

The Influence of Foreign Policy on the Process of Nation Building in Kazakhstan

By

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Abstract

Kazakhstan is a country that pursues its foreign policy goals by gaining recognition of the international community and maintaining their sovereignty after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Sovereign Kazakhstan developed a strategic plan for presenting the country's national interest on the international arena. The focus of this paper is to explore the influence of foreign policy behavior on the nation building process in Kazakhstan through the analysis of decision making process aimed at improving the image of the country on the international arena.

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Introduction

The foreign policy includes actions and policies of one state-actor toward others international actors in order to achieve national goals of the country. This process is important for the state because it influences economic prosperity, domestic policies, maintaining sovereignty, shaping national identity and other aims of the government. National identity and foreign policy processes are interconnected with each other, as both are directed for understanding values, goals and ideas of the certain nation. As Hill and Wallace say on their relationship: “Effective foreign policy rests upon a shared sense of national identity, of a nation-state's `place in the world', its friends and enemies, its interests and aspirations. These underlying assumptions are embedded in national history and myth, changing slowly over time as political leaders reinterpret them and external and internal developments reshape them”. According to them, national identity of the country influences the effectiveness of foreign policy; therefore foreign policy decisions can shape national identity of the country vice versa. National identity process is one of the crucial elements of a country, and it can be shaped from different perspectives, as for example it can be shaped with the big influence of one political leader who will use common history and myths of the country, or it can be shaped by foreign policy decisions which shape national image of the country and its population on international level.

Kazakhstan is one of the former Soviet Socialistic republics which gained its independence after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 and started to develop itself as strong independent country. The country is the 9th largest country in the world with plenty of natural resources, variety of ethnic nations and high level of economy. The government of the sovereign Kazakhstan with its president Nursultan Nazarbayev developed strategic plan for the prosperity of the country. Gaining sovereignty was

very important for the population, so the government tries to do everything that in their hands for not losing their independence. Some of the main goals of this strategic plan was developing national identity of the country, creation of national image on the international arena and gaining recognition by the international community.

Considering history of Kazakh population, they were under the Soviet rule for a long time influenced by their ideology, interests, culture, language and other things, so one of the main goals for creation national identity of Kazakhstan was to escape from Russian influence on the people's minds. The government developed such important policies to increase national feelings of the population as process of Kazakhization and language policies in Kazakhstan, publicizing all necessary documents, making changes in their Constitution and introducing other domestic policies to implement main elements of these processes. Domestic policies were not enough, so the government decided to use foreign policy decisions for strong nation building process, because the way how the country presents itself on international arena, population will follow, value and develop themselves and their interests. Kazakhstan created foreign policy's strategies, one of which was developing mutli-vector foreign for balancing relations, not only between big powers as the United States, China and Russian Federation, but also with other countries. Other foreign policy strategy was representation the country and gaining its place on international arena with its own national interests, values and culture. The government implemented strategic plan for gaining international recognition by Western public and Western politics, for maintaining and strengthening their sovereignty and developing the concept of "Eurasianism" which they developed for national identity process presenting Kazakh population as "Eurasians", as well as for foreign policy strategy, since it helped to achieve main foreign policy goals. Kazakhstan is one of the former Soviet Socialistic

countries who achieved its main foreign policy and national identity goals which led to the prosperity and development of sovereign Kazakhstan. This work aims to research relationship of national identity and foreign policy decisions through the following question: How do foreign policy decisions of Kazakhstan shape the process of nation building in the country? The hypothesis that was developed for this dissertation answering this research question is that foreign policy decisions shape national identity of Kazakhstan through the development of their image and their representation on the international arena.

Mainly this thesis work is based on qualitative approach, because it explores, analyzes and investigates all necessary data about national identity and foreign policy of Kazakhstan through secondary sources. The aim of this work is to examine the influence of foreign policy decisions on national identity in the case of Kazakhstan, providing the analysis of foreign policy's policies shaping the sense of national identity among the Kazakh population. For the analysis of foreign policy events, the thesis used such secondary data as books, articles in newspapers, analytical papers and journal articles. The dissertation is structured in a following way. The first chapter provides theoretical and conceptual framework, analyzing different definitions of the "national identity" term and identifying one which is more applicable for the thesis. Also it discusses features of constructivism theory the dissertation based on, which explains relationship between two processes. The second chapter analyzes historical background of Kazakhstan, discussing events which became roots for national identity building process, and provides policies on this process which were implemented after the country gained independence. The third chapter of the thesis provides analysis of foreign policies that were developed, which influenced on shaping nation-building

process of the country. Finally, conclusion summarizes all main points and findings of the research giving suggestions for the further research in this certain area.

Literature review

The book “Theories of International relations” by S. Burchill, A. Linklater, R.Devetak, J. Donnely, T. Nardin, M. Paterson, C. Reus-Smit and J. True is one of the main literature for the thesis, because it talks about different theories of international relations as realism, liberalism, constructivism and others. It provides very clear description of constructivism theory and its characteristics, which is needed to understand relationship between two concepts: national identity and foreign policy. Christian Reus-Smit is the author of the part about constructivism theory, first he explains the emergence of it, emphasizing influence of others theories. Then he talks about the theory in deep including its characteristics and covers contribution and recent development in that theory.

The thesis “Nationality policies in post-Soviet Kazakhstan” by Deniz Dinc made its own contribution in order to understand the nation building process in Kazakhstan. Firstly the author talks about nationalistic policies started from the history of Kazakh population, covering the time under the Soviet rule, emphasizing the importance of the history, because nowadays process had an impact from its historical roots. Second, it talks about nation building policies of independent Kazakhstan, including research on ethnic groups, language policies, state symbols and capital relocation. The thesis dissertation of Deniz Dinc provided with clear and deep domestic policies for nation building of the country.

Third literature which had an impact on this dissertation is the article “The dilemma in the nation-building process: the Kazakh or Kazakhstani nation?” by

Özgecan Kesici. The author's article is very understandable, clear and important, because he analyzes national identity as a process based on multilevel process theory. Then he covers history of Kazakh population, but not only from the time under the Russian rule, but from the time of Kazakhs khanate emphasizing events that influenced on national identity of Kazakh population. The importance of this article is research on nation building process of sovereign Kazakhstan, where he attaches great attention for building the "Kazakhstani nation".

Taking into account the influence of foreign policy behavior on nation building process in Kazakhstan, the publication "Foreign policy of Kazakhstan – Risks and Perspectives" by Eurasian transition group supported this thesis by its small articles. There are four different articles by different authors, which talks about foreign policy of Kazakhstan from different perspectives. One of them talks about foreign policy's Eurasian concept, second covers OSCE importance, next one points the foreign policy decisions as marketing for the country and last one is about Kazakhstan's path towards a national ideology. All of these four articles supported the idea of foreign policy's impact on national identity in Chapter 3, providing examples of the foreign policy decisions.

Chapter 1

Definition of National Identity

National identity is widely known as a process developed to be used as a tool for unification of all nations or ethnicities within a state. Before exploring this process more thoroughly, there is a need to identify what “nation” and “identity” are.

