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# Multiculturalism in Kazakhstan: Evolution of a Multi-ethnic Society and the Progress of an Effective Intercultural Communication

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## **ABSTRACT**

Due to many historical and political factors, when Kazakhstan declared national independence in 1991, it had a population composed of more than 130 different nationalities, with 42 different religious confessions. In defiance of the possibility for ethnic and religious conflicts, tolerance and mutual understanding prevail in Kazakhstan. This attitude, promoted by the new government and strengthened by Kazakhstanis' open-mindedness, has led the people to find a balance among their different origins and religious beliefs in all aspects of daily life, from their leisure activities to their professional environment. My dissertation aims to analyze the historical process of the above-mentioned society; the characteristics of the actual interaction and integration among the co-cultures; and the potential future development of Kazakhstan society, whether toward a new unified national identity or a permanent interaction among distinct identities.

A causa di diversi fattori storici e politici, quando il Kazakistan ha dichiarato l'indipendenza nel 1991, la sua popolazione rappresentava più di 130 nazionalità e 42 credi religiosi. A dispetto dei possibili conflitti etnici e religiosi, in Kazakistan hanno prevalso tolleranza e comprensione reciproca. Questo atteggiamento, promosso dal nuovo governo e rafforzato dall'apertura mentale tipica dei Kazakistani, ha portato la popolazione a trovare un equilibrio tra le loro diverse origini etniche e credi religiosi, in tutti gli aspetti della vita, dalle attività di svago all'ambiente professionale. La tesi si propone di analizzare il processo storico della società sopra menzionata; le caratteristiche dell'attuale interazione ed integrazione tra le co-culture; ed i possibili sviluppi futuri della società Kazakistana, che sia verso una nuova identità nazionale unificatrice o una costante interazione tra le distinte culture.



## **CONTENTS**

### **1. Introduction**

Notes on transliteration of names, translations, and proper use of 'Kazakh' and 'Kazakhstani'

### **2. Multiculturalism**

### **3. Multicultural Kazakhstan, from the origins to independence**

3.1 From the origins to the Soviet Union

3.2 Kazakhstani, a Soviet Republic society

3.3 Kazakh's traditional culture

3.4 Cultural changes as a Soviet republic

### **4. Independent Kazakhstan**

4.1 Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan

4.2 Languages

4.3 Religions

4.4 Social welfare

4.5 National Unity Doctrine

### **5. Intercultural Communication in Kazakhstan**

5.1 Deep culture

5.1.1 Time

5.1.2 Space

5.1.3 Hierarchy, Family, Loyalty

5.2 Non-verbal communication

5.2.1 Artifacts and physical appearance

5.2.2 Kinesics

5.2.3 Proxemics

5.2.4 Haptics

### 5.3 Verbal communication

## **6. Conclusion**

Kazakhstan toward the future, unified national identity or permanent distinct identities?

## **7. Appendix**

7.1 Ethnic variations in Kazakhstan population: census of the years 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989

7.2 Ethnicities and Religion confessions, 2009 census

7.3 Survey

7.4 Answers to the survey

## **8. Bibliography**

## **1. Introduction**

Situated in the center of Eurasia, Kazakhstan arouses our curiosity for various reasons: geographic, economic and social. Despite this, most people still do not know much about the ninth largest country of the world. This is partly due to the fact that Kazakhstan stepped onto the international stage only with “glasnost” and the breakup of the Soviet Union. It is also due to the discretion of its political leaders concerning internal issues. They do not make accurate information available to foreign people.

Information about Kazakhstan can be learned mainly from official government communications, which may then be criticized or elaborated on by individuals who are either residents or foreign visitors. They use books, articles, blogs and general internet services to express their own views about different issues. Often, these sources are not totally trustworthy. In fact, although Kazakhstan’s Constitution provides for freedom of speech and the press, media sources and personal writings, including material diffused through the internet, are under the strict control of President Nazarbayev and his government. Their policies of control achieve their desired goal of maintaining political stability in a multicultural society, but this comes at the expense of greater freedom of expression which Western countries enjoy. This government control of communication discourages freedom of expression by the people of Kazakhstan and makes it difficult for outsiders to gain a clear picture of their multifaceted reality.

What we know for sure is that the Republic of Kazakhstan enjoys an increasing financial stability with its huge resources of oil, gas, minerals and

consequent economic opportunities. This financial stability has elevated the nation to an active role in contemporary international relations (World of Information, 2006).

Aside from this, Kazakhstan also arouses our interest because of its social composition. That's the object of this writing. When Kazakhstan declared national independence from the USSR on December 16, 1991, there were many historical and political factors which had produced a population of 130 different nationalities, made up of 42 different religious confessions (Institute of Demography, 2013). The inevitable result was a multi-ethnic and multicultural society. Pope John Paul remarked during his visit to Astana in September 2001, "Kazakhstan is heir to a history in which complex and often sorrowful events have given rise to diverse traditions, so that today it stands as *a unique example* of a multiethnic, multicultural and multi-religious society" (Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the USA and Canada, 2006:4).

Societies may be considered as units made up of a collective identity. A shared ethnic origin may give an individual a sense of personal identification within the larger society. A person's own religion may also help to generate a feeling of social identification. When members of a society perceive a threat to their particular unit, and to their own identity, violent reactions frequently occur. (Collins, 2010:178,179)

Obviously then, in a multicultural environment, social tensions are likely to elevate if one culture is perceived to be a threat to another. Tensions may easily become real clashes when their differences have to do with race, religious confession or ideology. History is full of examples which illustrate this point, ranging from the Ku Klux Klan activities in the US to the 300 year long Spanish

efforts, beginning in the XV century, to get rid of *gitanos* (or Romanies). These tensions are often caused by multiple factors, such as simple misunderstandings due to prejudices, or to racism. The less these cultures know about each other, the more dangerous these factors become, and the more likely they are to erupt in violence.

Even so, Kazakhstan's multicultural society seems to work, without pressuring individuals to renounce their personal identity. In fact, the Kazakhstani identify themselves as people living in Kazakhstan but belonging to the nation of their ethnic origin. For example, if you ask a girl with a Kazakhstan passport, "Where are you from?" you might hear, "I'm Russian, but I live in Kazakhstan." This personal identity is not only expressed by identifying oneself as "Russian," but it also manifests itself in one's general cultural habits, traditions and rules of communication.

This is a generally accepted concept for personal identification in Kazakhstan, where society includes many different cultures who communicate in different ways. They have adopted this common way of relating to each other in their social practices, while maintaining their individual identities. The shaping of this new pattern for communication has given them an avenue of effective dialogue and consequent mutual understanding. This concept has given a sort of "balance" within the broader multicultural society.

In order to better understand the Kazakhstan pattern of communication and its "balancing role" for societal tensions, I first studied how this society developed through the years, beginning with the ancient tribal invasions and coming to the present evolution under the National Unity policies; considering the multiculturalism from a social, rather than political point of view.

I then tried to identify those characteristics which regulate the intercultural communication in Kazakhstan, basing my research on the intercultural communication analysis of Paolo Balboni. Balboni's analysis includes the effects of deep cultural values such as the perception of time and space, the conception of a private and a public sphere. It also takes into consideration gestures, physical appearance, kinesics, proxemics and haptics.

Finally, following the development of multiculturalism in the country, I tried to identify the course of near future development in Kazakhstan society, whether toward a new unifying national identity or a permanent interaction among distinct identities.

In order to better understand this unique society, I first researched books, magazines, newspapers and websites. After acquiring some depth of knowledge about Kazakhstan society, I then reviewed what I had learned from Intercultural Communication classes attended at Ca'Foscari University of Venice. This helped me to pinpoint those aspects of intercultural communication which I must keep in mind in order to analyze Kazakhstan society. I then prepared a survey to submit to Kazakhstani during travel to that country from December 27, 2013 to January 9, 2014. Since people are usually not aware of their most common practices in daily life, it is not so easy to objectively describe what people consider as something "natural". For this reason, during my research travel I also had the opportunity for personal observation of their society, as well as to analyze behavior that is difficult to understand only by a survey. In addition to this, I also pointed out some practices which could be helpful, or simply interesting for the foreigner who goes to this beautiful country for the first time.

## **Notes on transliteration of names, translations, and proper use of 'Kazakh' and 'Kazakhstani'**

Cyrillic-written languages, among which Russian, are not easy to transliterate to Latin letters because of the completely different sounds they present. Various efforts have been made to find a Romanization code for Russian, some of them working to reproduce the original sounds as closely as possible (with the use of diacritics), others instead favoring a quick understanding even if less correct. Among these last ones, there is the BGN/PCGN system, the one used most widely in publications and the one I used in this work. It is easily intuitive for English-speaking people and it is the one developed and used in the UK, where most of my reference books originate.

I used a double approach concerning the translation of titles, quotes and dialogues from Russian to English. If I found a source that already provided a translation, I reported the title or quote as it was in the source, referencing the translator then in the bibliography. When I could not find an alternative source, I translated the sentence counting on my personal knowledge of Russian language, and/or with the help of Russian friends.

Finally, I want to clarify the difference between Kazakh and Kazakhstani. The residents and citizens of Kazakhstan are usually identified as "Kazakhstani," while the term "Kazakhs" refers to the ethnic Kazakh people who lived in the lands which constitute present-day Kazakhstan since the I millennium BC but started to be called so only in the XV century, as will be explained in the third chapter.

## 2. Multiculturalism

In order to analyze the pluralism of Kazakhstan society, it is useful first to clarify the meaning of the adjective “multicultural,” and its derivative “multiculturalism.” Usually “multicultural” and “multiculturalism” have a political interpretation in describing a country. In this work I will use them from a social point of view, since what I am concerned about is the social interaction and communication among cultures. Nonetheless, it is important to keep in mind that such a society could not exist without also having a political implementation of “multiculturalism.”

Regarding the term “multiculturalism,” it was first used in the 1960s when Canada adopted it in the normative field as a replacement for “biculturalism.” This was done in order to better understand the situation in their society and to facilitate political tasks. From Canada it later spread around the world (Enciclopedia Treccani, *Electronic reference*). Nonetheless, when we talk about “multiculturalism,” a clear definition of the term is not always easy, depending on the place and time of its use. In fact, “multiculturalism” was first associated with nationalist ideas of assimilation and nation-building under common values and identities. Since the 1990s, “multiculturalism” has promoted the acknowledgement and practice of ethnic customs, traditions, music and cuisine, celebrating ethnic diversities within a society (Kymlicka, 2012:4). This has helped to infuse into the current general definition of “multiculturalism,” an ideology which encourages diversities rather than homogenization.

Kazakhstan lived through two shifts from the first implementation of “multiculturalism” to the second one, all during the XX century. Since Kazakhstan became part of the Soviet Union in 1936, with an already variegated society, citizens experienced a process of “Russification” following the ideal of modernization. This process influenced the educational system, habits and social practices toward a homogenization of all the existing cultures in Kazakhstan (S.Akiner, 1995:26-28). After independence in 1991, the reformed view of “multiculturalism” became part of the renewal policies. These renewal policies were strongly supported by the open-mindedness Kazakhs had acquired throughout past centuries. With the renewal policies the Kazakhstani were given the opportunity to maintain their own identity within a culturally wider society.

Beyond the shift in meaning of “multiculturalism” from the 1960s to the 1990s illustrated above, we find various current definitions which appear to be more complex, depending on the different realities they deal with. UNESCO, for example, recognizes the need for different explanations of the term according to the context. UNESCO, in carrying out its work, distinguishes three main interrelated types of application of “multiculturalism”:

- The demographic-descriptive: refers to the existence of many different cultures and ethnicities within a society, and the structural discernment that the perception can lead to; this “multiculturalism” can vary among countries and periods of time.
- The programmatic-political: is applied to policies and programs carried out in order to meet the social needs of a multicultural society.

- The ideological-normative: concerns about the social model of the political actions taken in order to ensure civil rights to every individual, in regard to their personal culture, and therefore prevent social conflicts based on inequality

(Inglis, 1996:16).

Although the definitions used by UNESCO highlight multiple aspects of “multiculturalism,” these are still focused on the regularizing activity, as should be the case in the environment.

There is also another point of view to be taken into consideration, the individuals’ perspective in their daily life. For this purpose, an interpretation of “multiculturalism” from the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences may help:

Multiculturalism is the notion that people in a given society should coexist with one another, without having to fear or resent that their cultural identity will not be accepted if it does not fit in with the normative cultural climate of that society (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 2008).

On the one hand this interpretation is interrelated with the previous ones. It describes a situation that cannot exist without the application of

“multiculturalism” in administrative actions. On the other hand, it has the peculiarity of taking into account how people might feel in a multiethnic and multicultural society with a predominant culture.

Deepening the concepts of multiethnic and multicultural, this last one is defined as “the coexistence of people with many cultural identities in a common state, society, or community” (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2010). We should consider the possible interchangeable use of multi-ethnic and multicultural for the purposes of this dissertation. A multicultural condition does not imply a multi-ethnicity since the culture may refer to ethnicity as well as to religions, ideologies, social classes, etc. On the contrary, multi-ethnicity implies multicultural aspects, since ethnic groups have, by definition, their own culture, different from that of other ethnic groups (Cesareo, 1998). The two words, then, are used synonymously in many works concerning the analysis of a multicultural/multiethnic society, including this work.

When “multiculturalism” is not welcomed by the society, conflicts may occur. An example of this is shown by Kyrgyzstan ethnic clashes in April 2010, when terrorist attacks were led by Kyrgyz against Ukrainians, causing more than 400 deaths and the displacement of 400,000 people ([BBC News Europe](#), 2010, *Electronic reference*). These tensions may be caused by either an intolerance of the hosting Kyrgyz or a lack of discretion by the Ukrainians.

