

**LABOR, SCHOOL AND NATION: ON THE FORMATION AND IDEA OF THE
MODERN KAZAKH NATION ON THE EXAMPLE OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOK IN 1930
KAZASSR**

By

Tomiris A. Nurgaliyeva

Submitted to

Central European University Nationalism Studies Program

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Supervisors: Dr. Jan Rybak and Dr. Charles Shaw

Vienna, Austria

2024

Abstract

This thesis explores the process of the formation of the Kazakh nation in its modern sense by the soviet authorities in the first decade of the USSR. The research targets the school textbook *Enbek pen Mektep* (“School and Labor”) and examines the état d’affaires in the moment of its publishing in 1930 and what aims or goals might have been motivating the authors to shape the modernized and socialized idea of a Kazakh nation in this way. Starting from the examination of existing literature in the area of invented traditions and formation of nationhood and following with the historical research of the terms “Kazakh” and “Kazakhness”, this research demonstrated illustrated a context in which the new attempts of the Soviet authorities to form the Kazakhs as a nation happened. By showcasing the contrasting notions of what “Kazakh” meant between before the Soviet nation-building program and the Soviets’ understanding of Kazakhness, I demonstrate the significant influence of the primary aims of establishing the socialism on the basis of indigenous national group. Moreover, I use the textbook of 1930 to show how the indigenous authors complied with central administration’s directives but were also able to promote some of the indigenous Kazakh traditional values which would not interfere with the Soviet model citizen ideal. Thus, the thesis showcases the reasonings and the process of implementation of various ideas on religion, nation, traditions and way of life as a part of formation of a new Kazakh Socialist.

Acknowledgements

The fact of the presence of this thesis can be attributed to many factors, but I would like to start with the one which I think has made the most profound influence on my life – my family. I express my deepest gratitude and love to my amazing father Almas Nurgaliyev, who has always supported me in any of my beginnings, to my beautiful mother Assel Nurgaliyeva, who has always shown immense power of love, to my cute sister Adele Nurgaliyeva, who has been treating me with blueberries while I was finishing the last chapters of this thesis, and to my little brother Nurali Nurgaliyev, who is just my source of joy and fun. I also thank my grandparents, Atalya, Apalya, Ataka and Apaka for their support and love. I would also like to thank the whole dynasty of the Nurgaliyevs for bringing up the light of curiosity and research in me. I would like to specifically thank my great grandfather Kumash Nurgaliyev whose life was the primary inspiration for this research.

I would like to express gratitude to the community of CEU. First, to my supervisors Jan Rybak and Charles Shaw, whose help and recommendations made this research reach its final version. I would also like to thank all the professors and staff who made my year an interesting and exciting journey and helped with my thesis in its early stages: Szabolcz Pogonyi and Rainer Baubock. I also thank my groupmates for the intellectual environment.

I would like to express my deepest love and gratitude to my dearest Jarosław Łukasz Kamiński for his constant immense love, care and support and being the best partner ever.

Finally, I want to thank myself for completing this immense and important work. You're the best, Tomiris! Can not wait to see your future works!

Best wishes,

Tomiris A. Nurgaliyeva. June, 2024.

Note on transliteration

Transliteration from Cyrillic Russian and Kazakh into Latin alphabet have been completed using the simplified system of Library of Congress. The names and the titles which have acquired a common spelling in Latin have been used in their Latin forms.

Table of contents

ABSTRACT	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	III
NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION	IV
TABLE OF CONTENTS	V
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	6
ERIC HOBSBAWM, “INVENTED TRADITIONS”	6
NATIONAL IDENTITY THEORIES	9
IDENTITY IN THE USSR: ETHNICITY, NATIONALITY, NATION	14
CHAPTER 2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT	18
ORIGIN OF KAZAKH IDENTITY AND MEANING OF <i>QAZAQLIK</i>	18
TRIBAL IDENTITY: <i>JÜZ</i> , <i>EL</i> , AND <i>RU</i>	21
FIRST POLITICAL INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF KAZAKH IDENTITY AS NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ALASH IN THE PRE-SOVIET PERIOD.....	25
NEW ENVIRONMENT: <i>KORENIZATSIIA</i> POLICY AND INFLUENCE ON NATIONALITY PROJECT	29
SOVIET IDENTITY: EXCLUDING OR INCLUDING?	34
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY	36
DISCOURSE-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS.....	36
CHAPTER 4. ENBEK PEN MEKTEP	38
HOLIDAYS AND RELIGION	41
KAZAKH TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE	50
KAZAKH OR SOVIET? BOTH?	53

CONCLUSION	56
APPENDICES.....	59
APPENDIX 1	59
APPENDIX 2	61
APPENDIX 3	63
APPENDIX 4	64
APPENDIX 5	65
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	66

Introduction

If there is any sphere in the social life of people that is seen in the scholarly eye to be heavily scrutinized and influenced by sudden political and cultural changes and is used as the major tool of new ideologies promotion the most, then it is education. However, it is not simply the education and the content, but the methods used to teach by educators and the format they use which might likely define the future values of the expected citizens. Sociologist of education Robert Fiala calls curriculum as “a subset of the more general concept of educational ideology, providing the opportunity to use data on aims of education as an indicator for both the intended curriculum and the ideology of education of which it is a part.”¹ The USSR is of no exception to this rule, with education being one of the major areas of influence. It is especially true for the period of *korenizatsiia* of the 1920s and 1930s, translated into English as “indigenization”, - a USSR-wide campaign, which included the set of policies aimed at the promotion of cultural and ethnic cultures and languages in the socialist manner initiated in 1923 with the goal of increasing the trust of ethnic minorities in Soviet power, through encouraging local residents to actively participate in the local level political and cultural decisions of their newly established ethnic republics in a new Soviet state, as 47.1% of the population in 1926, the first state census of the USSR, belonged to non-Russian population. The campaign has been particularly addressed by the USSR, whose territory primarily lied in Asia, to specific Eastern European and Asian nations, many of whom were considered “culturally backward”² by the central communist

¹ Robert Fiala, “Educational Ideology and the School Curriculum,” in *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective: Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education*, ed. Aaron Benavot, Cecilia Braslavsky, and Nhung Truong (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2007), 15–34, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-5736-6_2.

² Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2001).

administration in Moscow, as “the period of construction of socialism [is] the period of the flowering of national culture.”³ This is further supported by Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal and Suk-Ying Wong, who argued that ideas of national and civic belonging are easily incorporated into subjects and can be taught.⁴

There is a wide range of literature available on the history of *korenizatsiia* from the perspective of government which focus on the policies and the general trends and goals of the central administration in Moscow and how the policies were officially implemented.⁵ These sources look at the power of the central Moscow administration but also admit the fact that it, firstly, has been treating the regions and nations in various ways and, secondly, allowed some extent of the local culture flowering and admitted the ideas on behalf of the local community members.

By expanding this second question raised in the given sources, there is a whole layer of perception of the same history from the meso-perspective, namely from the perspective of the local creators. One of the such interesting cases is the formation of the Kazakh nation. Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was created quite early and gained the name of the titular nation before many of its inhabitants would call themselves this way. The weight of promoting

³ Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*, 155.

⁴ Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal and Suk-Ying Wong, “Educating Future Citizens in Europe and Asia,” in *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective: Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education*, ed. Aaron Benavot, Cecilia Braslavsky, and Nhung Truong (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2007), 73–88, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-5736-6_5.

⁵ Darakhshan Abdullah, “Dynamics Of Soviet Educational Model In Central Asian Republics,” *The Journal of Central Asian Studies* 13 (2016), <https://ccas.uok.edu.in/Files/93269b6c-7f53-4439-ae9a-3bdf55a4c649/Journal/e4afe116-08e8-48d8-b3a8-e178ae620a0b.pdf>; Terry Martin, “4. Affirmative Action in the Soviet East, 1923-1932,” in *4. Affirmative Action in the Soviet East, 1923-1932* (Cornell University Press, 2011), 125–81, <https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501713323-008>; Aigerim Mynbayeva and Victoria Pogorian, “Kazakhstani School Education Development from the 1930s: History and Current Trends,” *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education* 6 (June 1, 2014): 144–72; Zubeer A. Rather and Darakhshan Abdullah, “The Development of Soviet Education in Kazakh SSR (1917-1991),” *The Journal of Central Asian Studies* 26/27 (2019): 36; Edited by Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

the new identity fell on the Kazakh creators of the textbooks, Kazakh local political and educational agents, and Kazakh intelligentsia members, who were in between the educational policies coming from the top on one side and the final recipients, the future first generation of Kazakh students to be educated, on the other. These people were the ones who stayed between the non-Kazakh, central Moscow powers in the face of the People's Commissariat for Education (Narkompros from Russian: “*Народный комиссариат просвещения*”, *Наркомпрос*, *Narodny komissariat prosveschenia*, *Narkompross*, directly translated as the "People's Commissariat for Enlightenment") and the hundreds of thousands of illiterate Kazakh children, coming in their overwhelming majorities from shepherd families, small *auls* (“villages” in Kazakh) and very traditional households with Islamic dogmas influencing the lifestyle. The ranges of these educators were the ethnic Kazakh intelligentsia taught in the Russian-majority universities, colleges, and schools, often situated in the regional centers and even major cities or capitals, like Alma-Ata (current Almaty) and Tashkent, but also coming from similarly traditional households.

In the context of such mixed and rather conflicting backgrounds, these educators were responsible for putting together a newly established reality of communism with the centuries-long customs of the Kazakh steppes, a European model of education at a proper settled school with the only previously known to Kazakhs educational system of *medrese*, religious schools under the supervision of mosques, a whole big multiethnic country of USSR with the small *auls* that were the only place schoolchildren and their ancestors saw for generations. To legitimize and strengthen the positions of a new Soviet state among the general public, new identities were to be created, a new association and personal relationship and warm attitude needed to be developed in the young minds to create new, earlier never existing bonds between them and the new, bigger state they suddenly now found themselves in. Most important, a new Kazakh

identity was to be built on the vast territories of Kazakh steppes to suit the new socialist view on world after decades of Kazakh people associating themselves primarily with their tribe and local community.

The goal of this research is to examine the educational source that has been created and taught at schools in the very heart of the *korenisatsiia* period in order to understand the way the Kazakh educators would build the world of the primary school students and how they envisioned the future Kazakh Soviet citizens to look and think like, and how the various identity markers would interplay with each other in the new country where the previous identities were built upon the new ideological requirements from the central administration in the young children's minds. This project aims to contribute to the general understanding of identity and multiple identities building process on the example of education in Soviet Kazakhstan, as well as to the studies of the ideologies in education. My research aims at focusing explicitly on the real education materials rather than official decrees in order to show how in fact the whole process was implemented and what the final result shown and taught to the children was. Such focus on the primary materials would allow us to assess the factual result that the textbook writers would produce and that would be in real turnover in the schools in Soviet Kazakhstan in the 1930s. In contrast to the analysis of the decrees, this will shed light on the understanding of identity by the contemporaries and the categories or practices they considered that should be a part of this new identity being developed. This research has not only historical but also anthropological significance because the content of the school textbooks will allow to see much closer what the daily school life was really like and see the realities of a Kazakh school student. Namely the research will showcase several aspects of the life of the Kazakh population in the period of the 1930, as well as earlier, by demonstrating the stories, poems, and descriptions of the practices,

people, and nature. This research also might possess a linguistic importance as it engages with the sources from more than century ago, showing a whole different Kazakh language practice, words, and even alphabet.

Chapter 1. Theoretical background

For this work, I will rely on several theoretical frameworks. As identified earlier, this study focuses on several themes: identity formation, invention of traditions, identity after the regime change. Below I would like to present the theories I am applying for the current study, connected to the aforementioned themes:

Eric Hobsbawm, “Invented Traditions”

As the primary focus of this research is to study the educational materials created in 1930 in the Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic (Kazak ASSR or KazASSR), I put a special emphasis on the importance on the “invented” aspect of these materials. One of the ways of looking at them is through the theory of “invented traditions”, proposed by Eric Hobsbawm in his introduction to the book “The Invention of Tradition.”⁶

In the introduction, Hobsbawm gives the following general definition of this new concept:

“Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.”⁷

The main idea of introducing this new concept is to highlight an important aspect of the adaptability of human social life to often random, unexpected circumstances and contexts, in which the previous traditions do not work anymore. Another reason for the introduction of this concept is to demonstrate the difference between an “invented tradition” and words that are often

⁶ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Canto Classics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107295636>.

⁷ Hobsbawm, “Introduction.”

considered synonymous with it: “custom” and “routine”. When comparing tradition and custom, Hobsbawm explains the main difference in the nature of action, with tradition, “the past, real or invented, ... imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices, such as repetition”, and with custom being the essential action, “sanction of precedent, social continuity and natural law.”⁸ In other words, custom is the essential mechanism or invention that allows the society to proceed in developing its social, political, cultural, economic, or legal relations, and whose usage is explained by proceeding complication of the society in a natural order, while tradition is an additional aspect attached to the custom, repetition of which is not essential for the proceeding of the custom, but still forced by the reasons which I will mention below. Secondly, Hobsbawm highlights the difference between “tradition” and “routine”, with the former having ideological functions and the latter carrying rather technical and practical repetitional ones. An example Hobsbawm provides is the usage of helmets while riding a horse or bicycle being the routine for the pragmatic reason of safety but choosing a specific color of the jacket being the ideological choice and, thus, an established invented tradition.

I consider the concept of “invented traditions” to be fundamental in understanding the role of the intermediaries in the formation of the relationship between Kazakh and Soviet identities for three main reasons.

First, the inventing of the traditions, as shown in the historical example, was used in the last 200 years for the national cause in many countries when there was a drastic need for the institutionalization and formalization of the new national ideology in new circumstances in order to unite the population and create the bond between it and the state within the conditions of mass literacy increase and mass media production. In some, it could have been a change of the lyrics

⁸ *ibid.*

of a popular folk song into more patriotic-progressive ones. In others, it would be seen in a change of a flag with the change of the tone of the national idea development, as it was in Germany in the 1890s. Therefore, the case which I am examining in this study, the case of adaptation of the content of the books for the institutionalization of the new identity for the Kazakh students demonstrates precisely this aspect explained by Hobsbawm.

Secondly, the invention of traditions, not always but often, have a recognizable and identifiable source, origin, or even a single creator. It can be an organization, a group, a single initiator, or any other actor whose actions are often well-documented, and the power given to these actors to promote these traditions is also not arbitrary. In many cases, such invented traditions also often take origin from planned ceremonial events, which provides even bigger institutional significance to such traditions. This feature of an invented tradition is also essential to understanding that the key role that single actors play in shaping a bigger, whole-societal behavioral pattern.

Thirdly and finally, Hobsbawm provides three main types of goals for which the invented traditions are developed: (1) to establish or to symbolize social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities; (2) to establish or legitimize institutions, status or relations of authority; (3) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior.⁹ It is important to pay attention to the first point especially, as it has the most direct correlation with the establishment of the new communities and the creation of liaison between the people who would be considered to be part of it. The variation from “real” up to “artificial” communities also gives a chance to speculate on the aspect of inner or outer influence in establishing the groups, also hinting to the fact these invented traditions

⁹ *ibid.*

were rather used as a justification and new ground for the new artificially assembled community. This assumption of Hobsbawm allows me to apply his theory to the nation- and citizenship-building processes carried out or even imposed by the outer powers, like the state government, on minority populations and communities, who were not necessarily engaged in the process of nation-building themselves. Consequently, they were the receivers of the new ideas and incorporated it into the existing sets of beliefs. In this viewpoint, the invented traditions become the main evidence for the fact of the presence of profound ideological work of creation and formation of a community. The identification of these invented traditions or attempts to impose invented traditions in the early stage of the Soviet rule on the example of textbooks can slightly open the veil can become one of the main pieces of evidence for my work in the sense, and we can try to speculate on the main question of my thesis, which is formation of the new Kazakh identity in the new Soviet world.