According to Max Weber it is difficult to define the term “nation”, and even if it could be possible, it would be necessary to determine empirically observable common qualities of a nation. He states that as a common quality of nations, people need to consider themselves as one unity and have specific feelings of solidarity for one another.¹ At the same time Anthony D. Smith provides more precise definition of what a nation is, saying that it is “a territorially bounded unit of population which has its own homeland, share common myths, memories, has its own legal rights and duties under a common legal system and with a common division of labor and production system with mobility across the territory for members”.² Smith’s definition is considered as more precise because he connects the definition with certain things such as history, myths and memories which influence the nation building process as they unite people with similar ethnic origins and historical background. By comparing Smith’s and Weber’s definitions it can be concluded that Smith’s definition is continuation of Weber’s description, emphasizing why people consider themselves as one unity and what unites them in order to have feelings of solidarity for one another.

Similarly to the word “nation”, the term “identity” has various definitions.

Different theorists explain this term in a way that is more relevant to their own studies. As such, there are a number of important descriptions that need to be

¹Özgecan Kesic, “The Dilemma in the Nation-Building Process: The Kazakh or Kazakhstani Nation?” *Journal on Ethno politics and Minority Issues in Europe* Vol 10, No 1, (2011), last accessed on January 3, 2015, <http://www.ecmi.de/fileadmin/downloads/publications/JEMIE/2011/Kesici.pdf>

²Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991). 13. PDF e-book

considered. According to Hogg and Abrams, “identity” is a concept that allows humans to define what sort of people they are and how they relate to others. On the other hand Deng defines “identity” as a way how individuals or groups of people can not only define themselves, but also be defined by others on the basis of ethnicity, language, race, religion and culture.³ Identity is needed not only for the certain group of people themselves, but also for others to determine who they are and the differences between them. Identity shows uniqueness of individuals, comprising of such variables as religion, culture, race and language, which Deng underlines.

There are certain definitions when taking into account the terms ‘nation’ and ‘identity’ separately, but in order to explain national identity as a process in the state they need to be united. National identity is a complicated multi-dimensional concept that researchers explain and define by taking into account their different perspectives. To emphasize this, one can look at some examples of thoughts about this term; for example, Rutherford describes national identity based on such things as common culture, uniformity and cultural community. Yurdushev determines correlation between state and national identity and claims that nation-building process can be defined on two levels - rise of nation state and dominance of the national ideology.⁴ In general, national identity is the compatibility of the concepts of nation and identity. Many other definitions and views on this term can be found from different researches or theorists, but Smith already provides a more precise explanation of a “nation” for this paper and at the same time he provides definition on national identity and distinguishes five fundamental attributes of it. According to Smith national identity is

³ James D. Fearon, “What is identity (as we now use the word)?”, (Stanford University, 1999), last accessed on January 3, 2015, <https://web.stanford.edu/group/fearon-research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/What-is-Identity-as-we-now-use-the-word-.pdf>

⁴İnaç Hüsamettin and Ünal Feyzullah, “The Construction of National Identity in Modern Times: Theoretical Perspective,” *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* Vol. 3 No. 11 (June 2013), last accessed on January 3, 2015, http://www.ijhssnet.com/journals/Vol_3_No_11_June_2013/24.pdf

a multi-dimensional concept that includes some sense of political community, territory, citizenship, traditions and common values. Also it cannot be reduced to a single element and cannot be easily induced by artificial means in a population. He distinguishes five fundamental features of national identity such as “historic territory, common myths and historical memories, common mass public culture, common legal rights and duties and also common economy with territorial mobility for everyone who is in membership of the country”.⁵ Shaping and developing national identity in the country is not an easy task, and there are some tools that influence these processes, as foreign policy, economic development, media, natural resources and others. Some tools of the state can influence the nation building process, so next part of the thesis will discuss how foreign policy is related to the sense of national identity of the country.

Constructivism theory

There is also a necessity to understand how these two processes relate to each other and what the connection between them from theoretical perspective is. Howell states this about the relationship between national identity and foreign policy: “Foreign policy, most broadly defined, is central to people's sense of national identity, and to an understanding of their nation's purpose, role and values. A nation, and an administration, without a realistic and well articulated foreign policy, which explains the bewildering present and illuminates the uncertain future, is rudderless”⁶ It is easier for people to understand their values, goals and role in the country through the foreign policy decisions, because they develop the image of the country which influences national feelings of the population and their unity. When the country presents itself

⁵Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991). 13. PDF e-book

⁶ Lisbeth Aggestan, “Role conceptions and the Politics of Identity in Foreign policy”, (Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm), last accessed on January 16, 2015, http://www.deutsche-aussenpolitik.de/resources/seminars/gb/approach/document/wp99_8.htm

and participates in big international events, it presents whole nation and its interest in these events, which increases the value of the nation.

The theory, which explains relationship between foreign policy and national identity, is constructivism, as it is strongly related to national identity, national interest and national culture. There are some characteristics of the theory, where it talks specifically about the behavior of actors in international arena. Firstly constructivists claim that ideational structures are equally important as material ones, that the system of common shared beliefs, ideas and values also have a structure that shape the behavior of social and political actors.⁷ In order to influence and predict some political actions of actors, they built identity with common ideas and values, because it is helpful for the decision-making process of foreign policy. At the same time it can be said that if identity can influence foreign policy decisions, these decisions can influence the national identity of a country. The importance of these ideational structures is also expressed through the formation of social identities of political actors. For example, just like the identity of a professor who works in a certain university can be shaped by the norms of this institution, the social identity of an independent state can be shaped by the norms of international systems.⁸ Second feature that constructivists point out is that identities of actors are important, because they express interests of actors, which then became their actions. If it is possible to understand development of actors' interest through the focus on social identities of individuals, it will be possible to understand some political phenomena.⁹ This feature can be switched as if there is a political phenomenon in foreign policy decision; it presents interest of state's population, which can also shape its national identity,

⁷ Scott Burchill, Andrew Linklater, Richard Devetak, Jack Donnelly, Terry Nardin, Matthew Paterson, Christian Reus-Smit and Jacqui True, *Theories of International Relations* (New York: "Palgrave Macmillan", 2009), 220-221

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

because there need to be well developed national identity for identifying common ideas of population. In general, idea of constructivism theory is not trade relations, military power or international institutions, but concerns about social meanings, which include history, ideas, beliefs, and norms that need to be understood in order to explain state behavior on international arena.¹⁰ Constructivism theory is not as old as others and describes some details, which other theories do not include; as it was researched main concern of the theory is national identity, because nations with common identity will have common interest, which then can be presented in their political actions. Political actions in this paper are considered as foreign policy decisions, which can influence national identity of the country, because some foreign policy goals present common interests of nations, influencing the common sense of national identity. Also before exploring foreign policy's influence on national identity, one needs to consider how the people of the state identify themselves within the country, answering questions as "Who are 'we'?", "What do 'we' do?" and "Who are 'they'?", because these questions are foundational ones for national identity. There can be different answers on these questions from the population, but mostly the idea of the answers they have will be one, for example answering that they are either Russians, Kazakhs or Americans.¹¹ Talking about the relationship between national identity and foreign policy, there are some main ideas that best describe their relation to each other. Decisions in foreign policy aimed at achieving national interest, their needs and wishes, which shape national identity of the population.