“Acceptance” is one of the key words of a multicultural society. Without doubt, living in a multicultural environment requires a lot of open-mindedness, primarily by the host culture in welcoming the guest culture. Likewise, the guest culture must be able to accept living in a different environment and must show respect for the local culture. Once there is the will to communicate with the

other culture, it is easier for both sides to seek the common values on which to build a dialogue. In this framework, it's not surprising that the multicultural ideology is also applied to the educational policies. Education from early childhood which instills tolerance and sympathy toward everyone, despite his/her origins and beliefs, is fundamental for a balance within society. It is also beneficial toward producing a global mentality and helps to increase their productive capability (A.K. Akhmetbekova et al., 2013:13).

This issue leads us to an interesting aspect of Kazakhstan, where a miscellany of 130 nationalities and 42 religious confessions make up the society. Inevitably radical exponents exist also in Kazakhstan; generally speaking, though, the country has found a balance among all the ethnic and cultural groups and it is undeniable that Kazakhstan is the nation which shows the greatest social stability among nearby countries with similar historic backgrounds in relation to the USSR (D.Laitini, 1998). Kazakhstan is characterized, not only by the open-mindedness of the host culture, but also for that of the guest cultures, as well as the ability of all of them to create a society led by tolerance and mutual understanding, founded on values shared by all the cultures of the territory. Previous UN General Secretary Kofi Annan cited Kazakhstan as the example of inter-ethnic consent and sustainable development of a multi-ethnic society (Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in US, *Electronic reference*).

### **3. Multicultural Kazakhstan, from the origins to independence**

Today's multicultural Kazakhstan is the result of a long process that can be traced back to the I millennium BC. Over the years Kazakhstan saw the transit of many nomads, tribal populations, invaders and immigrants. It was the land of many tribal wars and invasions coming from the nearer countries of Asia and the Middle East. During the XX century it became part of the Soviet Union. This was significant for the Russification and the Europeanization of the country, as well as for the social composition of Kazakhstan, due to the numerous migrations and deportations during the century. All the people coming to Kazakhstan brought new cultures into the local society, new cultures which greatly influenced the local culture.

Tribal invasions in the first centuries of its history, as well as migration and deportation during the era of influence by the Soviet Union, were not the only causes which produced the social and cultural composition in Kazakhstan; we should also take into consideration the geographical location of the country. In the center of Eurasia, it has always been a crossroad and point of encounter between West and Far East. The Silk Road, which crosses Kazakhstan in the southern part of the country, played a great role in this melting pot. Among the most important cities along the Silk Road, were Taraz, famous today for the production of vodka, and Otrar (or Farab), considered one of the most important oases in the past, but only a ghost town today. The Silk Road was influential not only for its diplomatic and trade role, but it also provided a ground for mutual interpenetration of diverse cultures. This moved Kazakhstan toward the development of urban centers in the south. Always influenced by the numerous

people passing by, who little by little, conditioned the local culture, Kazakhstan is now an open-minded country, capable of producing a modern multicultural society open to tolerance and inter-ethnic dialogue. These characteristics have greatly facilitated their post-independence ethnic integration policies.

### **3.1 From the origins to the Soviet Union**

Situated in the center of Eurasia, it has always been a crossroad of different populations living in the surrounding countries and their related religions: the Arabs from the south, the Turkish hordes from the east, Persians, Uzbeks, Chinese, Russians, etc.

As referenced in “History of Kazakhstan” (Y.K. Kainazarov, A.E. Kaynazarova,1992), since 1000 BC, the people living in present-day Kazakhstan were pastoral nomads and the country was divided into different tribes, mainly Turkish and Mongol, among which the Huns led by Attila. From the VIII to XIII centuries the lands found a sort of cultural consolidation under the following Turkish tribal invaders; they were known with the name of Kipchacks and constituted the Turkish cultural base of present-day Kazakhs.

After the Great Mongol Empire was established in 1206 under the leadership of Genghis Khan, the Mongols conquered most of the territory, reaching the maximum extension in 1224. After Genghis Khan’s death, his sons carried on the father’s ambitions, but the empire was destined to break-up among them establishing different Khanates. This gave the chance to Kerey and Janibek, leaders of the Uzbek tribal confederation White Horde, to lead about 200,000 followers, among them Turkish and Mongols as well, into the region in

1456. They defined themselves as 'Kazakh', and established a new unified Kazakh Khanate. For the first time the Kazakhs emerged as a distinct ethnic group<sup>1</sup>.

There are different theories about the origins of the name 'Kazakh'. Some believe that it comes from the Turkish words *kaz* (goose) and *ak* (white), referring to the legend of a white steppe goose which turned into a princess and gave birth to the first Kazakh. Other hypothesis are the origins from two tribal names Kaspıy and Saki; or from the Mongol word *Khasaq*, that is the name of a particular cart used by Kazakhs to transport their belongings and their *yurts* (the name of their houses that had the possibility to be disassembled and transported, like a really well-organized tent). However, the most credible origin is the Turkish verb *qaz* (to wander) referring to the nomadic life of Kazakh people (M.B.Olcott, 1987:4).

By the late XVI century the Kazakh Khanate splits into three hordes, called *Jüz*. In the south-east the Great Horde, in central-northern Kazakhstan the Middle Horde, and the Little Horde in the west. While Russians began to encroach in northern Kazakhstan by the XVII century, a subgroup of the Mongol Oyrats, the Kalmyks, started to directly attack the east of the country, causing what is remembered as the Great Retreat. Afterwards, the leader of the Little Horde looked for an alliance with Russia in order to safeguard his territories, and the leaders of the Great and Middle Hordes followed him as well in similar treaties. However, this choice brought unexpected outcomes. While the solidity

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<sup>1</sup>Kazakhs (or Qazaqs), mainly Turkish speaking nomadic people, have many different ancestral origins which give them mixed peculiarities. Among their ancestors, there were various Turkish tribes (Kipchaks, Khazars, Qarluqs, and Argyns), Turko-Mongol groups (Alshyn, Dughlat, Jalayir, Kerait, Kiyat, Manghud, Naimans, Nogais, and Onggirat), and other Central Asian people like the Huns and Iranians. This is the reason why their somatic traits are approximately 70% Mongolian and 30% Caucasian, which manifest in light European physical features in contrast to the majority who have black hair, brown eyes, and epicanthic eye folds, typical facial features of Asian people (G.M. Berezina, G.S. Svyatova, Z. Makhmutova).

of the three hordes diminished, Russia gradually increased its presence in Kazakhstan, annexing territories and promoting colonial settlements. By the 1870s it was clear that Kazakh's revolts against Russians were useless and the annexation was complete. Russia promoted the immigration and settlement in the northern steppes of many Russians and Ukrainians farmers, and by 1917 there were about three million new inhabitants who completely blotted out Kazakh nomadic life (L.C. Guo, 2013:10).

The Soviet government, after becoming USSR in 1922, incorporated Kazakhstan as a Soviet Republic in 1936, under the leadership of Joseph Stalin.

### **3.3 Kazakhstan, a Soviet Republic society**

During the leadership of one of Stalin, and his successors Nikita Khrushchev, Kazakhstan lived through many drastic changes, first of all concerning the Republic's administration; however, its environment, population and culture were affected as well.

Stalin firstly promoted the development of metallurgical factories and the Soviet Atomic Bomb Project which saw the explosion of 500 nuclear bombs. These caused great damage to Kazakhstan's environment, to its productive capacity and, above all, to the health of the native population. Furthermore, the brutal program of collectivization and the following famine resulted in the death of many ethnic Kazakhs and in the subsequent immigration of Russians from the Soviet Union, hence Kazakhs became a minority in their own nation (see Tab.3.1) (A.K. Akhmetbekova et al., 2013).

Kazakhstan was also the nation where “unreliable” ethnic groups were deported in late 1930s and the following Second World War. The number of deported and resettled people also increased when the Autonomous Republic of the Volga Germans was abolished in 1941. Thus Kazakhstan became the new abode of many Germans, Chechens, Polish, Tatars and others ethnic groups. Nikita Khrushchev further worsened the situation with the Virgin Lands Campaign in 1953, which caused an increase of the exploitation of energy and mineral resources and, as a consequence of this, there was another wave of Slavic immigration, estimated at around 1.7 million (OSCE, 2009:17).

As we can see from the following chart, in 1959 the population was already composed of more than 90 different ethnic groups. The most numerous were Russians (42.7% of the whole population), Kazakhs (30%), Ukrainians (8.2%), Germans (7.1%), Tatars (2.1%), Uzbeks (1.5%), Chechens (1.4%) and Belarusians (1,2%).

**Tab 3.1 Union Population Census of 1959.  
Ethnic composition of the population in the republics of the USSR**

Nationality	Total	Nationality	Total
<b>All Nationalities</b>	9309847	<b>Koreans</b>	74019
<b>Russian</b>	3974229	<b>Uighurs</b>	59840
<b>Kazakhs</b>	2794966	<b>Greeks</b>	55543
<b>Ukrainians</b>	762131	<b>Poles</b>	53102
<b>Germans</b>	659751	<b>Ingush</b>	47867
<b>Crimean Tatars</b>	191925	<b>Azerbaijanis</b>	38362
<b>Uzbeks</b>	136570	<b>Jews</b>	28048
<b>Chechens</b>	130232	<b>Mordovians</b>	25499
<b>Belarusians</b>	107463	<b>Moldovans</b>	14844

From: Institute of Demography; *демоскоп Weekly (Demoscop Weekly)*, Dynamic and composition of the people of Kazakhstan in 20<sup>th</sup> century, Moscow, 2003.  
(For the complete chart see the appendix)

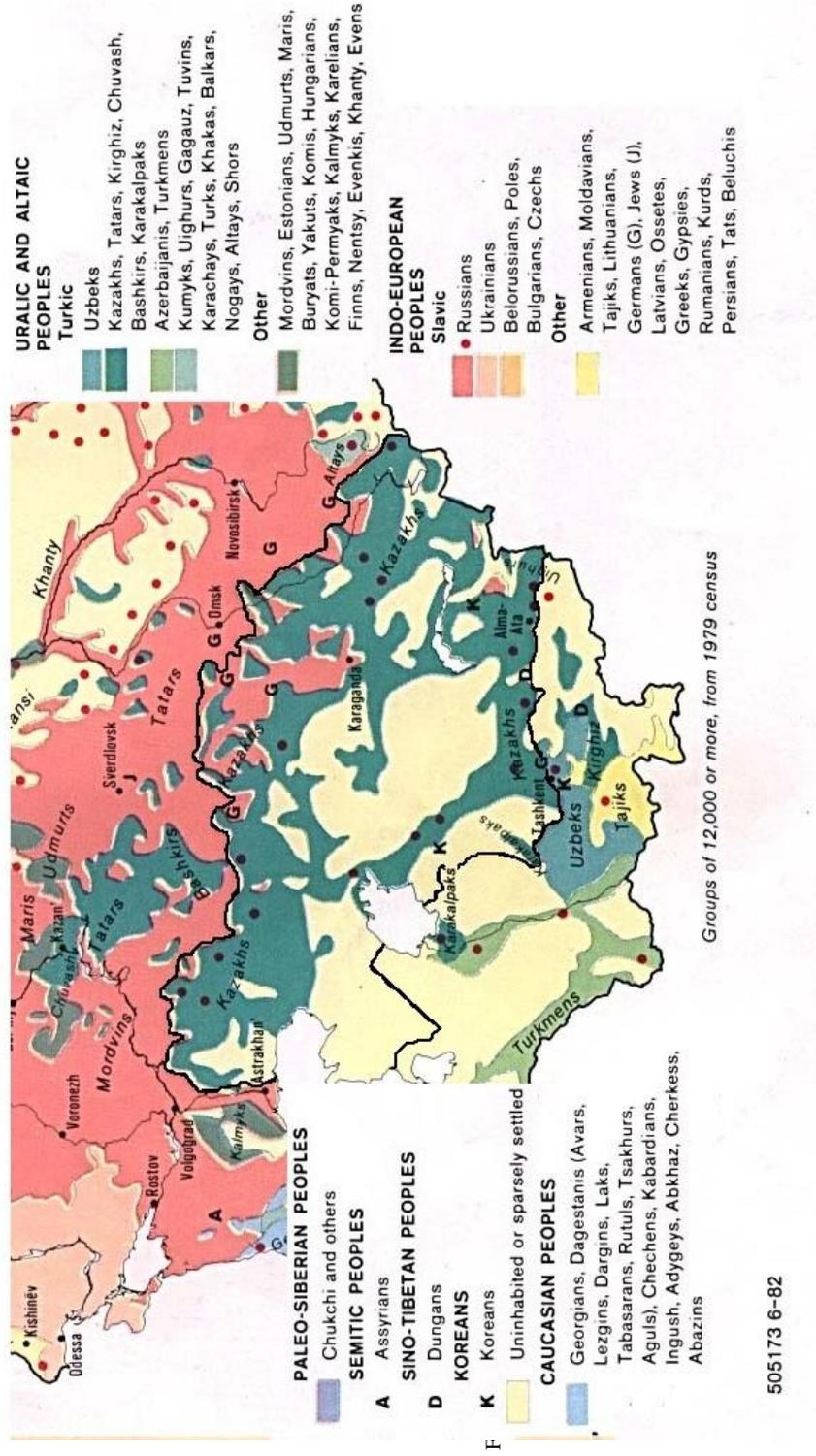
The population distribution was not uniform inside the country. Taking as an example some of the major ethnic groups, Russians, Kazakhs and Germans were settled mostly in the northern part of Kazakhstan; while other minor ethnic groups as Chechens, Turkish, Koreans and Uyghur lived in densely populated areas scattered over the whole territory (see Image 3.1) (A.K. Akhmetbekova et al., 2013).

