ‘Christianity’ with ‘atheism’”.⁸⁵ However, the situation has changed significantly after the breakup of the Soviet Union, when Russian lost its status of a supra-ethnic language.⁸⁶

The statistical data about the ratio of Kazakhs to Russians reveals the fact that, “in 1989, in Kazakhstan there was an almost equal number of Kazakhs (39.7 percent of the overall population) and Russians (37.6 percent)”.⁸⁷ In addition to

⁸⁴ Dave, Bhavna. 2007. “Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power”, Routledge, p. 97

⁸⁵ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p.23

⁸⁶ Pavlenko, Aneta. “Russian as a Lingua Franca”, *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, Vol:26, 2006, p.83

these two major ethnic groups, there were also “Ukrainians and Belorussians (6.5%) and Germans (5.8%)”.⁸⁸ It was revealed in the 1989 census that the minority population located in Kazakhstan did not have knowledge of Kazakh in a common way, “more than 60% of all Kazakhs in Kazakhstan claimed to be fluent in Russian, with many more declaring at least some knowledge”.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the size of the Russian diaspora with regard to the overall population hindered the national political leaders of the newly founded Republic to discard these people. Apart from being separate elements, the languages of both Kazakh and Russian are in interaction unsurprisingly thanks to the diverse ethnic environment of Kazakhstan. However, this diversity not always emerges richness in cultural terms but it may also create conflicts. According to Edwards, “languages in contact easily become languages in conflict”.⁹⁰ Although the Russian language has more favorable features when compared to the Kazakh language in terms of its linguistic structure and terminology, once the balance of power changed in favor of Kazakh language, Russian turned out to be a minority language within the country. The conflict sourced as a result of language acquisition and language knowledge is, basically, the result of political ideologies that identifies the social development.

The effect of Russian diaspora on the politics of language will be mentioned in the next chapter, however, it is important to note that the impact of the demographic situation and demographic concerns within the framework of developing policies of nation-building and language planning in the post-Soviet Kazakhstan should be taken into account, as far as it is the social dynamics that helps the well-operation and enforcement of these policies. The special demographic structure of Kazakhstan not only effected the internal balance within

⁸⁷ Pavlenko, Aneta. “Russian as a Lingua Franca”, *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, Vol:26, 2006, p.87

⁸⁸ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p.22

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 83

⁹⁰ Edwards, cited in Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict.” *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 1

the country but it also entails changes and modifications in policies as happened in Kazakhstan in the form of Constitutional changes. Moreover, the interaction which took place between the Slavic population and the Kazakh population resulted in various ways. One of which is the Russification of the Kazakh people who live in urban areas and the other is the conservation of Kazakh national awareness in rural areas. The former situation could easily be understood as the Russian, or the Slavic, population is located in urban areas due to their occupations and educational concerns, while the Kazakh population in rural areas has a limited access to the educational and working facilities by keeping them distant to the Russian culture, hence the Russian language. The effect of Russian diaspora, together with rural / urban dichotomy will be mentioned in the next chapter in a broader way. Thus, it would be suitable to continue to evaluate official policy documents.

Before understanding the link between language and the Kazakh national identity, it is significant to surmount key official and policy documents in terms of language issue in the post-Soviet independent Kazakhstan. Accordingly with the aim of this chapter, the next section will analyse and give brief information on the official documents.

4.1 Official Language Policy Documents and Regulations

The national awakening had started in the ex-Soviet space by 1980s. Although Kazakhstan was not very much voluntary and ready for independence, right before the declaration of independence, the Kazakhstan Council of Ministers and Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee adopted the resolution in March 1987 'On Improving the Study of the Kazakh Language' together with another resolution 'On Improving the Study of the Russian Language.' Landau and Kellner-Heinkele interpret these resolutions as, "a joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party and the Republic's Council of Ministers decided to improve instruction in Kazakh, focusing in the rural areas –

but also in Russian areas with some promotion for the languages of other groups as well”.⁹¹ This resolution was the first document which gave importance to the development of Kazakh language no matter to what extent the language was ready to meet the requirements of such a movement. Fierman, described this resolution “as an attempt to promote harmonious relations within the Union Republic by signaling out the Kazakh language for the first time together with other languages such as Russian”.⁹² The emphasize put on the multilingual structure of the Republic not only graced the Kazakh language but also created a tolerable multi-ethnic atmosphere. The adoption of this decree helped the entrance of the Kazakh language to the system of education. Besides the educational importance of the resolution, the decree’s adoption is remarkable because, as far as Fierman again emphasizes that “it marked the first time in many years that the part (republican party) had adopted a measure to raise the status of Kazakh language”.⁹³ With this resolution, the symbolic aspect of language as a marker element in national consciousness is proved. The resolution acted as a tool of appeasement, because, right before the adoption of the decree, there were political disturbance within the Union Republic. “Kazakhstan Communist Party First Secretary D. Kunaev (an ethnic Kazakh) was removed from his post in December 1986, and his successor was an ethnic Russian”.⁹⁴ These events caused discomfort within the public and Russian elites used the tool of language to ease the acceptance of this new party secretary by the ethnic Kazakh population though the language itself is not ready for assuming the task of providing a language of education. Nevertheless, it is the symbolic aspect of language within a multilingual society which makes it important and worth to be emphasized in policy documents. That is why the promotion of Kazakh language was used as a tool to balance ethnic harmony.

⁹¹ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 178

⁹² Fierman, William, “Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in policy documents 1987-1997”. *Communist and Post-Soviet Studies*. Vol. 31, No. 2, 1998, p.175

⁹³ Fierman, William, “Language and Education in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: Kazakh-Medium Instruction in Urban Schools,” *Russian Review*. Vol. 65, No.1, 2006, p. 104

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Within time, the promotion of the titular vernacular became one of the leading issues in the political agenda of Kazakh SSR, however, these attempts were largely remained on paper. The policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* of Gorbachev paved the way for the open declaration of national feelings in the ex-Soviet republics in varying degrees. As mentioned earlier, Kazakhstan was not very ambitiously interested in having its national awakening, however, some steps in the way of independence were put. The Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan adopted a Language Law in 1989 according to that law Kazakh was declared to be the state language while defining Russian as the language of inter-ethnic communication, by emphasizing the role of Russian as the *lingua franca*. Although it was mentioned previously that Kazakhstan was not completely ready to handle the challenges of becoming a nation-state on the beforehand of the independence the Language Law of 1989 could be considered as a clear attempt to promote the role of Kazakh throughout the country as a symbol of national awareness. The law guaranteed the right to education not only in Kazakh but also in Russian. According to Dave, “these efforts and political attempts are measures for restoring or establishing the primacy of the indigenous language and culture”.⁹⁵

Establishing a nation-state with its own symbols requires accuracy and authenticity. The verification and the codification of these symbols through the use of certain primordial ties by making modifications accordingly almost became a must in the post-Soviet Kazakhstan nation-building project. As discussed earlier, Fishman notes that, “a particularly frequent source of nationalist language planning, therefore, was the image of the noble and uncontaminated peasant who kept his language pure and intact, precisely as it had been in the golden past”.⁹⁶ Therefore, to refer the past in order to achieve legitimacy is an important fact. When we compare the urban Kazakhs with the rural population, it would not be surprising to realize that those who were urbanized were Russianized accordingly while the rural

⁹⁵ Dave, Bhavna. 2007. “Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power”, Routledge, p. 98

⁹⁶ Fishman, Joshua A. 1972. ‘Language and Nationalism: Two integrative essays’. Rowley: Newbury House, p. 69

class were left much more attached to their own titular culture with their less active interaction with the Slavic population. When we turn back to the Language Law of 1989, the promotion and the launch of the Kazakh language as the sole state language can easily be explained through the search of its identity in its own primordial ties no matter how much responding the language is. As Fishman argues, “nationalist language planning reveals a pervasive abhorrence of foreign influences”.⁹⁷ The law which was adopted in 1989, hence, is a kind of a beginning step of such attempts to exclude the Russian language by considering it as a foreign element ironically accepting its communicative role in inter-ethnic communication within the country at the same time. Like laws in other republics, the one in Kazakhstan was created at a time of great euphoria when its proponents greatly underestimated the difficulty of reversing the legacy of decades of Kazakh language decline; simultaneously, they overestimated the resources which would be available to accomplish it.⁹⁸ In line with what Fierman has argued here, the Kazakh language could not be able to respond the needs of the present situation although the nationalist’s fervor ignored this fact, the symbolic aspect of language once again remains on the scene obviously. Still, it is significant to note that the use of Kazakh language as a tool in official documents showed the tendency of the Kazakh government, no matter how much ready and volunteer were they to become an independent nation. Rather than adopting a rational language and national policy, the leader of Kazakhstan, as well as Nazarbaev, practiced what should be done at that moment, in order to condition themselves and the people of their country in line with other ex-Soviet republics while keeping one eye open to balance the relations with Russia. In this respect to refer Landau and Kellner-Heinkele would be explanatory, as they give a significance quotation from Nazarbaev;

⁹⁷ Fishman, Joshua A. 1972. *Language and Nationalism: Two integrative essays*. Rowley: Newbury House, p. 66

⁹⁸ Fierman, William. 1998. “Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in policy documents 1987-1997”. *Communist and Post-Soviet Studies*. Vol, 31, No. 2, p. 176

In August 1989, when debates on the first Law on Languages were at their highest point of excitement, Nazarbaev was interviewed in *Izvestiya* (25 Aug. 1989) and obviously, he did not hesitate to criticize the bilingual situation which gave Russian a preponderant status in administration, politics and education.⁹⁹

Clearly, the discourse of Nazarbaev could be interpreted as an obliged one as a must of that period. When we look from the other side, within the framework of this interview right before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the discourse of Nazarbaev, then First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, verifies the fact that the late 1980s and early 1990s can be named as the years in which nationalist sentiments peaked when compared to the period right after the adoption of the 1995 Constitution. During the years before the adoption of the 1995 Constitution, all attempts of the political elites and leading social actors were to rise up the Kazakh language by purifying and protecting it from the effects of foreign elements. The reason of adopting this kind of strict linguistically nationalist policies did not only depend on the will of politicians to develop Kazakh language however. These political agents wanted to keep their places safe and consolidated by using certain national symbols one of which is language to legitimize their actions in the eyes of the public. As Smagulova also underlines, “language policy in Kazakhstan like almost everywhere is motivated by efforts to secure their own interests by the Kazakh elite”.¹⁰⁰ By using language as tool to maximize their interests, it is then normal to accept and adopt rather strict nationalist policies in favor of the titular language is understandable. Moreover, the Kazakh people are accustomed with language policies, especially, the urbanized Kazakhs are very well aware the fact that language and ethnic and national identity are interdependent in social, cultural and political life. This conscious attitude of the well-educated urbanized population might easily be linked with the Soviet language policies to which they were exposed for years.

⁹⁹ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p.85

¹⁰⁰ Smagulova, Juldyz, “Language, identity and conflict.” *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, 2006, p. 3

When we turn back to the ongoing process of regulating the laws and decrees in language matter in post-Soviet Kazakhstan it is the June 1990 “The State Program on the Development of the Kazakh Language and Other National Languages in the Kazakh SSR in the Period up Until 2000” which should be noted. As Fierman notes, “this document provided more specific details about the law’s implementation, including financial and logistical matters”.¹⁰¹ This document could also be considered as a semi-attempt of preparation to independence.