¹⁰ Anne-Marie Slaughter, "International Relations, Principal Theories," *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* (Oxford University Press, 2011), last accessed on January 16, 2015, http://www.princeton.edu/~slaughtr/Articles/722_IntlRelPrincipalTheories_Slaughter_20110509zG.pdf

¹¹ Valerie M. Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*, (Maryland: "Rowman and Littlefield", 2014), 118-119

As William Bloom talks about the national identity dynamic, if there can be as single identification of the nation, there will be similar behavior between people this nation consist, strengthening and protecting their national identity. National identity dynamics work in a way where experiences of international events presented to the population as threat to the national identity or as opportunity for enhancing national identity, so in such way identification will work as a national whole through the mass public. This whole concept describes relationship between national identity and foreign policy as powerful tool for manipulation of mass public.¹² National identity and foreign policy are connected to each other, and if these two concepts use together, government can reach prosperity in nation building process, because when it is well developed sense of national identity between population it is easier to control and govern them in that direct way that government thinks is necessary. As Bloom emphasizes, “national identity can serve as foreign policy resource and foreign policy as a tool for nation-building”¹³, it emphasizes that these two concepts interrelated to each other.

National identity is not just a theoretical term, is a whole process that plays a significant role in developing independent country. Kazakhstan is a case where national identity process developed well in comparison with neighboring countries, because Kazakh population has some background for it starting from their history. As one can see Kazakh population had some roots for development of this process, which was shaping and changing from the history till nowadays. Kazakh government paid much attention on nation building, because they just became newly independent state. And it was needed for strengthening the country and its independent position,

¹² Zhulduz Baizakova, “What is the relationship between state’s national identity and its foreign policy?”, (Birkbeck University of London 2015), last accessed on January 16, 2015, http://www.academia.edu/5642546/What_is_the_relationship_between_state_s_national_identity_and_its_foreign_policy

¹³ Ibid

avoiding nationalistic clashes because there were varieties of ethnic population and uniting all people into one strong nation. The next part of the thesis will talk about historical roots on national identity of Kazakh population, and will consider policies which Kazakh government implemented right after independence for developing national identity.

Chapter 2

Historical Background

Sense of national identity cannot be emerged in a single moment among the population; it starts developing from the history and requires further development over time. It will be hard to distinguish first national feelings of Kazakh people without taking into account its relationship with Russian neighbors because they controlled region for a long time and had very big influence on Kazakhs nation building.¹⁴ The time of Kazakh population under the Russian rule was very long; every change of the Soviet government had its own impact on formation of national identity of ethnic Kazakhs, but there will be researched only those events which had big impact on Kazakhs. Firstly, “Roots” of nation building project of Kazakhstan began from the Soviet “korenizatsiia”, which means “rooting” in Russian, and which aim was to help in rediscovering and using populations’ culture. ‘Korenizatsiia’ mostly was useful for non-Russian people who were living on the Soviet territories because it supported using local languages, cultural traditions, reconsidering government administrations and filling them with regional ethnic nations’ members. Soviet authorities divided all citizens of Soviet Union into ethnical national categories, which were officially established. After the division Soviet leaders chose and appointed leaders of the officially designated ethnic nations from Bolshevik cadres.¹⁵ Development of ‘korenizatsiia’ was very appropriate at that time because of

¹⁴Donnacha Ó Beacháin and Rob Kevliha, “State-building, Identity and Nationalism in Kazakhstan: Some Preliminary Thoughts,” *Centre for international studies*, No. 1/2011, last accessed on January 7, 2015,

<http://doras.dcu.ie/16243/1/1101.pdf>

¹⁵Nathan Paul Jones, “Assembling” A Civic Nation in Kazakhstan: The Nation-Building Role of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan,” *Caucasian Review of International Affairs* Vol. 4 (2) Spring 2010, last accessed on January 7, 2015,

http://cria-online.org/Journal/11/Done_Assembling_a_civic_nation_in_Kazakhstan_by_Nathan_%20Paul_Jones.pdf

having certain structure of the country and to have not just territories with people who are different from each other by ethnic origins, but to have one strong united nation with one idea and aims without focusing on the origin. As Kaizer says that “The development of national forms, along with a rapid increase in literacy and educational attainment in the indigenous language were the major achievements of this period of korenizatsiia.”¹⁶ But in the end of 1930s the Soviet leaders changed policy of ‘korenizatsiia’ into another side and started new campaign which called “normative inversion”, under which the ethnic Russians had much more power than non-ethnic ones and they were announced as ‘first among equals’ giving them power of superior group with mission to help with modernization of people who were more regressive than they were. This process was more effective in Kazakhstan, in comparison with other soviet national republics, because there were numerous Kazakh national foundations and institutions closed, as for example there only 2 schools left with Kazakh-dialect in Almaty.¹⁷ As it was researched above Kazakh people’s nation building process was influenced by Soviet times, so second influence was gaining status of autonomous republic. Stalin defined nation with having such factors as common territory, common language, economic life and physiological make up and that it is stable and historical without masses that changes over time.¹⁸ Stalin supported some of Lenin’s ideas about nation-building strategy. This strategy states in order to be completely as international socialist state, non-Russian population needs to experience process of equalization, because it will allow non-Russian population to live following their historical cultural and linguistic traditions and to increase their

¹⁶ Jiri Melich and Aigul Adibayeva, “Nation-Building and Cultural Policy in Kazakhstan,” *European Scientific Journal* Vol. 2 December 2013, last accessed on January 7, 2015, [file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/2360-7141-1-PB%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/2360-7141-1-PB%20(1).pdf)

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Deniz Dinc, “Nationality policies in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan,” (Master diss., Middle East Technical University, 2010), last accessed on January 8, 2015, <http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12612633/index.pdf>

own self-rule inside federal Soviet Union. Common history, language, way of life, territory and psychological mind are the factors of Stalin's policy in order to certain ethnic group has status of nation.¹⁹ Kazakh ethnicity fulfilled all those criteria that time, so they became one of the socialist autonomous republics, Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, on December 5, 1936, that meant that they have their own divided territory and certain ethnic nation. Giving status of nation to the ethnic population which follows all necessary criteria was very good decision, because it allowed to that population, Kazakhs specifically, live their life according their history, traditions, use their mother tongue and to value their own spiritual values. Third thing that happened with Kazakhs under the Soviet rule were December events or "Zheltoqsan". It was under Gorbachev rule in December 1986. "Zheltoqsan" started from the dismiss of Dinmukhamed Kunaev and appointment of Gennady Kolbin, the thing that did not satisfied Kazakh people is that he was ethnic Russian and knew nothing about Kazakh SSR. It was unexpected appointment, and after official confirmation, there was organized demonstration on the central square by group of young people most of them were students, who were asking for the explanation of such sudden change.²⁰ There were some cries of discontent such as "One rule Kazakhstan must be Kazak", "Kolbin go back to the Russia", "Kazakhstan is for Kazakhs".²¹ Since young people wanted to get explanation of this appointment, they wanted to have a meeting with Kolbin, but he refused to go out to them and sent three officials to talk, Nazarbayev, Mukashev and Kamalidenov. Nazarbayev explained them that they all supported the appointment