With the presence of so many ethnic Russian people and, above all, the leadership of the Soviet Union, the coexistence among all the ethnic groups was not allowed to find its own 'balance' inside the community, but was lead, as every other aspect of social life, by the USSR. Russia, and Russians, functioned as an intermediary in the relationships and dialogues: Russians kept relationships with Kazakhs, with Germans or with Koreans; there wasn't however any relation among the other ethnic groups who lived separated from each other and found a linkage only through Russians. It was during this period that the Russian culture had a dominant influence on society, primarily in the fields of language and education (*ibid.*).

### **3.2 Kazakh's traditional culture**

The first important feature of Kazakh's traditional culture is the importance of the family lineage, to which the personal identification within the society was related. First of all, the social identity was linked to one of the three Kazakh *Jüz* (the Great, the Middle and the Little Horde) which organized the society into tribes and clans. Some of these groups were based on extended

Image 3.1 Ethnic Distribution in 1979



family links since the marriages were usually within the same tribe. A Kazakh proverb says, “He is a fool who has forgotten what became of his ancestry seven generations before him and who does not care what will become of his progeny seven generations after him” (M.B. Olcott, 2002: 183).

Beside the identification with a clan, the three dialects of the Kazakh language (originally written in Arabic script) roughly correspond to the territories of the three hordes. However, there is little variation among the dialects (R.R. Hanks, 2005:232).

The religion of this culture was founded on Turkish and Mongolian traditions with regard to worship, as well as shamanistic ritual involving the sky and its elements: the sun, moon, stars, thunder etc. During the VII century there was an Arab invasion of South Kazakhstan, thereby introducing Muslim culture and practices in its society. The new confession had a gradual syncretistic fusion with the existing local culture, and it became accepted and practiced, but not deeply felt by the population as a moral and spiritual inspiration (S. Akiner, 1995).

An aspect deeply felt by Kazakh, as in most of the Asian cultures, was the social network of the individual that plays a great role in his/her life, not only because it gave a social identification to the individual person, but also for the opportunity it afforded for personal achievement. It was thus important to cultivate the clan’s networks following rules of loyalty and duty (S. Akiner, 1995). Networks were first of all inside the family, which were ruled by well-balanced codes. Women were empowered in their roles as providers of clothing and food, and this gave them a measure of authority concerning the running of the household. This power was stabilized by the reflection of social convention inside

the family that, as Akiner says, stressed “the respect for senior members of the society, not only as a display of formal courtesy, but also as a deferential ceding of personal wishes and opinions.”

The *yurt* was the main setting of communal life of the family and of most social activities; it was governed by strict rules of etiquette which manifested the order of the society (*ibid.*)

### **3.4 Cultural changes as a Soviet Republic**

With the incorporation of Kazakhstan in the Soviet Union, Kazakh’s new identity was shaped by the Marxist-Leninist theory, according to which the attributes of a nation, hence its national identity, are a common territory, language, economic life and culture. In 1919 the boundaries of the Kazakh land were delimited for the first time. Concerning the language, since Kazakhs had little dialect variations, it was effective both as a symbol of national identity and as a vehicle of mass communication. It was therefore declared a state language in the Kazakh constitution of 1924. In the early 1970 census, 98 per cent of Kazakhs affirmed that Kazakh was their mother language and only 40 per cent had a ‘fluent knowledge of Russian as a second language’. In politics, economic and science fields, the language incorporated Russian and English words( S. Akiner, 1995:36-39). With regard to the written language, Kazakh script was first changed from Arabic to Latin in 1929, and then from Latin to Cyrillic in 1940 (D. Latin, 1998:50).

Kazakh culture was described by Stratushenko (1964) as a ‘common psychological make-up manifested in common specific features of national

culture'. Following the ideal of modernization, there was a Russification and Europeanization of Kazakh life style. The first aspect involved in the process of Russification was education. Russian schools were built at first for the Russian military's families and civilians, than it was extended to Kazakh aristocracy and eventually to the whole population. With the aim of promoting an 'advanced' society, mixed Russo-Kazakh primary schools were required in all the major centers. This allowed a Russian culture and European education to spread widely, most of all in the North where the Russian presence was stronger (A.K. Akhmetbekova et al., 2013).

The introduction of Russian culture was more visible in the Kazakh aristocracy because it touched every sphere of activity: from social models to intellectual concerns. We can see it in the customs, attire, furnishings and popular entertainment. There was dancing at evening soirees and people sought to mold their behavior in conformance with the Russian ways. Likewise, in the lower social classes there were changes in daily life: the introduction of mirrors, sewing machines, candles, bedsteads and stoves; as well as in Kazakh people's aspirations and self-perception (S. Akiner, 1995:26).

The culture was affected also in the field of religion. Russians encouraged the spread of Islam religion through the Tatars from the Volga, who were already part of the Russian empire for over two centuries, dispensing state funds for the building of mosques. Although Tatars were Sunni Muslim of the Hanafi School<sup>2</sup> like most of the Kazakh, they were more traditional and were aligned with

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<sup>2</sup>Within the Sunni Muslim tradition, Hanafi is considered the oldest, most extensive liberal school of law. It is known for its widespread use of reason or opinion in legal decisions. The Sunni Hanafi creed is essentially non-hierarchical and decentralized, which inhibits the incorporation of its religious leaders into strongly centralized state systems("Hanafi Islam" ,[GlobalSecurity.org](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/intro/islam-hanafi.htm) from: <<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/intro/islam-hanafi.htm>>, retrieved December 20, 2013).

orthodox practices; this produced a sort of resentment on the part of the Kazakhs. Afterwards, during the XIX century, Russians tried to proselytize Christians but with little success; Islam is still the most widely practiced religion in Kazakhstan (S. Akiner, 1995:28).

Since the 1980s, with the gradual decline of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan has seen a growth of ethnic Kazakhs in its social composition and a consequent revival of Kazakh traditional culture, due also to their need for a national identity based on its history and traditions. As we can see from the following chart, in 1989, two years before the independence of Kazakhstan, the population was already composed of more than 130 nationalities. The most numerous were ethnic Kazakhs (39.7% of the population), Russians (37.8%), Germans (5.8%), Uzbeks (2%), Tatars (2%), Uyghur (1.1%), Belarusians (1.1%) and Koreans (0.6%).

**Tab 3.2 Union Population Census of 1989.**  
**Ethnic composition of the population in the republics of the USSR**

Nationality	Strength	Nationality	Strength
<b>All nationalities</b>	16464464	<b>Azerbaijanis</b>	90083
<b>Kazakhs</b>	6534616	<b>Ukrainians</b>	89624
<b>Russians</b>	6227549	<b>Poles</b>	59956
<b>Germans</b>	957518	<b>Turks</b>	49567
<b>Uzbeks</b>	332017	<b>Chechens</b>	49507
<b>Tatars</b>	327982	<b>Greeks</b>	46746
<b>Uighurs</b>	185301	<b>Bashkirs</b>	41847
<b>Belarusians</b>	182601	<b>Moldovans</b>	33098
<b>Koreans</b>	103315	<b>Dungan</b>	30165

From: Institute of Demography; демоסקоп Weekly (*Demoscop Weekly*), Dynamic and composition of the people of Kazakhstan in 20<sup>th</sup> century, Moscow, 2003.  
 (For the complete chart see the appendix)

Due to the large presence of Russians and the recent USSR policies, the reawakening of Kazakh culture merged with the Russian one, creating a conglomeration of the two cultures.

In the case of social interactions, Kazakh attitude has been shaped in two different directions: the official and the un-official one. Officially, Kazakhs have kept their distance from any kind of association or clan-tribal system, considered as a barrier to progress. In private, the importance given to the genealogy of the family, where distance power kept its original form, brought inevitably to have links inside the belonging clan, giving them a sort of 'passive expression of identity'. However these clans were no longer necessarily related to socio-political power, but were constituted by school-friends, military comrades, neighbors, etc. (S. Akiner, 1995:53).

Of considerable importance was the revival of the *yurt*, though it served a different function. Instead of a portable house, it was now used as a storage area next to the stationary home; however, it also functioned as guest accommodations, changing its original usage. It later was transformed also into a public place for clubs, libraries, restaurants or exhibition centers (*ibid.*)

In contradiction with the Kazakh revival mentality, the use of Kazakh language decreased. In particular in the period following the Language Laws of 1989, which guaranteed the citizens a choice for the language of their education and private conversation, always more frequently, urban-based Kazakhs began to speak Russian as their first language, mostly because of the educational advancement they could achieve through this language, reducing the knowledge of their native language to just a few standard colloquial sentences (D.Latin, 1998).

In conclusion, over the years Kazakhstan has always had different ethnic groups on its territory, resulting in the spreading of different cultures. Through the years, the mixture of all these ethnic cultures shaped a common one, which was later identified as the Kazakh culture. The Kazakh culture was heavily influenced by the Russian culture after the country became part of the Soviet Union, and then later experienced a revival and blended with the Russian culture. There was hence a Russification of the traditional culture. During the Soviet Union era, the immigrants and deported people lived isolated both from the main ethnic groups (Russians and Kazakhs) and from the other minor ethnic groups, and for this reason a recognizable cultural influence was not left by them. On the contrary, since the Kazakhstan Declaration of Independence was instituted, there has been a promotion of all ethnic groups and cultures, changing Kazakhstan into a more multicultural society.

#### **4. Independent Kazakhstan**

Since independence, Kazakhstan pivots on President Nazarbayev, who has introduced different kinds of policies directed toward economic development and social stability. Leaving aside economic policies, in this chapter I will focus on the policies that involve the multicultural aspect of the country. First of all, the creation of the APK; then action concerning language, religion and social welfare; finally, I will discuss the National Unity Doctrine project. These new governmental policies have enjoyed much success at a social level, albeit with some negative results.

After the USSR dissolved, Nursultan Nazarbayev became President on December 1st with an uncontested election and he declared independence for Kazakhstan on December 16th. With the declaration of independence, he started his work for a renewal of the country (Kazakh Cultural Orientation, 2009:18).

The goal of Nazarbayev was to shape a new national identity different from the most prevalent one; a national identity based on an ethnic community, traditions, history, common values, love for the country as a land and culture to which the people were linked.

The President wanted rather to build a civil community. This kind of community is founded on love for the society in that country, a society in which people identify themselves through a network of interpersonal relationships, a network held together by rules common to all.

This idea may be more familiar to western people, thanks to studies by Alexis de Tocqueville on patriotism in the United States. Tocqueville, in his masterpiece "Democracy in America" of the year 1835, wrote:

There is one sort of patriotic attachment which principally arises from that instinctive, disinterested, and undefinable feeling which connects the affections of man with his birthplace. This natural fondness is united with a taste for ancient customs and a reverence for traditions of the past; those who cherish it love their country as they love the mansion of their fathers. They love the tranquility that it affords them; they cling to the peaceful habits that they have contracted within its bosom; they are attached to the memories that it awakens; and they are even pleased to live there in a state of obedience. This patriotism is sometimes stimulated by religious enthusiasm, capable thereby of making prodigious efforts. It is in itself a kind of religion: it does not reason, but it acts from the impulse of faith and sentiment. [...]It may save the state in critical circumstances, but often allows it to decline in times of peace. [...]But there is another species of attachment to country which is more rational than the one I have been describing. It is perhaps less generous and less ardent, but it is more fruitful and more lasting: it springs from knowledge; it is nurtured by the laws, it grows by the exercise of civil rights; and, in the end, it is confounded with the personal interests of the citizen. A man comprehends the influence which the well-being of his country has upon his own; he is aware that the laws permit him to contribute to that prosperity, and he labors to promote it, first

because it benefits him, and secondly because it is in part his own work.

American society, national identity, and thus patriotism, are based on the common interest toward the society. This patriotism is exercised with civil rights and through the application of the law. American society is founded on principles of equality which assure fundamental rights to every individual, a concept which is highlighted in the American Declaration of Independence; while in Kazakhstan this ideal is strengthened by the Constitution, approved in 1995.

The preamble to the Constitution of Kazakhstan begins with the sentence “We, the people of Kazakhstan, are united by a common historic fate, creating a state on the indigenous Kazakh land, consider ourselves a peace-loving and civil society, dedicated to the ideals of freedom, equality and concord”. The Constitution reflects the country’s ethno-political aspirations to create of the Kazakhstan Nation a political integrity of people based on civil principles rather than on common ethnic values. In this way it promotes a society that does not take into consideration the different aspects of languages and religion confessions. The citizens feel united by the same will to build the country where they live.

However, the government could not deny the existence of differences within the society, and the consequent social tensions (above all between Kazakhs and Russians) proved that effective measures had to be taken toward this problem as well.

#### **4.1 Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan**

Since Kazakhstan declared independence, the government was able to make its own decisions on ethnic issues and domestic policies. The first, fundamental decision was the establishment of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan in 1995. This Assembly, as its principal purpose, has to provide the basis for improving social stability and promoting inter-ethnic tolerance. It also must provide a means for the fair solution of ethnic issues (OSCE, 2009:6-7).

In the Assembly, the more than 130 ethnic groups living in the nation are proportionally represented; its roles are to implement state policy on ethnic issues (J. Lillis, 2010, *Electronic reference*); to monitor inter-ethnic relations; to mediate inter-ethnic relations and to solve ethnic conflicts (G. Kamziyeva, 2013, *Electronic reference*). With its mediator role, the Assembly promotes tolerance, stability and harmony among the country's diverse population groups.

After a few years, the APK changed its name into Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan (maintaining the acronym APK) in order to reflect and clarify the idea that Kazakhstanis are a united group (*ibid.*) working together in the building of a nation and finding a common channel of communication.