With the declaration of independence, the Kazakh political elites had to cope with the requirements of being a nation. As Aydingun also underlines the fact that, “following independence in 1991, Kazakhstan began to create the necessary symbols for the construction of a nation.”¹⁰² Accordingly Fierman also verifies by quoting the document of the Declaration of Independence;

The Article 8 of the Declaration of Independence stated that “one of the most important obligations of the state is the rebirth and development of culture, traditions, and language... of the Kazakh nation and of representatives of other nationalities living in Kazakhstan.”¹⁰³

With the declaration of independence, the language issue became an important policy marker in the independent Kazakhstan. The organization of *Qazaq Tili* established in the early years of independence, “the members of the organization are first and foremost engaged in helping people learn Kazakh and reviving Kazakh traditions”.¹⁰⁴ In order to penetrate the acquisition and the

¹⁰¹ Fierman, William, “Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in policy documents 1987-1997”. *Communist and Post-Soviet Studies*. Vol, 31, No. 2, 1998, p. 176

¹⁰² Aydingun, Aysegul. “State Symbols and National Identity Construction in Kazakhstan”, in Hann-Bellér Ildiko, *The Past as Resource in the Turkic Speaking World*, Würzburg, 2008, p. 142

¹⁰³ Fierman, William. 1998. Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in policy documents 1987-1997. *Communist and Post-Soviet Studies*. Vol, 31, No. 2, p. 176

adoption of the acquisition of the Kazakh language the “Law on Education” of 18 January 1992 was adopted where Kazakh was presented as the state language to be studied and developed throughout the republic.¹⁰⁵ Right after the adoption of this law the constitution of 1993, as mentioned above, underlined the status of Kazakh as the state language, and Russian as the language of inter-ethnic communication. In line with what Fishman and Das Gupta argues, “when a new state faces the problem of competing languages, one response may be to suppress this competition and to impose one over the others”.¹⁰⁶ Das Gupta continues to argue that, “if the language situation is one where such competition involves minimal challenges, such a policy may somehow succeed.”¹⁰⁷ However, the reverse had happened in post-Soviet Kazakhstan with the adoption of 1993 Constitution by giving a higher and a promoted status to the Kazakh language in order to eliminate the effects of Russian. As a result, the constitutional approval of the status of Kazakh caused serious disturbance among the Russian diaspora. The 1993 constitution did not remain in effect very long, less than a year and a half the draft of still another constitution had adopted by a referendum in August 1995.¹⁰⁸ Article 7.1 of this new constitution states that ‘1. The state language of the Republic of Kazakhstan shall be the Kazakh language. 2. In state institutions and local self-administrative bodies the Russian language shall be officially employed on equal grounds along with the Kazakh language’.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the promotion of state language is underlined as it is the aim of the government to keep the Kazakh language alive by emphasizing it

¹⁰⁴ Holm-Hansen, Jorn. 1999. Political Integration in Kazakhstan. In Pal Kolsto (ed.). *Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Post-Soviet Societies: An Investigation of Latvia and Kazakhstan*. Boulder: Columbia Westview Press, p.82

¹⁰⁵ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. ‘*Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*’. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 117

¹⁰⁶ Das Gupta, cited in Fishman, Joshua A. 1968. ‘*Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of Developing countries*’. New York: John Wiley and Sons, p. 23

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Fierman, William. 1998. “Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in policy documents 1987-1997”. *Communist and Post-Soviet Studies*. Vol, 31, No. 2, p. 177

¹⁰⁹ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. ‘*Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*’. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 117

frequently in official documents. In the Constitution, the involvement of Kazakh language is taken into consideration.¹¹⁰ Remarkably, there is a shift between the 1993 Constitution and 1995 Constitution. The shift that took place in the year 1995 shows similarities with the description of Fishman about the “differing language problems of nationalism and nationism”.¹¹¹ In this context, Fishman argues that the problems would be sourced from the presence of a multilingual environment. Although, he sets his argument on a basis by taking into consideration the Western African groups, in the case of Kazakhstan, the factor of multilingualism and multi ethnic demographic situation caused the emergence of a problem. As a result, the President together with other political elites changed the strict nationalist attempts and placed these discourses into a softer framework. The modification related to the language use in 1995 Constitution is an attempt to calm down the disturbances within the Republic in accordance with the arguments of Fishman. According to the Article 19.2, people of Kazakhstan are free to choose their own native language and culture.¹¹² This article also verifies that the government’s stance on the language issues was softened and adapted to the demographic concerns of the country. While nationalist groups were not satisfied with this constitution by claiming that this new constitution would not help the amelioration and the support of the Kazakh language and it may even cause the death of the language itself in the face of the presence of the Russian language. However, on the other hand, as Landau and Kellner-Heinkele also mention that “the new constitution has not allayed the apprehensions of the non-Kazakh inhabitants too”.¹¹³ Besides the need put by the character of the language itself, the proponents of Kazakh as the sole state language

¹¹⁰ 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *Section I, Article 7.3*, ‘The state shall promote conditions for the study and development of the languages of the people of Kazakhstan.’

¹¹¹ Fishman, Joshua A. 1968. *Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of Developing countries*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, p. 43

¹¹² 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *Section II, Article 19.2*, ‘Everyone shall have the right to use his native language and culture, to freely choose the language of communication, education, instruction and creative activities.’

¹¹³ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p.117

mobilized three distinct sets of arguments to validate their claim and Dave gives them as, “restoration of the Kazakhs historical status in their ancestral homeland, grouped in a primordialist framework; claims for entitlement and affirmative action, based on notions of justice and equity; and state security concerns”.¹¹⁴ Basing their arguments on primordial and historical ties is a consistent behavior in the process of nation-building as Fishman argues that one of the most important element in nationalism is historical recreation of concepts and legitimization through the use of the past. However, the demographic situation and the other challenges put by the new phase of independence hindered the establishment of a completely healthy process in Kazakhstan. Thus, the government and the elites changed the harsh politics which were followed, particularly, up until the approval of 1995 Constitution. To move furthermore we would argue that the new Constitution also relies on the fact that the symbolic aspect of the Kazakh language as the state-language could not be ignored even though in the short-run its operation as a means of inter-ethnic communication does not seem to be possible. In the Article 40.2 of the Constitution¹¹⁵, the symbolic role of the President is underlined in the context of being the guarantor of the unity and sovereignty of the people of Kazakhstan. Subsequently, Article 41.2 pays attention to the use of the state language by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the condition that he has lived in Kazakhstan for not less than fifteen years.¹¹⁶ According to these two articles President is a significant symbol for the newly independent Kazakh nation and the language is one of the most important tool of verifying his national identity in terms of political unity and sovereignty. Therefore, the argument that language would act as a symbolic tool in the process of national-identity formation is once again

¹¹⁴ Dave, Bhavna. 2007. “*Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power*”, Routledge, p. 98

¹¹⁵ 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *Section III, Article 40.2*, ‘The President of the Republic shall be the symbol and guarantor of the unity of the people and the state power, inviolability of the Constitution, rights and freedoms of an individual and citizen.

¹¹⁶ 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *Section III, Article 41.2*, ‘A citizen of the Republic shall be eligible for the office of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan if he is by birth not younger than forty and has a perfect command of the state language and has lived in Kazakhstan for not less than fifteen years.

revealed in the case of Kazakhstan in the post-Soviet period. When we look at the 1995 Constitution, we would easily notice that, as previously mentioned, it aimed to provide coherence in the multi-ethnic atmosphere of the country. As the President Nazarbaev frequently stresses the richness sourced from the ethnic diversity of the country, it would be obviously in the interest of the country to balance the internal cohabitation of the Kazakh population together with the non-Kazakh population. Moreover, it is the Russian Federation which is one of the most important external concern of the Republic of Kazakhstan. With that aim, the 1995 Constitution puts emphasis on the right of equality of all people and it gives importance to the prevention of discrimination among people due to their sex, language, ethnic ties and nationality.¹¹⁷ As a result, the disturbances of the Russian and other non-kazakh minorities would be taken under control by the government.

In line with this approach to soften the linguistically nationalist approach, in April 1995, Parliament endorsed Nazarbaev's proposal that the requirement for all state employees to be proficient in Kazakh be postponed for 15 years.¹¹⁸ Accordingly on 20 December 1995, Nazarbaev issued a presidential decree, saying that both Kazakh and Russian would be official languages in the courts, while in an area sizable minority, its own language would be accepted.¹¹⁹ Moreover, Nazarbaev also declared an "Order On the Constitutional Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan on 29 December 1995, saying that "either Kazakh or Russian may be used in constitutional documentation; translation into other languages is guaranteed".¹²⁰ The changed attitude of Nazarbaev, hence, is reported in these official documents obviously.

¹¹⁷ 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan , *Section II, Article 14. 2*, 'No one shall be subject to any discrimination for reasons of origin, social property status, occupation, sex, race, nationality, language, attitude towards religion, convictions, place of residence or any other circumstances.

¹¹⁸ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *'Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States'*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 118

¹²⁰ <http://www.osi.hu/fmp/laws/>

To move along with the major official documents, in November 1996 a “Concept of Language Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan” was issued. This document stated the creation of appropriate conditions for developing Kazakh as the state language in order to generate an increase in its demand and functions while affirming that Russian can be used as an official language.¹²¹ Dave interprets the decrees as;

This decree also contained a promise to other minorities that the state was committed to the promotion of various nationality languages of Kazakhstan, and not just Kazakh, although its main objective was to define the relationship between Kazakh and Russian.¹²²

This approach might be considered as a conciliatory one to provide ethnic harmony within the republic. In the same year of 1996, President Nazarbaev issued an “Order On the Conception of the Formation of State Identity of the Republic of Kazakhstan”. According to this order;

The state has to take care of learning and developing the languages of the Kazakhstan’s population. Discrimination on the basis of not knowing the state or other languages is not allowed. Voluntary learning of the state language is to be stimulated, its role increased. Practical work must be transferred to periphery.¹²³

With the issue of this order, it is once again underlined that language is a key element in the formation of national consciousness. The data and the attempts of the Kazakh government shows us that Fishman’s argumentation that language is an element of national consciousness is validated. As Fishman argues that nations are “organizationally heightened and elaborated beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of

¹²¹ Konstitua Respublika, 1996

¹²² Dave, Bhavna. 2007. “*Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power*”, Routledge, p. 101

¹²³ <http://www.osi.hu/fmp/laws/>

societies acting on behalf of their avowed ethno-cultural self-interest”.¹²⁴ Hence, the reference which is made to the state identity and its relation to language shows us that the people of one nation are organized through the use of certain policies and laws. As in the case of Kazakhstan, the language is used as a tool both to foster the titular national consciousness together with acting as a tool to balance internal politics by giving importance to Russian.

After almost a year after the approval of the “Concept the new Law on Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan” was issued on 11 July 1997. Its objectives were defined as setting the legal basis for the functioning of languages in Kazakhstan, and the government’s responsibility for creating conditions for their study and development.¹²⁵ Leading political figures and scholars in Kazakhstan emphasizes that the adoption of the “Law on Languages” in July 1997 ended up the excessive emotionalism and unproductive debates over the language issue by offering a rational legal base for implementing the language policy.¹²⁶ The modifications which were made to regulate and balance the situation in the country relies heavily on the will of Nazarbaev to launch Kazakhstan as a state which shelters various ethnies and nationalities. Accordingly, Nazarbaev addressed the acute problems in ethnic relations in the “Fifth Session of the Assembly of the National Congress” on 21 January 1999 and he states that the main cause in the emergence of ethnic problems within the country are:

1. the existence in Kazakhstani society forces seeking to play an anti-Islamic, Russophobic, anti-Semitic and anti-Caucasian card, and
2. attempts by certain representatives of state power structures to impose a tribal model, shifting the national policy course and steering it down to a path of building a mono-ethnic state.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Fishman, Joshua A. 1972. *Language and Nationalism: Two integrative essays*. Rowley: Newbury House, p. 5

¹²⁵ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001 *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 118

¹²⁶ Dave, Bhavna. 2007. “Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power”, Routledge, p. 102

The second point which is mentioned by the President verifies the fact that he is willing to provide ethnic stability and in accordance with his will, unlike to his past speeches which were mentioned above, surfaced in the politics of language in Kazakhstan.

Although the development of Kazakh language by settling the disputes between the minorities and the titular elites seems to be practiced on documents there were still ongoing debates and studies within the issue of language politics in Kazakhstan. On February 7, 2001 “State Program on Functioning and Development of Languages from 2001 to 2010” was launched.¹²⁸ This program mentions the functioning of the state language to develop a legislative foundation in order to serve as a state governing language to provide communication among state agencies. Moreover, it is the aim of this document to provide state language to be a means of communication in local and international level relations. It organizes the budgeting of the state sponsored instruction of the state language among the country under a unified system of education. Moreover, in order to overcome the challenges of technological and scientific problems to the structure of the Kazakh language, the program aims at creating new words in scientific and technological level to provide the state language to become a major tool in communication in all aspects of life.

Hence, the spread of this language, then become a main concern as a result by using certain social channels such as mass media and cultural spheres. In order to achieve the dispersal of the Kazakh language within this framework the document requires the translation of introductory movies and animation programs,

¹²⁷ Kurganskaia, Valentina, “Kazakhstan: The Language Problem in the Context of Ethnic Relation”, http://www.ca-c.org/online/2000/journal_eng/eng01_2000/08.kurganskaja.shtml

¹²⁸ Gosudarstvennaya Programma Funkcionirovaniya i Razvitiya Yazikov na 2001-2010 gody. Online available at <http://www.pavlodar.com/zakon/?dok=00551>.

etc. The aim of these efforts is to build up an effective state language in terms of spreading the Kazakh language in cultural and social life spheres.

While, the government keeps its attempts to promote Kazakh language in the official documents in a rational way accordingly with the requirements of nation-building, President Nazarbaev, started to exert his effort to find a place for Kazakhstan in the region in accordance with the rules of the game which are out by international organizations and the power holders in world politics. In order not to be isolated from the outside modernized world, Nazarbaev left the strict nationalizing policies. As he mentions that, “un substrat explosive d’idées racistes et nationalistes favorise la propagation du terrorisme”.¹²⁹ This phrase explains the reason of why he changed his approach concerning nationalism. As he is a pragmatic leader, he realized the fact that not only internal requirements entail the softening of the strict nationalist behaviors in governmental politics but external factors also necessitate this kind of a change in time. When we compare his discourses and the launch of the regulations, it is highly obvious that Kazakhstan wanted to take its place in the world politics as a modernized multi-ethnic nation-state where diverse ethnic groups live in coherence.

While putting emphasis in the multi-national aspect of the country, Nazarbaev, on the other hand, tries to balance the process of nation-building by using language as a key aspect. Similar to Nazarbaev, some elites of the Republic of Kazakhstan notice the fact that the acquisition of the Kazakh as the state language is a long-run strategy which would take years to accomplish the whole task, if it is possible. However, the symbolic power which is attributed to language is not discarded by them. With that motivation, the Government Program of the Republic of Kazakhstan 'Cultural Heritage' for 2004-2006 is developed. As it was given in the web-site of the program;

¹²⁹ Nazarbaev, Noursoultan. 2005. *La Nouvelle Fracture Internationale*. Albin Michel, p. 33, Explosive racial and national ideas support the propagation of terrorism.