¹⁹Özgecan Kesic, "The Dilemma in the Nation-Building Process: The Kazakh or Kazakhstani Nation?", *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* Vol 10, No 1, 2011, last accessed on January 7, 2015 <http://www.ecmi.de/fileadmin/downloads/publications/JEMIE/2011/Kesici.pdf>

²⁰Shirin Akiner, *The Formation of Kazakh Identity From Tribe to Nation-State* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1995), 55-56

²¹Deniz Dinc, "Nationality policies in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan" (Master diss., Middle East Technical University, 2010), last accessed on January 8, 2015 <http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12612633/index.pdf>

of Gennady Golbin as First Party Secretary, but rebelled students refused talking to him, calling them ‘traitors’. Finally some of them were allowed to have a meeting with Kolbin, but it is big mystery what kind of conversation they had with him.²² According to some scholars Zheltoqsan was the event that influenced nation-building process in Kazakhstan, because there were some tragedies such as famines, forced collectivization, Alash Orda liquidation, so they somehow enhanced the feelings of identity and power of nationalism.²³ The change of the First Party Secretary under Gorbachev aroused patriotic feelings and even in some way feelings of nationalism among Kazakh ethnic people, even the cries of demonstrators proves that, because the thing that dissatisfied them was that First Party Secretary was ethnic Russian and did not know about Kazakhstan as Kunaev knew. Considering Russian influence and policies on Kazakh people, it can be concluded that despite the fact that Kazakh people already had some prerequisites for creating nation-building, Russian influence played important role to strengthen their background on nation building and to promote national identity among Kazakh citizens. History of the population of the certain country is very important for building national identity, because it makes people to value what their ancestors did for them, thus it unites the people with a belief to protect what they had before and what they have now as independence, culture and united nation. Reviewed history will help to understand nowadays view on nation building, because analyzing roots of certain policies will help to deeper understanding of current situation in independent Kazakhstan.

²²Shirin Akiner, *The Formation of Kazakh Identity From Tribe to Nation-State* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1995), 55-56

²³Deniz Dinc, “Nationality policies in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan” (Master diss., Middle East Technical University, 2010), last accessed on January 8, 2015
<http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12612633/index.pdf>

Independent Kazakhstan

After the long time under Soviet rule, Kazakhstan gained its independence on December 16, 1991, it should be noted that Kazakhstan was the last state to become an independent one among other former Soviet republics, because Kazakh government did not want to accept the end of the Soviet era. Nursultan Nazarbayev became a first president of the independent Kazakhstan, as he won the election with the majority of the votes. The Kazakh population did not expect collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of long Russian era and did not believe that it is in real, but in a few months later they gained an optimistic mood. It was also because of Nazarbayev's leadership skills, he took matter into his own hands, controlling transition, setting stability and being ready for suitable political and economic reforms. The Kazakh people started to live their lives fully, enjoying expensive foreign cars, a variety of hotels and restaurants, embassies of foreign countries, they started to travel abroad and received international acceptance as member of their community. Kazakh's self-esteem increased much, under the soviet rule they lived in the shadow of Russian population as their 'younger brother', because they were not enough developed and cultured as their elder brothers were.²⁴ As it was said before Kazakh people lived under the Russian shadow, and after they gained the power of their own state, they started to develop national identity of the country by creating their own national flag, symbols, constitution, currency and other necessary things for fully independent state. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, independent Kazakhstan started to pay big attention to it nation building, considering all necessary things needed for nation

²⁴Shirin Akiner, *The Formation of Kazakh Identity From Tribe to Nation-State* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1995), 60-61

state.²⁵ After they gained independence, Kazakhstan developed a certain plan, which they need to implement for prosperity of their country. One of them was developing national identity among the citizens in the country. After this end, Kazakhs' independent government took everything in their own hands and followed the way of nation building how Russians did, for example, the renaming of public places or streets, promotion of national language, the rewriting of history and the establishment of new emblems, cultural buildings and institutions.²⁶ Nursultan Nazarbayev started a campaign where he wanted to increase Kazakhs' national feelings and to escape from Russian influence on the people's minds.

Process of Kazakhization

First of them was attention to the citizenship and ethnic origin of population of Kazakhstan. The time when the Kazakhstan gained its independence along with it, all ethnic population gained citizenship of Kazakhstan no matter which ethnic origin they have. Government started to pay attention on development of nationalization of Kazakhstan, publishing necessary documents and publications for introducing elements of it. As for example, on May 1996 there was published the president Nazarbayev's Order On the Conception of the Formation of the State Identity of the Republic of Kazakhstan, where he talks about ethnic groups, emphasizing that state appears by cause of creation of ethnic community and in order to fulfill needs as material and spiritual ones of this certain group, every ethnic group should have their own state.²⁷ Nationalizing roots for building national identity were noticed in

²⁵Narek Mkrtchyan, "The Notion of 'Kazakhness' Behind The Symbolic Nation-Building of Kazakhstan," (Yerevan State University, CEU Political Science Journal 9(1-2): 16-38, 2014), last accessed on January 8, 2015, http://epa.oszk.hu/02300/02341/00032/pdf/EPA02341_ceu_2014_01-02_016-038.pdf

²⁶ShirinAkiner, *The Formation of Kazakh Identity From Tribe to Nation-State*, (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1995), 62-63

²⁷Jiri Melich and Aigul Adibayeva, "Nation-Building and Cultural Policy in Kazakhstan," *European Scientific Journal* Vol. 2 December 2013, last accessed on January 12, 2015, [file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/2360-7141-1-PB%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/2360-7141-1-PB%20(1).pdf)

changing Constitution of the Kazakhstan, because there were some changes on ethnic Kazakh nation, while Constitution of 1993 talks about general different ethnic groups on the territory of the country, Constitution of 1995 emphasizes that ““We, the people of Kazakhstan, united by a common historic fate, creating a state on the indigenous Kazak land [...]”.²⁸ It can be seen that government’s aim was the creation of Kazakh ethnic community on the territory of independent Kazakhstan, considering that the government wanted to divide citizens of the country by ethnic groups. As it was already mentioned, in fact government did not have choice giving citizenship for everyone despite of their ethnic background, but they did not give up and tried to do the hard thing as division citizens by their ethnic origin. In reality the government did not divide population by different ethnic origin, they just increased ethnic Kazakhs’ role within the government, emphasizing their power everywhere, as there were provided examples of making changes in constitution, publishing special articles or brochures which contain some thoughts on national identity. Publication of Nazarbayev’s order gives the superiority of ethnic Kazakhs on other ethnic minorities because they are nation which formed the actual independent government, but the presence of multinationalism in Kazakhstan is because of immigration of other ethnic minorities and that they have their own territories outside of Kazakhstan.²⁹ As we all know, there was migration of almost half of the ethnic Kazakhs under Soviet rule to other countries, and the majority of population on the territory of present Kazakhstan was ethnic Russians. After Nazarbayev started campaign about ethnic origin, he tried to ethnic Kazakh migrants come back with their families and live on the territory they need to live, so during that time the number of ethnic Kazakhs grew by 1.5 million,