In 2010, the APK also gained constitutional status with nine representatives in the parliament. This ensured an extra supervision of legislative acts, insuring their conformity to criteria of international harmony, tolerance and equal rights (OSCE, 2009:7).

The role of the APK is considered essential to a tolerant atmosphere in the country. Its value is accredited by many personalities, for example by Klara Khan, who is an Assembly member and also President of the Kazakhstan-Korea

Friendship Society. Khan underlined the precious value of the APK when she said: "There have been cases when people of one ethnic group have burned banks and rioted in the streets [...], the leaders of national cultural centers took control of the situation. Elders of the feuding peoples stepped forward and reconciled the sides". (G. Zamziyeva, 2013, *Electronic reference*)

Kakharman Kozhamberdiyev, leader of Kazakhstan's ethnic Uighur community, recognized the important role of the APK "because it is necessary to study the historical and religious traits of the peoples in order to take [them] into account in our policies on ethnicities" (*ibid.*).

## **4.2 Languages**

From 2002 to 2007, through the adoption of a number of strategic legislative programs about language and interethnic accord, we can see the formation of Kazakhstan as a model of interethnic tolerance and social harmony.

In Kazakhstan there is a three language policy: Kazakh, as the official state language; Russian, as the language of interethnic communication; and English as the language of international economic integration (A. Cohen, 2008:209).

As a matter of fact, during my visit in Kazakhstan, I noticed that the language most spoken in daily-life is undeniably Russian. Frequently, two people of the same ethnic origin speak their own ethnic language, however this custom is not very widespread. Because of the Soviet Union influences, with some exception in the rural areas, the Russian language is still the most widely spoken, even among ethnic minorities.

This is confirmed by the survey I submitted to Kazakhstan. Of the Kazakhs who took part in the survey, 74% of them consider Kazakh as their native language. However, among this group, only 16% consider their knowledge of the Kazakh language as 'excellent', while the others claimed to have only a 'good' level of Kazakh language proficiency. In parallel, 80% of the Kazakh people who participated in the survey declared themselves as having an 'excellent' level of Russian language proficiency.

It is also for this reason that the government is promoting the use of Kazakh in daily-life communication. The policy is associated with articles 7 and 19 of the Constitution which declare the right to learn and speak any language. This right is stated in article 6 of the Law on Languages which recognizes the right "to choose any language of communication, upbringing, education and creative work. The Government creates conditions for learning and usage of all languages in the country of Kazakhstan."

The right to develop one's own language and culture is reflected in their 2,067 multilingual schools and more than 200 schools that teach in ethnic languages (Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in US, *Electronic reference*).

The promotion of the language is shown also by the government's financial support of media and theatres where different languages are used. In Kazakhstan, newspapers and magazines are published, with the help of the government, in about 10 languages besides Kazakh and Russian. This policy applies also to TV and radio broadcasts that include Polish, Uzbeks, Korean, Uighur, and German programs.

Despite this, the vast majority of private broadcast media are owned by the President or one of his relatives, such as his daughter. The media that are not under Nazarbayev's control have to register with the government and are subject to legal restrictions, as for example the law against any speech offensive to the President and high-level officials. Legal restrictions are also applied in the government monitoring internet activity, including blogs and chat rooms (Kazakh cultural orientation, 2009:23). The policies of control were introduced to favor stability in their multicultural society, which otherwise could give rise to intolerance both toward the other cultures and toward the Government. The policies about mass communication efficiently accomplish their main purpose, but they also lead to a constriction of freedom of speech and expression.

Another important decision for promotion of inter-ethnic accord was the establishment of "ethnic cultural centers", which provide instruction not only in the different ethnic languages, cultures and traditions, but also organize theatre performances by the different ethnic groups (OSCE, 2009:5).

To understand the diversities among cultures is the first step toward tolerance and inter-ethnic dialogue. The acknowledgement of their language diversity as a common starting point is remembered every year on September 22<sup>nd</sup> as the Day of People's Languages (OSCE, 2009:11).

### **4.3 Religions**

In Kazakhstan different religions have been practiced since the era of the Silk Road. People traveling across Kazakhstan brought different religious beliefs which are still practiced in the country today. Among the 42 practiced religious

confessions we find Islam, which is the most widespread, followed by Orthodox Christianity, and then Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Shamanism, Tengrism, Judaism, Nestorianism, Lutheranism and many others (Z. Tolen et al., 2012:437).

Along with the long list of religious faiths, Kazakhstan has a long tradition of tolerance and mutual respect among them. This secular behavior, handed down until the present day, is essential in maintaining interfaith stability after independence. The Kazakhstani government recognizes the freedom of belief as a basic human right and acknowledges the value of culture and history, bringing its traditional tolerance to a level of national principle (OSCE, 2009:14).

The State has different approaches toward religion, based on the principles of neutrality, which means a dissociation of the State from religion; equality in rights and freedom for everyone, in spite of any religious belief; respect for any ethno-cultural practice; non-interference with the law of religious association, so far as they are conducted transparently and without violating human rights (OSCE, 2009:14; and Z. Tolen, 2012:438).

To restate these concepts, in order to maintain interfaith tolerance, the government operated a separation between State and religion; it is interesting to notice that Kazakhstan is the only Central Asian country that in its Constitution does not give any importance to Islam or any other religion.

The government's interference with religion has the singular aim of holding back possible radical movements. With the Law on Freedom of Faith and Faith-based Associations, every religious organization has a legal status through registration. This is done in order to prevent associations from disseminating

ideas that could undermine the integrity and the security of society. No religious association is allowed to be active without registration. In addition, various laws limit religious practices (A. Cohen, 2008:211).

At the same time every religion is represented within the State. In Kazakhstan, a Buddhist temple was built for the first time after many centuries; and in the last 30 years, about twenty Jewish communities have come into existence (OSCE, 2009:14).

In parallel to this policy, the Kazakhstani government believes that the different religious confessions could be a uniting factor as well; it is enough to seek, not the differences among them, but their common values and beliefs, promoting their commonality in such a way as to help create tolerance and agreement (Z. Tolen, 2012:438).

Ethnic and religious tolerance help to create the basis for economic advancement, and this in turn contributes to the maintenance of an harmonious society. Because of this, national festivities have an important role. In the country there are government festivities as well as holidays related to the most practiced religious confessions; for example the Orthodox Easter; *Uraza Bairam*, the celebration of the end of the Ramadan fast; *Qurban Ait*, the Festival of Sacrifice; the last two based on Islamic lunar calendar.

Kazakhstan efforts toward interfaith attitude were also recognized by many international religious leaders as Pope John Paul II, Patriarch of Moscow and Russia; Aleksiy II; Dr. Mohammad Seid Tantawi, Sheikh and Great Imam of the Al Azhar Mosque in Egypt; and Jonah Metsger, the Chief Rabbi of Israel. All of them expressed their satisfaction with the Kazakhstan interfaith situation during

#### **Chart 4.1 Public holidays and vocational holidays in Kazakhstan**

##### Public holidays:

- January 1-2 :New Year
- January 7 : Orthodox Christmas
- February 23 : Men's Day
- March 8 : International Women's Day
- March 22 : Nauryz Meiramy
- May 1 : Unity of the Nations of Kazakhstan
- May 9 : Victory Day
- August 30 : Constitution Day of the Republic of Kazakhstan
- October 25 : Republic Days
- December 1 : President's Day

##### Vocational holidays:

- April 17 : Day of Fire-Prevention Service
- May 12 : Medical Nurse Day
- May 7 : Day of the Country Defender
- May 31 : Memory Day of the Political Repression Victims
- May 31 International Culture Day
- 3rd Sunday in June : Medical Worker Day
- June 1 : Tax Police Day
- June 9 : Tax Committee Day
- June 28 : Press Day
- July 13 : Day of the National Security Committee
- July 13 : Prosecutor Day
- August 13 : Sports Day
- September 1 : Knowledge Day
- September 22 : Day of Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan
- September 30 : Justice Day
- 1st Sunday in October : Teacher's Day
- October 5 : Criminal Investigation Day
- November 10 : Police Day
- November 15 : National Currency (Tenge) Day
- November 23 : Road Police Day
- December 12 : Day of Customs Officials

the numerous inter-religious summits held in Astana (Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in US, *Electronic reference*).

Pope John Paul II remarked: "Peace and harmony in the Great Steppe pleasantly surprise and argue that the multiracial countries in the world can be saved." (A. Cohen, 2008:211).

#### **4.4 Social Welfare**

Ethnic and religious tolerance are the basis for peaceful economic progress; likewise, it is widely known that a stable middle class is a guarantee for social stability against religious extremists and agrarian riots, (A. Cohen, 2008). It is thus necessary to improve living standards in order to produce an economic advancement which leads to social stability.

As remarked Kazakh Healthcare Minister Malika Kuandykova

According to the principles of smart economy, physical and mental health, genetic fund, lifestyle and life conditions are 'investments' into the national human capital. We need intensive development of the health industry, which means rational division of responsibility between the state and the citizens... A great number of studies conducted in the developed countries have proved that good health greatly contributes to economic success (Kazinform, March 18, 2008).

To improve the population's living standards in such areas as healthcare, education, job creation and housing, as well as implementation of a capital inflow and opportunities to go abroad. These are the main fields of application of social policies, and all these factors contribute to improve social services and health, to create a stable middle class and thus achieve greater levels of religious and ethnic tolerance in Kazakhstan.

In order to improve interethnic relations, it is necessary to develop an interethnic concord culture based on dialogue and tolerance. The attainment of this type of culture becomes the fundamental role of the educational system. At school students are taught to deal with ethno-cultural and social differences, which might be causes of conflict. Growing in a friendly and multicultural environment enables the students to learn principles of tolerance that are at the basis of constructive dialogue and accord among the different ethnic groups, and thus are also the basis of the stability of the country.

The implementation of this idea requires the government to ensure a primary education to everyone, making it compulsory and free of charge. Articles 4 and 36 of the Law on Education guarantee free secondary education in national education institutions for every citizen in Kazakhstan. A free education is essential to achieve democratic and civil principles in all social classes, above all in rural areas. Promotion of a multicultural education also gives the opportunity for individuals to develop a global mentality, strengthening its national capability. As A.K. Akhmetbekova wrote in 2013, multicultural education:

- Increases productivity because a variety of mental resources are available for completing the same tasks and it promotes cognitive and moral growth among all people. [...]

- Increases creative problem-solving skills through different perspectives applied to same problems to reach solutions. [...]
- Increases positive relationships through achievement of common goals, respect, appreciation, and commitment to equality among the intellectuals at institutions of higher education. [...]
- Decreases stereotyping and prejudice through direct contact and interactions among diverse individuals. [...]
- Renews vitality of its society through the richness of the different cultures of its members and fosters development of a broader and more sophisticated view of the world. [...]

Kazakhstani are aware of their favored situation with respect to other countries. They take advantage of their challenging multi-ethnic coexistence in order to gain personal as well as national enrichment. As the XIX century poet Abay suggested, "Members of diverse societies and communities who live side by side with each other and work together take on the best qualities from each other and achieve high grounds of morality and goodness"(Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in US, *Electronic reference*).

The government's efforts toward a multicultural stability are honored in a 2009 survey reported by Joanna Lillis: to the question if Kazakhstani feel that their rights are infringed upon because of languages issues, 84.4% denied so. Furthermore, 93.1% of inhabitants were satisfied with ethnic relations in Kazakhstan.

However, this last number seems to have decreased over recent years, as shown by two surveys conducted in Kazakhstan. The first one by Z. Tolen and his colleagues in 2012, the second one being the survey I personally conducted during my travel in the country. Tolen, asked many Kazakhstani in Almaty: “How do you rate the inter-ethnic situation in Kazakhstan?” The five multiple choices were: ‘peaceful existence’, ‘favorable’, ‘there is internal tension’, ‘there is little danger’ and ‘rather dangerous’. 77.6% of people answered ‘peaceful existence’ or ‘favorable’; this means that compared with the previous result, the people satisfied with inter-ethnic relations are almost 16% less.

In December 2013, I asked the same question with the same multiple-choice answers, in the city of Almaty. In my survey roughly 80% of the people considered the inter-ethnic situation ‘peaceful’ or ‘favorable’. Hence it had not changed that much from the previous year.

#### **4.5 National Unity Doctrine**

The realization of the National Unity Doctrine is a project initiated by President Nazarbayev in 2008, designed to consolidate society, to unify Kazakhstan’s nationalities and to create common values for all ethnic groups (Z. Tolen, 2012:437). This gave life to the principle ‘unify in diversity’ which is considered “the foundation of state policy in the interethnic sphere”, as stated Nazarbayev in a session of the APK (J. Lillis, 2010, *Electronic reference*).The principle is remembered on May 1<sup>st</sup> with the Unity of the Nations of Kazakhstan.

The value of this project is that the final document is the result of a direct dialogue and debate, above all concerning the meaning of ‘national identity’ in a

country that strives to promote ethnic diversities. The dialogue was established by the government, people who took part in it were the representatives of each ethnic group, but also involved intellectuals and anyone who brought a proposal aimed at improving the initial draft (*ibid.*)

The result of the work is a system of common values and principles for all citizens of the country. They are embodied in the three stated national principles “One country, one destiny”, “Various origins, equal opportunities” and “Development of a national spirit”. The first one refers to the identification of every Kazakhstan citizen with the nation-state, the second expresses the necessity of equal opportunities for each individual to attain a better life regardless of heritage, religion or social class. The last one considers the role of culture in shaping an inclusive national identity, in which all ethnic groups are ensured the right to safeguard and use their language (*ibid.*)

The government policies directed toward the renewal of society, based on civil principles and on the National Unity Doctrine, raise a consideration. There is the risk, or the will, that these policies will lead its society to a homogenization of the different ethnicities, removing Kazakhstan’s uniqueness of interaction among distinct cultures.