National identity theories

The studies of national identity are full of literature. I can not focus on each of them. It is of primary importance for me to focus on the perspectives of the national and multiple identities with regard to the region, i.e. Eurasian region, including studies ranging from Eastern Europe to Russia and Central Asia. It is due to multiple reasons, the primary of which is the crucial historical differences between the East European and Eurasian region, including specifically my key region, Central Asia, and Western and Central European rise of nationalism, all in terms of time, regime, and context. In this sense, the studied region does not fall into many classical European classifications, like that of Rogers Brubaker in his classical work *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. In this classical work he writes about two main

differentiations of modern citizenship development. He contrasts two main systems of modern national citizenship and identity systems in countries all over the world by showcasing two nation-states which gave rise to opposing systems in the late 18th and mid-19th centuries for the rest. The first is the classical example of France with the development of the *jus soli* principle, which was at the core of the French national system since the French Revolution.¹⁰ The second is the German model of citizenship, which “is based exclusively on *jus sanguinis* or descent.”¹¹ However, we can observe that both principles arose with the establishment or re-establishment of new regimes within each state, with the change from monarchy to Republic in France and the unification of Germany in 1871, - a luxury many modern Central European nation-states did not have until 1918 or even later. This rather two-sided approach to nation cause development is limited because it focuses on two non-colonized countries with very high level of industrialization and civic engagement. However, this has not always been the case. Understanding Brubaker’s theoretical binary division of the model national idea helps understand some of the underlying principles in the nation-building practices, on which I will be building further understanding of a term “nation”.

In the current subchapter, I will still present several definitions and understandings of the national and multiple identities of the pioneers and most profound writers in nationalism studies, without the regard to the region of the study. After, I will specifically focus on the perspectives of the scholars who studied the national identity matters in the Eurasian region and in the designated time and highlight the important aspects I take into account for this study. I present the given theoretical background to compare it later to the results I will receive from the close-

¹⁰ Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Harvard University Press, 1992), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv26071qp>.

¹¹ Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*.

reading of the textbook and see how applicable they are to it or they is something new I can suggest on my behalf.

First, I would like to present the modernist position on nation-cause development. This view on the national identity rise is also coming from the perspective of modernity and the development of “high culture”. Ernest Gellner argues that only the industrialization of the society and the following universalization of rights, values, and standards led to the rise of common national identity. He claims that before that, in the pre-modern period, with heavy differences between elites and peasants, there was no need and no possible reason for these two different classes and ways of life to be connected to each other and unite in a joint fight for the nation.¹² Gellner’s work in this sense stems from the perception of the crucial role of academic-led, central-oriented, and standardized education, in contrast to the varied local village education which might also have variations in language, ideologies, and program. It is the adaptation to the bigger world, bigger than a village, to the city with representatives of various villages, cultures, religions, and even languages that made the people coming from these different backgrounds unite in something that they would consider a reason to co-live: a common national identity.

The second view claims that “most theories of nationalism are centered on the assumption that nationalism is a product of, and inseparable from, modernity,”¹³ leading to a set of theorists and their theories being summarized under an umbrella term “modernist”. Benedict Anderson, one of the major modernist authors, views national identity as a product of two things happening at the same time: the technological advancement of the printing press, thus, its availability, and mass communication production. On top of it, he also adds a whole stratum of

¹² Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Blackwell, 2006).

¹³ Daniele Conversi, “Modernism and Nationalism,” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 17, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 13–34, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2012.644982>.

people who were adding their literary impact to the development of national sense: writers, journalists, and poets. His famous formulation of a nation as “an imagined political community” is known for its focus on spatial relationships between members of this community, in which he highlights that the members of the community will never know each other, but still will consider themselves to be a part of the single cause.¹⁴

Eric Hobsbawm, whom I have already mentioned earlier for his theory of “invented traditions”, also had his perspective on national identity development. From his Marxist perspective, national identity is a product of the ruling classes and bourgeoisie, whose main goal is to tie the general population, to be able to control and mobilize these populations during possible dangers, like war. The reason for choosing a specific language of education at school is also not a matter of personal aspirations of a specific nation, but “the case for the privileged use of any language as the only language of education and culture in a country being, thus, political and ideological or, at best, pragmatic...not educational.”¹⁵ He rejects any “proto-national” sentiments that might have led to this turn of events, putting the ideological elites at the forefront.

In contrast to the modernist perspective, there is a contrary “camp”, which can be in short described as “primordialism”. There can be varying subtypes of primordialism, however, the main claim lies in the historical rootedness of nationhood.

One of them is Hans Kohn, who argues in his book *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background*, originally published in 1944, that nationalism is deeply rooted in human history, arguing that it has existed since ancient times and is a natural expression of

¹⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

¹⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, “Language, Culture, and National Identity,” *Social Research* 63, no. 4 (1996): 1065–80.

human identity. It assumes that nations are organic entities that develop over centuries and are shaped by a common history, culture, and language. Kohn emphasizes the emotional and cultural ties that bind people to their nation. He argues that nations have an inner essence that distinguishes them from each other, rejecting the idea that nationalism is a recent or artificial construct.

“Some feeling of nationality, it may be said, existed before the birth of modern nationalism a feeling varying in strength and in frequency from time to time: at some epochs almost completely extinguished, at others more or less clearly discernible. But it was largely unconscious and inarticulate. It did not influence the thought and actions of men in a deep and all-pervading way. It found a clear expression only occasionally in individuals, and in groups only at times of stress or provocation. It did not determine their aims or actions permanently or in the long run.”¹⁶

This quote highlights his belief in nationalism as an emotional and instinctive phenomenon rather than a rational ideology. In other words, Kohn emphasizes the role of historical continuity in the formation of national identity, arguing that nations draw on ancient traditions and collective memory to define themselves.

Another name in the primordial tradition is Carlton J.H. Hayes, who offered a more religion-oriented perspective on nationalism’s longevity in *Nationalism: A Religion*. Hayes suggests that nationalism provides individuals with a sense of identity, belonging, and purpose, akin to the role traditionally fulfilled by religion.¹⁷ His analysis underscores the emotive and irrational aspects of nationalism, positioning it as a fundamental aspect of human existence rather than a mere political ideology. For instance, he might highlight the parallels between nationalist

¹⁶ Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background* (New York: Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315132556>.

¹⁷ Carlton J.H. Hayes, *Nationalism: A Religion*, ed. Frans A. M. Alting von Geusau, 1st edition (New Brunswick (U.S.A.): Routledge, 2016).

rituals, symbols, and devotion to those found in religious practices, emphasizing their role in fostering a sense of community and solidarity among members of a nation.

Identity in the USSR: ethnicity, nationality, nation

As I stated earlier, these works provide broad understanding of a conceptual and theoretical sense in the world, mostly focusing on the European and post-colonial cases. I can not take them for granted and apply them to my case directly, due to different temps and periods of industrialization development. However, I think some of them can still be considered if the processes, even if taking place later, follow the same pattern. Moreover, consideration of other, specifically local types of identities should be discussed before I compare the aforementioned theoretical works with the results of my study. Talking specifically about Kazakhstan, there is evidence of the presence of various identities during the 1930s nation-building process, from as focused and regional as clan and tribe identity to as inter-republic, as Soviet identity.¹⁸ Therefore, the discussion of only national identities can not suit my discussion. With this goal, I want to delve into the discussion of the identities in the region in the scholarly literature to prepare the readers for the discussion of the historical background with them knowing the nationality theories in the area.

The question of ethnic, nationality, and/or national issues was present in the USSR as a heritage from the long-forgotten and abandoned question of ethnic and national issues in its

¹⁸ Edward Schatz, "The Politics of Multiple Identities: Lineage and Ethnicity in Kazakhstan," *Europe-Asia Studies* 52, no. 3 (May 1, 2000): 489–506, <https://doi.org/10.1080/713663070>.

predecessor, the Russian Empire.¹⁹ It did not arise from nowhere, but it has, in a way, made the relationship between these terms much harder instead of untangling this wool ball.

I believe it is necessary to provide definitions for all three concepts in the way they are used in the literature studying the USSR nationality policies. One of the major scholars in the area of nationality question in the pre-war USSR, Terry Martin, classifies the term “nationality” into two categories: personal and territorial.²⁰ He makes this distinction on the basis of the application of the policies between 1923 and 1939. By personal nationality, Martin means the nationality prescribed to a specific person by the newly organized 1923 nationality policy. By territorial nationality, on the other hand, he means the relationship between an individual and their relationship to the environment and how one could express this personal nationality within the environment. To make this explanation a bit more precise, Martin provides the following example of an Uzbek national:

“Nationality was one of the central dilemmas of the Soviet nationalities policy.⁶ An Uzbek living in the Uzbek SSR both had the right to express his personal nationality (within the limits prescribed by Soviet policy) and was provided with an environment (through policies supporting the Uzbek language and culture) within which he could express it. An Uzbek living outside Uzbekistan, however, lacked this environment, and Soviet policy opposed the establishment of extraterritorial organizations to provide that environment. Yet, this Uzbek was neither expected nor encouraged to assimilate.”²¹

To prove his point and show that this division of nationality into personal and territorial concepts had a real application during the early period of the nationality-building project and, in fact, really had its impact on the creation of the republics, he uses the work of Mykola Skrypnyk, a Ukrainian Bolshevik and communist, who would later lead the Ukrainization in Soviet

¹⁹ Dominic Lieven, “Russian, Imperial and Soviet Identities,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 253–69, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3679297>.

²⁰ Martin, “4. Affirmative Action in the Soviet East, 1923-1932.”

²¹ *ibid.*

Ukraine. In Mykola Skrypnyk's claim to the the presidium of the Soviet of Nationalities in 1930 included the speech on the relationship between "national majorities" and "national minorities", in which he claimed that there are no specific majoritarian or minoritarian nationalities, each of which could be both depending solely on the territory of the living. As a result, Skrypnyk came up with the pyramid-like shape of the correlation between republics and all smaller politico-geographical entities, whose goal was to "extend national territorial units down to the lowest level until they merged seamlessly with the individual's personal nationality."²² This exact case Martin uses to demonstrate how the issue of personal and territorial nationality was contested in the early Soviet period, where personal nationality would always have a chance to be culturally supported at least at the lowest level of *kolkhoz* or village. However, no matter how well this idea sounded in the beginning and no matter how successfully it was organized at some locations, it could not fully solve the issue of the relationship between territorial and personal nationalities. Lack of extraterritorial organizations which would work with the personal nationalities outside their territorial nationality borders, lack of assimilation programs or initiatives, and lack of language concern (at some places total disregard) would result in the conflict between the two notions of nationalities and, according to Martin, would keep the nationality concept be vague and unclear from pragmatical perspective.

Another very important question is the understanding of various terms in the Soviet theater of nations. It is well explained by Dominic Lieven, another big scholarly name in the study of nationality policies in the early USSR. He demonstrates very clearly the difference between two possible meanings within the English word "nation", which is commonly used for multiple meanings, but within clearly Soviet contexts. In short, the national identity includes two

²² *ibid.*

main possible identities in English language: political affiliation and cultural affiliation²³. In English the two are usually mixed and are not differentiated, leading to the merge of the concepts under one meaning. However, in the context of the USSR specifically, where the terms were differentiated in the Russian language and there exists a difference between “nation” (*natsiya*) and “nationality” (*natsional’nost’*). In such literature, the political affiliation of a national identity refers to the state and its institutions, as well as symbols, myths, and public memories.²⁴ On the other hand, we have a cultural affiliation of the national identity, which even has some primordial quality to it: “language, popular customs, religion, and values.”²⁵ These differentiations are important in terms of how people within the USSR, especially those of different ethnic and cultural affiliations, were initially expected to associate themselves with the newly established government which, in contrast to the previously ruling Russian imperial administration, paid closer attention to the complex relationship between two identities they were aiming to build.

²³ Lieven, “Russian, Imperial and Soviet Identities.”

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *ibid.*

Chapter 2. Historical context

Having examined the perspectives on national identities in the general theoretical field of nationalism studies and specifically in how it has been understood in the Soviet Union, I would like to switch to the specific discussion of two identities whose relationship to each I aim to examine by studying the Kazakh educational textbooks of 1930s. Namely, I aim at discussing what the Kazakh and the Soviet identities are on their own. The question of whether they were built separately or were promoted as one single Soviet-Kazakh will be examined through the study of the textbooks, so for now I will focus on what they constituted without the regard to each other. In case of Kazakh identity, I will examine from what and how it was constituted before the Soviet Union. As for the Soviet identity, I will examine what was the “ideal perfect future Soviet citizen” the central administration possible had in mind when building a new country and promoting a new ideal for the millions of people. In this part, I will try to stay detached from how Soviet identity was promoted in Kazakhstan, trying to consider intra-Soviet cases, which would be applicable to multiple or all republics. The specific discussion of a Soviet-Kazakh identity will be discussed separately after I explain what each of these identities represented on their own.

Origin of Kazakh identity and meaning of *Qazaqlık*

In order to understand the origin of the Kazakh identity, we need to go back to the origin of the concept and the first recorded usage of this term for the self-naming purposes. A large entity of this former Golden Horde went under the control of the Uzbek Khanate in 1427, ruled

by Abul-Khayir Khan from the Shiban dynasty.²⁶ At this moment, two important figures appear in the historical arena, Kerey and Janibek sultans.²⁷ According to the signs on the Tamgaly Stone, more than 500 tribes left with Kerey Khan and Janibek Khan, who eventually established a new state with the aforementioned tribes under the name of the Kazakh Khanate in 1465.²⁸

The word Kazakh itself was first documented in the Uzbek writing Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī’s *Ẓafar-nāma* in 1425, mentioning a military unit under a reference of “*hazāra-i qazāq*” (“the qazāq thousand”).²⁹ After that, the term has been used actively in various Central Asian (mostly Uzbek) sources of the late 15th and early 16th centuries with a meaning of “a brigand” or “a vagabond.”³⁰ An important source in Chagatay Turkic also coming from southerner than Kazakh Khanate was Alisher Navoi (1441–1501), who uses the word *qazaqliq* (“Kazakhness”, “Qazaqness”) to describe the Sultān-Ḥusain Bayqara’s way of life before coming to power as “*qazaq days*” (“*ol ḥazratning qazaqliğida*”).³¹ After Navoi first mentioned *qazaqliq* as the term to describe the period of running away as a vagabond before acquiring power, many Central Asian medieval scholars and historians would continue this usage of the term and apply it to various rulers of pre-Kazakh Khanate states and hordes. With all these usages of the word *qazaq* in the Central Asian histories, it was similarly attached to the nomadic people of Uzbek Khanate,

²⁶ Zhambyl Artykbaev et al., “Sources and History of the Kazakh Statehood: To a Question of Institutes of Management in the Kazakh Khanate,” *The Anthropologist*, October 1, 2016, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09720073.2016.11892124>.