The current state of cultural heritage of Kazakhstan is characterized by feasible maintenance of a complex measures on preservation and further development of centuries-old traditions through creation of a new cultural and historical monuments, activation of restoration and preservation works on mausoleums, ancient mosques, ancient cities, creation on their basis new historical and cultural reserve museums.¹³⁰

One of the aim of the program is the creation in the state language a comprehensive collection of works for art education on the basis of the best achievements of world science, culture and literature.¹³¹ However, still Kazakhstan has not complete the process of establishing a state language which would promote the translation of these documents to create a comprehensive archive. Nevertheless, the use of historical data and the re-creation of history by making reference to the glorified past overlaps with the arguments of Fishman, as he mentions that the use of the history of one nation helps the verification of nationhood in the eyes of the people. Hence, with the launch of Cultural Heritage program in the recent past shows the willingness of Kazakh government to establish its national identity depending upon the glorified history of the people of Kazakhstan in order to legitimize their actions. There is another reason why language is insistently used as a tool in Kazakh nation-building process apart from its symbolic power in binding Kazakh population to their ethnic origins. As mentioned earlier in the third chapter, Fishman argues that language serves to be an element of nationalism in the process of establishing modern nation-states in secular basis. Secularism, is believed to be one of the leading aspect of a nation-state. In order to define the national identity, the modern terms accepted the use of language as a common trait else of religion. Hence these two concepts of modern nation-state and secularism combines with each other in general meaning. When we turn back to Kazakhstan, the Article 1 of the 1995 Constitution states that, “The Republic of Kazakhstan proclaims itself a democratic, legal and social state whose

¹³⁰ <http://expat.nursat.kz/?3789>

¹³¹ Ibid.

highest values are an individual, his life, rights, and freedoms.¹³² The emphasis made over the principle of secularism explains the reason why Nazarbaev insists to identify the national identity of the people of Kazakhstan through the use cultural symbols by putting weight on the use of Kazakh language no matter how symbolic it remains in the short run.

Besides the above discussed issues, one may notice that there is a strong tie established between the ethnic Kazakhs and language. When we look at the 1999 census, 99.4 percent of the Kazakhs claimed proficiency in Kazakh language despite the fact that only a very small portion of it can master the language fluently. Still the Russian serves as a *lingua franca* for the country. This rates show tendency to increase in the recent years too as the wide spread use of Kazakh language in the field of education, especially in Kazakh urban medium-schools. As Aydingun also mentions, “the symbolic significance that the interviewees of Kazakh origin accorded their mother tongue was quite strong”.¹³³ With this positive connotation some parents prefer to send their children to Kazakh medium-schools where they learn Kazakh as well as Russian as an elective course.

The aim of the Kazakh political elite, to foster ethnic diversity and the linguistic diversity of the country not to irritate the non-Kazakh population, relies on the fact they are interested in obtaining a bilingual society through the promotion of state support for the achievement of this aim. In that context, the “Conception of Broadening the Sphere of Use of Kazakh Language 2006” was adopted.¹³⁴ This conception again aims the effective dispersal of the Kazakh language through the use translations and the obtainment of new words into the language itself together with the establishment of an accurate basis education

¹³² 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *Section 1, Article 1*, ‘The Republic of Kazakhstan proclaims itself a democratic, secular, legal and social state whose highest values are an individual, his life, rights and freedoms.’

¹³³ Aydingun, Aysegul. “State Symbols and National Identity Construction in Kazakhstan”, in Hann-Bellér Ildiko, *The Past as Resource in the Turkic Speaking World*, Würzburg, 2008, p. 151

¹³⁴ *Concepciya Rasshireniia Sfery Primeneniia Gosudarstvennogo Yazyka 2006*. www.sana.gov.kz/download/Koncepciya.doc.

system which would provide advantages to the state language. However, the whole process requires a considerable budget. Moreover, there exists an increase in the population in favor of the titular nationality, accordingly this situation in turn effects the use and the dissemination of the Kazakh language when compared the years before 2000. As it is mentioned by O'Callaghan,

The President, is no longer interested in the language issue, the introduction of Kazakh as mandatory, for certain positions in the state administration have both been rejected while the presidency and the chair of both houses should be fluent.¹³⁵

Nevertheless, Kazakh language seems to be active as a symbolic element that attaches the public to the Kazakh national identity while the never ending process of nation-building paves the way for the launch of new documents and conceptions to promote the language to be communicative and effective in order to provide commonality within the people of Kazakhstan. To this end, although, the process seems to be left on paper rather than being an active policy, these kind of efforts seems to be helpful to the creation of a sense of belonging to a nation which has powerful historical ties together with active ties to the modern world by owning a language. As far as Dave argues that, “the legal status of Kazakh as the sole state language affirmed how non-negotiable the symbolic nexus between the Kazakh language, culture, and the state had become”.¹³⁶ To continue with Dave,

Passing legislative regulations is easy to emphasize the symbolic aspect of the language, on the other hand, transforming the national or indigenous language into the de facto state language is far more challenging, requiring enormous state capacity, planning, sustained investment, and most important, a commitment on the part of the bureaucracy and other strata educated in the language of the former colonial power.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ O'Callaghan, Luke, “War of Words: Language Policy in Post Independence Kazakhstan”, *Nebula* 1.3, Dec 04 – Jan 05, p. 209

¹³⁶ Dave, Bhavna. 2007. “*Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power*”, Routledge, p. 104

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 106

Accordingly, it would be suitable to argue that the use of the Kazakh language seems to be challenging in terms of a means of communication due to various factors which will be mentioned in the next chapter, however, the symbolic asset of the language has been stressed in official policy documents since the declaration of independence. However, the change of the attitude of the Nazarbaev shows and verifies the willingness of the country to assume the task of being an important mediator in the region in general meaning. As far as Nazarbaev, is a pragmatic leader, who seeks to keep interests of his country, he tries not to loose the balance of internal politics by excessively stressing one ideology or one ethnic affiliation. However, the President basis his speeches and discourses on the fact that Kazakhstan is a nation-state and it is the land of Kazakhs by conserving its multi-ethnic structure and by using the national symbols altogether at the same time. In this context, the argument of this thesis that language acts and will continue to act as a symbolic tool in the formation of national identity makes sense. As the people of Kazakhstan adopts the Kazakh language as a part of their ethnic affiliation thanks to the significance given to that language in official decrees and laws. Even though, these documents together with the language policies could not be able to provide the use of Kazakh as the state language which is able to respond political, cultural, and educational needs, they provide it a legitimate basis to act as a symbolic tool in Kazakh national identity.

CHAPTER 5

FACTORS AFFECTING THE DISSEMINATION OF KAZAKH LANGUAGE DURING THE PROCESS OF KAZAKH NATIONAL IDENTITY FORMATION IN POST-SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN

The significance of language as a main symbolic tool in the nation-building process of post-Soviet Kazakhstan is frequently mentioned in the previous chapters. The Kazakh government and the leading titular political elites exerted their efforts by planning policies and adopting regulations and laws to disseminate the language as a communicative element in the post-Soviet period. Besides the stress put on the symbolic aspect of language, it would be suitable to take into account that language should be promoted and developed with a well-planned policy in order to be internalized by the people of its nation after experiencing a long period of assimilation into another culture and language. Obviously, the case of Kazakhstan matches with this description. That is why the use of language as a tool in post-Soviet Kazakhstan could be considered as a counteract to the pre-independence period which was dominated by the Russian culture and Russian language.

As Smagulova argues, “because languages do not exist independently of the people, families and communities that use them, for them to survive and thrive, they must be integrated into the lives of their speakers”.¹³⁸ If the integration with the people could not be achieved, certain problems and conflicting points might occur to damage the whole process. Hence, it makes sense to mention that the success of these policies to integrate the language as a communicative tool, rather than remaining as a symbolic element, depends on a well-established relationship between the people and the language in the presence of other conditions as well.

¹³⁸ Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 9

Otherwise, language would remain as a symbolic tool open to political pressure and manipulation. In accordance with what Dave argues, within the context of this thesis it is argued that, however, “language politics in Kazakhstan have largely been played out on the symbolic plane, including the state-regulated media and public domain, rather than in the street, marketplace, schools or inter-personal domain”.¹³⁹

The process of applying language policies and the enforcement of language laws is a multi-dimensional process requiring the coexistence of some aspects all together in order to achieve their goal. A minor disorder in the processing of these laws and official regulations effects the whole process negatively as the politics of nation-building is based upon a delicate line. Despite the fact that language merges the population in national identity it would also be used as a main tool in fostering national awareness within the framework of nation-building to strengthen the structure of the state and the social life of the people. Hence, the standardization and the acquisition process of language planning is of great significance. Meanwhile, it is beyond the purpose of this thesis to describe the language planning process. However, it would be suitable to note certain problems which might emerge during the process of nation-building causing disorder in functional terms. In this context, this chapter will be explaining these problems by focusing on the problem of ethnic composition. Other problems will be dealt under two subtitles one of which is the structure of the Kazakh language and the language’s exposure to strict Soviet language policies and the other one is the problem which is posed by the rural and urban dichotomy within the country. After explaining these problems, the chapter will move along to the link between language and Kazakh national identity.

¹³⁹ Dave, Bhavna. 2007. “*Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power*”, Routledge, p. 96

5.1 Factors Affecting the Enforcement of Language Policies

In case of Kazakhstan it is highly obvious that the enforcement of language policies cannot be considered as a smooth process. There exist some major and minor problems within the country that effect the whole process of standardization, acquisition and dissemination of the language as the sole state-language. In order to obtain success in completing the task of language planning policies one should be aware of the fact that it is a challenging process because of the number of people that have had to be taught Kazakh language. Further more their attitudes and levels of internalization can not be estimated by the authorities precisely. The people who are exposed to the language policies should have to cope with the problems of adaptation and the process requires a delicate management of the situation by the political figures. Apart from the demographic challenges put by the multi-ethnic structure of the country, the case of Kazakhstan displays other major problems which would hinder the enforcement of the policies.

5.1.1 Demographic Situation and the Russian Federation

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, as Fierman discusses, “resentment of Russians and of the Russian language surfaced in various parts of the disassembling empire”.¹⁴⁰ As is known, in Kazakhstan “there are more Russians, absolutely and proportionately, than any of the other Central Asian states”.¹⁴¹ The Russian and the Slavic population that lives in Kazakhstan are grouped in the towns in the north, areas close to the Russian Federation, and “they are connected to Russia not merely by sentiment, but also by family ties as well as by education and military service”.¹⁴² Not surprisingly, “Kazakhs and Kazakhstan are much more closely

¹⁴⁰ Nauruzbayeva, Zhanara. 2003. Paradoxes of the Kazakh Language Revival. Central Asian Journal, No.3, p.1

¹⁴¹ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 45

interwoven with Russians and Russia's culture than any other Central Asian SSR"¹⁴³. Needless to mention the strict historical ties between these two nations, however, it is the dominance of one culture, the Russian one, over the other one, that is the Kazakh. On this account, one can not mention an equal basis relationship between these two cultures and thus languages. When compared to other fifteen states, which made up of the Soviet Union, "Kazakhstan was the most multiethnic and had been hailed as 'a planet of a hundred nationalities' by the Soviet propaganda machine".¹⁴⁴ Kazakhstan was the only Soviet successor state where the titular nationality did not constitute an obvious majority until receiving its independence.¹⁴⁵ Thus when we consider the newly independent people of Kazakhstan as a nation, it is not surprising them to feel themselves loyal to their ethnic ties in a stringent way while having lost their language, as a tool of communication, when it interacts with another language. As, within the framework of this thesis, language is treated as a symbolic tool for cultural and national identity it would not be mistaken to argue that its symbolic feature remains as an aspect of group boundary by being exposed to a cultural change through the use of Soviet period applications due to the strict nation-building and language policies. Moreover, "Kazakhstan's heterogeneous ethnic composition is closely related to linguistic patterns which have shaped the language debates in Kazakhstan".¹⁴⁶ In order to be a nation-state, there should be a collective identity consciousness which is approved and internalized by the people of this community.