Within the society, in the matter of understanding whether the different values had remained intact as a result of the inter-ethnic interaction, or whether the coexistence and sharing of an always lengthier common history had brought about a commonality of values as well, I researched the diversity of people’s intrinsic values. Balboni recognized such values in intercultural communication, both as a commonality and as a diversity among the different ethnicities of the Kazakhstan.

## **5. Intercultural Communication in Kazakhstan**

When foreigners interact with Kazakhstani, it is immediately evident their open-mindedness toward other cultures, their developed ability to understand and to adapt to other cultures' behaviors.

I personally had this impression when I met a Kazakhstani girl for the first time. As far as it can be an isolated case, Mariya impressed me for her capacity to adapt to an attitude which is completely different from the one of her native country. Her cultural shock process was faster than usual; after the initial euphoria and the second stage of irritation and hostility, which for the most part lasts three or four months, she had a quick gradual adjustment. Only seven months after her arrival to Italy, she already adapted to the interaction with the Italian reality, accepting as a given fact the aspect she could not give an explanation to, switching from her native behavior to a new attitude according to the people she was interacting with.

During my research travel to Kazakhstan, I had a confirmation of Kazakhstani's intercultural communication abilities. Observing family life and social interactions, I had the impression of a communicative reality which recalled me the schematization of international law through Kelsen's pyramids. Kelsen saw the internal law as a pyramid made up of rules. The international law stand above all the pyramids of the different internal law, it is distinct from them, but complementary as well. Applying Kelsen's pyramids to the ethnic cultures in Kazakhstan, one can imagine several pyramids made up by deep culture at the bottom and surface culture at the top, above all the pyramids

there is the intercultural communication pattern in Kazakhstan, a system of communicational 'rules' which is distinct from the co-cultures' one, but it is also shared by all of them. Kazakhstani daily switch from an ethnic cultural communication, to the intercultural communication pattern in accordance with the context.

It is impossible to analyze all the differences among the co-cultures and between the cultures' internal communication and the intercultural communication in Kazakhstan. Nevertheless, take as a basis the studies of personages as Geert Hofstede, Edward T. Hall and Paolo Balboni, it is possible to notice a certain inclination toward either one culture or another during the intercultural communication act.

In the book "*comunicazione interculturale*" (intercultural communication, 2007), Paolo Balboni pointed out communication's aspects that make reference to deep cultural values, non-verbal codes and verbal codes. Deep cultural values include the values of time, space, hierarchy and family. The main non-verbal codes are artifacts, physical appearance, kinesics, proxemics and haptics. Metaphors, text structure and choose of words are part of verbal codes.

Hereafter I analyzed these values in the intercultural communication in Kazakhstan, both through a survey and a direct observation.

## **5.1 Deep culture**

### **5.1.1 Time**

Edward T. Hall distinguished cultures in monochronic and polychronic. On the one hand monochronic cultures are characterized for the respect for schedules and high consideration for promptness, people of these cultures usually accomplish one thing per time. On the other hand, polychronic people are more flexible regarding time schedules and punctuality, and they often handle multiple thing at once (S.W. Raimo, 2013, *Electronic referencce*).

Kazakhstani as a whole, seem to belong to a polychronic culture, they often accomplish many thing at the same time, similar to many other Asian countries. The results of my survey show that 84% of the people do many things simultaneously 'always' or 'often'; only 3% never do it. This data contrast with the answers about the importance of promptness and schedules; in fact, Kazakhstani give medium-high importance to schedules. In addition to this, in the survey it was asked to rank the importance of punctuality in a scale from one to five. 6% of the interviewed answered 'three', 41% answered 'four' and 51% answered 'five'. There is thus an absolute inclination to consider promptness as paramount importance.

However, we should take into consideration that one of Kazakhstani peculiarity is the high level of politeness. The importance given to punctuality can be driven by more the desire to do not make people wait rather than a devotion to reckoning of time.

Deepening this point, in Kazakhstan there is not the habit to make people wait in order to show the importance of one's social role and power. On the

contrary, promptness in a meeting, as well as in welcoming waited guests, is a manifestation of good breeding and professionalism.

Other cultural approaches to the time can be seen during a dialogue. It may happen that in a conversation there is a pause of silence which might or not express feelings as disagreement or embarrassment (Balboni, 2013). The silence and the pauses during a dialogue are more or less recurring according to the deep culture.

During the social interactions, pauses are not frequent in Kazakhstan. It can happen that people do not wait for the interlocutor to finish the sentence before start speaking, however there is a clear propensity to wait for one's own turn before step-in. Although respecting turns, the dialogues are fast and dynamic, more similar to the western than to the Asian ones.

Despite my direct observations, the results of the survey gave a different image of Kazakhstani. In the question "When colleagues ask you a question, do you respond almost immediately to continue the conversation, or do you prefer to think a little in order to give a more adequate answer?", there was a clear division among Kazakhstani. 46% of the interviewed chose the first answer; while 54% chose the second one. We cannot identify a clear cultural influence in the answers between Russians and Kazakhs. However we can state that the majority of both Russians and Kazakhs prefer to think about the answer; while all the Tatars, Uighurs and mix people, except two, answer almost immediately.

This data may be at odds with the question "During a pause in a dialogue, do you feel uncomfortable or comfortable?". One can notice that Kazakhstani are inclined to be embarrassed during a moment of pause in a dialogue.

Notwithstanding, analyzing every single answer to the survey, most of ethnic Russian feel uneasy, while most of ethnic Kazakhs feel comfortable, remembering the cultural proximity with the countries of the Far East.

### **5.1.2 Space**

The use of the surrounding space may vary in accordance with the perception of the space. People are used to move and behave in different ways according as the space is public or private.

Talking in general, Kazakhstani have great respect of public spaces which are kept clean by everyone, thanks to shared feeling of collaboration and respect. In addition to this, in places as cafés, waiting rooms and shops, the majority of people speak with a tone of voice as much normal as possible, without feel the need to raise their voices in order to be heard by the interlocutor in the uproar of the crowd. The 16% of the interviewed even declared that they try to talk in a low voice to do not bother other people. Even so, 11% of the people consider necessary to raise their voice; but while only two people see it as a normal practice, the 63% of the interviewed consider a high tone of voice as bothersome.

In Kazakhstan there is a smaller perception of privacy respecting western countries. Concerning how people move in the space and the perception of the private space, in the survey there were different questions concerning the entrance in a someone else's room, in the three settings of work, home and public offices.

In working environments and in public offices, most of the people usually knock on the door, but they do not wait for any answer or call before going in. Once entered in a room at work, they usually stand inside the room. It is not habitual to lean on the jamb.

This sort of invasion of other's private space is favored by the working environment in general. In fact, in offices and organizations, there are open working spaces which promote communication among the workers and collaboration, employing different solving-problem skills; it is not thus a mean of control over each others.

Private privacy is even smaller at home where Kazakhstani feel free to enter in almost any room without knocking, and once entered, they make themselves comfortable. This attitude involves also the aspects of proxemics and haptics which will be further analyze.

### **5.1.3. Hierarchy, family and loyalty**

Due to linguistic barriers and the short time of the research travel, it was impossible to properly analyze the deep cultural aspects of hierarchy, family and loyalty. Nevertheless three considerations about them are possible to be made.

There is a feeling of hierarchy in the society and within the family. In social interactions, the respect given to the interlocutor is first of all influenced by the seniority; it is given secondary importance to walk of life and social role. The gender as a even minor importance.

The family, where a leading role is still given to the husband/father, it plays an important role for a lifetime. Despite most of Kazakhstani start to live on their own at a age between 18 and 25, the family will always respresent a key aspect of life. Family meeting are recurrent; children, once they grow up, are supposed to take good care of their parents. On the same lines, there is a strong link among the relatives which outcome in collaboration, sharing and mutual support.

About the extension of the family feeling to the working field, we can assume that there is not such a deep correlation between the two. As it is shown by the survey, only 15% of the people take personally negative comments to the organization they work for.

Finally, another aspect shared with Asian cultures, both by Russians and Kazakhs, is the concept of face. This is not recognized by the population as a cultural behavior, but it is beyond doubt that all Kazakhstani prefer to do not show their weak points, and rather always exalt their successes and abilities in front of the others.

## **5.2 Non-verbal communication**

### **5.2.1 Artifacts and physical appearance**

Objects and physical appearance can be indicators of richness, distinction, taste, success, personality and a lot more. When we meet someone for the first time, in few minutes we have a general idea of the interlocutor, our judgment is influenced by his/her behavior and external appearances as well.

In Kazakhstan people are very concerned about their appearance. The latest trends are show off with bags, clothes, cars, accessorizes, etc. This fact is helped by the growing economy of the country.

However, when a Kazakhstani is making an opinion on a person, all those factors are less important than behavior and language. In the survey was asked to evaluate the importance of seven factors which may affect the judgment of a person. An average of the answers put the language (choose of words, grammar correctness, etc.) at the first place, followed by general behavior, the care of the body, facial expressions, clothes, gestures, and at last accessorizes. Hence, artifacts do not have a big value despite their ostentation.

The objects given as a present with the meaning of courtesy and respect, like a present given by a host, can be accepted in different ways. In receiving a gift there is the general inclination to thank and accept it. It is not really widespread the custom to refuse it at first in order to underlying the courtesy.

There is instead a clear division in the answers concerning the opening of the gift. In the survey, 47% of the people open the gift as they receive it, while 53 % of the interviewed open it later on. An explanation to this might be provided by the religion instead of the ethnic culture. In fact. Analyzing the single answers, 72% of the people who open it immediately are Orthodox, only 10% are Muslims; and the 81% of the Muslims open it later.

### **5.2.2 Kinesics**

In the questions regarding the artifacts, there is a section concerning facial expression and gestures; the first one is considered more important than the second one. It is interesting to notice the importance given to facial expression. Compared to the West, facial expressions is not widely developed, people communicate mainly through words in a typical low-context environment. The importance given to facial expressions may be referred less to the various facial expressions and more to the fact of express a feeling through them. Cultures with the concept of face, as it can be China and Korea, are inclined to do not show thoughts or emotions through the face. This may explain also the considerations about facial expressions in Kazakhstan.

As said before, also in this country it exists the concept of face as well. Probably this concept is not so relevant and does not influence all the aspect of social life as it happens in Asian countries; it has nevertheless its relevance in social interactions in Kazakhstan. Consequently, facial expression might be considerate rude and not polite.

Another aspect close to the Asian practices is to indicate with the open hand instead of the finger, which is regarded as extremely impolite.

Concerning the eye contact, it seems to prevail the western practice to look in the eyes while speaking. Only the 3% of the interviewed do not look into the eyes of the interlocutor, this percentage is composed exclusively by some of the Orthodox Russians, it is thus impossible to identify a Kazakh's cultural practice close to the one of the Far East, ethnic Kazakhs rather seem to assimilate the western customs.

Also other kinesics aspects are similar to the western. During a dialogue the posture of the people is usually with cross legs or straddle, as well, the arms make lots of gestures. However it is noticeable also other two tendencies: keeping the hands in the pockets or arms folded, the first one prevails above all in the males attitudes, the second one in the female's.

### **5.2.3 Proxemics**

According to proxemics studies by Edward T. Hall, space around us may be divided into intimate, personal, social and public space. The intimate space surround us in a less than 45 centimeters distance; the personal space extends around us from a distance of 45 centimeters to one meter about; finally social space broaden till more than three meters (E.T. Hall, 1966:117-125).

Under this aspect, in Kazakhstan the spaces described by Hall are without doubt closer to the Asian culture. Friends are usually much closer than 45 centimeters, and physical touch is recurrent.

The survey shows that, talking in general, friends stand at less than an arm of distance; acquaintance at about one arm away, the social sphere is mainly at more than one arm of distance. It is interesting to observe how on the one hand male friends are kept at less than one arm or about one arm of distance, both by male and female friends; on the other hand most of female friends are kept at close proximity both by male and female friends.

Applying Hall's distances to Kazakhstani society, we can distinguish an intimate sphere reaching 20 centimeters from one's own body; personal space

until 40 centimeters of distance; and social space from 40 centimeters to a radius of two meters.

#### **5.2.4 Haptics**

As said above, physical touch is frequent in Kazakhstan. Girls are used to walk around arm in arm or hand in hand. By and large physical contact among Russians is recurrent and seen as natural. It is conceivably the same for ethnic Kazakhs, but it is not undeniable.

The fastest way to evaluate haptics in a culture is to consider when people greet each other. Two male friends usually greet by shaking hands or with a hug, two female friends prefer instead kisses, like so between a girl and a boy.

Also a male acquaintance is usually greeted by shaking hands, it is curious that a female acquaintance is rather greeted in diversified ways, preferring detached greetings also by other girls; wave hands and verbal greetings are the most practiced. While the most used physical contact with a female acquaintance are kisses, however in the survey 67% of this answer was given by males.

Strangers are commonly greeted by shaking hands or a verbal greeting, both with males and females. Only the 3 per cent of the interviewed vary the greetings according to the interlocutor's religion if known.

### **5.3 Verbal communication**

Because of the language barriers, there was not the possibility to deeply analyze the verbal communication, including metaphor or the choose of words.

It was possible to ask only a question about the topics to avoid during a conversation with familiar people. The results of the survey show that the most delicate topics are religion, racism and discrimination. This is understandable taking into consideration the history of the country and the process of inter-ethnic tolerance it is going through for the last twenty years.

## **6. Conclusion**

### **Kazakhstan toward the future, unified national identity or permanent distinct identities?**

Since the first millennium BC , Kazakhstan saw the transit of nomads, tribal populations, invaders, travelers along the Silk Road and immigrants. All of them brought a little of their own culture into the country, influencing the already existing culture and creating new ones.