²⁸ Özgecan Kesic, “The Dilemma in the Nation-Building Process: The Kazakh or Kazakhstani Nation?”, *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* Vol 10, No 1, 2011, last accessed on January 12, 2015 <http://www.ecmi.de/fileadmin/downloads/publications/JEMIE/2011/Kesici.pdf>

²⁹ Ibid

while the number of ethnic Russians and Ukrainians decreased in times.³⁰ There have been formed process of Kazakhization (the term according to some scholars as Dave, Laitin, Kolsto and others), this process was about considering Kazakh nation as national group in comparison with others. Some scholars accepted this process as kind of revenge to Russians, because of the time when Kazakh population was under their domination and they felt themselves helpless and unnecessary, also because Russians thought that they are not enough civilized in comparison with them.³¹ The process of Kazakhization in other words is the process of nation identity building, because the government tried to increase role of the Kazakh and of course Russian influence played significant role in that, because as there was said, Kazakh population was under Russian dominance forgetting their native language, culture and history. So right after the independence Kazakh government decided to reestablish everything that can bind all ethnic Kazakhs together, remind them about their history before the Soviet Union and pay attention to their native language.

Language Policies

On the decrease of other ethnic groups also influenced policies concerning the language, because during the time under the Soviet rule, the priority language was Russian one, and modern Kazakh population started to forget their native language while learning Russian, so after the independence Kazakh government decided to change that thing, increasing the value of their native Kazakh language. In general policies concerning the language plays important role in multiethnic countries,

³⁰ Donnacha Ó Beacháin and Rob Kevliha, "State-building, Identity and Nationalism in Kazakhstan: Some Preliminary Thoughts," *Centre for international studies*, No. 1/2011, last accessed on January 12, 2015,

<http://doras.dcu.ie/16243/1/1101.pdf>

³¹ Renata Matuszkiewicz, "The language issue in Kazakhstan – institutionalizing new ethnic relations after independence," *Economic and Environmental Studies* Vol. 10, No. 2 (14/2010), 211-227, June 2010, last accessed on January 16, 2015

http://ees.uni.opole.pl/content/02_10/ees_10_2_fulltext_03.pdf

because is one of the significant tools of the nation building process. The Kazakh government started increase importance of Kazakh language as main language of the country using laws in Constitution, so in the Constitution of 1995 there was a law concerning language issue which tells that firstly Kazakh is the state language of independent Kazakhstan, second that “in the state institutions and local self-administrative bodies the Russian language shall be officially used on equal grounds along with the Kazakh language”, and third that “the state shall promote conditions for the study and development of the languages of the people of Kazakhstan”.³² Analyzing language policies, the Kazakh government did not eradicate Russian language, but just started to pay more attention on the development of Kazakh one. Even though the government wanted to get rid of the Russian language, it could be almost impossible, because as there was already said Kazakhstan has a variety of ethnic population living under Soviet rule, prioritizing Russian one, and it was hard to them forgot previous language and start to learn new one. Deniz Dinc emphasizes: “In this period, the elites tried to spread the use of Kazakh language even among non-Russians. However, soon after realizing the impossible goal of language conversion among non-Kazakhs government focused on non-Kazakh speakers among ethnic Kazakhs.”³³ Even though the goal of language conversion was considered as impossible one, the government did not give up and introduced some laws for increasing role of the Kazakh language. First laws, which were about language role, were in Constitution of Kazakhstan; for example Constitution of 1995 officially gave the status of the sole state language to the Kazakh one, thereby weakening the position of Russian language in comparison with previous years. Status of the sole state

³² Deniz Dinc, “Nationality policies in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan” (Master diss., Middle East Technical University, 2010), last accessed on January 15, 2015

<http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12612633/index.pdf>

³³ Ibid

language exalted Kazakh language in many times, because it requires candidates who are going to be elected to the high posts as to the Parliament, they need to be fluent in the state Kazakh language. Second was Language Law introduced on 1997, was about that all official documentation in the state administration, legislation and legal proceedings needed to be introduced in the state language. But due to the fact that Kazakh language was not so developed to present all these documents, the Kazakh government decided to modernize it and created The State Terminology Commission. Also the Language Law was not only about government but also about media, radio channels and broadcasts on TV needed to use Kazakh language as primary one.³⁴ As we can see government's steps for creation policies concerning the language were very persistent, they created many laws and rules for the development of Kazakh language.

Even though national identity process had some roots since history of Kazakh population, after they gained independence they developed domestic policies for increasing feelings of national identity. Policies on Kazakh language and the process of Kazakhization were created in order to strengthen national identity, which helps to shape common beliefs and ideas of the population. Also these policies influenced in a way that Kazakh population developed belief that their role is important, that Kazakh population could be proud of their country, citizens, language and in general to cause a sense of pride to be citizen of Kazakhstan. Domestic policies, which are formulated in order to increase national identity of the country, are interdependent with the foreign policy, which as follows influences the national identity building; it is a circulation of the country's tools. One cannot separate

³⁴ Renata Matuszkiewicz, "The language issue in Kazakhstan – institutionalizing new ethnic relations after independence," *Economic and Environmental Studies* Vol. 10, No. 2 (14/2010), 211-227, June 2010, last accessed on January 16, 2015, http://ees.uni.opole.pl/content/02_10/ees_10_2_fulltext_03.pdf

domestic and foreign policies from each other because they are symbiotic. Before exploring foreign policy it requires to consider domestic factors too which covers internal perceptions of national identity and influence of foreign policy on them.³⁵ There were already researched earlier domestic policies on national identity, as they influence foreign policy, which additionally influence Nation building process, so next part of the thesis will discuss how foreign policy decisions considering certain events can influence on national identity of the country. Further there will be analysis of foreign policy decisions on nation building process on the case of Kazakhstan, considering special events and things that shape feelings of the national unity.