²⁷ Sultan in this context - a title applied to the descendants of Gengiz Khan and, hence, having a right to rule in the Turkic states, like the Golden Horde, White Horde, Blue Horde, Uzbek Khanate and, consequently, Kazakh Khanate.

²⁸ Artykbaev et al., “Sources and History of the Kazakh Statehood.”

²⁹ Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-Nāma*, ed. A. Urinboyev (Tashkent, 1972).

³⁰ Joo-Yup Lee, *Qazaqliq, or Ambitious Brigandage, and the Formation of the Qazaqs: State and Identity in Post-Mongol Central Eurasia* (Leiden, The Netherlands: BRILL, 2015).

³¹ Alisher Navoi, *Mazholisun Nafois [Majālis al-Nafā’is]*, ed. Suiima Ghaniyeva (Tashkent: Ūzbekiston SSR Fanlar Akademiyasi nashriëti, 1961).

the ones who would eventually leave it with Kerey and Janibek Khans to form the Kazakh Khanate:

(1)“Because they escaped and separated from the mass of their people at first and for a while remained destitute wandering aimlessly, they were called *qazaqs* and this nickname was fixed to them.”³²

(2) “Because, at the beginning of their arrival in Moghulistan, they spent their time plundering the Qalmaq and Qirghiz tribes and in the border regions engaged in stealing like wolves, the name *qazaq* was applied to that group.”³³

The usage of the word “kazak” and “kozak” was as widespread in Westerner to the region sources, including Tatar, Polish, and Muscovite sources. Starting as early as in describing the lives of the ruler Edigu (1352–1419) and Shora Batyr (d.1546) in Tatar sources, the border guards near the Muscovite borders in 1444, and the people of Turkic origin invading the city of Bilhorod in Polish source of Marcin Bielski (1495–1575) on the 1516 account, the word always carried similar connotations: “propertyless people”, “wanderers”, “a vagrant”, “a runaway”, “an outcast”, “migrant.”³⁴

Summarizing the existing resources and the application of the term, Joo-Yup Lee summarizes the main part of the “*qazaqliq*” (“Kazakhness”) identity in three steps: (1) Flight/separation from one’s own tribe or polity; (2) Vagabondage/brigandage on the frontier or remote regions/raising funds; (3) Political alliances/state formation/coming to power³⁵. By these stages he also explains how the name Kazakh (in Kazakh language - *Qazaq*) got attached to Kerey and Janibek Khans, who, with their followers, escaped the Uzbek Khanate of Abul-Khayir Khan and followed a *qazaqliq* lifestyle of vagabonds on the borders between Uzbek Khanate and

³² Mukhammed Haidar Dulati, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in Lee, *Qazaqliq, or Ambitious Brigandage*.

³³ Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, *Baḥr Al-Asrār Fī Manāqib al-Akhyār*, ed. Sayyid Mu‘īn al-Ḥaqq, Anṣār Zāhid Khān, and Ḥakīm Muḥammad Sa‘īd (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1984).

³⁴ Lee, *Qazaqliq, or Ambitious Brigandage*.

³⁵ *ibid.*

Moghulistan, where they later formed a Kazakh Khanate, by the name applied to and by them due to their lifestyle. In this sense, it is very important to see that in this sense the word Kazakh has become affiliated with a specific lifestyle, as the people who initially followed Kerey and Janibek and who would later be included in the expanded Kazakh Khanate had another important identity marker, more associated with their kinship and playing a more significant role in the daily life - tribal identity, or *ru* (“kin” in Kazakh) and *Alash* identity, the mythicized common ancestor from oral legends, whose identity became important again in the early nation-building stage among Kazakh intelligentsia in late 19th and early 20th century.

Tribal identity: *Jüz*, *El*, and *Ru*

As a logical consequence of the previous sub-chapter, discussing the origins of the Kazakh identity and the likely reasons this term has been attached to a variety of people who first left the Uzbek Khanate in the amount of 500 tribes and a total amount of about 200.000 people³⁶ and later expanded to vaster territories of from Southern Siberia to modern-day Uzbekistan, we need to discuss how all these people, having a nomadic lifestyle and fragmented into small constantly moving *auls* (“villages”) were functioning on their daily life and another possible important identity marker - tribal or kin identity.

Up until the 20th century, the absolute influence and primary role in Kazakh society was given to descent-based ties. They were the decisive factors in political, social, and economic lives, as well as influencing the inner relationship within the *auls*, or even a specific family. It also defined how and where knowledge, information, resources, and property would be

³⁶ *ibid.*

distributed and inherited, not even talking about social status, authority, reputation, and even a seat at the table.

In the traditional Kazakh genealogical system, we should divide between several terms, which I will be using throughout the paper. The first term in the genealogical hierarchy is the *Jüz* (“жүз” in Kazakh). This first level of hierarchy corresponds to the geographical-regional division of clan-tribal associations of the Kazakh people of smaller units into three bigger main clans: the Senior *Jüz*, the Middle *Jüz*, and the Lesser, or Younger, *Jüz* (“Ұлы жүз, Орта жүз, Кіші жүз”). Sanjar Asfendiyarov, himself a descendant of Kazakh khans, studied the historical division of the Kazakhs into three *jüz* and came to the conclusion that the division into three *jüz* was determined by the specifics of the economic, cultural, and historical process and arose in connection with the natural division of the territory of Kazakhstan into three zones: Semirechie (Jetysu in South Kazakhstan), Western, and Central regions.³⁷ More modern studies confirm this conclusion, always highlighting the significance of the nomadic way of life on *jüz* and resulting from it division based on the territorial distribution of pastures.³⁸ However, it should also be noted that, since Kazakhs has been nomads for centuries before they became known as Kazakh Khanate to their neighbors, the division of pasture lands was more than just an economic measure of splitting land. It was political in its whole essence, as it influenced the whole life of the people. Historian Sultan Akimbekov further develops this assumption and comes to the conclusion that the whole *jüz* and tribal system was built with a political purpose: the *jüz* did not arise due to economic (pastoral) reasons, they appeared as a result of resistance to external aggression from

³⁷ Sanjar D. Asfendiyarov, *History of Kazakhstan (from Ancient Times)* (Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan regional publishing house, 1935).

³⁸ Saulesh Esenova, “Soviet Nationality, Identity, and Ethnicity in Central Asia: Historic Narratives and Kazakh Ethnic Identity,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 22, no. 1 (2002): 11–38, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602000220124818>.

the Eastern neighbors - Dzungar khanate. In the face of this danger, the Mughals (Senior Jüz), Kazakhs (Middle Jüz), and Nogais (Younger Jüz), being close in culture, language, and economic management and lifestyle, united.³⁹ This view of Akimbekov aligns a lot with the previously explained origin of Kazakh identity and supports the fact of the primary importance of the tribe and Kazakh identity being second to it in daily life.

The second and the most influential level of the whole hierarchical triangle in the Kazakh genealogical structure is *El*, literally meaning “the people” or even “the nation”. Zhaksylyk Sabitov claims that 18 main peoples have constituted all three jüzes and, consequently, the Kazakhs as a whole.⁴⁰ The importance of this level of hierarchy is, in contrast to the previously geographically, economically, and politically explained division of jüz is in the first level of the kin affiliation. *El*, for example, Naiman, Argyn, or Kerey are the ancestral-based union, leading to one common ancestor, already becoming a part of one’s personal identity, as, according to Esenova’s study, there is a widespread common belief that “each Kazak should have a ...[El] attachment, otherwise he is not a Kazak.”⁴¹ This important factor of the El identity coming as a necessary prerequisite for Kazakh identity explains the primary affiliation of the majority of nomadic Kazakh people with their kin tribe and only after with a greater identity of the Kazakh.

The evidence of the significance of the *El* affiliation can be found in the classical Kazakh works of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, narrating about the traditional way of steppe life. Writer Mukhtar Auezov, in his biographical work about the first writer of written Kazakh

³⁹ Sultan M. Akimbekov, *History of the Steppes: The Phenomenon of the State of Genghis Khan in the History of Eurasia*, 3rd ed. (Almaty: Centr Evrazii, 2018).

⁴⁰ Zhaksylyk M. Sabitov, “Kazak Shezhire as a Source on the History of Kazakhs” (International Scientific Theoretical Conference, Astana: Eurasian National University, 2012), 146–49.

⁴¹ Saulesh Esenova, “‘Tribalism’ and Identity in Contemporary Circumstances: The Case of Kazakhstan*,” *Central Asian Survey* 17, no. 3 (September 1, 1998): 443–62, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634939808401046>.

literature of the second half of the 19th century, Abay Kunanbay, describes the following way the relationship between the different *El*:

“For several days in a row, old Zere talked about the internecine enmity of the Kazakh tribes, about the feuds and skirmishes of individual warriors... She also told about how thirty years ago the Naiman clan treacherously attacked their village, then she lost her adopted son named Bostanbek, and from the Naiman, a poet named Kozhamberdy was captured, who languished in iron shackles with Tobykty for a year and a half.”⁴²

Another important evidence of the importance of both Jüz and El, as well a smaller sub-tribe identity, Ru, can be found in the political structure starting from the 18th century. Firstly, the Kazakh Khanate ceased to function as a centralized state from the late 17th century, and in the 18th we see the birth of three Jüz systems, each of which has been treated by the neighbors as an independent state: each had its own Khan election, each had their independent political and economic affairs, as well as all three Jüz states had inter-state conflicts. Nevertheless, all three states still considered themselves to be one people - the Kazakhs.⁴³ Secondly, upon the incorporation of all three Kazakh Jüz states into the Russian Empire (Younger - in 1730, Middle - in 1740, and Senior - in the 40-60s of the 19th century), the Khans' rule was gradually and alternately disposed of, eventually several times dividing the territories of all three Jüz into various general governorship, the unit of administrative-territorial division in the Russian Empire, without the consideration of the pastoral nature of the Jüz and, thus, destroying the nomadic routes. However, the other feature was preserved and institutionalized even in the Russian Empire: the tribe-clan leader would be chosen from a specific tribe-clan and be representative and hold the responsibility of the unit.

⁴² Mukhtar Auezov, *The Path of Abay*, trans. Anatoliy Kim (Almaty: Zhibek, 2012).

⁴³ Esenova, “‘Tribalism’ and Identity in Contemporary Circumstances.”

First political institutionalization of Kazakh Identity as national identity and Alash in the pre-Soviet period

Understanding the development of the idea of “Kazakhness” and “Kazakh nation” right before the Soviet plan would help to see more drastic differences of the usage of the term by the Soviet administration vis-a-vis to how the term has been developed by the Kazakh intelligentsia members in pre-Soviet era. Moreover, many of these intelligentsia members would eventually become part of the Soviet nationality-building program, like Akhmed Baitursynuly. Therefore, their position on the identity would unveil the pre-existing ideals. The first political institutionalization and attempts to promote Kazakhness (*qazaqliq*) as a modern identity model on the model of Western national identities were first attempted since the late 19th century, culminating in the creation of the first modern Kazakh state in 1917. However, it has been organized with a slightly different name: the name Alash was used by Kazakh politicians and writers as “a synonym for their nation.”⁴⁴ A logical question following is who Alash is and why this name was used as a synonym for “Kazakh” in the first modern institutionalized and politicized common identity of the people. The reasons for this lie in the earlier explained tribal identity importance over the style of life importance and a name attached to the Kazakhs, describing their way of life.

The oral folk narrative about Alash Khan is the traditional Kazakh tradition rooted in the belief of common ancestry between all three Kazakh jüzes, with Alash Khan being a distant ancestor for all three jüz. There are multiple recorded legends and variations on how three jüz came from or were connected to the same person named Alash.⁴⁵ I will provide the content of

⁴⁴ Lee, *Qazaqliq, or Ambitious Brigandage*.

⁴⁵ Zhambyl Omarovich Artykbayev, *Materialy k Istorii Pravyashchego Doma Kazakhov* (Almaty: Galym, 2001); Nikolay Ivanovich Grodekov, *Kirgizi i Karakirgizy Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti.*, vol. 1 (Tashkent: TipoLitografya S. I.

two, by whom I can divide all the recorded into two categories. The first was recorded by a Kazakh ethnographer Shoqan Walikhanov (1835–1865) in 1856-1857. I am providing this specific version because it is focused on the importance of the idea of tribal unity over the way-of-life identity, i.e. Kazakh, in the mindset of the Kazakhs before the 20th century:

“A long time ago... there was a sovereign in Turan named Abdullah...[who] had a leper son, named therefore Alacha - “motley”who also expelled his son. At the same time, many subjects, dissatisfied with Abdullah’s cruelty... went to the steppes lying north of the river Syr, into the Karakum and Bursuk sands, and began to become *qazaqs*... With such a deplorable course of affairs, the wise old man Alach (“foreigner, alien”) appears among two hundred and gives them a speech so strong and convincing that the *qazaqs* proclaim him their ancestor and judge, and on his advice, they invite the leper son of Abdullah Alach and make him khan. So Alach became the khan of the people of Alach.”⁴⁶

The second version I am providing here is documented by the Alexey Irakliyevich Levshin (1798-1879), a Russian imperial historian and ethnographer, in 1832 in one of his biggest works on the Kazakh people of the first half of the 19th century:

“Many Kirghiz-Kaisaks [Kazakhs] think that they used to be one and the same people with the Alats, or Siberian Tatars;...that at first they were ruled by several sultans; that later one of them, named Alacha, gained power over all the others, became the leader of the people...A few years after this he died; but after his death the captives retained their former division into three detachments, or three hundred, one of which is called the Elder, the Hundred (Ulu-Yuz), the other the Middle (Urta-Yuz), and the third the Lesser Hundred (Kichi-Yuz)...”⁴⁷

The main reason for the rise of the wave of nationalism among the intellectuals can be attributed to the expansion of the Russian imperial colonization and the level of control in the

Lakhtina, 1889); Grigory Nikolayevich Potanin, *Kazakhskiy Fol'klor v Sobranii G. N. Potanina (Arkhivnye Materialy i Publikatsii)*, ed. M.G. Gabdullin, M.S. Silchenko, and N.S. Smirnova (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1972); Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpayev, *Materials for the History of Kyrgys-Kazak People* (Tashkent, 1925).

⁴⁶ Shoqan Sh. Walikhanov, “Kirgizskoye Rodosloviye,” in *Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya*, ed. S. Mazhitov (Almaty: Izdatelstvo Arys, 2009), 120–35.

⁴⁷ Aleksei Levshin, *Opisaniye Kirgiz-Kaysakskikh, Ili Kirgiz-Kazachikh, Ord i Stepey* (Saint-Petersburg: Tipografii Karla Krayya, 1832).

region.⁴⁸ One of the main consequences of this control was the disruption of traditional nomadic roads for the winter and summer pastures. It fostered multiple actions on the account of Kazakh intelligentsia leaders, who, as one of their first steps, compiled a *shezhyre* - a historical-based account of the genealogy of the Kazakh tribes and kins (1900-1925), with at least three of them compiling at least 100 pages: Mashhur Jusyp Kopey-Uly,⁴⁹ Shakarim Kudayberdy-Uly,⁵⁰ and Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpaev.⁵¹ In its essence was the unification of the tribes by leading them all to one common ancestor many centuries ago, Alash, which was one of the solidifying myths of the unitedness of the vast groups of people named Kazakh by their way of life into an ethnically based system of common ancestry. By doing this, Kazakh intellectuals combined all the variety of the tribes and kins into the common united symbolical association, by this highlighting the importance of the Kazakhs as a single nation, rather than multitude of tribes with random routes for pastures. Alash became the idea that was at the forefront of the intellectuals' formation of a new modern state. One of the members of the Alash party, which later formed the Alash-Orda autonomy, the first modern Kazakh state, Sultanmakhmud Toraygyrov (1893–1920) wrote in 1917:

“I am Kazakh, I am proud to be Kazakh,
I will take the name Alash as my war cry.
I love my Kazakh life as I am Kazakh,
Why am I afraid of the Kazakhness?!