The first cultural imprinting was given by the Turkic-speaking populations and the Mongols. The first one influenced the language and the religious aspects of Kazakhstan; the Mongols brought a nomadic life-style and the culture of nature.

After a period under the Great Mongol Empire, Kazakhstan became an independent Khanate; it was then absorbed by the Soviet Union in 1936. Under the USSR the country lived through a process of Russification and Europeization , characterized also by a mass immigration and deportation from the surroundings countries and the farther ones.

As it was illustrated, the whole historical process brought to the creation of an independent Kazakhstan with a society made up by more than 130 nationalities and 42 religious confessions.

The government's efforts were toward an inter-ethnic peaceful coexistence, promoting mutual tolerance and understanding, as well as a National Unity Doctrine. Such a project is applied to an environment where

several cultures daily interact. The inter-ethnic and intercultural communication in Kazakhstan result in a mix of behavior coming from all the different cultures that are present in the territory.

The governments is promoting the cultural ethnic differences and their great number of traditions. This promotion calm down the possible ethnic conflicts. It is also an important element to make Kazakhstani feel part of a unique society which accept them with all their differences. Along these lines, for the next few generation there will be different ethnicities which interact at the social level through a common intercultural communication pattern.

Some cultural behaviors are shared by every Kazakhstani, other behaviors are more relevant in a ethnic or religious culture than in the others. Some of the cultural values are closer to the Asian's, reminding the Mongol lineage; others are closer to the western cultures due to the Russification and Europeization process.

Nevertheless, the harmonization of certain attitudes may indicate a gradual homogenization among the co-cultures. As we can see by the different answers to the survey, some deep cultural behaviors are shared by both Russian, Kazakhs and other ethnicities as well.

The common attitudes are straightened by the growing shared experiences. Kazakhstani, coming from different ethnicities and religions, since the childhood at school share knowledge, living environment, history. They bring their family's ideals with themselves and share them with classmates, they influence each other's mind and create in this way a place for mutual cultural interpenetration.

People bring their shared experiences and behavior from school to work. Here there is a stress on collaboration instead of individual work; team work arise the propensity for shared opinions and attitudes.

Outside the working environment, shared values facilitate mix marriages and a even deeper cultural intertwine; this is kept together by the always most spread usage of the Russian language, regardless the government's efforts to promote the Kazakh language.

In addition to the natural process of homogenization lead by social interaction, the government carried on the National Unity Doctrine with the objective, as the name says, to create a national unifying identity.

The ongoing shaping of a new Kazakhstani identity is facilitated by the gradual detachment of ethnic people from their original nationality. Mariya (ethnic Russian) stated once: "In Moscow I would not feel at home."

In Kazakhstan there are all the elements to predict a future homogenization of the ethnic practices into a new national identity and a new national culture.

## 7. Appendix

### 7.1 Ethnic variations in Kazakhstan population

Union Population Census of 1959.

Ethnic composition of the population in the republics of the USSR.

Nationality	Total
<b>All Nationalities</b>	9309847
Russian	3974229
Kazakhs	2794966
Ukrainians	762131
Germans	659751
Crimean Tatars	191925
Uzbeks	136570
Chechens	130232
Belarusians	107463
Koreans	74019
Uighurs	59840
Greeks	55543
Poles	53102
Ingush	47867
Azerbaijanis	38362
Jews	28048
Mordovians	25499
Moldovans	14844
Bulgarians	12155
Lithuanians	12132
Chuvash	11255
Dungan	9980
Turks	9916
Armenians	9284
Bashkirs	8742
Tajiks	8075
Romany	7265

Kirghiz	6810
Kurds	6109
Karachai	5574
Latvians	4588
Balkar	4174
Udmurt	3891
Iranians	3885
Estonians	3683
Georgians	3467
Peoples of Dagestan	3254
Chinese	3158
Ossetians	2075
Mari	2046
Kalmyks	1861
Turkmens	1318
Finns	1317
Czechs	1144
Komi and Permian Komis	1131
other nationalities	887
Gagauz	784
Kabardians	709
Aissors	558
Hungarians	492
Karels	434
Lakhs of them	371
Altai	363

Peoples of the North	362
Buryats	342
Karakalpaks	255
Romanians	248
Circassians	185
Shor	153
Khakasses	148
Adygeys	123
Crimean Tatars are	123
Abkhazians	119
Yakuts	87
Yugoslavs	73
Arabs	59
Karaites	59
Baloch	58
Izhorians	58
Tuva	58
Slovaks	53

Italians	51
Afghans	50
Abaza	43
Tats	37
Vepsians	34
Japanese	29
French	28
Spaniards	26
Mongols	19
Talysh	12
Albanians	10
Kryz	5
Americans	4
British	4
Indians	1
Tofalars	1
Udi	1
Ethnic group not available	145

Union Population Census of 1970.

Ethnic composition of the population in the republics of the USSR.

Nationality	Total
<b>All nationalities</b>	12848573
Russian	5499826
Kazakhs	4161164
Tatars	281849
Uzbeks	207514
Belarusians	197592
Uighurs	120784
Koreans	78078
Poles	61335

Azerbaijanis	56166
Greeks	39241
Chechens	34492
Mordovians	34129
Jews	26954
Moldovans	25711
Chuvash	22690
Bashkirs	21134
Turks	18397
Ingush	18356

Dungan	17283
Udmurt	15739
Lithuanians	14163
Armenians	12518
Kurds	12299
Bulgarians	10147
Kirghiz	9474
Mari	8995
Romany	7766
Tajiks	7166
Georgians	6831
Latvians	4269
Chinese	4153
Estonians	4060
Ossetians	3435
Turkmen	3240
Balkar	2679
Lezghins	2566
Karachai	2311
Persians	2124
Crimean Tatars	1839
Permian Komis	1547
Komi	1531
Czechs	1213
Finns	1108
Avars	958
Ukrainians	930,158
Kalmyks	878
Romanians	866
Germans	839,649
Hungarians	832
Gagauz	766
Karels	688
Dargin	627
Laks	608
Assyrians	586
Altai	574

Kabardians	561
Kumyks	552
Mongols	542
Buryats	530
Central Asian Jews	488
Karakalpaks	448
Khakasses	401
Persons of other nationalities	361
Vietnamese	258
The Circassians	242
Adygeys	221
Tabasarans	217
Shor	214
Dutch	198
Abkhazians	183
Yakuts	174
Arabs	172
Nogai	155
Italians	148
Georgian Jews	96
Serbs	92
Tuva	84
Afghans	79
Austrians	72
Slovaks	71
French	69
Spaniards	67
Abaza	60
Nenets	52
People of India and Pakistan	52
Mountain Jews	50
Albanians	49
Karaites	47
Tats	46
Evenki	42

Krimchaks	42
Hunts	35
Udins	33
Tsakhurs	30
Vepsians	27
Baloch	26
Japanese	26
Nanai	19
Orochi	18
Dolgan	17
Chukchi	16
Muncie	14
Evens	13
Croats	10
Americans	9
Rutuls	8
Eskimos	8

Aguls	7
Koryak	7
Selkups	7
Udege	7
Aleuts	6
Itelmens	6
Nganasans	5
Nivkhs	5
British	5
Chum	4
Negidals	4
Izhorians	3
Sami	2
Tofalars	1
Ulchi	1
Yukagirs	1

Union Population Census of 1979.

Ethnic composition of the population in the republics of the USSR.

Nationality	Total
<b>All nationalities</b>	14684283
Russian	5991205
Kazakhs	5289349
Germans	900207
Ukrainians	897964
Tatars	312626
Uzbeks	263295
Belarusians	181491
Uighurs	147943
Koreans	91984
Azerbaijanis	73345
Poles	61136
Greeks	49930

Chechens	38256
Bashkirs	32499
Mordovians	31424
Moldovans	30256
Turks	25820
Jews	22762
Dungan	22491
Chuvash	22310
Tajiks	19293
Ingush	18337
Kurds	17692
Udmurt	15460
Armenians	14022
Lithuanians	10964
Mari	10589

Bulgarians	10064
Kirghiz	9352
Romany	8626
Georgians	7700
Lezghins	6126
Latvians	4318
Ossetians	4029
Chinese	3715
Estonians	3505
Persians	2916
Balkar	2258
Turkmen	2241
Karachai	2082
Permian Komis	1777
Avars	1602
Komi	1345
Czechs	1140
Finns	1074
Kalmyks	973
Dargin	969
Buryats	914
Kumyks	873
Romanians	846
Crimean Tatars	834
Laks	784
Kabardians	756
Gagauz	752
Karels	639
Altai	630
Karakalpaks	620
Hungarians	595
Persons of other nationalities	560
Khakasses	475
Assyrians	460
Yakuts	438
Mongols	413

Tabasarans	407
Shor	381
Circassians	364
Central Asian Jews	316
Abkhazians	237
Nogai	236
Adygeys	221
Udins	194
Georgian Jews	183
Tuva	182
Arabs	164
Aguls	142
Baloch	139
Tats	135
Dutch	131
Abaza	119
Mountain Jews	118
Italians	117
Nenets	108
Cubans	97
Afghans	94
Serbs	93
Krimchaks	87
Tsakhurs	68
Albanians	63
Slovaks	59
French	56
Rutuls	52
Orochi	51
Hunts	49
Austrians	45
Muncie	36
Evenki	33
Udege	33
Vepsians	33
Karaites	33

Spaniards	33
Nanai	32
Eskimos	30
Persons who are not designated national	30
Japanese	24
People of India and Pakistan	23
Izhorians	19
Dolgan	18
Koryak	16
British	15
Tofalars	14
Vietnamese	14

Sami	13
Chum	11
Ulchi	10
Yukagirs	10
Aleuts	9
Evens	9
Selkups	8
Croats	7
Chukchi	4
Itelmens	4
Nivkhs	2
Nganasans	1

Union Population Census of 1989.

Ethnic composition of the population in the republics of the USSR.

Nationality	Total
<b>All nationalities</b>	16464464
Kazakhs	6534616
Russians	6227549
Germans	957518
Uzbeks	332017
Tatars	327982
Uighurs	185301
Belarusians	182601
Koreans	103315
Azerbaijanis	90083
Ukrainians	89624
Poles	59956
Turks	49567
Chechens	49507
Greeks	46746

Bashkirs	41847
Moldovans	33098
Dungan	30165
Mordovians	30036
Tajiks	25514
Kurds	25425
Chuvash	22305
Ingush	19914
Armenians	19119
Jews	18492
Udmurt	15855
Kirghiz	14112
Lezghins	13905
Mari	12201
Lithuanians	10942
Bulgarians	10426
Georgians	9496

Romany	7165
Ossetians	4308
Turkmens	3846
Chinese	3731
Estonians	3397
Latvians	3373
Crimean Tatars	3169
Persians	3136
Balkar	2967
Avars	2777
Karachai	2057
Dargin	1917
Kumyks	1710
Permian Komis	1579
Karakalpaks	1387
Komi	1259
Laks	1234
Czechs	1175
Buryats	1172
Tabasarans	1146
Kalmyks	1127
Kabardians	1081
Finns	1010
Gagauz	978
Romanians	955
Central Asian Jews	795
Karels	753
Altai	689
Hungarians	683
Khakasses	592
Nogai	543
Assyrians	472
Mountain Jews	391
Shor	388

Udins	366
Abkhazians	333
Yakuts	314
Mongols	312
The Circassians	311
Adygeys	296
Rutuls	250
Persons of other nationalities	244
Aguls	235
Afghans	209
Georgian Jews	186
Serbs	183
Tats	178
Italians	150
Talishs	137
Tuva	132
Dutch	126
Slovaks	124
Persons who are not designated national	121
Abaza	99
Vietnamese	88
Cubans	86
Baloch	73
Nenets	73
Albanians	72
Krimchaks	62
Arabs	56
Dolgan	56
Hunts	53
Evenki	48
Vepsians	44
Austrians	42
Croats	42

Spaniards	41
Muncie	38
Karaites	35
Nanai	35
Koryak	34
French	33
Evens	32
Tsakhurs	31
People of India and Pakistan	28
Chukchi	24
Chuvans	22
Japanese	19
Udege	19
Nivkhs	16
Itelmens	15
Sami	14
Selkups	13
British	12
Chum	11
Ulchi	11
Yukagirs	9
Americans	8
Orochi	8
Liwa	7
Aleuts	6
Negidals	6
Nganasans	6
Orok	6
Eskimos	5
Izhorians	5
Enetses	2

All the census are from the  
Institute of Demography;  
демоскоп Weekly  
(*Demoscop Weekly*),  
Dynamic and composition of  
the people of Kazakhstan in  
20<sup>th</sup> century, Moscow, 2003.