³⁵ Rick Fawn, trans., *Ideology and National Identity in Post-Communist Foreign Policies* (London: Frank Cass Publishers 2004), 18-19

Chapter 3

Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, each country that got independence needed to develop itself in order to get international recognition, develop its foreign policy, define national interests and make favorable conditions for economic changes.³⁶ Kazakhstan is the country, which became more prosperous among the other Central Asian states in reaching these goals. Kazakhstan took significant place in international arena, as the country with strong state power, regional uprightness and well developed political and economic systems. In 2011 Kazakhstan already developed diplomatic ties with around 138 countries of the world where they opened 73 of diplomatic missions.³⁷ Since the time Kazakhstan gained sovereignty, as other countries, it faced some economical problems, in order to get rid from them Nazarbayev started to develop international relations with big powers for stabilizing economy and developing social stability in the country.³⁸ As big powers, firstly Kazakhstan considers Russia and China in order to establish balance between these powers and to maintain its sovereignty and later developed relations with US for additional balance.³⁹ Kazakhstan developed mutli-vector foreign policy to have balanced relations with all neighboring countries. This foreign policy behavior was developed also as effective strategy for protection national interest of Kazakh

³⁶ Dmitri Men, Byong-soon Chun, and Soon-ok Myong, "Modern Kazakhstan in Global World After Independence," last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://waset.org/publications/3975/modern-kazakhstan-in-global-world-after-independence>

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Yusuf Nebi Basta, "The Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan. An analysis of Kazakhstan`s multi-vector policy," Master Thesis in Political Science, University of Oslo 2013, last accessed on January 20, 2015, <https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/36938/1/BastasxMasterxoppngxStatsvitenskap.pdf>

³⁹ Brian G. Carlson, "Waving the Banner of Independence: Kazakhstan's Relations with Russia, China, and the United States," *Yale Journal of International Affairs* (2008), last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://yalejournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/083104carlson.pdf>

population.⁴⁰ During the first years of independence Kazakhstan developed plan “Kazakhstan 2030, Prosperity, security and improvement of welfare of the citizens of Kazakhstan” which defined strategies for economic development, while last depends on foreign investments to the country.⁴¹ So Kazakhstan started to develop its international relations and to gain its place on international arena. First important step was joining United Nation in 1992, where they additionally joined to UN’s agencies as UNDP, UNHCR, UNESCO, the International Labor Organization and the International Civil Aviation organization. Also it associated with World Bank and International Monetary Fund and asked for gaining membership in World Trade Organization.⁴² Kazakhstan’s aim to increase its international participation started to develop well, but it was not the end. Approximately the same years, they joined other internationally important organizations, such Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Organization for the Islamic Conference (OIC), the North Atlantic Co-operation Council (NACC), the NATO Partnership for Peace program (PfP), and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). As well as Kazakhstan joined the Asian Development Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Islamic Development Bank. Participation in all these important international organizations gave to the country significant international status; during the very short period Kazakhstan developed tied relations with them.⁴³ Membership in these organizations allowed Kazakhstan not only strengthens their sovereignty, but also increased the value of the Kazakh population, because membership means

⁴⁰ Anuar Ayazbekov, “Independent Kazakhstan and the ‘Black Box’ of Decision-Making: Understanding Kazakhstan’s Foreign Policy in the Early Independence Period (1991-4),” (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, 2014), last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://hdl.handle.net/10023/4895>

⁴¹ Yusuf Nebi Basta, “The Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan. An analysis of Kazakhstan’s multi-vector policy,” Master Thesis in Political Science, University of Oslo, 2013, last accessed on January 20, 2015, <https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/36938/1/BastasxMasterxoppngxStatsvitenskap.pdf>

⁴² Shirin Akiner, “Evolution of Kazakhstan’s Foreign Policy: 1991-2011,” last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://www.turkishweekly.net/files/other/eGs8SfrqpCGYkCKOTFrkIpXQhB5L2d.pdf>

⁴³ Ibid

gaining international recognition, and it was done during the short period of time in comparison with other Central Asian countries.

International recognition

Kazakhstan's big attention to its image of the country on international level, including membership in international organization, multi-vector foreign policy and international recognition creates national identity of the country. Recognition by international state actors of independent Kazakhstan develops unification of population, common sense of belongings for the country, which has its own place on international arena. From the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union "-stan" countries tried to develop national identity not only within their country, but also on international level but not all of them have a history of recognition in some parts of the world. Some scholars believed that creation of newly independent Central Asian states will lead to failure, and it will be hard for them because of the lack of experience as an independent state or the economic or social situation and other important factors that needed for the state.⁴⁴ But Kazakhstan showed reverse side which lead to the prosperity of the country where they developed economic stability, international recognition and developed sense of national identity. Gaining recognition on international arena was not so easy for the Central Asian states, because of their location which was unknown for the west, but this was very important for them, so perception of Kazakhstan can be divided into two parts as recognition by Western public and by Western politics.⁴⁵ As it was mentioned international recognition was important for Kazakhstan for strengthening their positions as independent country, recognition by Western politics was developed by

⁴⁴ Nurbakh Rustemov, "Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy - Eurasia In Real Politics," (Eurasian Transition Group), last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://www.eurasiantransition.org/page1/files/fpkaz.pdf>

⁴⁵ Michael Laubsch, "The Brand Kazakhstan - Foreign Policy As Marketing," (Eurasian Transition Group), last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://www.eurasiantransition.org/page1/files/fpkaz.pdf>

Kazakh government through implementing foreign policy decisions for it, but it will be harder to get recognition by Western public, they gained their attention from the movie “Borat: Cultural Learnings Of America For Make Benefit Glorious Nation Of Kazakhstan”. This film is about a trip of unreal Kazakh journalist to the US, and protagonist includes all prejudices of Kazakhstan.⁴⁶ The reaction from Kazakh public was not positive, because it damaged Kazakhs image among the western countries, others who never has been in Kazakhstan, has very different representation about this country. As students from Almaty said that: “He has never been in Kazakhstan and has nothing to do at all with Kazakhstan, and does those things out of Kazakhstan, insulting Kazakhstan and its nation”.⁴⁷ After the film was released, it was banned in Russia as well as in Kazakhstan, and Otau Cinema, main movie chain, said that “we consider this movie offensive, complete lie and nonsense”.⁴⁸ But from positive point of view, surprisingly this film made Kazakhstan famous, because the country became was in the headline of western daily newspapers, but western public did not believe in everything that was in that movie, and they became interested in such country Kazakhstan. So the negative brand of the country moved to an objective one.⁴⁹ Even though most of the Kazakh population negatively perceived the Borat movie, and started to rebuild as they said damaged image of the country, Western audience accepted this movie as funny one, and expressed their interest to see everything with

⁴⁶ Michael Laubsch, “The Brand Kazakhstan - Foreign Policy As Marketing,” (Eurasian Transition Group), last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://www.eurasiantransition.org/page1/files/fpkaz.pdf>

⁴⁷ Nikola Krastev, “Kazakhstan: Borat Movie Ridicules Kazakhs, Americans Alike,” *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty*, November 06, (2006), last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1072532.html>

⁴⁸ Donnacha O Beachain, “Social and Political Perceptions of the Borat Phenomenon in Kazakhstan: Evidence from a Case Study of University Students,” *Studies of Transition States and Societies* Volume 3, No. 3 (November 2011) pp. 51-63, last accessed on January 20, 2015, http://www.academia.edu/1526620/Social_and_political_perceptions_of_the_Borat_phenomenon_in_Kazakhstan_evidence_from_a_case_study_of_university_students