Freely flying like a bird of the field,
I have become a man, drinking the milk of the vastness...
Altai, Irtys, Syrdarya, Yesil, Zhayik,

⁴⁸ Esenova, “Soviet Nationality, Identity, and Ethnicity in Central Asia: Historic Narratives and Kazakh Ethnic Identity.”

⁴⁹ Mashhur Jusyp Kopey-uly, *Kazakh Shezhyre* (Almaty: Zhaly, 1873).

⁵⁰ Shakarim Kudayberdy-uly, *Genealogy of Turks, Kyrgyzs, Kazakhs and Khan Dynasties* (Almaty: Zhazushi (Karimov, Husainov, 1911), 1990).

⁵¹ Tynyshpayev, *Materials for the History of Kyrgyz-Kazak People*.

I made a settlement and spread it on the ground...”

This poem, as a representation of how the relationship between Alash and Kazakh has been seen by the new government, demonstrates that the identity of Kazakh was considered as a logical continuation, as an heir of the mythical Alash ancestry for the people, as Toraygyrov wrote, who settled on such vast lands but still had some mythical great-grand-father in common.

Alash-Orda was established as a government in December 1917 with the control over Steppe, Orenburg, and Astrahan provinces, which corresponded to the territories of the Middle and Young Jüz, according to which they were divided into by the Alash administration,⁵² while the southern Kazakhstan, corresponding to the Senior Jüz, was under the control of another autonomous state - Turkestan autonomy. With the Bolsheviks progressing to power, Alash-Orda ceased to exist in 1920. Nevertheless, its representatives were admitted into the government of the newly established Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (KazASSR) within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (Russian SFSR or RSFSR), such as Akhmet Baitursynuly (1872–1937), of whom Stalin spoke the following: “I have not considered him a revolutionary communist ... nevertheless, his presence in the revolutionary committee is crucial”⁵³ due to his previous role of forming the first Kazakh national state – Alash Orda and, thus, knowing not only the local intellectual elites but also having a respect among the Kazakh people. Being in the new government until 1937, former Alash members and their followers had the ability and power to influence the most important factors of the national upbringing: education, press, and science. Thus, the former leaders of the national rise ideas, very suppressed under the Russian Empire, suddenly found themselves in a new environment and state where, up

⁵² Martha Brill Olcott, *The Kazakhs: Second Edition*, 2nd edition (Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, 1995).

⁵³ Dina A. Amanzholova, *Kazakh Autonomism and Russia: History of the Alash Movement* (Moscow: Rossiya Molodaya, 1994).

until 1938, the ideas of national revival were part of the most important state policy - *korenizatsiia*. In this new context, they could continue their work with new prospects.

New environment: *korenizatsiia* policy and influence on nationality project

The Soviet nationality project, *korenizatsiia*, was the central project of the first decade of the USSR. *Korenizatsiia* was a state-large set of policies aimed at the establishment and promotion of centralized, organized national identities on the previously largely unsupervised peoples of the USSR. Ronald Suny claims that “the establishment of territorial administrative units on the basis of nationality in the early 1920s was unprecedented and provided clear political identities as alternatives to earlier religious and tribal solidarities.”⁵⁴ In other words, the nationality policy was in the first place needed in places where no control on the nationality basis was established and the stronger ties were the ones not corresponding to the “modern world” of communism - tribalism and religiosity.

Classical discussion on the origin of the nationality policy of *korenizatsiia*, usually translated to English as “indigenization”, starts with Stalin’s position on the role of nation in the promotion of socialism. A classical example is his speech on XVIth congress of All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) (*Vsesoyuznaya kommunisticheskaya partiya (bol'shevikov)*; VKP(b)): “The period of the construction of socialism is the period of the flowering of national culture, socialist in content and national in form ... the development of national culture should unfold with new strength.”⁵⁵ The whole project of the reinvention of the people and their way of

⁵⁴ Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

⁵⁵ Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*.

life into very structured national way was in many ways utopian, as argued by modern scholars, like Terry Martin. However, it worked in some cases, known pigorately as “culturally backward” people, including the Kazakh territory. In short, the nation, in Joseph Stalin’s idea, should be comprised of four main elements: common language, common territory, common economic life, and national character.⁵⁶ The Kazakh people at the time of the start of the USSR as a state had all three first elements: the common language was Kazakh, being several times standardized and published, spoken among all different tribes and referred to as Kazakh language by them; the common territory was also defined, firstly by Alash, then by the territorial distinguishment of the Kazakh ASSR; the common economic way of life for the overwhelming majority of the people was nomadic pastoralism. I argue that the “common national character” Stalin argues about could be properly applied to Kazakh case, as the common national character was represented earlier by regional and tribal character and values, which I explained in previous subchapters. Therefore, specifically in the Kazakh case the creation of a “common national character” was a goal rather reachable and realistic than utopian from the beginning, as the common national character, as a feature, was blank and provided a whole field for the authorization and creation of a brand new identity - one that the Kazakhs in their tribal diversity were not exposed to and, thus, were not able to resist this upcoming imposition in any way.

Korenizatsiia, in its ideological goal, was aimed at overcoming the systematic and structural barriers in the Soviet Union between a whole variety of the ethnic groups which were settled on the vast territories of the former Russian Empire, which has dealt little with the inclusion of national minorities or development of the local administration or education. The access to the administration and rule was first unofficially limited (with example of *zemstvo*, a

⁵⁶ Joseph Stalin, “The National Question and Social Democracy.,” in *The National Question and Marxism*. (Saint-Petersburg: Priboy, 1914).

local self-authority organization on various levels of administrative divisions from 1864–1919) to non-Russian nationals.⁵⁷ In addition to that, the wider part of the USSR population at the time of the new state formation was engaged in the agrarian sector: more than 70% of the population was within the agrarian sector by the start of the 20th century.⁵⁸ Literacy rates in 1926 were in their majority very low as well for the majority of the population, with only Western nationalities (Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Germans, and Poles) and Jews having literacy rate above 50% up to 78.1%. At the same time, the overwhelming majority in number, starting from Russians at 45%, going as low as 1.3%, was illiterate, with our focus group Kazakhs being at the lower bottom at the level of 7.1%.⁵⁹ In such conditions, the rates of the possible amount of people properly following the new planned socialist order of life were prospectively very low. Therefore, *korenizatsiia* as a policy had in its long-term goals the decrease of the proportion of people illiterate and engaged in the agricultural sector only. Martin, when analyzing the three main directions of work of *korenizatsiia* policy, sees three main ways of its influence on the national level in the Eastern part of the USSR, where Kazakhstan lied. The first was the elimination of the great power chauvinism at the industrial workplaces - one of the biggest inefficiencies due to high rate of turnover of the titular nations at the places due to the inequality in working condition between the Russians (“great power” in this case) and local workers. The administration accused this great power chauvinism at the places as the reason for the small rates of increase of local national proletariat.⁶⁰ The second was more important and specifically relevant for this research. Low level of proletariat rates could have also been explained by low

⁵⁷ Ronald Grigor Suny, “Nationalities in the Russian Empire,” *The Russian Review* 59, no. 4 (2000): 487–92.

⁵⁸ Yuriy V. Kuzovkov, *Istoriia Korruptsii v Rossii* (Moscow: Anima-Press, 2010).

⁵⁹ Kommunisticheskaia akademiia, Komissiiia po izucheniiu natsional-nogo voprosa, *Natsional'naia Politika VKP/b/ v Tsifrah* (Moscow: Communist Academy Publisher, 1930).

⁶⁰ Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*.

level of engagement of national elites in the industrial and administrative positions. Central administration saw it as a drawback of low literacy levels and lack of people with higher level of education degrees. Initial efforts to engage the local populations into higher education through integration of some sort of quote named *bronia*'s (from Russian "бронирование"/*bronirovanie* - reservation) of places at the VUZy (from Russian "Высшие Учебные Заведения/ВУЗы"/*vysshie uchebnye zavedenia/VUZy* - higher education institutions) did not help until 1929, when Stalin had intervened the education question himself and, in his speech on the matter of education in February 1929, highlighted the importance of integration of primary education in the native language of the republic's peoples: "In what language can we achieve [universal education]? In Russian. No, only in the native language. If we want to raise the broad masses to a higher level of culture ... we must develop the native language of every nationality maximally".⁶¹ In late 1929, the original five-year education plan 1928–1932 by RSFSR Education Commissariat, which failed to include the national minority education, was changed to a plan which targeted specifically the national minorities' education in a new five-year plan from 1930 to 1934, including "the liquidation of adult illiteracy, the achievement of universal primary education, the introduction of native-language instruction, the expansion of elementary school education (grades 5 to 9), and the training of technical cadres in central RSFSR universities."⁶² Later this plan was ideologically and officially supported at the XVI the Party resolution of later next year 1930 being aimed at "introduction and establishment of universally compulsory primary education in the native language" according to Stalin's speech and urge to follow Lenin's course of providing all the nations with their right for socialist benefits on their own

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² *ibid.*

language.⁶³ In the view of a compulsory education on the national level, there was, obviously, a need in the teachers of local descent teaching in the national language.

In addition, the logical need in the local teachers was supporting the idea of the center that the *korenizatsiia* should be carried out in the small far away towns and villages by the people who look like those living there, so that the ideas of socialism would be implemented smoother and easier.⁶⁴ However, not only the process carried out by them, but it was also directly influence by them. According to Martin, the initial policy of 1923 of *korenizatsiia* was in its idea uniformal and similar to everyone.⁶⁵ However, the idea was from similar in all republics. In the exact process of the implementation, each republic varied the policy, depending on its exact needs. In Western republics, where there has already been a bigger amount of literate people, the major focus of the *korenizatsiia* policy was the linguistic *korenizatsiia*, or the full transfer of all the work into the local languages, as there were enough people for achieving the task. In republics with lower percentages of literate people, the goal shifted to the creation of wide range of local elite first. Martin specifically emphasizes that this choice was done at the local level of the republics, not given as a directive from the center.⁶⁶ Although center still eventually ratified the actions of the local level administration, the plans were not imposed from the above, but were fully at the choice of local existing elite.

This means for us that the content of the school textbooks was produced in the same manner: their initial goal was given from the center, i.e. elimination of the illiteracy and promotion of the socialist ideas in order; on the other hand, the way this goal was achieved and

⁶³ Joseph Stalin, "Political Report of the Central Committee to the XVI Congress of the VKP(b) June 27, 1930," *Prawda* (Moscow, 1930).

⁶⁴ Lazar Kaganovich, "Stenograficheskii Otchet Kharkovskoi Okruzhnoi Konferentsii (31 Oktiabria-10 Noiabria 1925 g.)" (Kharkiv, 1925).

⁶⁵ Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

what the local administration saw as lacking in the population was at full decision of the local power. Moreover, considering the fact that the educative administration was inherited from the Alash Orda autonomy, we can assume that they were able to implement their plans if they did not contrast the goals of the central Moscow government.

Soviet identity: excluding or including?

The discussion of the matter of the *korenizatsiia* is essential in the way that it was one of the keys that, according to Francine Hirsch,⁶⁷ led to the drastic change in the people's personal perceptions of the nationality as a category, made them even from nomads or tribes, mostly associating themselves with the clan and tribe, to the properly nationally self-identifying citizens. This was achieved due to, as she calls it, a process of “double assimilation” of two identities: “the assimilation of diverse peoples into nationality categories and, simultaneously, the assimilation of nationally categorized groups into the Soviet state and society.”⁶⁸ The new nationalities, in Hirsch's words, were presented and constructed to be “Soviet nationalities” in the first place, meaning that one would automatically incorporate the other and would not be mutually exclusive but even one at the same time, as one could not be, for example, Kazakh without being a Soviet Kazakh. This has been finalizing until 1930, when TsIK finalized the borders “on the basis of ethnographic, economic, and administrative criteria”⁶⁹ and allowed to keep on rolling the Soviet national ideology with clear borders and targets. These two identities might seem to be contradictory to each other on the first glance. The goal of promoting the

⁶⁷ Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*, 1st edition (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

⁶⁸ Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*, 167.

⁶⁹ *ibid*, 186.

national identity from center to national republics was similar to *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission) of European empires to their overseas territories, while the idea of creating the Soviet identity had a goal of “draw[ing] closer together (... *sblizhenie*) and perhaps ultimately assimilate (*sliiat'*) into an integrated Soviet People (*sovetskii narod*) free of nationalism and many national characteristics.”⁷⁰ However, this contradiction of two seemingly mutually excluding identities was how they worked together. The attachment to the nationality and the land with some national shades would make people be more engaged and interested in ensuring its prosperity, which would have been achieved, as it was put in their conditions, through socialism and socialist way of life. Therefore, one would come with the other, but the final goal in this equation was the perfect Soviet citizen, whereas nationality was rather a key of achievement the socialist utopia.

⁷⁰ Ronald Grigor Suny, “The Contradictions of Identity:: Being Soviet and National in the USSR and After,” in *Soviet and Post-Soviet Identities*, ed. Catriona Kelly and Mark Bassin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 24, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511894732.003>.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Deriving from the given conditions, we can now look with further detail at the textbook itself and derive these exact plans of the local elites they could have implemented. In the following chapter, I would like to present the focus of my research - the educational textbook, *Enbek pen Mektep*, and the methodology I am using to analyze it and answer the questions stated in the introductory part.

Discourse-Historical Analysis

To achieve the aforementioned goal, I will use a discourse-historical approach (DHA) - one of the subtypes within critical discourse analysis (CDA). The main rationale for using DHA to examine the textbooks is that it incorporates “macro-topic relatedness, pluri-perspectivity, and argumentativity as constitutive elements of a discourse,”⁷¹ instead of simply focusing on linguistic repertoire as the sole source for analysis. In other words, DHA as a method will allow me to connect the discourses within textbooks not only with each other but also with wider social and historical contexts, which are needed to be understood to understand the importance of specific word choices for promotion of a specific identity.

For this specific research, I am applying the methodology based on the article of Ruth Wodak and Bernhard Forchtner.⁷² The first layer of analysis is the situatedness of the textbooks, where 3 specific layers of contexts will be taken into consideration: the political and social

⁷¹ Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, “THE DISCOURSE-HISTORICAL APPROACH (DHA),” in *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*, 3rd ed. (London: SAGE, 2016), 27.

⁷² Ruth Wodak and Bernhard Forchtner, “Embattled Vienna 1683/2010: Right-Wing Populism, Collective Memory and the Fictionalisation of Politics,” *Visual Communication* 13, no. 2 (2014): 231–55, <https://doi.org/DOI.10.1177/1470357213516720>.

position of Kazakhstan in the given periods (*the sociopolitical context*), popular discourses among the population in the given period and the popular discourse from the leadership on the Kazakh identity (*situational context*), and *intertextual and interdiscursive relations*, which will combine the discourses and ideas within one textbook and with others, related to the Kazakh identity. Secondly, as in Wodak and Forchtner's article, *discursive strategies* will be analyzed. Discursive strategies focus on "the strategy of nomination (how events/objects/persons are referred to) and, second, predication (what characteristics are attributed to them)." ⁷³ This will demonstrate how specific events, objects, and people are named and what actions are connected to them or if they were the subject of a specific action to their side.