## 7.2 Ethnicities and Religion confessions in 2011

	Total population	Islam	Christianity	Buddhism	Judaism	Others	Non-believers	Refused to specify
<b>Total</b>	16009597	11239176	4214232	14663	5281	3688	451547	81010
<b>Kazakhs</b>	10096763	9928705	39172	749	1929	1612	98511	26085
<b>Russians</b>	3793764	54277	3476748	730	1452	1011	230935	28611
<b>Uzbeks</b>	456997	452668	1794	28	34	78	1673	722
<b>Ukrainians</b>	333031	3134	302199	49	108	74	24329	3138
<b>Uyghurs</b>	224713	221007	1142	33	34	63	1377	1057
<b>Tatars</b>	204229	162496	20913	58	47	123	16569	4023
<b>Germans</b>	178409	2827	145556	66	89	192	24905	4774
<b>Koreans</b>	100385	5256	49543	11446	211	138	28615	5176
<b>Turks</b>	97015	96172	290	6	7	20	321	199
<b>Azerbaijanis</b>	85292	80864	2139	16	16	24	1586	647
<b>Belarusians</b>	66476	526	59936	9	25	20	5198	762
<b>Dungans</b>	51944	51388	191	15	4	19	179	148
<b>Kurds</b>	38325	37667	203	6	11	9	285	144
<b>Tajiks</b>	36277	35473	331	6	2	30	307	128
<b>Poles</b>	34057	235	30675	4	14	45	2486	598
<b>Chechens</b>	31431	29448	940	3	6	16	653	365
<b>Kyrgyz</b>	23274	22500	206	6	6	4	352	200
<b>Other</b>	157215	54533	82254	1433	1286	210	13266	4233

From: Agency on Statistic of the Republic of Kazakhstan Edited by A.A. Smailov, *Statistical Yearbook "Kazakhstan in 2011"*, Astana, 2012

### 7.3 Survey

Добро пожаловать!

Здравствуйте! Меня зовут Бузи Вивиана . Я изучаю мультикультурализм народов Казахстана - это и является темой моей диссертации. Мне бы очень хотелось чтобы вы помогли мне в этом .Пожалуйста ответьте на данные вопросы, это не займет у вас более 15 минут. Большое спасибо!

*(Welcome!*

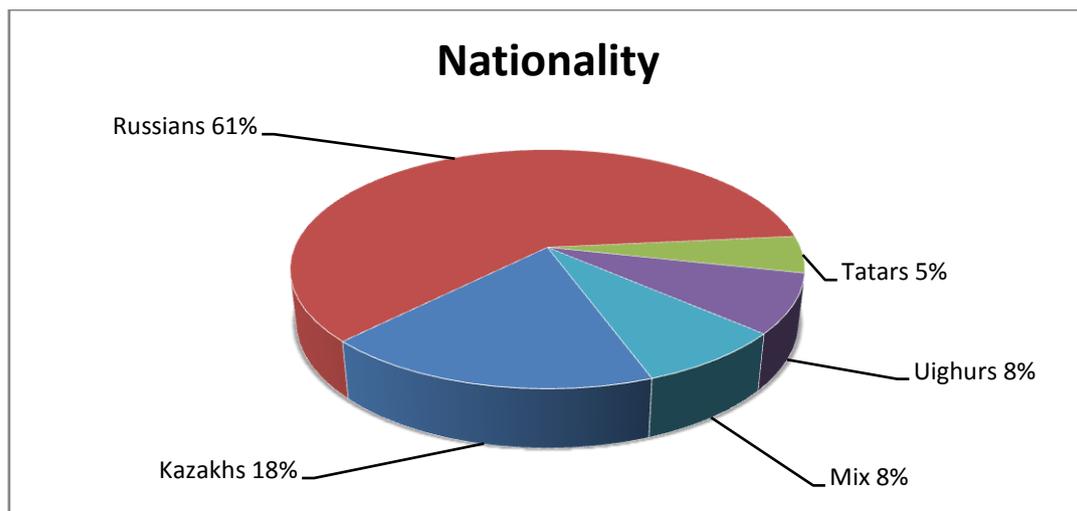
*Hello! My name is Viviana Busi. I am doing a research about multiculturalism in Kazakhstan - it is the subject of my dissertation. I would really like you to help me in this. Please answer to these questions, it will not take you more than 15 minutes. Thank you very much!)*

1. Ваша национальность:

*(Your nationality is:)*

**Mark only one oval.**

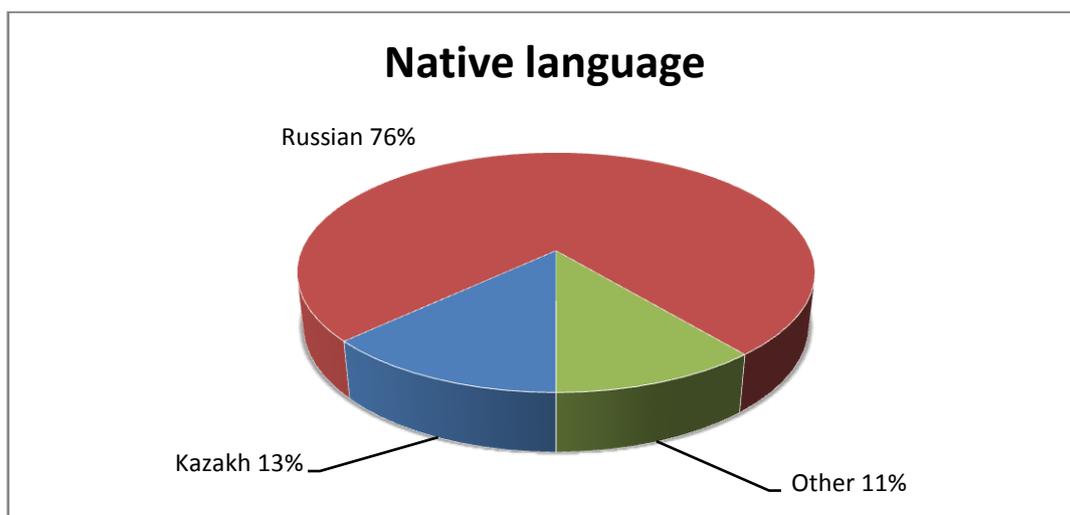
- казах (Kazakh)
- русский (Russian)
- узбек (Uzbek)
- татар (Tatar)
- уйгур (Uighur)
- беларус (Belarus)
- кореец (Korean)
- другие (Other)
- метис (Mix)
- предпочитаю не отвечать на данный вопрос *(I prefer to do not answer this question)*



2. родной язык:  
(Native language:)

Mark only one oval.

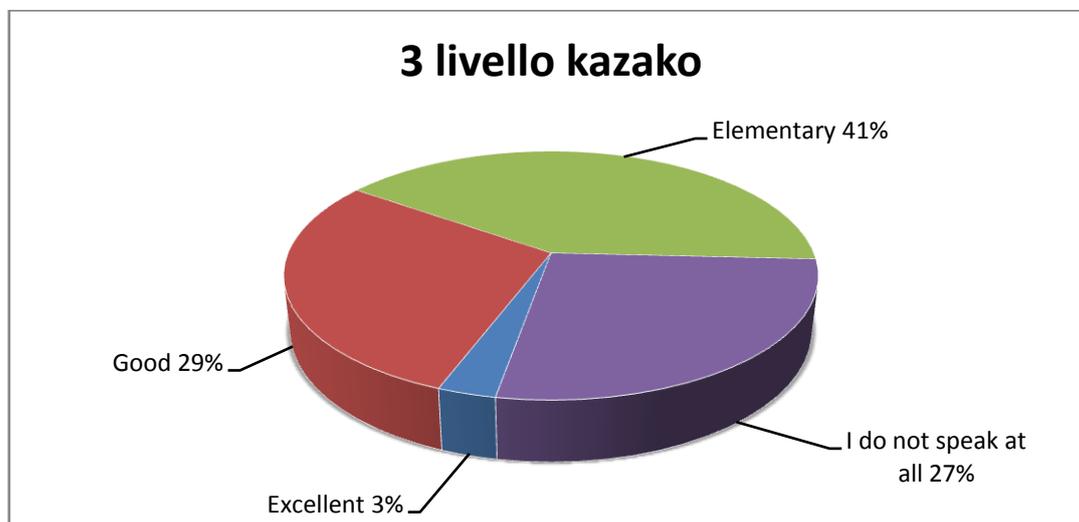
- казахский (Kazakh)
- русский (Russian)
- другой (Other)



3. Если ваш родной язык не казахский, то как вы оцениваете свой уровень владения казахским языком?  
(If your native language is not Kazakh, how do you rate your level of the Kazakh language?)

Mark only one oval.

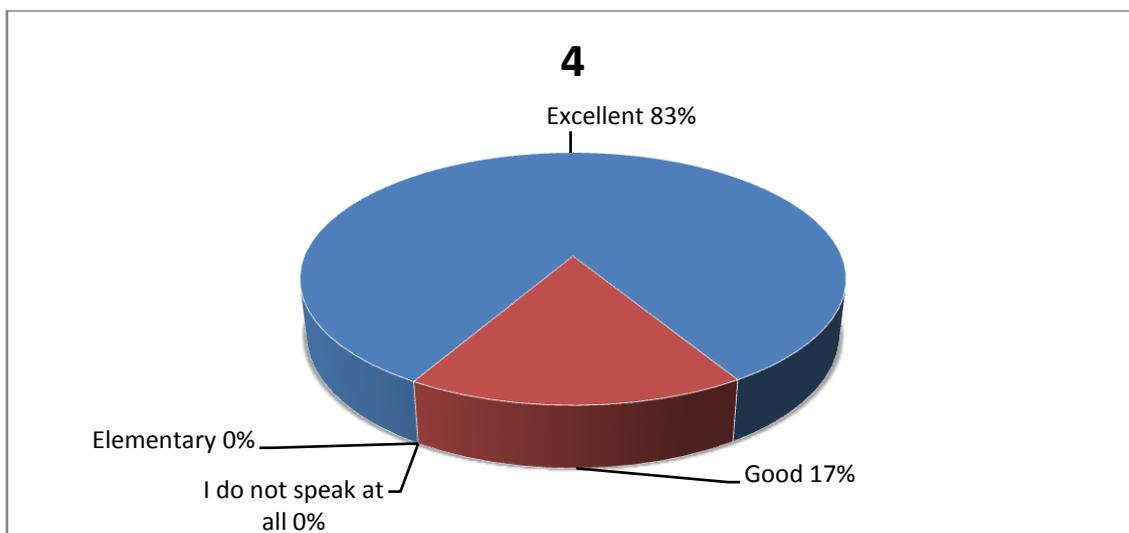
- отличное (Excellent)
- хорошее (Good)
- элементарное (Elementary)
- не владею (I do not speak at all)



4. Если родной язык не русский, то как вы оцениваете свой уровень владения русским языком?  
 (If your native language is not Russian, how do you rate your level of the Russian language?)

Mark only one oval.

- отличное (Excellent)
- хорошее (Good)
- элементарное (Elementary)
- не владею (I do not speak at all)



5. от 1 до 5ти на сколько вы считаете такое качество как пунктуальность важным?  
 (From 1 to 5 how do you rate the importance of punctuality?)

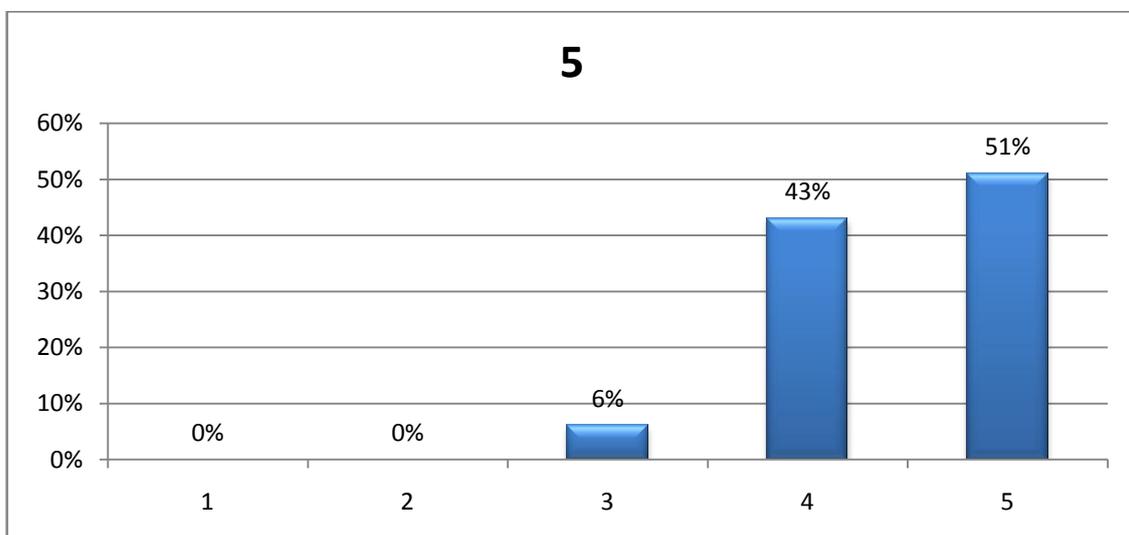
Mark only one oval.

1    2    3    4    5

---

считаю не важным      считаю очень важным

---

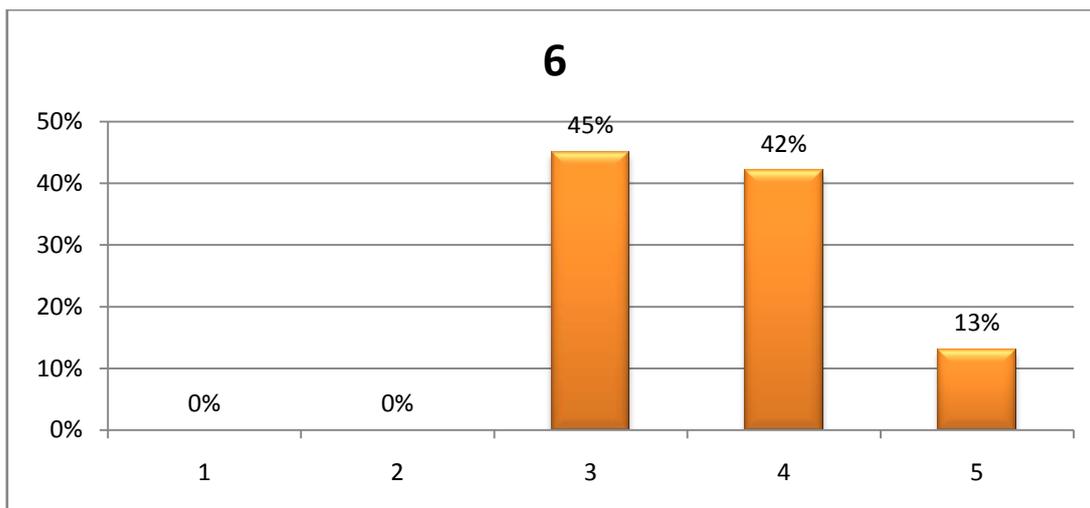


6. от 1 до 5ти на сколько вы выполняете список запланированных дел на день?  
(From 1 to 5, how much do you meet schedules?)