When the national and political borders are not congruent as in multi-ethnic societies such as Kazakhstan it is highly likely to face with ethnic conflicts based

¹⁴² Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *'Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States'*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p.45

¹⁴³ Fierman, William. 1998. "Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in policy documents 1987-1997". *Communist and Post-Soviet Studies*. Vol, 31, No. 2, p.173

¹⁴⁴ O'Callaghan, Luke, "War of Words: Language Policy in Post Independence Kazakhstan", *Nebula* 1.3, Dec 04 – Jan 05, p. 208

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 208

¹⁴⁶ Fierman, William. 1998. "Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in policy documents 1987-1997". *Communist and Post-Soviet Studies*. Vol, 31, No. 2, p. 174

upon the challenges of giving equal right to each of them. However, in mono-ethnic societies it is much more easy to establish coherence. In accordance with the perception of one's identity, "various norms (cultural, social, physical) sets the criteria for inclusion and exclusion from a given group".¹⁴⁷ The increase in the number of conflicting points is directly linked with the number of groups. The existence of various different national minorities and ethnic groups in a nation-state is usually pretended to be an agent of political and social destabilization.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, by taking into consideration both the post-Soviet demographic situation in Kazakhstan it is obvious that the laws and regulations, particularly until 1995, disturbed the Russian diaspora directly. "The Law on Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan of 22 September 1989 gives Kazakh a much more favorable position as the state language while the Russian remains the language of interethnic communication to be used equal with the state language".¹⁴⁹ However, as mentioned in the previous chapters, the promotion of the Kazakh language caused the creation of tensions within the republic among the people. As Kurganskaia also mentions;

Political decisions in the sphere of ethnic relations are called upon to ensure the implementation of the strategic course toward consolidation of ethnic harmony, but in practice these decisions oftentimes only exacerbate confrontation between various ethnic groups.¹⁵⁰

The attempts of the pre-independent and independent government of Kazakhstan, hence, revealed the disturbance of Russian diaspora to higher levels. As the link between politics and language is discussed earlier, it is generally accepted that the obvious tendency to manipulate language not always acts as a tool to provide

¹⁴⁷ Akiner, Shirin. 1995. *The Formation of Kazakh Identity: From Tribe to Nation-state*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Russian and CIS Program, p. 2

¹⁴⁸ Peyrouse, Sébastien & Laruelle, Marlene. "*Les Russes du Kazakhstan: Identités nationales et nouveaux Etats dans l'espace post-soviétique*", Institut Français d'Etudes dur L'asie Centrale, Maisonneuve & Larose, Paris, 2003, p. 35

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 105

¹⁵⁰ Kurganskaia, Valentina, "Kazakhstan: The Language Problem in the Context of Ethnic Relation", http://www.ca-c.org/online/2000/journal_eng/eng01_2000/08.kurganskaja.shtml

the feeling of equality and appeasement within the public, rather it serves in favor of one language and one culture to dominate other cultures. To this respect, the argument of Dave which is cited by Horowitz too, thanks to its significance, mentions that “language, especially in multilingual or multicultural settings, is a quintessential entitlement issue’,”¹⁵¹ as “it reflects the close nexus between cultural and material anxieties”.¹⁵² In accordance with what Kurganskaia and Dave argue, the previous sentences verify the fact that the language policies, especially in the first years of independence, became a source of disturbance among Russians and Slavic population within the Republic of Kazakhstan by making them feel threatened with the language policies and laws supporting the dispersal Kazakh language in all spheres of life. As a result it can be argued that, besides the accepted communicative aspect of language in the context of the spread of the national identity awareness, “language policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan is not just about languages, it is an ethnic and social conflict in which the languages have become implicated in a number of different ways”.¹⁵³ The implication of Kazakh as the sole state language in the 1993 Constitution lowered the status the Russian language, although it has a huge penetration among the population, and this became a matter of concern of the non-Kazakh people of Kazakhstan. None of the non-titular population has the ability to manage Kazakh language. “If 13.8 per cent of Russians in Estonia and 21 per cent in Latvia claimed fluency in the language of the titular nationality of those republics according to the 1989 census, the corresponding figure was only 0.86 in Kazakhstan”.¹⁵⁴ Russian perceive the Kazakh language as a “backward” element when compared to their own culture that ruled the region years by contributing the developmental process. Furthermore, Russians view the probability of being a part of

¹⁵¹ Horowitz cited in Dave, Bhavna. 2007. “*Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power*”, Routledge , p. 97

¹⁵² Dave, Bhavna. 2007 “*Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power*”, Routledge, p. 97

¹⁵³ Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p.1

¹⁵⁴ Laitin cited in Dave, Bhavna. “*Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power*”, Routledge , 2007, p. 104

Kazakh nation as impossible.¹⁵⁵ Thus, they refuse to learn and use the Kazakh language. Moreover, the dominance of Russian language within the republic serves to be an advantage in favor of Russian and motivated the Slavic population to take a contradictory position against Kazakh language. Some of the Russians explains their unwillingness as “the Kazakhs do not really have a language, they merely have dialects”.¹⁵⁶ Laitin described the perception of Kazakh language and Kazakh culture in the eyes of the Russians. They do not pretend the culture of Kazakhstan as a part of modern world, they, generally, believe that the development which was realized under the dominance of Russian rule, paved the way for the russianization¹⁵⁷ of the Kazakh people rather than providing the necessary means for the development of their own titular culture within their own territory. It is not surprising, then, to argue that in the eyes of Russians, it is the existence of Russian culture what makes Kazakhstan developed. Hence, it becomes easy to understand their perception of Kazakh language as a “lower” and a “backward” element.

As Dave discusses the politicization of language in the frame of nationalism she argues that, “political entrepreneurs play a crucial role in converting language from a cultural symbol into an emotive nationalist concern by forging a linkage between a language and the collective survival of its speakers in order to press for urgent redress”.¹⁵⁸ Thus, the linguistically nationalist behavior of the post-Soviet Kazakh titular elites represent the will of forging an urgent link while trying to eliminate their language from foreign elements. This process is named as derussification by many scholars. Exposed to almost hundred years of Russian language dominance the Kazakh language could not be able to develop itself in line

¹⁵⁵ Nauruzbayeva, Zhanara. 2003. “Paradoxes of the Kazakh Language Revival”. *Central Asian Journal*, No.3, p. 8

¹⁵⁶ Laitin, David, “*Identity in Formation: the Russian-speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*”, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998

¹⁵⁷ There is a difference between the terms Russification and Russianization. While the former includes the whole process of assimilation of one culture into the Russian one, the latter term is related with the issue of linguistic assimilation.

¹⁵⁸ Dave, Bhavna. “*Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power*”, Routledge , 2007, p. 98

with the requirements of the current needs and it is surrounded with the cultural elements of Russian culture, thus within the framework of creating a new nation-state, Kazakh elites tried to eliminate these cultural aspects in every sphere of life which are connected to their titular culture. As Fishman also argues, “those varieties of the vernaculars that have been most influenced by foreign models are, obviously, less preferred than those that have escaped such influences”.¹⁵⁹ Thus, creating its sole state language by eliminating Russian dominance which dominated their titular culture for ages is of the primary concern of the Kazakh national elite. Derussification and dominance shift in the direction of titular languages emerged as the key goals of post-Soviet language policy and planning.¹⁶⁰ In the early years of independence, as Smagulova also emphasizes “with the nationalistic idea in mind, the territorial principle has been supreme: Kazakhstan is the land of Kazakhs who speak the Kazakh language”.¹⁶¹ The survey results show that significantly more Kazakhs than Slavs believe that their ethnicity should provide them privileges during the employment recruitment process (27.2 % versus 8.8%), university admissions (19.2 % versus 8.6 %), promotion at work (19.7% versus 8.6%), elections for positions of authority (33.5 % versus 9.9 %), distribution of land (26.9 % versus 5.4%) and the privatization process (19.2 % versus 5.3 %).¹⁶² The ethnic attachment of Kazakh people by adopting their titular language as an important part of their national identity attests that language is a very important symbol if not it is an element of communication. Moreover, after almost a hundred years of Russian domination within their own homeland territory, the new figure in the Republic of Kazakhstan hoped to strengthen their position by using elements such as language to legitimize their actions in front of the public. When we turn back to the

¹⁵⁹ Fishman, Joshua A. 1972. *Language and Nationalism: Two integrative essays*. Rowley: Newbury House, p. 68

¹⁶⁰ Pavlenko, Aneta. “Russian as a Lingua Franca”, *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, Vol:26, 2006, p. 83

¹⁶¹ Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 2

¹⁶² Dunaev cited in, Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 2

derussification, it is important to note that the issues of state and language policy are especially sensitive because “they imply lowering the status of Russian and ‘weakening the bonds of the Soviet people’”.¹⁶³ According to Smagulova this situation in Kazakhstan may also be named as the reconsideration of the Russian identity of people.¹⁶⁴ With the motivation to foster a national identity, Kazakh laws and language policies aimed to promote the spread of Kazakh language as well as to turn Kazakh as a medium of communication in areas where predominantly Russian has been used before. However, there exist problems within the spread of Kazakh language as a tool of communication due to several reasons which will be mentioned further in next sections.

In contradiction with these strict nationalistic policies, President Nazarbaev “has portrayed Kazakhstan as a melting pot of peoples, languages, and cultures and insists that Kazakhstan is a Eurasian state, home to Slavic and other ethnic groups”.¹⁶⁵ However, the outpour of mass migration movements of non-titular ethnic groups from the Republic of Kazakhstan challenges the portrait of Nazarbaev. According to the Brif Agency, most respondents to the polls carried out in the Republic of Kazakhstan believe that people are leaving the country for economic reasons which are unemployment (64.1 %), low living standards, (61.9 %) and wage arrears, (42.6%), furthermore there are social reasons which are the sense of insecurity (36.9 %), the desire to live in their historical motherland (32.6 %) the wish to reunite their relatives (30.9 %) the lack of opportunities for their children (27.4 %), the difficulties of getting a good education (18.5 %), and the language problem 16 %).¹⁶⁶ The migration movement that takes place since the beginning of

¹⁶³ Fierman cited in Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 3

¹⁶⁴ Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 3

¹⁶⁵ O’Callaghan, Luke, “War of Words: Language Policy in Post Independence Kazakhstan”, *Nebula* 1.3, Dec 04 – Jan 05, p.208

independence is understandable when we look back the above mentioned statistics. Besides economic and political concerns, language policies effected the Russian diaspora that is located in Kazakhstan. By lowering their social status from the “civilized” and “advantageous” group to minority, the government lost its urban and skilled people. Because, all through the period of Soviet Union, as mentioned earlier, these Slavic people tended to occupy the most prestigious jobs and had the opportunity to have access to better education and living standards. Since they were mostly living in urban areas, with the independence, key positions in the state structure generally held by the titular elites. As a result, Russians became minorities within the Republic and they believe that it is hard to admit that they are minorities because their presence in the region as well as in Kazakhstan was a part of a classic ‘civilization mission’.¹⁶⁷ Provoked by the nationalistic laws, the Russian community established certain organizations to support their demands to elevate the status of Russian back to state language in order to stop the mass emigration movements. As Landau and Kellner-Heinkele mention, “Slavic movement was set up in Kokchetav in February 1992 to protect the Slavs from perceived discrimination in matters of language and citizenship”.¹⁶⁸ Additionally, “a more comprehensive organization of the Russians in Kazakhstan, Lad, protested the situation too”.¹⁶⁹ In economic terms, these kinds of internal debates and the departure of the qualified population out of the country have negative meanings. Thus Nazarbaev, as a pragmatic leader changed the course of the language and nationalism policy and soften them in accordance with the demographic structure of his country. Not only the economic factors play a crucial role in the modification of the policy approach but it is the external concerns that impose Kazakhstan to have good relations with Russia. The fact that Kazakhstan

¹⁶⁶ Studies of Ethnic Relations, cited in Kurganskaia, Valentina, “Kazakhstan: The Language Problem in the Context of Ethnic Relation”, http://www.cac.org/online/2000/journal_eng/eng01_2000/08.kurganskaja.shtml

¹⁶⁷ Kuzio cited in, Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 3

¹⁶⁸ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001 *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 45

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 45

was and still is a bilingual and multiethnic country, together with the necessity to maintain good relations with Russia and “retain the loyalty of the ethnic Russians and other minorities living in Kazakhstan, encouraged the acceptance of a bilingual ideology”.¹⁷⁰ As a result of the change in politics in Kazakhstan, the existence of conflict between Kazakh language and Russian cannot be denied, but today the language issue in the republic is not ‘the burning problem’¹⁷¹ that “is used to be in the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s”.¹⁷² After having problems with the Russian population, the government changed the constitution on 1995 and reversed the article concerning the issue of language by elevating Russian from a language of interethnic communication to an official language.¹⁷³ Article 7.1 affirmed Kazakh as the state language and Article 7.2 mentioned that the Russian language shall be officially used on equal grounds along with the Kazakh language in state institutions and local self-administrative bodies.¹⁷⁴ The government, after launching strict nationalistic language policies changed its stance. The reason was much more practical in order to assure the internal balance together with the effective use of Russian in the everyday life of Kazakh people, no matter which ethnic group they are attached. In accordance with this, Kolsto argues that;

In practical policy, the Kazakhstani authorities have followed a middle course, assigning to Russian a status that formally is secondary, but nevertheless is an everyday language for interethnic communication to be used on a par with Kazakh in state and local bodies of self government.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p.2

¹⁷¹ Fierman cited in, Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 1

¹⁷² Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 1

¹⁷³ Ibid, p. 2

¹⁷⁴ Konstitutsiia Respubliki Kazakhstan, Almaty: Zheti zharghy, 1996.