⁷³ Wodak and Forchtner, "Embattled Vienna."

Chapter 4. Enbek pen Mektep

For this research I will examine the textbook titled *Enbek pen Mektep*, released in 1930 for 1930 study year. The 1930s is the period of some of the biggest and most appalling events in the history of Kazakh steppes within the Soviet Union. From the horrifying famine, known among common Kazakh people as *Asharshylyk*, of 1930-1933, sweeping away people on its path, to the Great Terror of 1936-1938. However, the 1930s are also notable for another crucial event – the first decade of the full-scale usage of new Latin-based Kazakh, which was Latinized from Arab script in 1929. 1930 was the first year when the full-scale usage of Latin has been implemented. This was not a coincidence, considering previously explained revision of a plan and deriving from it standardization of Turkic languages from Arabic or totally non-existent alphabets to Latin alphabets on the example of Azerbaijani language. With the first discussions and obligations on the development of a Latinized version starting as early as 1924 at the First Kazakh Scientific Congress and continuing at the First Plenum of the All-Union Central Committee of the New Turkic Alphabet,⁷⁴ the official decree on the transition of the Kazakh alphabet to Latin-based script was issued on July 29th, 1929.⁷⁵ The reasons for change, as stated in the decree, were as following:

“The Arabic alphabet was difficult for the masses to recognize letters, was incompatible with technology, could not correctly mark the sounds of the Kazakh

⁷⁴ All-Union Central Committee of the New Turkic Alphabet, “Verbatim Report of the First Plenum of the All-Union Central Committee of the New Turkic Alphabet, Which Met in Baku from June 3 to June 7, 1927,” Plenum (Moscow: Publication of the All-Union Central Committee of the New Turkic Alphabet, 1927), <http://elibr.shpl.ru/ru/nodes/41117-vsesoyuznyy-tsentrallyy-komiteta-novogo-tyurkskogo-alfavita-plenum-1-1927-baku-stenograficheskiy-otchet-pervogo-plenuma-vsesoyuznogo-tsentrallyy-komiteta-novogo-tyurkskogo-alfavita-zasedavshego-v-baku-ot-3-go-do-7-go-iyunya-1927-goda-m-1927#mode/inspect/page/95/zoom/5>.

⁷⁵ Auezuly, “Decree on New Spelling of Kazakh Language,” in *Jana Mektep* (Almaty: Kazizdat/Qazaqstan Baspasi, 1929), 39, <https://nabr.kz/bookView/view/?brId=1606842&simple=true&green=1>.

language, and the Arabic alphabet was associated with religion. That's why the Arabic alphabet was inaccessible to the majority and only for the minority”.⁷⁶

As it is seen from the description, one of the main needs for changes was an urge to make the literary written language accessible to the masses. However, this needs to be done under the idea of what the Soviets perceived as “accessible”, which is not the Arabic alphabet. In this case, the switch to Latin happened after another Turkic state of the USSR, Azerbaijan, switched its language to the Latin script and became the headquarter of the change for all other Turkic nationalities in the USSR. This need aligned in time with the ongoing expansion of Likbez, an all-Union campaign of liquidation of illiteracy, to Central Asian republics. Total enrollment and number of schools almost doubled in the republic every 5-6 years since the start of the First World War.⁷⁷

Table 1: Enrollment and Number of Schools in KazSSR

Date	No. of Schools	No. of Pupil
1914-15	2,011	105,239
1920-21	2,410	144,000
1927-28	3,944	274,000
1932-33	6,869	576,000
1951-52	8,945	1,346,000
1959-60	NA	2,857,000
1971-72	10,101	3,296,000

Source: Sheehy, Ann, “Primary and secondary education in Central Asia and Kazakhstan: the current situation,” *Central Asian Review* 26, 2, (1964), 148-152; *The Europa Year Book*, Vol I, 1973, p. 1371, in Zubeer A.

⁷⁶ Bibarys Seitak, “Changes in Kazakh Orthography In 1929-1940 And Their Reflection of Political and Ideological Shifts in Kazakhstan” (Dissertation, Astana, Nazarbayev University, 2023), <https://nur.nu.edu.kz/handle/123456789/7200>.

⁷⁷ K.G. Nozhko, E. Monoszon, and V. Zhamin, *Educational Planning in the USSR* (Poitiers, France: Unesco: International Institute for Educational Planning, the United Nations, 1968), <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000076768>.

Rather & Darakhshan Abdullah, "The Development of Soviet Education in Kazakh SSR (1917-1991), "The Journal of Central Asian Studies" 26/27 (2019), 36.

1930 was also the first year of the four-year comprehensive compulsory primary education, whose the main focus was the new generation of rural population without ability to access specialized professional education.⁷⁸ In 1930, the Soviet government spent about 80% of its yearly educational budget on eradication of illiteracy in Soviet Kazakhstan.⁷⁹ The reason for this was a unique feature of educational development in Kazakhstan being massively supported by development in pedagogy and school programs.

Translated as "Labor and School", Enbek pen Mektep is an exemplary school textbook released in 1930 by *Kazakhstan Baspasi* ("Kazakhstan publishing house") in Almaty in the amount of 30000 copies. It is a textbook designated for 3rd grade of primary school, attended by 9 years-old children. It was completed by four main authors: Ötebay Turmanzhanov, Säuken Balaubayev, Shamgali Sarybayev, and Zhumaqan Kuderin. All of them came from different fields: Turmanzhanov was a poet and writer; Balaubayev – a psychology researcher and, later, a pedagogics researcher; Sarybayev – a Kazakh language linguist and methodologist; Kuderin – a biologist with a focus on botany and zoology. From the known biographies, Turmanzhanov, Sarybayev and Balaubayev were born in villages in the regions. Two of them, Kuderin and Balaubayev would later be subjects to the political repressions during the repressions of the Big Terror of 1937-1938, with only Balaubayev surviving them. Simply from such a variety of writers, it is clear that the textbook is not subject-specific but includes a variety of themes. In

⁷⁸ Darakhshan Abdullah, "Dynamics Of Soviet Educational Model In Central Asian Republics," *The Journal of Central Asian Studies* 13 (2016), <https://ccas.uok.edu.in/Files/93269b6c-7f53-4439-ae9a-3bdf55a4c649/Journal/e4afe116-08e8-48d8-b3a8-e178ae620a0b.pdf>.

⁷⁹ Olcott, *The Kazakhs*.

fact, this is its main particularity – the 188-page long textbook is built around various content, including poems, prose, geographical notes, history texts, socio-cultural topics, biological descriptions, and others. All the themes are distributed based on their relation to the date. Such as, the textbook starts with a prose on 1st September and describes activities the children could have been doing during the summertime, which aligns with the start of academic year in early September. It later continues, including other dates and topics, in accordance with season and holidays. Such as, late autumn texts are dedicated to Lenin and October Revolution, whereas spring texts are dedicated to 1st of May and crops planting and collection with a variety of crops being described and depicted (wheat, barley, sorghum plants, millet, meadow plants, rice, oats, and even naswar), as well as discussions on their agricultural importance. For this research, I would like to provide pieces from several main themes which shed the light on the relationship between the plans of the various powers and, eventually, the relationship between identities.

Holidays and Religion

The first aspect I would like to pay attention to is the representation of so-called traditions in the textbooks. Specifically, this subchapter will be dealing with the question of official state holidays as newly established invented traditions. *Enbek pen Mektep*'s main approach to legitimizing existing Soviet rule is by introducing new traditions for the students. In the case of this specific textbook, it can be seen on the examples of newly established holiday days or memorable dates. Such as, the biggest topic in the autumn section of the book is dedicated to October celebrations in its whole variety. One of the invented traditions that is suggested in this textbook is celebration of the 4th of October - "Day of the Establishment of the Republic of Kazakhstan". In the school curriculum, about 10 pages are dedicated to the

description of the importance of October as a time of Kazakhs' arise. This is how the book describes this holiday (appendix 1):

“October 4th is a day of honor for Kazakh workers. Today, the Kazakh poor have built their own households...It is the day when the Kazakh workers decided their own fate by joining forces. One of the most oppressed people in Russia were the Kazakh people. In the past, the working masses of the Kazakh people were stung by the tyrant's blood and greedy *bi* [rulers], and since then they fell into the net of the tyrant Russian tsar... Then Russian proletariat helped the weak. Showed the way. After the Russian proletarians won the internal and external affairs, they began to solve the internal problems. They said that "the way is open for you to become a free republic" for the ethnic groups that have been oppressed in Russia for a long time. Most of the major nations in Russia became free republics. And created their own nests. One of those nests is the Kazakh Republic. The Kazakh Republic was announced at a large meeting of all Kazakh laborers, which opened on the fourth of October. Since then, Kazakh laborers have been a government. Therefore, the fourth of October is a special day to be remembered by the Kazakh public.”⁸⁰

According to the given description of the holiday, the Kazakh identity was seen as present even during the tsarist period, not being created after the establishment of the USSR. However, the text highlights the importance of the proletarian movement in the liberation of the Kazakh from “tsarist tyrant” and local Kazakh nobility. In this sense, the imposition of new traditions, and specifically here the imposition of liberation of the Kazakhs idea, is set through the lens of working liberation.

Similarly, the textbook presents the new holidays, practically unknown to the earlier average Kazakh village people under the name of “Revolutionary and remembrance holidays and day-offs”. It includes a total of 18 holidays and additionally names every Sunday an official day-off. Out of 18 holidays, 15 are the holidays introduced to the Kazakh population with the arrival

⁸⁰ Otebay Turmanzhanov et al., *Enbek Pen Mektep*, 1930, <https://kazneb.kz/kk/catalogue/view/1519707>.

of the new Soviet power, among which are “8th of March - Women’s day”, “22 January - Bloody Sunday (1905 suppression of the workers’ procession by Tsar Nicholas II’s army in Saint-Petersburg)”, “7th November - October Revolution”, “23rd of February - Red Army day”, “1st of May - Day of International”, “21st of January - Lenin’s death day” and many others, traditionally associated with the USSR or any ideas connected to the anti-tsarism and pro-proletarianism, like day of Paris Commune on 18th of March or Bloody Sunday on 22nd of January. The idea behind introduction of this holidays is simple - creation of the new values among the young generation, for whom the main orienteers in life would be connected with socialist values. Moreover, the inclusion of the holidays, geographically and periodically very distant to the Kazakh kids, such as the Day of the Paris Commune, were included because they were carrying one of the main ideologies of socialism – internationalism, as well as highlight some of the first ideologically important days of the workers’ struggle. By promoting these new holidays among the children, the government would ensure the children’s future way of life and economic conditions would heavily rely on the socialist values, as these would be the day-offs. As stated earlier by Stalin, creation of common economic way of life was one of 4 main features of the same nation. Considering the fact that these holidays were integrated not only among the Kazakhs but also among other national groups, we can see the attempt to develop a common Soviet identity, if not a whole Soviet nationality prospectively some time in the future. This idea may be even stronger supported by the fact that all the months in the textbooks were changed from traditional Kazakh names, based on Turkic-descent words, to Latin version, coming from the Russian pronunciation of the words, highlighting this potential wish to create common Soviet culture by unconsciously pretending the Soviet ideals to be the local indigenous ideals. Kazakh names of the months, like *Qantar* (January), *Nauryz* (March), and *Qazan* (October), were

replaced by the common modern Roman names which underwent phonetic adaptation to Kazakh phonetics: *Ghunuvar* for January, *Mart* for March, *Öktebir* for October, and corresponding names for other months respectively (appendix 2). The demonstration of these names in the textbook showcases that the central administration put the goal of switching Turkic-based word to the adapted words of the Latin origin. But it was not the Latin origin which mattered but the fact that Russian month names are the ones which are also based on the Latin names, showcasing in the importance of the Russian language and culture as central and exemplary even in the age of indigenization.

Religion and religious traditions, as a part of general area of nation's traditions, was also, surprisingly, addressed by the textbook. In contrast to the aforementioned obligatory mention of the USSR-wide holidays of international and socialism, the authors of the book included 3 holidays, connected to the specifically Kazakh lifestyle. First one, mentioned in the textbook, is Nauryz holiday - a traditional spring festival, remaining from zoroastrian influence. In contrast to the common in the popular culture assumption that Nauryz was banned in 1926 by the Bolsheviks⁸¹ because it was considered as a “religious holiday”, which were also assumptively banned in the USSR, it was, according to the 1930 *Enbek pen Mektep* school textbook, allowed and even promoted on a school level as a holiday with official day-off. However, as it was pointed out earlier, despite the official central policy of the lack of support to the religious events and even appearance of “Unions of Militant Atheists”.., whose members not only strongly recommended that other citizens of the USSR abandon religious holidays as relics of the past,

⁸¹ Assyl Ayazbayeva, “Narodnyi Prazdnik: Kak vo Vremena SSSR Zapreshchali Nauryz,” *DKNews*, 2023, <https://dknews.kz/ru/dk-life/277929-narodnyy-prazdnik-kak-vo-vremena-sssr-zapreshchali>; Rabat, “Pochemu Ranshe Zapreshchali Prazdnovat- Nauryz Rasskazali Shymkenttsy,” *Rabat*, 2023, <https://otyrar.kz/2023/03/pochemu-ranshe-zapreshchali-prazdnovat-nauryz-rasskazali-shymkenttsy/>; Zhanar Saydilla, “Kak Sovetskii Soiuz Ukral u Kazakhov Nauryz,” *Newstimes.Kz*, 2023, <https://newstimes.kz/obshchestvo/166224-kak-sovetskij-soyuz-ukral-u-kazahov-nauryz>.

but also closely monitored compliance with these recommendations,”⁸² the final word seemed to be at the local indigenous representatives in the governments. Moreover, the policies, even if directed from the center, still could not consider all the aspects of the traditional, tribal or religious importance at the local level. Therefore, the ability of choosing the holidays to promote, even religious ones, was still in the hands of the local administrations, despite the facts of presence of religious suppression in KazakhsASSR and other regions. Moreover, as Martin has been explaining, the Central Asian republics were considered as “Eastern culturally backwards” peoples. As a result, their religious beliefs were not suppressed to a such extent as orthodoxy was due to its previous strong power, as well as other religious centralized authorities, like that of rabbinate and kehillot.

In some ways, religion was used as a way of controlling the population. Creation of Islam as a centralized religious institution would simplify many administrative works. However, it was not a case for all types of beliefs. This was the case demonstrated in the *Enbek pen Mektep*. The school textbook, other than Nauryz, includes the 2 main holidays of Islam: *Oraza Ajt* (Ramadan Eid in English literature) and *Qurban Bairam* (Bairam Eid). These two holidays were mentioned in the months when they were taking place in the according 1930 year - March and May, meaning that most likely these textbooks would have been theoretically re-written every year. *Oraza Ajt* has been described for several pages with inclusion of the class: “People, hearing the singing of the Mollah, began to gather around him. Molla began to perform ablution... In the end, the assembled people gathered to perform namaz.”⁸³ After such presentation of the *Oraza Ajt* classical activities, the textbook presents various questions on this matter, asking the students the

⁸² Ayazbayeva, “Narodnyi Prazdnik.”