⁴⁹ Michael Laubsch, “The Brand Kazakhstan - Foreign Policy As Marketing,” (Eurasian Transition Group), last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://www.eurasiantransition.org/page1/files/fpkaz.pdf>

their own eyes. As later Foreign Minister Yerzhan Kazykhanov thanked Sacha Baron Cohen saying that he increased attraction of the country for the tourists.⁵⁰ As such, though seemingly building negative connotations about Kazakhstan the movie helped the Kazakh government makes one step closer towards achieving their goal of attracting more foreigners, most of who afterwards gained a positive impression. In a way, this helped Kazakh improved national identity. What about recognition from western politics, it was easier to achieve political cooperation and partnership deals with Western states while it was harder to achieve the approval of the western public. The time when Kazakhstan gained membership in most of the important international organizations, they became known among western officials as independent country. Example of the recognition by western countries can be invitation to participate in summit of Group of twenty, which Kazakhstan received in 2013. Ambassador of Kazakhstan to Russia was invited to Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, where he received an invitation for the president of Kazakhstan from Vladimir Putin, to attend the summit of G-20 as representative of the Eurasian Economic Community, the Customs Union and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).⁵¹ Participation in this summit increased Kazakhstan image on international arena for many times, improved their foreign policy and international prestige, because it is the only post-Soviet country that gained this invitation.⁵² This event increased not only prestige of the country on international arena, but also strengthens their national identity, because they was chosen and honored to participate in such important event among all post-

⁵⁰ Will Stewart, "'Glorious nation of Kazakhstan salute Borat': Country ridiculed by comic now Thank him for tourist boom (after banning the film)," *Mail Online*, April 23, 2012, last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2134025/Glorious-nation-Kazakhstan-salute-Borat-After-banning-film-country-ridiculed-comic-THANK-tourist-boom.html>

⁵¹ "President Nazarbayev invited to G-20 Summit in St. Petersburg," *Kazinform* February 22, 2013, last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2537373>

Soviet countries, which give them sense of unique and proud for the country and its citizens.

Sovereignty of the country

After Kazakhstan gained independence, they developed main goals that country wanted to reach and one of these goals was international maintaining sovereignty of the newly independent country. In order to get this, Nursultan Nazarbayev developed set of objectives, one of which was development of national identity of the country. Sovereignty is very important for Kazakhstan, because as was mentioned they started to live their lives with any influence on their culture, decisions and values and they did not want to lose their independence. Nazarbayev's one of the main aims was supporting independence of the country, as he said, "Our independence is our dearest treasure, which our grandfathers fought for. First of all, we will never surrender it to someone, and secondly, we will do our best to protect it."⁵³ According to the constructivism, foreign policy decisions influence national identity, so decision to maintain sovereignty Nazarbayev puts at the top of the goals, developing different policies, presenting them on international arena, and taking part in international events and international organizations. First thing that he did was removing capital city of Kazakhstan from Almaty to Astana, it can be considered as good political step in increasing national feelings, because he wanted to change capital city in order to rebuilt it as was more appropriate for Kazakh population. The relocation of capital city from Almaty to Astana is remembered as one of the successful projects of the president, because it was not only a wish to rebuilt capital city for their own manner and introduce new memories about Kazakhs history, but

⁵² "Kazakhstan invited to G-20 summit in St. Petersburg as EEC, CU & CIS representative", *Kazinform* September 5, 2013, last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://www.inform.kz/eng/article/2586876>

⁵³ "International Business Times," last modified January 20, 2015, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/vladimir-putin-continues-soviet-rhetoric-by-questioning-kazakhstans-created-independence-1463460>

also because Almaty was the closest city to other newly independent Central Asian countries. Taking into consideration the reason of elevation of the Kazakh identity, government wanted to leave Russian imposed point of view, because Almaty was shaped under the Soviet rule, having mostly Soviet civic identity. So they developed it by creating their own national and civic identities and having balance between them, as well as building new national surfaces, symbols and artifacts which will be an outline for nation building.⁵⁴ Relocation of the capital city mostly had foreign policy strategic decision, because as was mentioned earlier government wanted to have capital far away from other newly independent Central Asian states, because after the collapse of the Soviet Union, situation in the region was not stable when every country wanted to be independent and this relocation was very important for the security of the country. Another foreign policy reason is that because during the Soviet rule Astana city was full of ethnic Russian population and was close to Russia, so government was afraid that this part of the country could ask for separation from Kazakhstan, to join and be part of Russia. As we all know, relocation of the capital is not a cheap thing, because government not only will change whole structure of the country, but it will also influence world politics, because it will need to make changes in the political maps. Some scholars thought that transfer was unreasonable, because Kazakhstan experienced economic crisis that times including unemployment and inflation. But according to Potts, he states that if the relocation will be organized very well, it can bring foster for the economy of some countries.⁵⁵ Even though there were

⁵⁴Narek Mkrtchyan, "The Notion of 'Kazakhness' Behind The Symbolic Nation-Building of Kazakhstan," (Yerevan State University, CEU Political Science Journal 9(1-2): 16-38, 2014), last accessed on January 10, 2015,

http://epa.oszk.hu/02300/02341/00032/pdf/EPA02341_ceu_2014_01-02_016-038.pdf

⁵⁵Diana Kopbayeva, "Is Astana A Nationalistic Project? The Role of Kazakhstan's New Capital in Development of The National Identity," (L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, 1 st Annual International Interdisciplinary Conference, AIIC 2013, 24-26 April, last accessed on January 10, 2015, <http://eujournal.org/index.php/esj/article/viewFile/1400/1409>

suggestions that it was not good time from economical perspective to relocate capital, as we can see Kazakhs' government succeeded in it. There were numerous of reasons for relocation such political step, seismic activities in that region, pollution and of course nationalistic reasons as newly identity production and conciliation of Kazakhstan's sovereignty. Conciliation of Kazakhstan's sovereignty manifested through the development new Kazakhs' capital, as according some official documents calling new capital "Astana", as "new capital of new era", "symbol of independent Kazakhstan" and "the capital of the free nation".⁵⁶ This proves once again that Kazakhs' government exerted every effort for forgetting times under the Soviet rule because they got tired from pressure of Soviet government on certain things and maintaining their own independence. This relocation also influenced on increasing national identity of the country, because they presented Kazakh population as free independent nation, which could rebuild they capital city in their own manner. What about new identity production, they started creation of new buildings and landscapes with unique designs, which are closer to the European model rather than Russian one. As an example there are one complex that was opened in Astana called "Kazakh eli" who represents pride, freedom and future of independent Kazakhstan. Also it symbolizes two sides, first is thank of heroes who took part in getting independence of the country and second part is as reminder for Kazakh people about their history which was before Soviet rule.⁵⁷ Also it should be noted about ideological landscapes, which are mostly devoted to the national heroes, poets or different historical important

⁵⁶ Diana Kopbayeva, "Is Astana A Nationalistic Project? The Role of Kazakhstan's New Capital in Development of The National Identity" (L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, 1 st Annual International Interdisciplinary Conference, AIIC 2013, 24-26 April(), last accessed on January 10, 2015 <http://eujournal.org/index.php/esj/article/viewFile/1400/1409>

⁵⁷ Ibid

figures.⁵⁸ Considering this big project “Astana” which was aimed mostly on strategy of foreign policy, but also considered some strategies for national identity of the country, can be considered as successful one, because even though scholars thought that it can be risky for the country, the government reached the aims that they wanted. They created new capital city including all features for awakening of Kazakhs’ feelings of pride and unification while leaving away memories about the time under the Soviet rule.