¹⁷⁵ Kolsto, Pal, “Anticipating Demographic Superiority: Kazakh Thinking on Integration and Nation-Building”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 50 (1), 1998, p. 179

The Conception of Language Policies of the Republic of Kazakhstan which was issued on 4 November 1996 called for 'creating appropriate conditions for developing Kazakh as the state language while affirming that Russian can be used as an 'official' language.¹⁷⁶ According to scholars such as Smagulova and Fierman, today although there is an ongoing debate between titular elites and Russians, there are several stabilizing factors that have reduced the risk of this debate becoming a major social distraction.¹⁷⁷ As Landau and Kellner-Heinkele mention, "Russian gained a new language law in 1997 which declares that Russian is a language means for inter-ethnic communication, and in many domains on a par with Kazakh".¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, as mentioned by Smagulova too, the laws and regulations are much more oriented to include the Kazakh population rather than putting stress on the non-Kazakh population. To continue with Smagulova, the change of politics could be interpreted as "the focus of language acquisition planning efforts on ethnic Kazakhs and the relatively mild policy regarding language requirements for other groups in society lessen the chances of conflict on the part of the non-Kazakh population".¹⁷⁹ Not surprisingly, these attempts which were made by the Kazakh government helped the amelioration of the relations with the Russian diaspora and it is exactly a pragmatic approach and a stabilizing action in terms of the internal and the external relations of the country. Besides the interest driven part of the game, although, there emerged some disturbances among the Russian and non-Kazakh population within the republic, it is again the multiethnic structure which provides the creation of a better environment by taking into account the long-term cohesion of the country. The shift in language together with a perceived threat to the promotion of Kazakh could easily have fuelled a sense of trauma by triggering a rise in anti-Russian sentiment

¹⁷⁶ Konstitutsiia Respubliki Kazakhstan, Almaty: Zheti zharghy, 1996

¹⁷⁷ Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. "Language, identity and conflict". *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 1

¹⁷⁸ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001 *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. ?

¹⁷⁹ Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. "Language, identity and conflict". *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 6

among Kazakhs and propelling the tide of linguistic nationalism in Kazakhstan, however, this has not occur.¹⁸⁰ As Smagulova argues here, the case of Kazakhstan, especially right after the adoption of 1995 Constitution, provides a good example in the appeasement of ethnic conflict by changing its stance. Long years of cohabitation of various ethnic groups and different nationalities increased the level of bilingualism and tolerance in the post-Soviet Kazakhstan

Pavlenko, very well summarized the demographic factor in relation to language. He puts the demographic parameters to the center to explain the difficulties of Kazakh language and to measure the linguistic competence and the linguistic attitudes of the Kazakh people. According to him there are six factors effecting;

- 1- The size of the Russian diaspora with regard to the overall population.
- 2- The role of the Russian diaspora in the local economy.
- 3- The level of Russian competence and attitudes toward Russian among members of the titular ethnicity.
- 4- The level of titular language competence and attitudes toward the language among members of the titular ethnicity.
- 5- The level of the titular language competence and attitudes toward the language among members of the Russian diaspora and other ethnic minorities.
- 6- The distance between Russian and the titular language and culture.¹⁸¹

The points number 1, 2 are generally discussed within this chapter, and both the size and the role of Russian diaspora within the Republic of Kazakhstan seems to be really affecting the effective implication of the Kazakh language policies by slowing down the whole process. The points which are indicating the levels of speech attitudes within the republic will be dealt generally again in the next section. However, Pavlenko here, indicates the fact the affects of Russian population on the

¹⁸⁰ Nauruzbayeva cited in, Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. "Language, identity and conflict". *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 10

¹⁸¹ Pavlenko, Aneta. "Russian as a Lingua Franca", *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, Vol:26, 2006

development of Kazakh language could not be ignored or discarded as all of the dimensions of these language developing process interacts with each other. The demographic structure and the people who are exposed to these policies should be taken into consideration seriously and required modifications in favor of demographic situation should be made otherwise it is inevitable to face with challenges that would be put in front of the Kazakh language.

Due to the fact that Kazakhstan does not have a homogenous demographic structure, the implication of linguistically nationalist policies would not be considered as functioning in an operative way. On the other hand, it is the rights of minorities and the external concerns which should be taken into account by the elites of post-Soviet Kazakhstan not only to improve their national awareness with a healthy manner but also to provide the young republic with the advantages of having good relations with Russia because of the high rates of Russian who lives in the country in large numbers.

5.1.2 Kazakh versus Russian

The creation of a Kazakh nation right after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, provoked the nationalistic tendencies in order to control the sources of the country. To this end, “in the beginning, when it was idealistically believed and stated that language reversal could be achieved in a short period of time, the main concern was to teach Kazakh to adults”.¹⁸² The motivation behind language planning and policy is quite often controversial, the population has a better command of one of the languages while people might be decided to promote a language of which they have either little or no knowledge.¹⁸³ This was the case when the linguistically nationalist policies first launched in Kazakhstan. The governing elites thought that it would be easy to establish the speech community of Kazakh language, however, it became

¹⁸² Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 5

¹⁸³ O’Callaghan, Luke, “War of Words: Language Policy in Post Independence Kazakhstan”, *Nebula* 1.3, Dec 04 – Jan 05, p. 198

challenging for them. All the more, the willingness of the Kazakh people and the somewhat destabilizing policies of the government in order to create an atmosphere of cohabitation did not help the development of Kazakh language in terms of adopting itself with the current needs of acting as a state language in providing communication not only in interpersonal settings but also in state legislations, documents and official matters. In basic terms the aim of the legislations by promoting Kazakh language should be linked to the development the structural part of the language by adapting it to the current needs as the language had long been treated as a minority language due to the dominance of Russian. This is the main argument that relies in the mind of political elite about the issue of language in the post-Soviet Kazakhstan. All through the process of Sovietization, in order to create the expected Soviet identity, Soviet actors put forward language as the leading separator among different nationalities and thus it is not surprising to adopt similar policy approaches by the elites of the independent Kazakhstan. In order to promote the titular language for to be used in communicative aspects besides, language laws and decrees the effective implication of them is highly required including the issues such as; alphabet change, lexical and orthographic changes, education. The application of an effective policy would turn the language into an active and live one among the speech community of this language, thus, in general within the country itself. They territorialize their nationalism, they recreated their historical ties, moreover the people of Kazakhstan today are very well aware of the fact that there is a language which is related to their ethnic ties, however, the material cost of this revival project together with the presence of another dominant international language makes the competition unfair.

In order to promote the structural aspects of Kazakh language, the change of alphabet comes to the agenda. Although, Soviet rulers changed to alphabet of Kazakh into Cyrillic as a direct reference to the Russian culture, due to its special concerns, even after the independence Kazakhstan did not launch any alphabet reforms. In the early years of independence the Latinization of the script came to the agenda, however, “in practical terms it is estimated that more than 90% of the

available literature in Kazakh is printed in the current Cyrillic-based Kazakh script”.¹⁸⁴ With the motivation to promote their own state language, Kazakh government set up the State Terminology Commission to promote the structure of the Kazakh language. As Landau and Kellner-Heinkele mention it by giving an example;

According to a highly-placed administrator, the Kazakh language needed to preserve the international vocabulary (the international vocabulary transmitted to the Kazakh via Russian), it already possesses, especially in sciences while another one supports the idea that equivalents must be found in the national language, Kazakh, for all scientific and technical terms.¹⁸⁵

The former standpoint is conflicting with the principle of eliminating the Russian loan words and effect from the language and culture while the latter offers challenges of translation which would take a long process of search and later on adaptation. Another matter which would help people to internalize the language is to change the Russian named places into Kazakh. “The State Onomastic Commission” set up by the government aimed to change the geographic and administrative-territorial names in Kazakhstan which are dated from the time of tsarist colonization to the Soviet times. These names are linked with the Soviet type of “personality cult, arbitrary rule and stagnation”.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, the topographical changes have been treated with the foundation of the Commission. “Quite a number of topographical renamings took place in the media, like the change of name of Gur’ev to Atyrau or Tselinograd to Akmola and then to Astana which means capital city”.¹⁸⁷ However, these changes created tensions among the Russian population. Some of the pro-Russian organizations such as Lad, criticized these efforts of being anti-Russian.

¹⁸⁴ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 140-141

¹⁸⁵ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p.159

¹⁸⁶ KP Sep 20 1991 cited in Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 160

¹⁸⁷ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001 *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 161

Landau and Kellner-Heinkele also point out another important issue about the legislation that permits the change of the ends of the family names with Russian suffixes such as; -ov / -ova, / -ev, / -eva to -uly, and qyzy.¹⁸⁸ However, the application of these changes in passports cost enormous.

In order to create a common identity for its people, a country should pay attention to its education system which is a very effective tool in spreading the ideology of the state. As Landau and Kellner-Heinkele mention and emphasize the results of being a multi-ethnic country, “with its array on ethnies, independent Kazakhstan has constantly faced problems in planning education policies and then carrying them out even after an agreement had been achieved”.¹⁸⁹ There are both Kazakh-medium schools and Russian-medium schools. While both Russian and Kazakh remain elective in both of these schools. Starting with the year 1991, the number of schools at all levels offering education in Kazakh grew in considerable degree, and as a result the use of Kazakh in the administration accelerated.¹⁹⁰ Fierman, mentions that one of the barrier that put in front of the education policies to promote Kazakh language was the increase in the number of mixed schools where different groups of pupils receive instruction through different mediums of instructions.¹⁹¹ Fierman also continues to mention that, “the mixed urban school, whose numbers grew from 242 in 1988 to 723 in 2004, is a sign of both the difficulties and success in expanding Kazakh-medium education in urban areas”.¹⁹² However, in order to spread the ideology of the state, new textbooks are written in

¹⁸⁸ KP 8 November 1996 cited in Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001. ‘*Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*’. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 161

¹⁸⁹ Landau, Jacob M. et Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara. 2001 *Politics of Language in Ex-Soviet Muslim States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p 179

¹⁹⁰ Holm-Hansen, Jorn. 1999. *Political Integration in Kazakhstan* in Pal Kolsto (ed.). *Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Post-Soviet Societies: An Investigation of Latvia and Kazakstan*. Boulder: Colombia Westview Press, p. 178

¹⁹¹ Fierman, William. 2006. “Language and Education in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: Kazakh-Medium Instruction in Urban Schools,” *Russian Review*. Vol. 65, No.1, p. 102

¹⁹² Ibid, p. 102

line with the new nationalistic ideology although still some of the teachers use Russian and Soviet texts.¹⁹³ Moreover, similar to the change which had been made on the names of the places, school books contain Kazakh names together Russian names while the Russian textbooks use terms and names from Kazakh authors writing in Russian, and they also contain texts of ideological character about the motherland, interethnic unity, patriotism, and so on.¹⁹⁴ These efforts to use Kazakh names and Kazakh language within the framework of education however, still could not hinder the dominance of Russian language. In addition to the educational barriers and the structural demands of the language itself such as the finding of new terminology and wording makes the situation challenging.

The development of Russian went along with the development of the Russian people starting from the Tsarist times up until today. Thus, there have been numerous scientific texts, books, article which were made through the use of Russian. On the other, if we compare the Kazakh language to Russian, we would easily realize that the policies enforced during the Soviet rule effected the development of Kazakh in terms of science and literature. As a result there occurs an asymmetry between these two languages. The imposition of central language policy of the Moscow also strengthened the image of Kazakh language as a “backward” one in the eyes of the Slavic population, put barriers on the acceptance and preference of Kazakh language by the people of independent Kazakhstan. Although some parents today prefer to give a national consciousness to their children by sending them to Kazakh-medium schools, when the pupils brought up they would prefer to continue their education in Russian in order to achieve a much more international education. In addition to the sphere of education, another important source of distribution of language, media prefers to broadcast in Russian. As Smagulova also stresses it, “broadcasting in Russian is much more profitable since it attracts more viewers and listeners and consequently more advertisers, although fifty percent usage of the state

¹⁹³ Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 6

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 7

language quota is set for mass media is enforced within the framework of legislative actions”.¹⁹⁵ The economic concerns as well as the globalized demands are effecting the spread and acceptance of Kazakh language dramatically. Since it has been used as a symbolic tool and the regulations generally remain on paper due to the reasons some of which are handled here did not maybe stop the process but it did really slow down the implication of them. Besides the practical preferences made by the public as well as the strength of the Russian as a developed language including scientific terminology and etc, there is a positive connotation for the Russian language among the Kazakh population makes it hard to adopt, internalize and use the Kazakh language in every sphere of life. Nauruzbayeva argues that “positive symbols associated with the Russian language, lack of incentives to learn Kazakh language, and subsequently, the lack of threat posed to cultural identity of Kazakhs influenced the current dynamics of language revival in Kazakhstan”.¹⁹⁶ Nauruzbayeva’s psycho-cultural approach explains the current dynamics in Kazakhstan remarkably. The symbolic nature of language is generally mentioned through this thesis, however, the Kazakh language is offered to be used in terms of symbolism. When we look at the Russian language, it does also include a symbol, as mentioned above, of the civilized man. As Edward Schatz, wrote, “Soviet-era internationalism reserved a special role for Slavs (especially ethnic Russians) as the missionaries, emissaries, and technical specialists of Soviet Rule”.¹⁹⁷ The enlightened image of the Russian imposed over the Kazakh people through the use of educational system by implying that Russian is the developed language. Thus, for many Kazakhs, the Russian language, besides its primary role of communication, also symbolizes education and development together with modernity.¹⁹⁸ The ethnic attachment of the ethnic Kazakhs could not be

¹⁹⁵ Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. Language, identity and conflict. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 9

¹⁹⁶ Nauruzbayeva, Zhanara. 2003. “Paradoxes of the Kazakh Language Revival”. *Central Asian Journal*, p. 2

¹⁹⁷ Schatz cited in, Nauruzbayeva, Zhanara. 2003. “Paradoxes of the Kazakh Language Revival”. *Central Asian Journal*, p. 5

¹⁹⁸ Nauruzbayeva, Zhanara. 2003. “Paradoxes of the Kazakh Language Revival”. *Central Asian Journal*, p. 6

achieved in the willingness of them to use Kazakh as their language of communication. On the one hand, many Kazakhs accept and internalize “the language as the marker of their ethnicity”, however, on the other hand, “being surrounded by the domination of Russian in all spheres from early on in their lives, they find it difficult to depart from the established discourse”.¹⁹⁹ Nauruzbayeva and other scholars stressed the functional necessity of Russian for Kazakhs. This symbolic and functional service of Russian occupies the space left for Kazakh language by language policies.