⁸³ Turmanzhanov et al., *Enbek Pen Mektep*, 76.

following questions: “Where have you been during the *Oraza Ayt* holiday?”, “What do you know about the *Oraza*?”, “How many people did do *Oraza* (post) in you village?”. On one hand, the questions were seemingly provoking the class discussion. On the other hand, rather many questions were formulated in contrast to the enlightening nature of the texts themselves. This contrast may be explained by the two competing goals which were to be achieved through the education by various actors. On one hand, we have the local Kazakh representatives in the educative area, for whom, probably, the previous traditions were still presenting a great importance. In addition to that, the population, which has been practicing Islamic traditions since 11th century, could not just stop it within a few years after an establishment of a new country. Thus, abrupt cut of these holidays would be noticeable and might have achieved a goal contrary to the goal of the central communist government of gaining trust to the socialism among the local populations. On the other hand, their goal was to be achieved too, even not directly, as the questions, formulated under more enlightening texts, seemed to gather information and situation among the local population, with further possible aim of examining the religiosity extent and plan the further development on this matter, which would be more in line with the plans of the central government.

Given the presence of Islamic holidays, it becomes no less surprising to see another mention of a religious practice, but a contrary one, being a Kazakh shamanistic heritage also discussed in the textbook, but in a perspective totally contrary to Islam. First, it is important to mention that shamanism is one of the most notable phenomena in the religious traditions of the Kazakhs, preserved from the pre-Islamic era. In the Kazakh culture and language, the word shaman is, however, not used, as well as the whole practice of shamanism is understood in a different way. The ancient Turks and the later ancestors of the Kipchaks called shamans with the

word *kam* - care.⁸⁴ The Kazakhs had a separate name for the people performing the duties, considered as shamanistic in the anglophone tradition - *baqsy*. Different ethnographers of the 19th century have observed various practices of *baqsy* in the Kazakh villages. Vassily Radlov, often considered to be the founder of Turkology, gives the following definition: “*baqsy* is a Kazakh shaman who masterfully plays the *kobyz*.”⁸⁵ Kazakh historiographer Kudaibergen Zhubanov reports that Kazakh *baqsy* were originally healers, who cared for the sick and possessed magic that saved them from illness. Based on these features, Zhubanov concludes that the word “*baqsy*” has the same root as the word “*bagysh*” meaning “to take care of.”⁸⁶ S.G. Ussenova claims that “*baqsy* treated people by playing the *kobyz*, emitting loud, menacing sounds and melodies, summoning spirits and conjuring them, or hypnotizing them, thus affecting the nervous system.”⁸⁷ Such therapeutic effect of *kobyz* and its positive influence on the relaxation has been confirmed by generations and legends about this instrument’s effects, as well as modern studies.⁸⁸ Moreover, the *kobyz* instrument itself is associated with Kazakhness, as the instrument, at first, is made of wood and the strings are made of horse hair, and the *kobyz* is claimed to be one of the oldest instruments practiced by Kazakhs and their predecessors since 8th century, showcasing its connection to the core folk culture.⁸⁹ All of that in summary shows that both *kobyz* as an instrument and *baqsy* as a member of the Kazakh society have been long present there and considered as parts of some local practices.

⁸⁴ Seyit A. Kazkabassov, *Kazakh Folk Prose* (Almaty, 1984), 12.

⁸⁵ Yesset K. Zhubanov, *Qazaqtyñ Auyzeki Körkem Tili* (Almaty: Gylym, 1996).

⁸⁶ Kudaibergen K. Zhubanov, *Qazaq Tili Zhöinde Zertteuler* (Almaty: Gylym, 1999).

⁸⁷ S.G. Ussenova, “Baksy Kak Predstavitel’ Shamanstva v Kazahskom Obriadovom Fol’klore” (Prosvetitel-skoe dvizhenie u tiurkskikh narodov i tvorchestvo Abaia, Kazan, Republic Tatarstan, Russia, 2020), 254–57.

⁸⁸ Zere S. Shakerimova et al., “Psychotherapeutic Function of the Kazakh Traditional Music,” *International Journal of Environmental and Science Education*, November 1, 2016, <http://www.ijese.net/makale/1256.html>.

⁸⁹ Dana Zhumabekova and Toizhan Yeginbaeva, “The History of the Art of Kobyz in Kazakhstan” (3rd International Conference on Art Studies: Science, Experience, Education (ICASSEE 2019), Atlantis Press, 2019), 667–71, <https://doi.org/10.2991/icassee-19.2019.141>.

However, when looking at the only given description of *baqsy* and *qobyz* in the textbook, one can see clearly negative descriptions of them:

Baqsy takes the women and plays *kobyz* which sounds like honey to them (from the folk).

Baqsy: Play, my *kobyz*, play!

Cry sadly!

A bride with a child, my dear,

Are you still sad?

One woman: I have a disease...

Baqsy: It is dangerous!

One woman: My husband doesn't love me.

Baqsy: To tie the rope of love,

I enchant you to give yourself to me... (appendix 3).

Without the discussion of the paper itself it is easy to see how negatively the *baqsy* and *kobyz* are portrayed. The former is demonstrated as the tool for putting spells on the women, while the latter is depicted as a malicious man, taking advantage of the young women. Although we cannot reject that there have been no negative effects of the *baqsy*, the majority of the folk legends and later research mention them as local healers and musicians, whereas *kobyz* is even considered to be a sacred instrument for its long history and connectedness to Kazakh history. Such contrast between the popular and the state-directed ideas of the *baqsy* seems even more exciting when one looks at the differences between the treatment of another belief system, mentioned earlier - Islamic customs and holidays. This discrepancy in treatment has already been explained by many scholars in the area, who studied the place of Islam in the early Soviet Union. The practices which were considered as shamanistic or close to ones were massively purged especially in the 30s, being considered as the remnants of the backward past. The persecution of shamans USSR-wide was massive, with one evidence showing that ““mass arrests” of shamans took place and that Evenk shamans were arrested and shot without inquiry or trial, accused of

being “deceivers of the people” in now Sakha Republic in Russia in the 1930s, with another example coming from Amur region: “Nanai shamans, like other shamans of the indigenous peoples of the Lower Amur, were called the enemies of the people, and many of them were executed during the repressions in the 1930s.”⁹⁰ *Baqsy* practice, which can be practically seen as a shamanistic practice, most likely had the same treatment and was attempted to be got ridden off. Although there is no information on the extent of *baqsy* persecution in numbers, the example of a negative description in the textbook demonstrates that the new idea of the Kazakh nation did not include the *baqsy* practice, which has been an essential part of the nomadic semi-shamanistic semi-Muslim religious life. The contrast is seen in how the Islamic practices were even supported to some extent. This is also not specific only to Kazakh nation formation, as many scholars in Islam in USSR demonstrate the presence of Islam and its special place in the eyes of the Bolshevik administration. First and foremost, there was no requirement of officially leaving the Islam for the Central Asian party members to enter the party, as it was in the case with Jews and Christians.⁹¹ Another practical implication of Islam in the Soviet Union was inherited from its predecessor, the Russian Empire, in “treating Islam as a pillar of the system, as the language through which the state would communicate with its Muslim subjects,”⁹² although it was never openly admitted. In the first decade of the USSR, there were even open favoritism of Islamic institutions, as the Bolsheviks even appointed the Muslim scholars to the positions in local Soviets and implemented some *shari’a* principles in courts.⁹³ These facts demonstrate the

⁹⁰ Tatiana Bulgakova and Olle Sundström, “Repression of Shamans and Shamanism in Khabarovsk Krai : 1920s to the Early 1950s” (Södertörns högskola, 2017), 225–62, <https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:umu:diva-143114>.

⁹¹ Alexander G. Park, *Bolshevism in Turkestan, 1917–1927* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957).

⁹² Eren Tasar, *Soviet and Muslim: The Institutionalization of Islam in Central Asia*, Religion and Global Politics (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 7.

⁹³ Vladimir Bobrovnikov, Amir Navruzov, and Shamil Shikhaliev, “Islamic Education in Soviet and Post-Soviet Daghestan,” in *Islamic Education in the Soviet Union and Its Successor States* (Routledge, 2009).

general pattern the writers of the textbooks were following. Park also claims that in many senses until the second half of the 30s the Soviet administration did not fully interfere with the presence of Islam in the general public. This might show the level of freedom of publishing the Kazakh editors might have been having when writing their textbook. On one hand, they had an option and no direct restriction on the demonstrations of Islamic practices and even promotion of the holidays in the textbooks, as it would have been part of the Soviet attempt to create a “church for Islam”⁹⁴ - a united centralized authority over Muslim population. On the other hand, the shamanistic practices of the *baqsy* were lying out of the scope of the perspective Soviet plan, where the main goal was to take the people out of “tribal” and “uncivilized” practices and create the modernized nations. The shamanism, all over Siberia and, as this research demonstrates, in Kazakhstan was the reason for persecution, no matter how native and important that practice might have been earlier to the members of the newly created nation. The outcome of such persecution can be seen in almost complete abandonment and cultural loss of the *baqsy* practices in the post-Soviet Kazakhstan and very high stigma to those, attempting to practice it.

Kazakh traditional way of life

Another important aspect in the book is dedicated to the descriptions of the lifestyles of the Kazakhs. Just as it was described earlier, there are not explicitly “Kazakh-only” descriptions. Despite the presence of the big number of descriptions of the “traditional”, or pre-Soviet way of life of the Kazakhs, it is always complemented with the similar new “Soviet” way of life. For example, the textbook presents a description of the nomadic lifestyle practice, the most basic

⁹⁴ Tasar, *Soviet and Muslim*.

principle of Kazakh way of life - movement between the seasonal stops and the reasons behind it the following way under the title “The land where the village lives” (appendix 4):

“The area should be suitable for crops, and there should be plenty of water. On one side, there should be a convenient area for livestock, on the other side there should be a soapy area (*sabyndyq*), and on the other side - a grove where there is firewood. In order to have these conditions, the village should be located on the slopes of the mountains, on the banks of rivers and streams. The settlement of the living *el* is first divided into two: the first is *qystau* (wintering pasture). *Qystau* is built according to the convenience of the land. If the neighborhood of the village is hilly, then in the spring when the sun is shining, it is built on the soil of the land, which dries up early. The *qystau* of the cow-owning *el* is full of many houses, thick bushes or dense grass, black soil. The came-owning *el* winters in a hot, sandy, bitter, sloping place full of *çalman-qulaq* and *çantaq* (old-styled colloquial name classification for a group of grasses grow in the mountains, on high sandy, stony, and grassy lands that are digestible for animals). The nomadic *el* has a different place from the winter to the summer migration. It is determined according to the comfort of the farmer and the type of livestock, as well as *qystau* of the *el*. A *el* that migrates a lot in the spring will migrate up to 5-10 times. A *el* that moves less moves only one. When the spring grass begins to grow, the *el* moves to pastures. After spending two to three months in the pasture, when it starts to get cold, they move to the foothills again. When it snows a lot, they go and settle down for the winter. From *qystau* in the spring to moving back in the fall, at least 3 moves are made, and a *el* that moves a lot moves 20-30 times.”⁹⁵

The given passage in the textbook provided a very detailed and knowledgeable description of how the traditional pre-sedentarized way of life of the Kazakhs looked like. It is important to mention that this passage refers to some main concepts key to pre-sedentarized Kazakh identity, such as *el* - the word used to describe the tribes the Kazakhs were divided into and the ones they used to use to differentiate themselves from each other. Passage demonstrates, despite being already for almost a decade presence in the USSR, the factors that were more important, such as attachment to your *el* and full dependence of one’s life on *el*’s features, such as type of livestock, the decision of *el*’s farmers, and how these factors might have changed the

⁹⁵ Turmanzhanov et al., *Enbek Pen Mektep*, 9.

whole nomadic pattern, from where to stay in winter, what roads to choose to move around, and how many times to change the location of the village. These kinds of detailed descriptions demonstrate not only already mentioned attachment to the “Kazakhness” as a way of life and to the *el* as more important personal tribal identity marker, but also the profound knowledge of the authors’ about the people who lived deep in the steppes and whose number was about to drastically fall down as 1930 marked the year when the famine in the Kazakh steppe has started, taking about half of the population of the people. According to the biographies of the authors, it is confirmed that at least one of them, the primary author Ötebay Turmanzhanov, a folklorist and poet, was born and raised in the family of a poor nomadic shepherd. Therefore, it can be confirmed that he personally knew and himself lived through several cycles of the winterings, making the information from the passage the primary experience and primary practical knowledge. The questions to the children, following the passage, ask children to describe the villages they come from, including very specific details, from descriptions of the geographical features, as presence of rivers, lakes, mountains, hills, or forests nearby to the direction of the wind, length of snow’s presence, amount of snow’s falls per season. Within 15 provided questions, there are no mentions of the nomadic seasonal movements, described in the passage above, most likely hinting to the fact that the children are expected to come from already settled villages, who do not follow the classical nomadic moving patterns. Moreover, this is also hinted by the more detailed analysis of the text, which asks first to describe the village in winter, and then to describe how the nature around the village changes with season changes, instead of asking how the village might have chosen the new pastures and movement directions. Such change in the lifestyle and the fact that authors still included the descriptions of the old lifestyle might be explained by the assumption that they, despite the change in the lifestyle, still saw the

continuation of shepherd lifestyle of Kazakhs, but now in a settled way. By mentioning this continuing tradition, the idea of continuation could have been put into the children's minds, as well as depicting the ideology of the newly established nations having their earlier traditions and cultures, although not followed anymore.

Kazakh or Soviet? Both?

The idea of a Kazakh as a national identity in *Enbek pen Mektep* is not promoted directly. The only remarks were the aforementioned discussion of the “Day of the Kazakh proletariat” and the discussion of the religion, which I count as an important marker of Kazakh identity due to the words of the Kazakh ethnographer of the early 19th century Shoqan Walikhanov, who claimed that “if one meets a Kazakh man in the steppe and asks him who he is, his first answer will be “I am Muslim”.”⁹⁶ Out of these remarks, the Kazakh identity was presented not as a separate national identity on the behalf of the authors of the books, which cannot be said about the Soviet identity as a proto-national identity. It can be seen on the examples of the countless poems, texts and questions, which put students in the shoes of the Soviet citizens (appendix 5):

“We are the Leninists,
Going by Lenin's way,
We are the Leninists,
Doing it the light way,
We are not going away
From Lenin's way,
We are not going to leave
The labor way.”⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Shoqan Sh. Walikhanov, *Works of Ch. Ch. Valikhanov*, ed. N.I. Veselovksy, Main directorate of departments (Saint-Petersburg, 1904), https://shoqan.kz/incompleted/works_o_musulmanstve_v_stepi/.

⁹⁷ Turmanzhanov et al., *Enbek Pen Mektep*, 23.