Eurasianism

Another foreign policy decision of relocation was development of their concept of “Eurasianism”. This country relocation can be considered as one of the foreign policy decision in a way that the new capital was created as Eurasian concept, because of its location between Asia and Europe, which influenced on nation building process. Nazarbayev developed the concept of “Eurasianism” in order to have new national idea that is different with that they have during Soviet communism. Nazarbayev emphasized this concept as Kazakh people are unique ones because of its geopolitical center of Eurasia which is presenting multiculturalism and centrality of the country. He wanted to present this concept not only by the words or by documents, but Nazarbayev embodied it in reality through Astana’s architecture. The capital is presenting the concept of Eurasian identity, emphasizing its role as the “bridge between Europe and Asia” and as the “heart of Eurasia”.⁵⁹ It can be said that through the development of this Eurasian concept, which increases the value of the

⁵⁸ Narek Mkrtchyan, “The Notion of ‘Kazakhness’ Behind The Symbolic Nation-Building of Kazakhstan,” (Yerevan State University, CEU Political Science Journal 9(1-2): 16-38, 2014), last accessed on January 12, 2015,

http://epa.oszk.hu/02300/02341/00032/pdf/EPA02341_ceu_2014_01-02_016-038.pdf

⁵⁹ Diana Kopyayeva, “Is Astana A Nationalistic Project? The Role of Kazakhstan’s New Capital in Development of The National Identity,” (L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, 1 st Annual International Interdisciplinary Conference, AIIC 2013, 24-26 April), last accessed on January 12, 2015, <http://eujournal.org/index.php/esj/article/viewFile/1400/1409>

country, they increased national identity feelings of population because as the government says it is the centre of Eurasia, which is uniting Asian and European countries. Another aim of the Astana project was to represent Kazakhstan to the world, and Astana became one of the great achievements of the country that attracted much of public attention. As an example there should be mentioned the summits of the Organization on Security and Cooperation summit or the 7th Asian Winter Games which were conducted in Astana and increased city's image.⁶⁰ The increase of city's image increased patriotic feelings of Kazakh population, which allowed them to feel special, developed sense of pride for themselves and united whole population. The development of Eurasianism concept was not only because of their geographic location, but also because of different ethnic groups, they call themselves "Eurasians", including qualities of Asian population as veneration of family values as well as European ones such "the spirit of freedom and enterprise".⁶¹ Another important aspect of Eurasianism was gaining the OSCE Chairmanship in 2010, because it was really important for Kazakhstan as support in their position as "bridge between Asia and Europe". The OSCE Chairmanship was one of the main goals of foreign policy decisions which was really hard to achieve.⁶² Achieving this goal meant for Kazakhstan as a way to develop and maintain close relations with Europe and the US and to increase Eurasian security.⁶³ Also it should be mentioned that Kazakhstan was first Central Asian state which gained chairmanship in OSCE, it increases national

⁶⁰ Diana Kopyayeva, "Is Astana A Nationalistic Project? The Role of Kazakhstan's New Capital in Development of The National Identity" (L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, 1 st Annual International Interdisciplinary Conference, AIIC 2013, 24-26 April), last accessed on January 12, 2015, <http://eujournal.org/index.php/esj/article/viewFile/1400/1409>

⁶¹ Nurbakh Rustemov, "Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy - Eurasia In Real Politics," (Eurasian Transition Group), last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://www.eurasiantransition.org/page1/files/fpkaz.pdf>

⁶² Martha Brill Olcott, "Is The OSCE Kazakhstan's „Bridge“ To Europe?", (Eurasian Transition Group), last accessed on January 20, 2015, <http://www.eurasiantransition.org/page1/files/fpkaz.pdf>

⁶³ Janusz Bugajski, Margarita Assenova and Richard Weitz, "Kazakhstan's OSCE Chairmanship 2010. Final Report," *Institute for new democracies* January 2011, last accessed on January 27, 2015, http://csis.org/files/publication/110125_Bugajski_KazakhstanOSCE_Web.pdf

image of the country as well as among Central Asian states giving them leading way in that region, and also increasing their political role on international arena.⁶⁴

The government of Kazakhstan developed the image of the country through the Astana project and through the idea of Eurasianism, which is also influenced on the sense of national identity, because Kazakh population started to feel themselves as special ones. As was mentioned they started to define themselves not Europeans or Asians, but Eurasians, which underscores their singularity. These projects developed sense of national identity in a way, that Kazakh population could be proud of their country, because it achieved main important foreign policy goals for increasing their image on international arena. They could be proud because they get acceptance as independent country and took their own place in international community, through their Astana project, concept of Eurasianism and getting the OSCE Chairmanship.

⁶⁴ “Kazakhstan takes over OSCE Chair, seeks to strengthen Organization and advance dialogue on future European security architecture”, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, last accessed on January 30, 2015, <http://www.osce.org/cio/51810>

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation was to research the influence of foreign policy behavior on the nation building process in Kazakhstan, analyzing specific foreign policy decisions which shaped national identity of the country. The constructivism theory which talks about relationship between these two processes fixed this research for deeper understanding of their impact on each other. Taking into account history of the Kazakh population, it can be considered to have become roots to the sense of national identity, which were mainly developed after the Kazakh Soviet Socialistic Republic gained independence in 1991. Sovereign Kazakhstan developed goals to increase national identity feelings within the country, implementing policies, making changes in Constitution and publishing necessary documents. Nation building process can be shaped not only through domestic policies, but also through foreign policy decisions, while their analysis can bring conclusions to the effectiveness of these policies.

First, sovereign Kazakhstan's objective was getting international recognition, not only to have a place among the international community, but also to pursue its own national interests. The government of Kazakhstan developed a multi-vectoral foreign policy, gained membership in plenty of important international organizations and developed tied relations with big powers in order to get this recognition. Gaining international recognition means increasing national image of the country, which increase the value of the country by its population. Second, sovereignty was very important for Kazakhstan, so Nazarbayev developed a set of objectives for maintaining their independence. One of them was the Astana project, which can be considered as one of the more crucial initiatives, as it covers several objectives including increased sense of national identity and foreign policy strategies. Third,

Kazakhstan developed to increase national identity within the framework of the concept of “Eurasianism”. Because of their location between Europe and Asia, they call themselves Eurasians, indicating that Kazakhstan is “the bridge between Asia and Europe”. The Eurasianism concept helped Kazakhstan increase value of the country on international level, gain leading way in Central Asian region, shapes its political role on international arena and of course developed sense of national identity of population. All foreign policy decision that were mentioned above allowed Kazakhstan to shape its international image which influenced the nation building process, resulting in increased feelings of unity, significance and importance of the Kazakh people.

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