5.1.3 Rural and Urban Dichotomy

The demographic situation of the Kazakhstan, and the challenges of restructuring Kazakh language in favor of recent requirements besides the unfair competition with Russian affects the whole process of language acquisition in practical terms. In addition to this reason, there is an ongoing debate even among the ethnic Kazakh on the issue of treating Kazakh as the sole state language by exerting efforts to develop the language accordingly. As is known, “by the 1970s the Kazakhs were arguably the most thoroughly Sovietized of all Soviet citizens when compared to other Central Asian republics, and the overwhelming majority appeared to be proud of this”.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, as we mentioned above, “conflicts internally among Kazakhs over what it means “to be a Kazakh” may well grow to become the main problem of nation-building”.²⁰¹ Consequently, right after the independence the ethnic Kazakh population is divided into two main camps basically, one of which supports the view that in order not to leave the Kazakh language to be exposed to extinction,

¹⁹⁹ Nauruzbayeva, Zhanara. 2003. “Paradoxes of the Kazakh Language Revival”. *Central Asian Journal*, p. 9

²⁰⁰ Akiner, Shirin. 1995. *The Formation of Kazakh Identity: From Tribe to Nation-state*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Russian and CIS Program, p. 51

²⁰¹ Holm-Hansen, Jorn. 1999. Political Integration in Kazakhstan in Pal Kolsto (ed.). *Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Post-Soviet Societies: An Investigation of Latvia and Kazakhstan*. Boulder: Colombia Westview Press, p. 182

strict nationalist policies to standardize the language should be enforced within the country, while the other camp, generally consists of urbanized Kazakhs, supports the view that the insistence on the standardization and the acquisition of state language means, in a way, to turn the face of the newly established republic into the backward history which contains old and past elements of the nomad life. In other words, “according to the “Kazakh only” faction each nationality has its own borders and own symbols”.²⁰² It is not very possible for them to accept any element which is coming from the Soviet and Russianized past. On the other way round, although having the knowledge of Kazakh language, many Kazakh intellectuals write and publish in Russian to imply that this language is a means of a developed order. “Majority of these elites are considered to be in opposition to the current government apparatus”.²⁰³ Their stance is considered to be an active approach of opposition to the process of ‘Kazakification’. As Laitin mentions too these elites opposed to the idea of Kazakification critics the politics as being oppressive and non-effective, moreover, like the Slavic population, they describe these policies as a move “backwards”, “to the age of darkness and ignorance”.²⁰⁴

Unsurprisingly, the penetration of Russian into Kazakhstan is obvious. Laitin also verifies that situation clearly with his words, “the Russian language has spread into every nook and cranny of urbanized and high-status Kazakh life”.²⁰⁵ Thus, it is impossible for the Russophone Kazakhs to ignore their knowledge and acceptance of the Kazakh language in favor of the governmental regulations. “Most urban Kazakhs have never learned standardized Kazakh like those who have grown up in the rural

²⁰² Holm-Hansen, Jorn. 1999. Political Integration in Kazakhstan in Pal Kolsto (ed.). *Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Post-Soviet Societies: An Investigation of Latvia and Kazakhstan*. Boulder: Columbia Westview Press 182

²⁰³ Laitin cited in, Nauruzbayeva, Zhanara. 2003. “Paradoxes of the Kazakh Language Revival”. *Central Asian Journal*, No.3, p. 6

²⁰⁴ Nauruzbayeva, Zhanara. 2003. “Paradoxes of the Kazakh Language Revival”. *Central Asian Journal*, No.3

²⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 6

areas”.²⁰⁶ Moreover, when we look at the urbanized elites of Kazakhstan, they are educated and brought up much more isolated from any possibility to be in interaction with Kazakh language. “The establishment of a dominant Russian-speaking class in urban areas, which were the only centers of higher education, industry, wealth, political power, and culture, significantly sped up the re-linguification process of urban Kazakhs”.²⁰⁷ The reason of the russification of the urbanized Kazakh, hence, relies on the fact that they were able to receive higher standards of education in Russian and their perception of Russian would be considered with positive attributions. “Unlike in urban areas, most rural Kazakh children lived in an environment where even without Kazakh-medium education, they learned Kazakh through frequent contact with other Kazakh speakers”.²⁰⁸ Not surprisingly, the ones who live in urban areas have access to the institutional and governmental work as well as high-status jobs. In the meantime of independence these urbanized or Russophone Kazakhs accused of being “*mankurts*”²⁰⁹. The term *mankurt* refer to the Russophone people of Kazakhstan used by Aitmatov for the first time and it is internalized in time. The urbanized Kazakh population with their pro-Russian approach became target of criticisms of the Kazakh national elites. As these urbanized and Russianized people serve in the interests of Russian culture according to the national elites of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In accordance with their claims, these *mankurts* also supports the idea that Russian serves in the interests of Kazakhstan in the way through modernization. For example, “Masanov, an ethnic Kazakh, political scientist says that a Kazakh speaking Kazakhstan, will be isolated and inward-looking, provincialized and alienated from the achievements of world

²⁰⁶ Holm-Hansen, Jorn. 1999. Political Integration in Kazakhstan. In Pal Kolsto (ed.). *Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Post-Soviet Societies: An Investigation of Latvia and Kazakhstan*. Boulder: Colombia Westview Press, p. 181

²⁰⁷ Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 8

²⁰⁸ Fierman, William. 2006. “Language and Education in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: Kazakh-Medium Instruction in Urban Schools,” *Russian Review*. Vol. 65, No.1, p. 99

²⁰⁹ Aitmatov, Chingiz. “*The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years*”, 1980

civilization”.²¹⁰ The reason relies on the fact that the struggle to obtain and to keep the resources of the newly independent republic requires the exclusion of all Russian elements by the titular national elites. With this motivation, the recall that is made to attract the Kazakh people who live in different part of the world to turn back to their country gained attention. These people are called as *oralmans*.

Oralmans are considered as foreign or stateless persons of Kazakh nationality those who at the moment of gaining the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan have resided outside the territory of the RK and arriving at Kazakhstan for the purpose of permanent residence under the article 1 of Population migration Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan № 204 dated 13th December, 1997.²¹¹

It would not be wrong to argue that the invitation of the *oralmans* to the Republic of Kazakhstan is the will of the government to promote the Kazakh nationality within the republic. The government created certain quotas for the ethnic Kazakh emigrants in order to make it attractable to turn back to their ethnic territory. The arrangements of these quotes starting with the year 1993 are made on an annual basis depending upon the budgetary expenses of the country.²¹² These people are coming from different countries such as; Uzbekistan, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Iran, China, Afghanistan, Turkey. These people are thought to be attached to their ethnic ties by keeping their languages and customs alive although they live abroad.²¹³ In this context, the governments call for this people makes sense, as they would like to feel free to practice their cultural traits by speaking their mother tongue freely in their own territory. However, the integration of these people to the life in Kazakhstan still includes problems as the conditions which are provided by the

²¹⁰ Holm-Hansen, Jorn. 1999. Political Integration in Kazakhstan. In Pal Kolsto (ed.). *Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Post-Soviet Societies: An Investigation of Latvia and Kazakstan*. Boulder:Colombia Westview Press, p. 183

²¹¹ http://www.e.gov.kz/citizenry/social_protec/oralman_status/article/2409

²¹² Status of Oralmans, UNDP Overview, www.undp.kz/library_of_publications/files/6838-29587.pdf

²¹³ Status of Oralmans, UNDP Overview, www.undp.kz/library_of_publications/files/6838-29587.pdf

government of Kazakhstan are not always good enough. Still as it is mentioned by UNDP too, “Kazakhstan is home to over 100 ethnicities, of which 53.4% are Kazakhs and 30% Russians and all ethnic groups live in tolerance and respect toward each other’s traditions and customs”.²¹⁴ The positive interpretation of UNDP based upon the political changes that took place in the mid-1990s. Nevertheless, UNDP accepts the fact that, “the issues of the successful integration of *oralmans* into Kazakhstani society strongly depend on and are related to linguistic, psychological, and cultural adaptation”.²¹⁵ The linguistic integration of these people is heavily linked with the wide spread use of Russian within the country. Hence, there occurs a dichotomy similar to that of the rural / urban one. People move to the northern regions of the country thanks to both the internal and external migrational movements have to cope with the challenge of learning Russian language. While, “cultural and ethnic adaptation in southern and eastern regions, in monoethnic western, northern, and central regions is much easier because people have better preserved their national traditions, including language”.²¹⁶

In the struggle to promote a national groups interests the leading figure “uses whatever ammunition is at hand”²¹⁷ and languages often are the most vulnerable element open to the use of the political figures who dispose power and political control. The politicization of language, thus, created tensions among the ethnic Kazakhs, as well as the russified ones, too. The underlying concern for the post-Soviet rulers was not whether to take into consideration that the Kazakh language was capable of becoming the de facto language of state business and lingua franca. Rather, they were much more interested in “how it could be enshrined as the sole state language without undermining their own short and medium-term interests, or

²¹⁴ Status of Oralmans, UNDP Overview, www.undp.kz/library_of_publications/files/6838-29587.pdf, p. 5

²¹⁵ Ibid, p. 6

²¹⁶ Ibid, p.6

²¹⁷ Cooper cited in Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict”. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 3

alienating the large number of Russophone Kazakhs who staffed key posts in the administration”²¹⁸ as argued by Dave. Nazarbaev, was also an urbanized Kazakh president, however unlike to the mankurts who still kept their stance in favor of the use of Russian after the independence, the President and his allies preferred to keep their insistence on nationalistic terms. In fact, “a switch from Russian to Kazakh as the dominant language in Kazakhstan might even *hurt* their personal interests”.²¹⁹ Kolsto also claims that, “members of the cultural Kazakh elite did what they could to present the allegedly unbreakable bond between language, people and state as a deeply moral issue, to which all true Kazakhs had to be committed”.²²⁰ Since the independence the knowledge of Kazakh has been used as a tool to get privileged positions, although the provision in the final text of the Constitution that nobody shall be discriminated against on the basis of a lack of proficiency in Kazakh (or Russian).²²¹

The need to meet the requirements of being a nation-state is of paramount importance in order to obtain legitimacy. Although, it does not seem possible in the foreseeable future that Kazakh language would be able to dominate Russian within the republic, however, it still creates disturbance among the people to insist on the role of Kazakh language as a tool which would provide better opportunities for the future. Moreover, a bilingual ideology was to some extent motivated by the need to comply with European linguistic rights requirements in order to be perceived as a democratic state by international organizations and by western countries.²²² In case of a balanced language policy, both ethnic and Russified Kazakhs would go well

²¹⁸ Dave, Bhavna. “Kazakhstan - Ethnicity, Language and Power”, *Routledge*, 2007, 99

²¹⁹ Kolsto, Pal, “Nation-Building and Language Standardization in Kazakhstan”, http://folk.uio.no/palk/language_standardization

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Holm-Hansen, Jorn. 1999. Political Integration in Kazakhstan. In Pal Kolsto (ed.). *Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Post-Soviet Societies: An Investigation of Latvia and Kazakhstan*. Boulder: Colombia Westview Press, p. 181

²²² Smagulova, Juldyz. 2006. “Language, identity and conflict. *Innovation*”: *The European Journal of Social Science Research*. Volume 19, p. 2

with each other. However, this would effect the development and the spread of Kazakhstan due to the popularity of Russian among the Russied Kazakhs as well as the young generation to have better economic opportunities in a country where liberal market economy is valid.