Constant reiteration of the socialist-associated words, like *Lenin*, *Goloschekin* (head of KazASSR in 1930), *labor*, *proletariat*, *revolution*, *workers*, *comsomol* (All-Union Leninist Young Communist League), together with the personal pronouns “we” and “our” throughout the whole textbook demonstrates bigger attention on the Soviet identity creation. Although it is claimed that the *korenizatsiia* was supposed to, firstly, develop the tribes and peoples into the proper nations, the case of *Enbek pen Mektep* does not fully support this ideal, as it depicts itself as a book with a proper socialist education, with less than 1/100 of pages (about 15 out of 187) dedicated to the discussion of any aspect “Kazakhness”. Rather, it introduces Kazakhness as a part of being a Soviet citizen. These two terms do not go separately but together. Although some might argue that the formation of Kazakh identity as a national identity has not been formed at this point, the earlier subchapter on political institutionalization of Kazakh national identity in the early 20th century demonstrated the total targeting of a “Kazakhness” as a national identity by former Alash Orda government and party activists. Having this drastic contrast between “I am Kazakh” and “We are the Leninists”, both of which are focusing and targeting the same audience, young people, we can see how in two time periods some identities were put forward over the others. However, in the Soviet example, the Kazakh national identity became less salient as independent one and rather a key to the exploration of the new socialist identity.

Another possible question might be how much the Kazakh identity incorporated the aspects of the Soviet identity. I claim that quite a lot as Kazakh identity, from being a social denomination in the 19th century to being a national marker in the early 20th century became some sort of ethnic marker with the Soviet power in the 30's of the 20th century. This can be seen on the example of how the people are being referred to as. Main words of reference include: *qara sharua* (“black worker”), *enbeksiler* (“workers”), *qazaq sharua* (“Kazakh worker”), and various

work specific names, including *temirshiler* (“oil workers”), *qojshylar* (“herders”), *agronomlar* (“agricultural workers”) and *oqushylar* (“students”). Within these names, even there was a name “Kazakh” included, it did not aim at creating or dedicating to the national identity development. As I explained earlier, “Kazakh” as a word was used to describe a connectedness to common way of life rather than national affiliation. The Soviet textbook did the same job, keeping the adjective “Kazakh” in the textbook as a prefix to work descriptions or other more important socialist nouns. It was not used to create the common national identity among the Kazakhs, but to give the people the same common economic background from which to depart to the new socialist identity. In other words, the phrase “Kazakh worker” is not used to say “worker with Kazakh descent” but rather “worker with prior Kazakh/nomadic lifestyle”.

Conclusion

The question of identities aligns with the question of individual plans of a certain power over a specific population. In other words, the plans would just be promoted by introducing a specific set of values or identities. In case of my research, this proved to be true. The various values of different actors were indeed seen promoted through the educational means, namely a textbook *Enbek pen Mektep*.

In this research, I demonstrated the historical development of the identity markers among the population known as the Kazakhs. By showcasing the significance of the term “Kazakh” as a unifying term for various tribes who united on the basis of a common way of life, I showed how this term further developed in the early 20th century and, finally, was utilized in the Soviet school textbook used in the KazASSR, *Enbek pen Mektep*. Although in communal leadership’s plans, *korenizatsiia* was supposed to develop the Kazakh as a title for the nationality inhabiting the territories of three different jüzes, the case of *Enbek pen Mektep* demonstrates that the term “Kazakh” was not directly used as a term for national identity marker creation. Instead, just like it was applied in the nomadic period of history of the Kazakhs, the Kazakh authors of the textbook also applied it as a descriptive term to highlight the economic way of life of the people who were put into the new conditions, i.e. previously nomadic people of various tribes inhabiting the territory of KazASSR. The lack of national tone to the word “Kazakh” in 1930 could be seen especially strongly in comparison to how the word was used in the early 20th century within the Alash Orda representatives, who applied it as a unifying term for the “descendants of Alash”, as they called it. However, the 1930 textbook categorically never referred to the Kazakhs as people with common ancestry - an act often used to justify the national cause. Nevertheless, the development of the identity could still be observed, but it was the development of a Soviet

identity. Seeing the examples of pan-socialist holidays, patriotic poems about Lenin and associations of the words “workers” and “Lenin” with personal pronouns make more direct connection and new identity creation. Moreover, this new identity was supposed to be “cleaned out” of the elements which were seen as possibly disadvantageous to the socialist world as a remnant of the past, like the traditional nomadic way of life or shamanistic practices but allowed to keep and forge further the parts which were seen as possible advantageous, such as Islamic practices. This new Soviet identity, promoted at school, did include the Kazakh identity as part of it, but as rather as a term, not necessarily the whole essence of the term Kazakh. One may object that the fact of the usage of the language might be the reason for establishment of Kazakh common identity, but Kazakh language has been the primary language of the communication on the whole territory and was not necessarily associated with a “Kazakh identity”, as the association made with Kazakh language was the Soviet identity, as well as examples of inclusion of pan-Soviet vocabulary into Kazakh language also made it more open to socialist values.

Thus said, the research still includes various limitations. First, the research has only analyzed one textbook, making it practically impossible to make a general conclusion on the overall policy of the KazASSR towards the identity formation. More profound research of a series of textbooks would allow a better understanding of the development of the identity throughout the years and through various means. Secondly, the research lacks the observation of the real in-class education. Most likely, it would be quite hard to find the people who were attending the schools in the 1930s to properly say how the in-class education really was and whether it really corresponded with the content in the books. There is always a chance that the textbooks, which were approved by the center and further developed by the local writers, did not correspond to the material the teachers might have promoted themselves in the classroom

directly. Thirdly, this research only looked at the historical and theoretical aspects of the identity promotion, namely the historical context and then the textbook itself. However, there was no work completed on the real students' perception, as the out of class environment could have still dedicated to the development of Kazakh national identity. Therefore, I do not claim in this research that I have seen a complete timeline of the Kazakh national identity development. Instead, I looked at how the Kazakh identity played itself within a new environment, the USSR, and how it was presented by the meso-actors, the textbooks writers, for the young generations alongside other perspective identity - the Soviet one. A further examination on the basis the aforementioned limitations would allow future scholars to have a more profound understanding of the question of the competing identities and identity formation on the meso-level. This question is specifically important for the modern post-colonial discourses in the independent Kazakhstan and in the overall aftermath of the USSR, as it allows to reassess the Soviet perspective on the *korenizatsiia* question and complete a proper view on how the same identity was applied throughout the years.

Appendices

Appendix 1

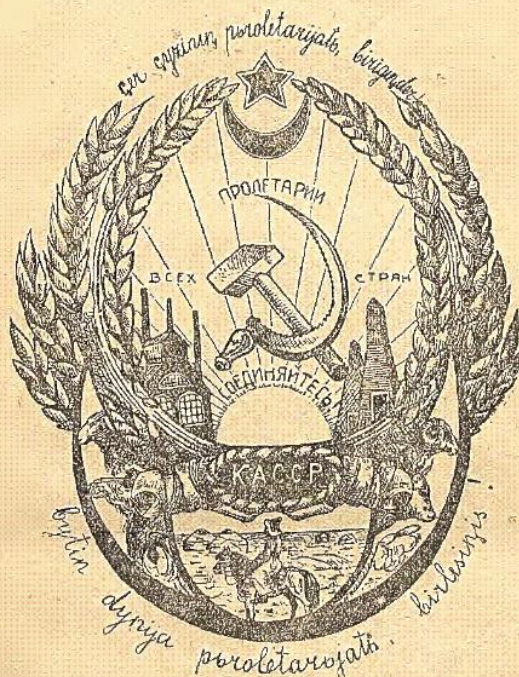
II - bəlim.
4 - öktəbir.



4—öktəbir qazaq enbəkçilerine ardaqtı kyn. bygingi kyni qazaq kedejleri basıl qurap öz aldına otav tikken. top çajır, çajılsı saqır, məçilis qurır, mydesin ajır, muñın saqısqan kyn. ojdıq, qırdıq qazaq enbəkçileri cırqırasır tabırsır öz taqıdın özi cecken kyn. resej-degi kər ezilgen buratana eldin biri qazaq qalqı. arqı zamanda qazaqtı

енбекçi буқарасы залым қаннан, севір биіден, қилілік маіына дейін са-
қылса, вері келе орстың залым патсасының торына тускен. сөмпаз төрден
тілмәстән, воһстан, ыстарсынан қорлық көрген. тегі қай заманда воһста
көзден қас, бастаң қайы арылмаған. алдағы өмір белгісіз сары сақым
болған. арып азған. төрқайда тозған...

азған елді нас басадь, ағруу қайлаидь, қазақ қалқан ағруу қайлаған
келеceгін кымәнді қылып алдына ор қазған. езілген ел, еңбекçi буқара
ертенгі таңнан өлім қыткен. үстіп сасыр олығанда өктәбір таңы қарық
етті. қазақ пен сыбайлас- ресей пролетарияттар залым патсаның қапын
„сәһәһнем“ қиерді. биілік тизгінін өз қолына алды. езілген елді бағрым-
сын деп бағырына тартты.



Әлсіздерінің қолтығынан сыяп қардем етті. қол көрсетті. бассылық етті
ресей пролетарияттары іскі сыртқы қанды тегіс сөніп алған сөн-іскі мәсе-
лелерді сөсіуіге кірісті. ресей ішіндегі бүрыннан езіліп келе қатқан буратана
ұлттарға „өз алдарына ерікті республике болуға қол асық“ деді. ресейдегі
ірі ұлттардың көші ерікті республик болды. қанә отав тікті. сол отавдың бірі
қазақ республикасы.

қазақ республикасы 4—өктәбір күні асылған быкіл қазақ еңбекшілерінің

Turmanzhanov, Otebay, Salken Balaubayev, Shamgali Sarybayev, and Zhumakhan Kuderin. Enbek Pen Mektep,

1930, 20-21. <https://kazneb.kz/kk/catalogue/view/1519707>

tönkeris myjramdarь men eske alьnatьn
 dem alьs kynderi.

сентябрьдың	1 i қаңа қы
"	21 i lenin өлген кун.
"	22 i қандь çekсемби
декабрьдың	23 i қызы әскер куні
martтың	8 i әжелдер куні
"	12 i патса укіметинің қулаған куні
"	18 i пәрич көмынесинің куні
әпрелдің	22 i leninnin туғқан куні
majдың	1 i entimatsъjanal куні
"	5 i waspa сөз куні
yjeldiң	5 i көперетип куні
sentəbirdiң	4 i çastar куні
өktevirdiң	4 i qazaqъstan respublijkesi quғылаған кун.
nojabirdiң	7 i өktevir төңкерисинің куні
"	8 i " " "
maritың	22-i navrız oraза айтъ (bir кун) қирван айтъ (ekj кун) әр четиде bir dem алъ куні

CEU eTD Collection

Translation from Kazakh to English:

Revolutionary and remembrance holidays and day-offs

January:

- 1st - New Year
- 21st - Day of Lenin's death
- 22nd - Bloody Sunday

February:

- 23rd - Day of Red Army

March:

- 8th - Women's Day
- 12th - Day of the Fall of the Tsarist government
- 18th - Day of the Paris Commune

April:

- 22nd - Day of Lenin's birth

May:

- 1st - Day of International
- 5th - Day of the Printing Press

July:

- 5th - Kaperetip Day

September:

- 4th - Day of the Youth

October:

- 5th - Day of the establishment of the Republic of Kazakhstan

November:

- 7-8th - Day of October revolution

March:

- 22nd - Nauryz
- Oraza Ajt (Eid Holiday) (one day)
- Qurban Ajt (Qurban-Bairam Holiday) (two days)
- Every 7th day of the week

Appendix 3

BAQAN BAQSY.

„...baqan baqsy әjelderdi қижip алып,
қовыз тартып бал асыр отыр....“

(el qatynan)

baqsy:
„...sarna qovyzym, sarna!
baqan sorly zarla....
balaı kelin, syraqym,
taqy muıyqy varma?...“

-bir qatyn:
„navqasym bar...“

baqsy:
„zyjandas“

bir qatyn:
„baqvajdy meni—vajym ças“

baqsy:
„maqavbat çivim vajlavqa,
yskirejin qojnyqdy as...“

1926—ç. 26/IX „e. q.“



Turmanzhanov, Otebay, Salken Balaubayev, Shamgali Sarybayev, and Zhumakhan Kuderin. *Enbek Pen Mektep*,

1930, 24. <https://kazneb.kz/kk/catalogue/view/1519707>.

Appendix 4

авылдың турған çeri.

манажы эginge qolajly, suvь mol volady. bir çaqьnda maldың әrisine ыңqajly çeri bolса, bir çaqьnda savьndьq, bir çaqьnda oтып volatып toqajly çeri volady. bul carttar boluv ycin qala tavdың teriskej vәkterindi, dәrijenin, әzennin çaqьsыnda voluvь tijisti.

kyn kәretin eldin qonьsь aldy men ekige belinedi: birinci qьstav. qьstav çerdin ыңqajына qaraj salьnadь. avьl manajь adьrly tav bolса kyn tysetin kәktemde erte kәvetin kyngej qьran çerden saladь.

bir çaqь tav, bir çaqь әlke, bir çaqь dalalav volьp keledi. qьstav munda ызып aqqan әlkenin voжында volady, ne volmasa qumпың cуra-тында volady. ne dalaly çerde toraңqь men seksevildin icinde bir panaly çerde volady.

kәcpeli eldin qьstavь maldың әrisine, çәnә tyrine qaraj salьnadь. qojly el bolса, qьstavь mьq çuvsandy, betegeli, vujratty çerde volady.

çыlyly eldin qьstavь qoңьrda cуvarda sarь çonda, tavь mol tegis çerde volady.

ne volmasa, vujratty әlkenin manajь kәk cekti dalada volady.

sьjьrly eldin qьstavь әlkelі, qalyң qoraly ne әlendi qalyң çepти, qara torьraqь çerde volady.

tyjeli eldin qьstavь, ьstьq qumды, accыly, kәkpekти, çalman qulaq-ты, çantaqь çerde volady.

kәcpeli eldin qьstavьnan, çazdaqь kәcip mal ottatьp cyretin çeri әr-tyrly volьp keledi.

avьldың manajь, qonьsь çazdың meзgiline qaraj өзgeriledi.

qьstavdan kәk cьqqan kezde kәcip varьp qonqan çerdі „kәktem“ dejdі.

eldin kәktemde qьstav sьjaqь caryvanyң ыңqajь men, maldың tyrine qaraj belgilenedi.

kәktemde kәp kәcetin el 5—10 qa cejin kәcedi. az kәcetin el bьr qana kәcedi.

kәktemnin cөbi quvraj bastasa el çajlavqa kәcedi.

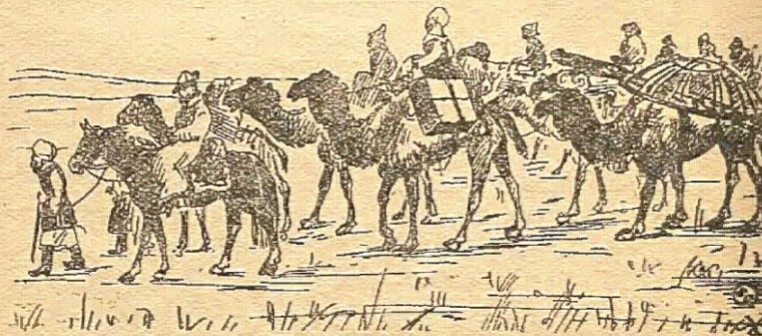
çajlavda eki—yc ajdaj oтырьp salqьn tyse bastaqanda qajtadan kәcip etekke tysedi.

etekte bьr nece çerden qonьs avdarьp çyrip, kyzde oтырьp kyzem alatып „kyzekke“ kelip qonady.

kyzekten әvdәn qar çavqanda qьstavqa varьp qonady.

qьstavdan kәktemde kәcip cьqqannan qajta kyzde kәcip kelgence азь 3 kәcedi.