To this end, it would be possible to argue that within the framework of reasoning the enforcement problems of language laws and the prevention of the dissemination of the Kazakh language, the country suffers some difficulties one of which, if not the major one, is the dominance of both the Russian population and the Russian language as the *lingua franca*. Although, the governmental decrees and policies in accordance with nation-building policies elevated the status of Kazakh, still it is the dominance of Russian through out the country that connects the people of Kazakhstan under a shared language. Kazakh language, on the other hand, consolidates its symbolic role as an element of nation-building.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The dissolution of the Soviet Union was the turning point for the people of Kazakhstan. It was time to recreate, restructure and discuss their national identity in order to consolidate the national consciousness among their people. This thesis is aimed to examine the process of nation-building by arguing that the language as one of the leading element of nationalism establishes a significant link between nation and the people of that nation. In doing so, I carefully examined official documents and language policies of the Republic of Kazakhstan and I took into consideration the existing literature on the link between nation-building and language. The significance given to language in post-Soviet Kazakhstan overlaps with the obtainment of an accurate and legitimate national consciousness by creating a national identity was the basic need of the post-Soviet period. Accordingly, the thesis argues that language acts as a symbolic agent in the formation of Kazakh national-identity. Although official documents and language policies of the post-Soviet Kazakhstan shows attempts aiming to promote the dissemination, acquisition and the standardization of the Kazakh language within the republic, it is possible to say that they have reached a limited success as the enforcement of these policies in real life practices includes certain challenges sourced by the domestic factors in the country as well as the external concerns which were examined and studied in the thesis carefully.

I focused on the relationship between language and national identity formation in post-Soviet Kazakhstan, aiming at understanding the role of language in the process of building a nation-state. With this motivation, I studied scholars like Gellner, Anderson, Smith in terms of analyzing the link between nationalism and language. On the other hand, I focused on Fierman, O'Barr and especially Joshua A. Fishman in order to evaluate the sociolinguistic aspect. Fishman and his

views have been very helpful in understanding the case of Kazakhstan. He tries to link language and nationalism with each other by taking into consideration the fact that language acts as an active agent in establishing a national identity.

Besides its communicative aspect as a tool fostering the spread of national consciousness through the use of a standardized language in the socially operation areas such as politics, business life, educational spheres, language acts a symbol which is referred in official and policy documents to motivate the feeling of belonging to a nation. As far as, Fishman argues the importance of language in the process of nation-building, other scholars such as O'Barr, Bourdieu, Chomsky, Das Gupta, admit that language is manipulated as it is obviously open to political exposure. The politicization of language, hence, is a matter or concern when studying the relationship between language and national identity. Because when a group of elites hold the political power in their hands, unsurprisingly, they become the leading national group which dominates the country. As a result, the possibility to face with certain conflicts reveals. For example, as Fishman and his colleagues argue, in multi-ethnic settings the dominance of one culture and one language over another would disturb the minority population seriously if the degree of pressure from the titular group exceeds and if the size of the minority population counts for considerable amounts. Similar to what Fishman argues and puts the multi-ethnic structure as a challenge of the nation-building process in newly the independent countries, Laitin also finds that language might turn to be an issue of conflict if a balanced policy would not be launched. The case of Kazakhstan also verifies these views as it owes a multi-ethnic structure and the unique demographic structure caused the emergence of tensions in terms of the enforcement of language policies and laws. The strict nationalist policies of the Kazakh government in the early years of independence have also caused tensions among the people of Kazakhstan seriously.

The emphasis given to language in the process of nation-building could also be related with the concept of secularism. As Fishman also argues that, "language

becomes part of the secular religion, binding society together”.²²³ With the motivation to consolidate the national structure, secularism, acts as an important ideology to base the arguments of being modern on a legitimate basis.

The independence gave the Republic of Kazakhstan, in contradiction with the past experience of the country, the opportunity to set up a nation-state which would base its arguments on the existence of the Kazakh nation with the glorification of Kazakh culture. It was the need to achieve an urgent national consciousness in order to restore the weakness sourced from the Soviet past of the country. Not only the Soviet rule affected the development of Kazakhstan, but the pre-Soviet, Tsarist era also aimed to achieve the purpose of their cultural assimilation project. Nevertheless, it was the Soviet times nation-building policies what makes considerable changes in the cultural structure of Kazakhstan as well as the demographic structure of the country.

Thanks to its geographical location, Kazakhstan attained the attention of the Soviet leaders and as a result mass migrational movements took place starting with the mid-1930s. The population of the Kazakh SSR increased by these inflow movements of migration. To this end, the population of Kazakhstan become highly dominated by the Russian, or the Slavic population, while putting the local people of Kazakhstan to a “lower” status. Because those Slavic people obtained the high-status jobs and had a better standard of access to a better education. Moreover, due to their developed and prestigious position in the country, especially the urbanized Kazakh people attributed them a positive meaning. The Russian culture is considered to be the tool which paves the way to modernization and civilization. The positive perception of Russian culture remains on the fact the cultural assimilation policies of the Soviet Union were, in a way, achieved its goal by creating a superior Soviet identity which was above all other identities within the Soviet Kazakhstan. As it was mentioned in chapter 3, the Soviet times policies have

²²³ Fishman cited in Schmid, Carol L. 2001. *The Politics of Language: Conflict, Identity, and Cultural Pluralism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 9

changing characteristic, but it is important to emphasize that these policies also used language as a symbolic tool both in the establishment of national consciousness and the merging of nationalities under one superior identity.

In the second chapter, I categorized the views of Fishman under three main titles in order to evaluate the case of post-Soviet Kazakhstan in terms of the issue of language with national identity formation. These categories were listed as the link between secularism and language. The other category is the use of language as an asset of authenticity and verification and the last one is the demographic structure and its effects on language standardization and acquisition. It would be remarkable to give concluding interpretations by evaluating the case of Kazakhstan in terms of official documents while making comparisons with the above mentioned categories.

The language policies which were launched in the independent Republic of Kazakhstan aimed to create a national identity by replacing the Soviet identity with a new national discourse which gave significance to the Kazakh identity. Language with its unifying aspect in a secular nation is very much suitable to be used as a symbolic tool. As Fishman already mentioned it is a rather comprehensive asset which would bind nations together when compared to religion. According to him language is much more powerful, moreover in a multi-ethnic setting it would be suitable to use language as a point of commonality. When we look back to the case of Kazakhstan, the government elites of the country put stress on the principle of being a secular state. The Article 1 of the constitution mentions the secular structure of the republic. Besides, Kazakhstan is the only Central Asian republic which stresses secularism in its constitution among other Central Asian countries. This fact leads us to come to the conclusion that the argumentation of Fishman as taking into account the issue of language in the frame of secularism has validity in the case of Kazakhstan. Although, the Kazakh language remains as a symbolic element rather than being a means of communication, it acts operatively in a secular setting appropriately. Hence, it would be suitable to argue that there is a correlation

between the official regulations and the Fishman's view in terms of the link between language and secularism in the case of Kazakhstan.

When we move along in line with the categorization, the attention put over the role of language as an asset of authenticity and verification is obviously valid for the case of Kazakhstan. Because, especially when we look back to the strict nationalist policies of the Kazakh governing elites in the period before the launch of the 1995 Constitution, it is clear that they introduced the Kazakh language as an asset of the uncontaminated peasant by attaching it with the glorified past of the Kazakh people in the territory of Kazakhstan. Although, the historical facts have been modified in favor of the conditions of the new nation-state it still acts as an element of verification, because it helps the recovery of national consciousness by the people of Kazakhstan. Moreover, in the period after the launch of the 1995 Constitution by adopting a rather softer position with regards to the issue of language due to both internal and external concerns, the Kazakh government attributed significance to the use of language as a tool which would provide accuracy in historical and traditional data manipulated and directed by official agents. The 'Cultural Heritage Program for 2004-2006' is an obvious example of these efforts. It embarks an importance to the Kazakh language by stressing the need for the promotion of the state language to help the spread of historical data among the people of Kazakhstan. Moreover, as Fierman frequently mentions in his studies, the education of Kazakh pupils in both Kazakh medium-schools proves the fact that promoting the dissemination of the Kazakh language legitimizes the government's efforts in the eyes of its people. Hence, the case of Kazakhstan shows that language also acts as an element of verification and authenticity.

To continue with the categorization, the last but not the least point I have given in accordance with Fishman is the multi-ethnic structure of a country and its effects over the use and the internalization of a standardized state-language. According to Fishman, in a multi-ethnic setting the language policies to promote one language as the state-language would cause tensions among the population,

while it is much more easy to achieve success in a homogenous demographic structure. In the case of Kazakhstan, by taking into account the multi-ethnic culture of the country as well as the dichotomy that emerged between the Kazakh people based upon their degree of urbanization throughout the Soviet period, one can reach to a conclusion that it caused the emergence of a complex situation as the enforcement of language policies to support the Kazakh language could not be accomplished as it was foreseen by the Kazakh governing elites. Fishman's arguments about the link between language and nationalism and national identity formation, therefore, seems to be satisfactory to assess the language situation in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. The demographic concerns usually combine with the political ones and they act as catalyzing forces in the manipulation of language policies. In other words, the language is politicized and used by political agents as the owners of key control areas. The politicization of language is mentioned by Laitin and O 'Barr many times while Fishman and his colleagues also introduced the issue as a challenge of nation-building process. The modifications which were made after launching strict nationalist language policies by causing tensions among the people were based upon political concerns. Moreover the affect of the presence of Russian minorities within the Republic is a very important concern. Not only, the change that took place after 1995 released the internal situation in the country but it also successfully managed the improvement of the relations with the Russian Federation.

The President of Nazarbaev, realized the fact that to keep his country's sovereignty and legitimacy relies on the basis of keeping the discourse of being attached to the global world. With the motivation of being a multi-ethnic global and democratic nation-state, the Kazakh government changed its stance clearly. That is why the volunteer use of Russian language not only by the Russified or '*mankurt*' Kazakhs but also by the ordinary newly urbanized Kazakhs might be perceived as an effort of being attached to the modern globalized world. However, there are ongoing recent efforts in official documents to promote Kazakh language such as the adoption of a state sponsored program in 2006. The recent efforts also verify the

fact that still language is a symbol in national identity formation when the process is managed by political agents. To go further, it can be argued that, although in the short-run it does not seem to be possible to use Kazakh as a means of communication, but in the long-run, as there exists promising indicators such as the faithful attachment of the Kazakh people to their ethnic origins thanks to the nation-building policies of the government, the Kazakh language would become much more widespread within the republic.

To conclude, in order to open up another debate for further researches one can ask, what would happen in the long-run if the Kazakh language would remain only as a symbolic tool. Would it keep its gravity as a tool in politics and in the minds of people or would it loosed its power as a national identity marker? Nevertheless, the argumentation of the thesis claims that, in the short-run the Kazakh language would act as a symbolic tool in the process of national identity formation and it would continue to keep its significance as a tool.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Cultural Heritage program for 2004-2006

Introduction

The Government Program of the Republic of Kazakhstan 'Cultural Heritage' 2004-2006 (further - the Program) is developed according to the Message of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the People of Kazakhstan the Basic directions of Internal and Foreign Policy for Year 2004 and the Action plan on Implementation the Government Program 2003-2006.

Development of the present Program is caused by necessity to stimulate constructive influence on the situation in the sphere of a cultural heritage.

1. The analysis of the current state of problems in the field of cultural heritage

The current state of cultural heritage of Kazakhstan is characterized by feasible maintenance of a complex measures on preservation and further development of centuries-old traditions through creation of a new cultural and historical monuments, activation of restoration and preservation works on mausoleums, ancient mosques, ancient cities, creation on their basis new historical and cultural reserve museums.

At the present time there are more than 25 thousand immovable monuments of history, archeology, architecture and monumental art, 11 thousand libraries, 147 museums, 8 historical cultural reserve museums and 215 archives in Kazakhstan.

The wide network of the state museums on history and ethnography, memorials dedicated to the memorable events in a history of Kazakhstan was created.

The unique monument of history and culture of Kazakhstan - Khodja Akhmed Yassaui mausoleum in Turkestan city was included to the UNESCO List of the World Cultural Heritage in June, 2003.

Measures on improvement of a cultural infrastructure of Astana were accepted: in recent years in the capital of the Republic the Kazakh Theatre of a Musical Comedy, the Presidential Centre of Culture including a museum, library and a concert hall were open. Construction of National library is finished. Construction of the Concert hall and the Circus is conducted.

Laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On Protection and Use of a Historical and

Cultural Heritage», «On culture», «On National Archival Fund and Archives» are accepted and operate.

At the same time, the current situation in the sphere of preservation and development of cultural heritage demands to accept urgent comprehensive measures for the further development and step up efforts in this direction.

Many historical, archeological and architectural objects representing great importance for a national history of Kazakhstan require an urgent help. Among them such unique monuments of history and culture, as mausoleums Arystanbab in South-Kazakhstan, Asan-Ata and Aikozha in Kzylorda area, Zharkent Mosque in Almaty area, historical architectural monuments in Turbat village in South-Kazakhstan, historical architectural and archeological monuments of reserve museum 'Azret-Sultan', "Zhidebai Borli", Reserve in Mangistau area and 'Ordabasy' reserve etc.

Most of them are not protected yet from a destructive effect of urbanization and industrialization.

The system and methods of studying and using of intangible and spiritual objects of culture from the earliest times, including Ancient Turkic written records, as well as transformation of traditional mythologeme and characters in modern writings are underdeveloped.

Since the 90s of the last century publication of fundamental works of world scientific idea in the field of philosophy, history, jurisprudence etc., as well as fiction for Kazakh-speaking audiences is practically suspended.

In this connection, with an aim of education of rising generation in spirit of the Kazakhstani patriotism and filling of the gap in full-fledge studies of historical and cultural heritage, as well as summing up of centuries-old spiritual experience of Kazakh people, become especially actual issues on publication of the full historical, art, scientific series in the state language.