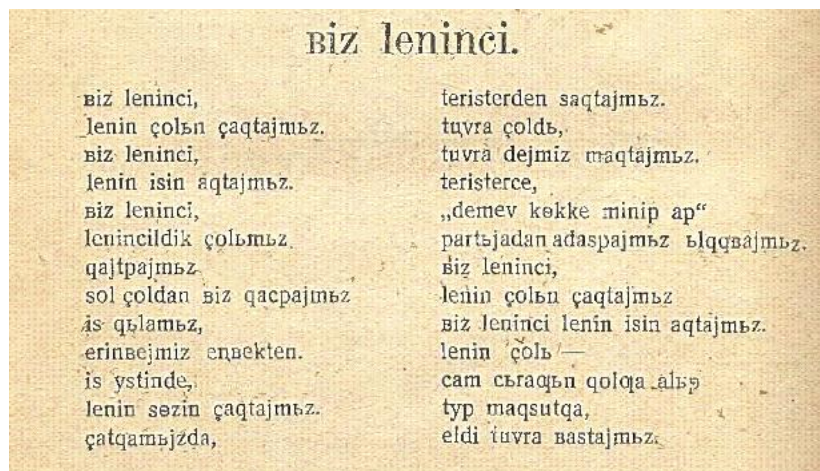
kәp kәcetin el 20—30 ref kәcedi.



Turmanzhanov, Otebay, Salken Balaubayev, Shamgali Sarybayev, and Zhumakhan Kuderin. Enbek Pen Mektep,

1930, 8-9. <https://kazneb.kz/kk/catalogue/view/1519707>.

Appendix 5



Turmanzhanov, Otebay, Salken Balaubayev, Shamgali Sarybayev, and Zhumakhan Kuderin. Enbek Pen Mektep,

1930, 23. <https://kazneb.kz/kk/catalogue/view/1519707>.

Bibliography

- Abdullah, Darakhshan. "Dynamics Of Soviet Educational Model In Central Asian Republics." *The Journal of Central Asian Studies* 13 (2016). <https://ccas.uok.edu.in/Files/93269b6c-7f53-4439-ae9a-3bdf55a4c649/Journal/e4afe116-08e8-48d8-b3a8-e178ae620a0b.pdf>.
- Akimbekov, Sultan M. *History of the Steppes: The Phenomenon of the State of Genghis Khan in the History of Eurasia*. 3rd ed. Almaty: Centr Evrazii, 2018.
- Alisher Navoi. *Mazholisun Nafois [Majālis al-Nafā'is]*. Edited by Suiima Ghaniyeva. Tashkent: Ūzbekiston SSR Fanlar Akademiyasi nashriēti, 1961.
- All-Union Central Committee of the New Turkic Alphabet. "Verbatim Report of the First Plenum of the All-Union Central Committee of the New Turkic Alphabet, Which Met in Baku from June 3 to June 7, 1927." Plenum. Moscow: Publication of the All-Union Central Committee of the New Turkic Alphabet, 1927. <http://elib.shpl.ru/ru/nodes/41117-vsesoyuznyy-tsentralnyy-komitet-novogo-tyurkskogo-alfavita-plenum-1-1927-baku-stenograficheskiy-otchet-pervogo-plenuma-vsesoyuznogo-tsentralnogo-komiteta-novogo-tyurkskogo-alfavita-zasedavshego-v-baku-ot-3-go-do-7-go-iyunya-1927-goda-m-1927#mode/inspect/page/95/zoom/5>.
- Amanzholova, Dina A. *Kazakh Autonomism and Russia: History of the Alash Movement*. Moscow: Rossiya Molodaya, 1994.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Artykbaev, Zhambyl, Tengesh Kalenova, Gauhar Abdrakhmanova, Maira Dyussebekova, and Kargash Zhanpeiissova. "Sources and History of the Kazakh Statehood: To a Question of Institutes of Management in the Kazakh Khanate." *The Anthropologist*, October 1, 2016. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09720073.2016.11892124>.

- Artykbayev, Zhambyl Omarovich. *Materialy k Istorii Pravyashchego Doma Kazakhov*. Almaty: Galym, 2001.
- Asfendiyarov, Sanjar D. *History of Kazakhstan (from Ancient Times)*. Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan regional publishing house, 1935.
- Auezov, Mukhtar. *The Path of Abay*. Translated by Anatoliy Kim. Almaty: Zhibek, 2012.
- Auezuly. “Decree on New Spelling of Kazakh Language.” In *Jana Mektep*, 39. Almaty: Kazizdat/Qazaqstan Baspasi, 1929.
<https://nabr.kz/bookView/view/?brId=1606842&simple=true&green=1>.
- Ayazbayeva, Assyl. “Narodnyi Prazdnik: Kak vo Vremena SSSR Zapreshchali Nauryz.” *DKNews*, 2023. <https://dknews.kz/ru/dk-life/277929-narodnyy-prazdnik-kak-vo-vremena-sssr-zapreshchali>.
- Bobrovnikov, Vladimir, Amir Navruzov, and Shamil Shikhaliev. “Islamic Education in Soviet and Post-Soviet Daghestan.” In *Islamic Education in the Soviet Union and Its Successor States*. Routledge, 2009.
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Harvard University Press, 1992. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv26071qp>.
- Bulgakova, Tatiana, and Olle Sundström. “Repression of Shamans and Shamanism in Khabarovsk Krai : 1920s to the Early 1950s,” 225–62. Södertörns högskola, 2017.
<https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:umu:diva-143114>.
- Conversi, Daniele. “Modernism and Nationalism.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 17, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 13–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2012.644982>.

- Esenova, Saulesh. "Soviet Nationality, Identity, and Ethnicity in Central Asia: Historic Narratives and Kazakh Ethnic Identity." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 22, no. 1 (2002): 11–38.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13602000220124818>.
- . "'Tribalism' and Identity in Contemporary Circumstances: The Case of Kazakhstan*." *Central Asian Survey* 17, no. 3 (September 1, 1998): 443–62.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02634939808401046>.
- Fiala, Robert. "Educational Ideology and the School Curriculum." In *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective: Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education*, edited by Aaron Benavot, Cecilia Braslavsky, and Nhung Truong, 15–34. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2007. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-5736-6_2.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Blackwell, 2006.
- Grodekoy, Nikolay Ivanovich. *Kirgizi i Karakirgizy Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti*. Vol. 1. Tashkent: TipoLitografya S. I. Lakhtina, 1889.
- Hayes, Carlton J.H. *Nationalism: A Religion*. Edited by Frans A. M. Alting von Geusau. 1st edition. New Brunswick (U.S.A.): Routledge, 2016.
- Hirsch, Francine. *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*. 1st edition. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1–14. Canto Classics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107295636.001>.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Canto Classics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107295636>.

- Hobsbawn, Eric. "Language, Culture, and National Identity." *Social Research* 63, no. 4 (1996): 1065–80.
- Kaganovich, Lazar. "Stenograficheskie Otchet Kharkovskoi Okruzhnoi Konferentsii (31 Oktiabria-10 Noiabria 1925 g.)." Kharkiv, 1925.
- Kazkabassov, Seyit A. *Kazakh Folk Prose*. Almaty, 1984.
- Kohn, Hans. *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background*. New York: Routledge, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315132556>.
- Kommunisticheskaia akademiia, Komissiiia po izucheniiu natsional-nogo voprosa. *Natsional'naia Politika VKP/b/ v Tsifrah*. Moscow: Communist Academy Publisher, 1930.
- Kopey-uly, Mashhur Jusyp. *Kazakh Shezhyre*. Almaty: Zhaly, 1873.
- Kudayberdy-uly, Shakarim. *Genealogy of Turks, Kyrgyzs, Kazakhs and Khan Dynasties*. Almaty: Zhazushi (Karimov, Husainov, 1911), 1990.
- Kuzovkov, Yuriy V. *Istoriia Korruptsii v Rossii*. Moscow: Anima-Press, 2010.
- Lee, Joo-Yup. *Qazaqliq, or Ambitious Brigandage, and the Formation of the Qazaqs: State and Identity in Post-Mongol Central Eurasia*. Leiden, The Netherlands: BRILL, 2015.
- Levshin, Aleksei. *Opisaniye Kirgiz-Kaysakskikh, Ili Kirgiz-Kazachikh, Ord i Stepey*. Saint-Petersburg: Tipografiia Karla Krayya, 1832.
- Lieven, Dominic. "Russian, Imperial and Soviet Identities." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 253–69. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3679297>.
- Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī. *Baḥr Al-Asrār Fī Manāqib al-Akhyār*. Edited by Sayyid Mu‘īn al-Ḥaqq, Anṣār Zāhid Khān, and Ḥakīm Muḥammad Sa‘īd. Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1984.

- Martin, Terry. "4. Affirmative Action in the Soviet East, 1923-1932." In *4. Affirmative Action in the Soviet East, 1923-1932*, 125–81. Cornell University Press, 2011.
<https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501713323-008>.
- . *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Mukhammed Haidar Dulati. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Almaty: Sanat, 1999.
- Mynbayeva, Aigerim, and Victoria Pogosian. "Kazakhstani School Education Development from the 1930s: History and Current Trends." *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education* 6 (June 1, 2014): 144–72.
- Nozhko, K.G., E. Monoszon, and V. Zhamin. *Educational Planning in the USSR*. Poitiers, France: Unesco: International Institute for Educational Planning, the United Nations, 1968.
<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf00000076768>.
- Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin, and Suk-Ying Wong. "Educating Future Citizens in Europe and Asia." In *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective: Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education*, edited by Aaron Benavot, Cecilia Braslavsky, and Nhung Truong, 73–88. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2007. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-5736-6_5.
- Olcott, Martha Brill. *The Kazakhs: Second Edition*. 2nd edition. Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, 1995.
- Park, Alexander G. *Bolshevism in Turkestan, 1917–1927*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.
- Potanin, Grigory Nikolayevich. *Kazakhskiy Fol'klor v Sobranii G. N. Potanina (Arkhivnye Materialy i Publikatsii)*. Edited by M.G. Gabdullin, M.S. Silchenko, and N.S. Smirnova. Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1972.

Rabat. “Pochemu Ran-She Zapreshchali Prazdnovat- Nauryz Rasskazali Shymkenttsy.” *Rabat*, 2023.

<https://otyrar.kz/2023/03/pochemu-ranshe-zapreshchali-prazdnovat-nauryz-rasskazali-shymkenttsy/>.

Rather, Zubeer A., and Darakhshan Abdullah. “The Development of Soviet Education in Kazakh SSR (1917-1991).” *The Journal of Central Asian Studies* 26/27 (2019): 36.

Sabitov, Zhaksylyk M. “Kazak Shezhire as a Source on the History of Kazakhs,” 146–49. Astana: Eurasian National University, 2012.

Saydilla, Zhanar. “Kak Sovetskii Soiuz Ukral u Kazakhov Nauryz.” *Newstimes.Kz*, 2023.

<https://newtimes.kz/obshchestvo/166224-kak-sovetskij-soyuz-ukral-u-kazahov-nauryz>.

Schatz, Edward. “The Politics of Multiple Identities: Lineage and Ethnicity in Kazakhstan.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 52, no. 3 (May 1, 2000): 489–506. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713663070>.

Seitak, Bibarys. “Changes in Kazakh Orthography In 1929-1940 And Their Reflection of Political and Ideological Shifts in Kazakhstan.” Dissertation, Nazarbayev University, 2023.
<https://nur.nu.edu.kz/handle/123456789/7200>.

Shakerimova, Zere S., Aizada S. Nussupova, Maryam N. Burambaeva, Zhanat R. Yermanov, Akmaral E. Emreyeva, and & Sveta S. Janseitova. “Psychotherapeutic Function of the Kazakh Traditional Music.” *International Journal of Environmental and Science Education*, November 1, 2016. <http://www.ijese.net/makale/1256.html>.

Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī. *Ẓafar-Nāma*. Edited by A. Urinboyev. Tashkent, 1972.

Smith, Anthony D. “Interpretations of National Identity.” In *Modern Roots: Studies of National Identity*, edited by Alan Dieckhoff and Natividad Gutiérrez. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Stalin, Joseph. “Political Report of the Central Committee to the XVI Congress of the VKP(b) June 27, 1930.” *Prawda*. Moscow, 1930.

- . “The National Question and Social Democracy.” In *The National Question and Marxism*. Saint-Petersburg: Priboy, 1914.
- Suny, Edited by Ronald Grigor, and Terry Martin, eds. *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Suny, Ronald Grigor. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Suny, Ronald Grigor. “Nationalities in the Russian Empire.” *The Russian Review* 59, no. 4 (2000): 487–92.
- . “The Contradictions of Identity:: Being Soviet and National in the USSR and After.” In *Soviet and Post-Soviet Identities*, edited by Catriona Kelly and Mark Bassin, 17–36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511894732.003>.
- Tasar, Eren. *Soviet and Muslim: The Institutionalization of Islam in Central Asia*. Religion and Global Politics. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Turmanzhanov, Otebay, Salken Balaubayev, Shamgali Sarybayev, and Zhumakhan Kuderin. *Enbek Pen Mektep*, 1930. <https://kazneb.kz/kk/catalogue/view/1519707>.
- Tynyshpayev, Mukhamedzhan. *Materials for the History of Kyrgys-Kazak People*. Tashkent, 1925.
- . ““Proiskhozhdeniye Kirgiz-Kazakov i Istoriya Obrazovaniya Kazakskogo Khanstva.” In *Istoriya Kazakhskogo Naroda*, edited by A. Takenov and B. Baygaliyev, 138–88. Almaty: Sanat, 2009.
- Ussenova, S.G. “Baksy Kak Predstavitel’ Shamanstva v Kazahskom Obriadovom Fol’klore,” 254–57. Kazan, Republic Tatarstan, Russia, 2020.
- Walikhanov, Shoqan Sh. “Kirgizskoye Rodosloviye.” In *Izbrannye Proizvedeniya*, edited by S. Mazhitov, 120–35. Almaty: Izdatelstvo Arys, 2009.

———. *Works of Ch. Ch. Valikhanov*. Edited by N.I. Veselovksy. Main directorate of departments.

Saint-Petersburg, 1904. https://shoqan.kz/incompleted/works_o_musulmanstve_v_stepi/.

Wodak, Ruth, and Bernhard Forchtner. “Embattled Vienna 1683/2010: Right-Wing Populism,

Collective Memory and the Fictionalisation of Politics.” *Visual Communication* 13, no. 2 (2014):

231–55. <https://doi.org/DOI.10.1177/1470357213516720>.

Wodak, Ruth, and Michael Meyer. “THE DISCOURSE-HISTORICAL APPROACH (DHA).” In

Methods of Critical Discourse Studies, 3rd ed., 27. London: SAGE, 2016.

Zhubanov, Kudaibergen K. *Qazaq Tili Zhöninde Zertteuler*. Almaty: Gylym, 1999.

Zhubanov, Yesset K. *Qazaqtyñ Auyzeki Körkem Tili*. Almaty: Gylym, 1996.

Zhumabekova, Dana, and Toizhan Yeginbaeva. “The History of the Art of Kobyz in Kazakhstan,”

667–71. Atlantis Press, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.2991/icassee-19.2019.141>.