Also a natural ageing process affects on a written heritage, documents made of organic materials, such as paper, glue, leather, cardboard etc. It is necessary to pay a special attention to a physical condition of records of outstanding musicians of the oral professional tradition which are remain deposited in archives of the Kazakh State Conservatory named after Kurmangazy and other archives of the country.

Integrated solution of the abovementioned problems within the framework of the present Program will promote further development of the studying system, preservation and popularization of a cultural heritage of the people of Kazakhstan.

2. Purposes and tasks of the Program

The main purpose of the Program is development of spiritual and educational sphere, maintenance of safety and efficient use of a cultural heritage of the country.

This purpose will be achieved through the solving of the following issues:

- reconstruction of the significant historical, cultural and architectural monuments of the country;
- creation of a complete system of a cultural heritage studying, including, modern national culture, folklore, traditions and customs;
- creation of entire research system of Kazakh people cultural heritage, including, modern national culture, folklore, traditions and customs;
- generalization of centuries-old experience of the national literature and writing by creation of full-fledged art and scientific series;
- creation in the state language a comprehensive collection of works for art education on the basis of the best achievements of world science, culture and literature.

3. Guidelines and Implementations Arrangements of the Program

The program will be realized in the period 2004-2006 and provides the guidelines for preservation and revival of a cultural heritage through:

- creation of comprehensive system on cultural heritage research, archeological researches of ancient and medieval cities, settlements, mounds, creation of reserve museums on their basis, as well as inclusion to the system of touring infrastructure;
- restoration, preservation and use of unique historical cultural and architectural monuments of Kazakhstan;
- popularization of scientific knowledge, development of theoretical problems of a historical science, release of the scientific, art and encyclopedic publications;
- systematic actions on preparation for the publication of the List of a historical and cultural objects of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- solution of a problem on creation in the Republic of Kazakhstan of an optimum structure on protection and active use of historical, cultural heritage which would include consolidated guidance above activity of regional state inspections, restoration organizations, implementation of approved state programs and projects in sphere of historical and cultural monuments protection;
- enhancement of efficiency of the National Archival Fund using as an object of a cultural heritage and information resource of the state;
- preparation and publishing of the best masterpieces of national literature, as well as achievements of world scientific ideas in a state language.

According to this the basic directions of realization of the Program are:

- 1) Reconstruction of significant cultural, archeological and architectural monuments of a national history;
- 2) Creation of a comprehensive research system of the Kazakh people cultural heritage;
- 3) Development of the publications series of national and world scientific ideas, culture and literature.

3.1. Reconstruction of the significant cultural, archeological and architectural monuments of a national history

Reconstruction of monuments of a national history will be provided through the organization of integrated scientific and culturological researches, realization of measures on restoration, preservation, renovation and accomplishments of the monuments which have a special value for national culture, such as: mausoleums Abat-Baitak, Aisha-Bibi, objects of Karaman-Ata, Shopan-Ata necropolises, Akyrta and Baba-Ata palace complexes, as well as revival and development of historical and ethno-cultural environments, realization of archeological researches of ancient, medieval sites, mounds and settlements, such as Koilyk, Issyk, Saraichik, Berel etc.

Preparation for publishing of the List of Historical and Cultural Monuments of Republic of Kazakhstan will be carried out.

Movable objects of history and culture stored in museum funds of the country require regular restoration works. From this consideration, it is necessary to consider the possibility of creation of the Centre on Restoration and Formation of Museum Funds which have great importance for a national history.

3.2 Creation of comprehensive research system of cultural heritage of the Kazakh people

With the aim to study heritage of outstanding scientific thinkers of the past, as well as revelation and purchase of rarities, manuscripts, old publications, books and archival documents having historical value in a cultural heritage of the Kazakh people will be organized research expeditions to archives and libraries of foreign countries.

Also there will be realized scientific researches of historical, cultural, architectural and archeological monuments which are very important for national culture in order to provide their preservation and safety, including items in territories of reserve museums.

For the purpose of preservation of unique objects of documentary heritage and organizing free access to them it is necessary to continue studying of heritage of outstanding scientists, thinkers of the past, such as: al-Farabi, Yu.Balasagun, M.Kashgari, S.Bakyrangani, A.Yugneki, M.Dulati, K.Zhalairi, Z.Babur etc. It is also essential to find out, purchase or make copies of manuscripts, rarities and books, where are: «Kummanikus Code», «Kitabi Dedem Korkud» (they are in Dresden and

Vatican), 'Oguz-name' (it is in Paris), 'Babyr-name', 'Mukhabbat-name' (it is in London), «Kutadghu bilig» by Yu.Balasagun (it is in Cairo) and others which have great importance in a cultural heritage of the Kazakh people.

With the aim to ensure the protection of ancient manuscripts, books and other sources it is necessary to create under the National Library the Centre on Discovering of National Book Rarities, Books and Ancient Manuscripts Restorations.

In conditions of information technologies rapid development and an implementation of the Electronic Data Processing Unified System the preservation and using documents of the National Archival Fund on updated media become a task of high priority. To facilitate the execution of this task it is planned to create the Centre on Insurance Copying and Restoration of Archival Documents under the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Work on discovering and copying of the Ancient Turkic runic inscriptions which are found in the territory of modern Mongolia and other countries of the world is being proceed. There will be built a monument - the symbol of the state integrity and unity of the peoples of Kazakhstan on the Ulytau Mountain. Borders of protected territories of cultural and mixed heritage objects included in the preliminary list of the World heritage will be determined and the database on such objects will be created. A business plan on management and preservation of mausoleum Khodja Akhmed Yassau has to be developed.

3.3 Development of publications of national and world scientific ideas, culture and the literature

With a aim to acquaint Kazakh speaking public with a wide range of the best creations of distinguished thinkers, writers and personalities of the world's culture and to produce in the state language a sophisticated fund of arts publications on the basis of the best achievements of the world idea it is necessary to develop and publish fundamental literary and scientific editions. Taking to the consideration specificity of a publishing activity and a work content on translation of world literary classics best productions in a different spheres of science a publication of editions will be also continued in the ensuing years.

Cycle «Folkloristic, Literary and Art Studies» is submitted by the series of books «Balalar syozi», united the Kazakh national folklore: fairy tales, epical and historical legends which were formed during hundreds of years and are being reflection of a rich heritage of Kazakhs' oral folk art.

«The History of the Kazakh Literature» has a great importance and telling about a history of genesis of art literary idea in Kazakhstan during several centuries and revealing the main tendencies and features of creativity of writers and poets of Kazakhstan.

In the cycle «Fiction» achievements of world's classics have found reflection. A series «Library of the world's literature» includes the most distinguished literary works of the countries of Europe, America, Australia, Africa, and Asia.

The first attempt to combine together the best masterpieces representing a rich philosophical heritage of the Kazakh people will be released in a series «The Philosophical Heritage of the Kazakh People from Most Ancient Times up to Latter Days» in the edition «Philosophy». Philosophical views of outstanding sons of the Great Steppe, beginning with Korkyt-ata and continued in views of Abai and Shakarim are rightfully considered as pearls of the world humanistic spiritual culture. A series «The World's philosophical heritage» contains fundamental works on history of the philosophy, the most known works of outstanding thinkers of the West and the East from the ancient times up present days which are introduced by brief characteristics of schools of thoughts and biographies of authors.

In the edition of «The Historical Science» - the project «Written Sources on a History of Kazakhstan» assumes preparation for the publication several series in a state language of written sources on a history of Kazakhstan from most ancient times up to present days, including works Herodotus, Ptolemy, as well as the most significant Arabian, Persian, Turkic, Chinese, Mongolian, Russian and western written sources.

A series «The World Historical Idea» will contain treatises of outstanding thinkers and scientists of the world, devoted to problems of development of human civilizations, cultures of the countries and the peoples.

In edition of «Archeology, monuments of history and culture» coming in a series of books «The List of Monuments of History and Culture» will be widely submitted data on immovable monuments of archeology and a history of Kazakhstan, with a summary of their historical importance and artistic features, as well as history of the nation and its crafts with illustrations. A series of the albums, promoting creation of entire system of studying of the Kazakh people historical heritage is of special interest also. Among them «Archeology of Kazakhstan», «Petroglyphs of Kazakhstan»

In the edition «Cultural Studies», the project «The World's culturological idea» will contain translations of set of treatises of thinkers of the past and monographies of the modern scientists devoted to such fundamental concepts of cultural science, as «culture» and «civilization», «cultural property» and «cultural phenomena», «the subject of culture» and «cultural heritage», «traditions and innovations in culture», «types of culture» and others.

The edition «Ethnography and anthropology» in series of the illustrated albums «The Kazakh National Traditions and Ceremonies» will describe national traditions and ceremonies; there also will be submitted data on cultural property and crafts of the Kazakhs.

The edition «Jurisprudence» includes a series of books «The Ancient World of the

Law of the Kazakhs», there are collected oratorical speeches, instructions and edifications of well known biis (tutor-guides), which were focused on the unity of Kazakh people, and territorial integrity, moral improvement of a society and the consolidation on the principles of humanity, peace and justice, as well as records and collection of laws of the Kazakhs.

The edition «Sociology» will be submitted by a series «The World's sociological idea», devoted to numerous researches on problems of formation of the person in a society and his/her socialization, formation of social institutes and essence of social processes, as well as to modern theories and schools of sociological knowledge.

In the edition «Political science» a series «Idea of the World's Political Science» will accumulate texts of the world thinkers of various epoch, giving representations on the basic political and legal doctrines of the Ancient world, the Middle Ages, Modern and Contemporary History, and also reflecting stages of development of political and legal ideology in unity with its world outlook bases and the theoretical contents.

In the edition «Psychology» a series «The World's psychological idea» reflects a history of genesis of the world's psychological idea over the period of hundreds years and includes works of the brightest representatives of scientific psychological idea.

In the edition «The Economic Science» a series of books «Economic Classics» will be devoted to theoretical heritage of scientists and thinkers on economy, based on the methodological approach reflecting dialectic unity of evolution of a society, forms of managing and economic ideas. Every volume of this series will contain information materials and the texts which represent the main provisions and names of leading economic schools such as classical, keynesian, institutional, monetarism and others.

In the edition «Linguistics» will be published different defining dictionaries of the Kazakh language, dictionaries of synonyms, dialectological and etymological dictionaries containing the fullest data on development of the Kazakh literary language and promoting enrichment of its lexicon.

In the edition «Archives and librarianship» the collection «Epistolary heritage of the Kazakh elite» will contain comprehensive collection of letters of the Supreme governors of the Kazakh society, outstanding leaders of national scientific and creative intellectuals, which are stored in the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Archival Fund of the Russian Federation.

A series in the «Encyclopedias» edition will represent a wide range of encyclopedias and encyclopedic directories on literature, culture and art representing history of the Kazakh culture, specific literary genres and fields of art. The encyclopedia «The Republic of Kazakhstan» in the Kazakh, Russian and English languages will contain features, statistical data, illustrations, photos,

schemes and diagrams.

The best samples of the fine arts of Kazakhstan will be collected in the edition «Fine arts». A separate series «Artists of Kazakhstan» will be devoted to creativity of such talented masters of the present time, as A.Kasteev, U.Tansykbaev, S.Kalmykov and others.

6. Necessary resources and sources of their financing

Financing of the Program will be carried out due to means of the Republican Budget. Total amount of financing - 1933,6 million tenge, including : 2004 - 641,65 million; 2005 - 631,7 million; 2006 - 660,2 million tenge. Amount of financing of the Program for 2005-2006 will be specified in the frameworks pro forma parameters of the Republican Budget for the appropriate fiscal year.

Issues on financing of the large serial editions of national and world scientific idea, culture, literature, which have to be released in the ensuing years, will be considered in accordance with the applicable procedure.

7. Expected result from realization of the Program

Implementation of the Program will contribute to increase of spiritual, intellectual and cultural level of the nation, education of the oncoming generation in the spirit of worldwide values, kazakhstani patriotism and to further consolidation of the society.

As a result:

Over 30 significant monuments of a history and culture shall be reconstructed;

Works on scientific research, preservation, accomplishment and tourist use of 32 ancient and medieval archeological sites and settlements will be carried out;

Cultural infrastructure will be expanded, tourist activity shall be developed and outspread, work on propagation and popularizations of historical cultural values shall become more active;

Measures on creation of entire research system of cultural heritage shall be realized;

There will be created:

The Centre on Discovering, Acquisition of National Book Rarities, Books and Ancient Manuscripts Restorations under the National Library; Under the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan - the Centre on Insurance Copying and Restoration of Archival Documents which will be equipped with high technology facilities; On the basis of the Presidential Cultural Centre shall be founded the Centre on Formation and Restorations of Museum Fund which have special value

for a national history;

Series of books on 16 directions will be published;

A monument - a symbol of the state integrity and unity of the peoples of Kazakhstan will be build;

Borders of protection territory of the cultural and mixed heritage objects included to the preliminary list of the UNESCO will be determined and database on such objects will be created,

Old records of outstanding musicians and performers which are stored in funds and archives of the country will be restored and transferred to modern sound-recording material.

Source: *<http://elib.assembly.kz>*