Mark only one oval.

1 2 3 4 5

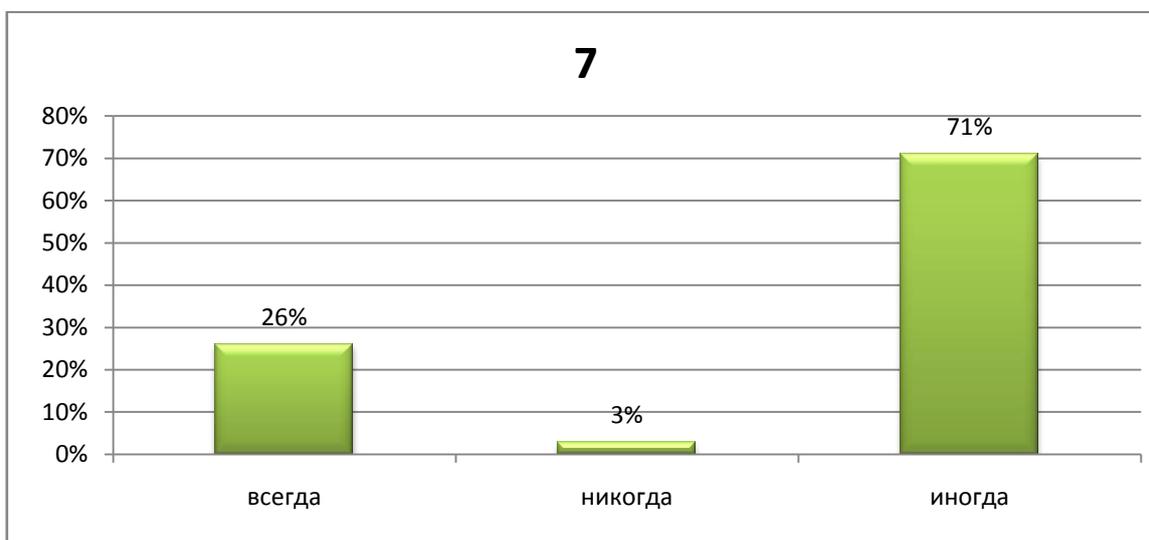
I never meet them      I always meet schedules



7. Как часто вы выполняете два дела одновременно?  
(How often do you do two things at once?)

Mark only one oval.

- всегда (always)
- никогда (never)
- иногда (soetimes)



8. Представьте что во время диалога "повисла" пауза , вы:  
(Imagine that during a dialogue there is a 'pause of silence', you:)

**Mark only one oval.**

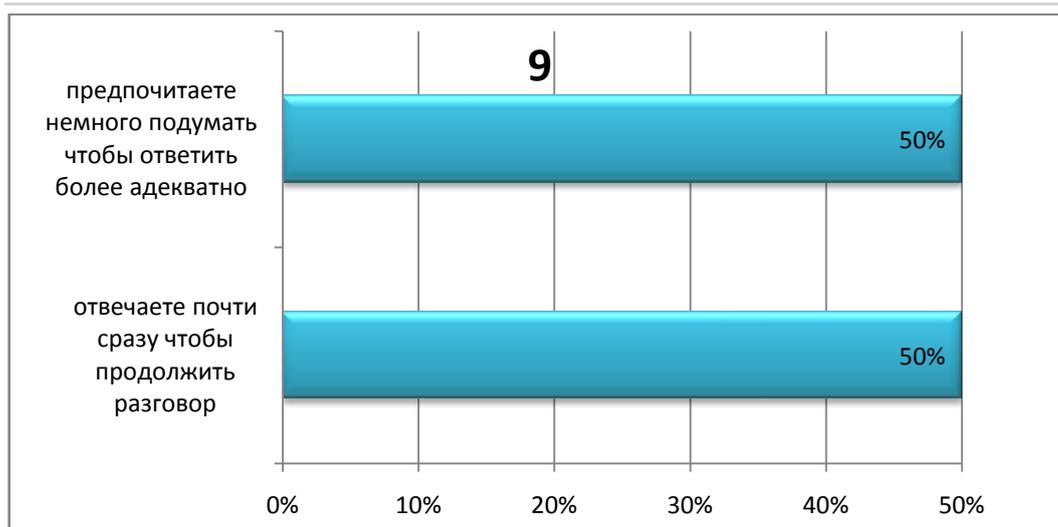
- ощущаете дискомфорт (feel discomfort)  
 чувствуете себя комфортно (feel comfortable)



9. Чаще всего когда коллеги (по работе/школе) задают вам вопрос перед тем как ответить вы:

**Mark only one oval.**

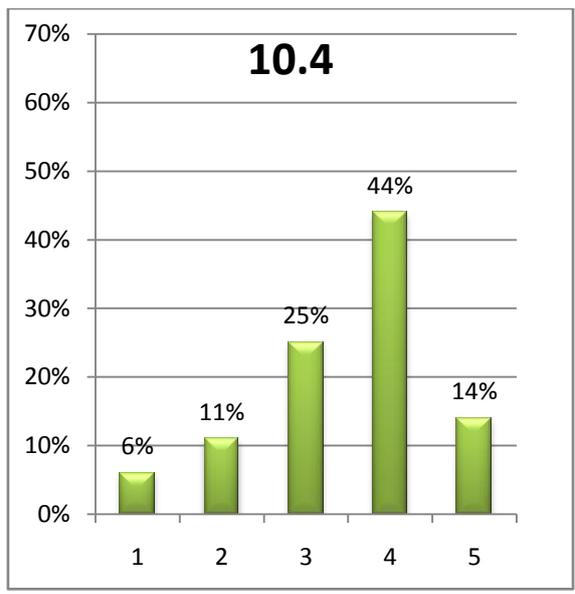
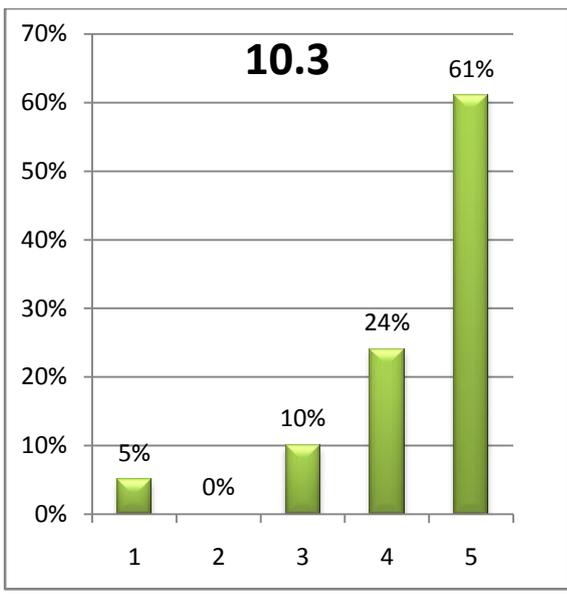
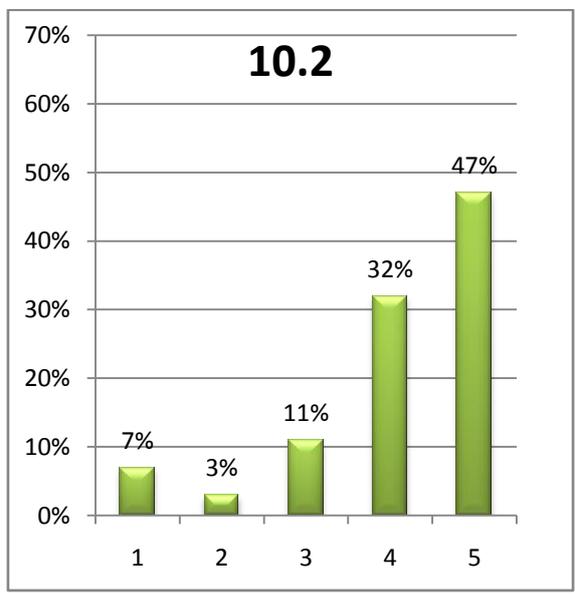
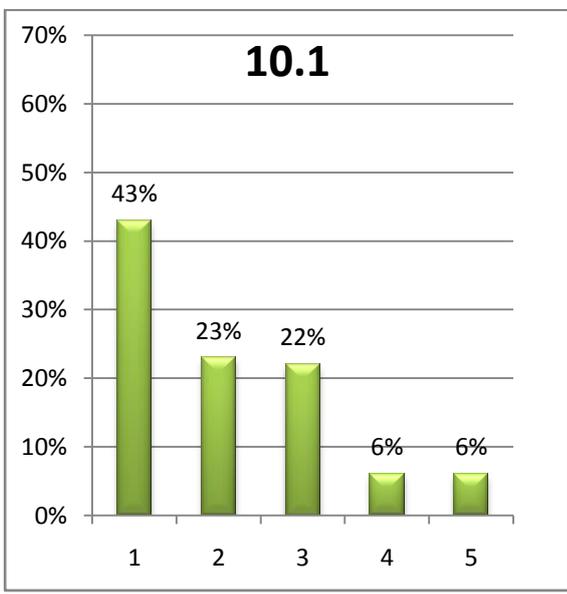
- отвечаете почти сразу чтобы продолжить разговор  
 предпочитаете немного подумать чтобы ответить более адекватно

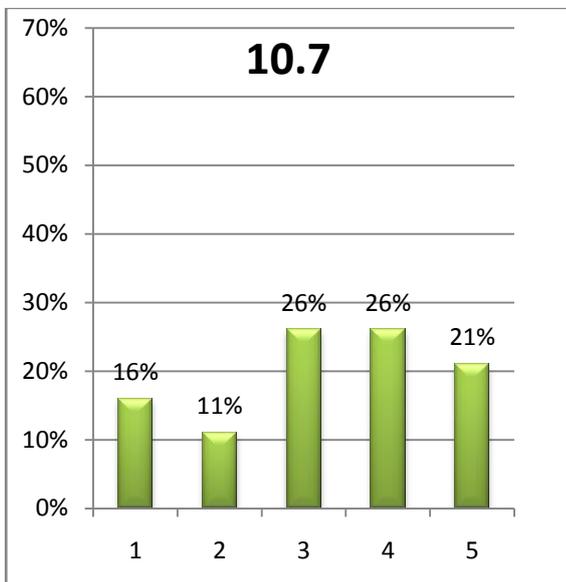
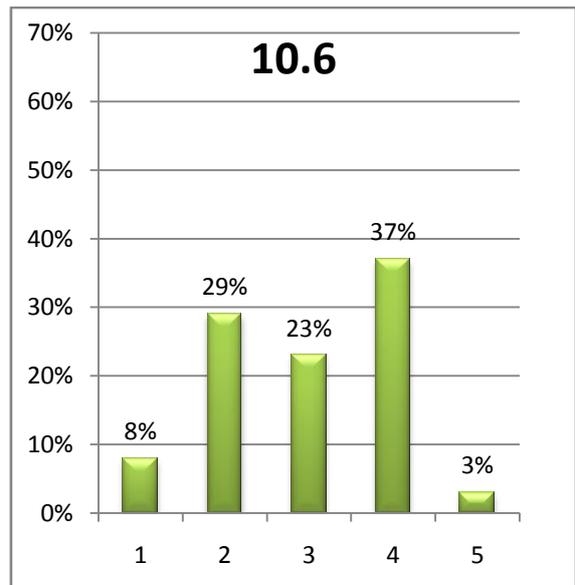
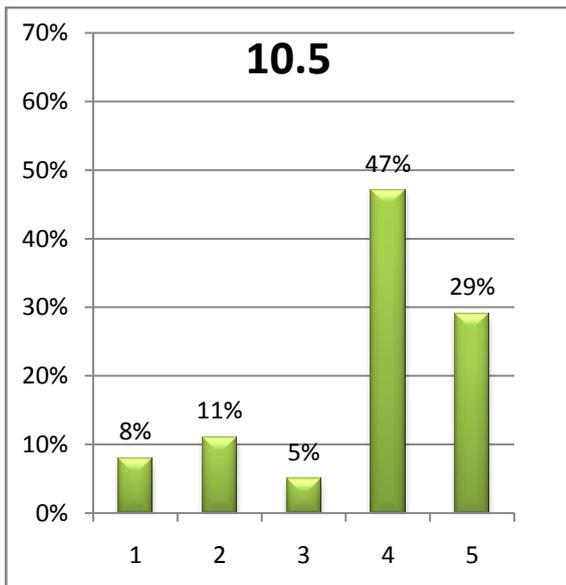


10. Когда вы видите человека впервые на что из перечисленного вы больше всего обращаете внимание:

**Mark only one oval per row.**

	1	2	3	4	5
10.1 на аксессуары (часы,украшения...)	<input type="radio"/>				
10.2 манера поведения	<input type="radio"/>				
10.3 на то как человек выражается (говорит)	<input type="radio"/>				
10.4 на мимику	<input type="radio"/>				
10.5 на то на сколько человек опрятен	<input type="radio"/>				
10.6 на жестикуляцию	<input type="radio"/>				
10.7 на то как человек одет	<input type="radio"/>				

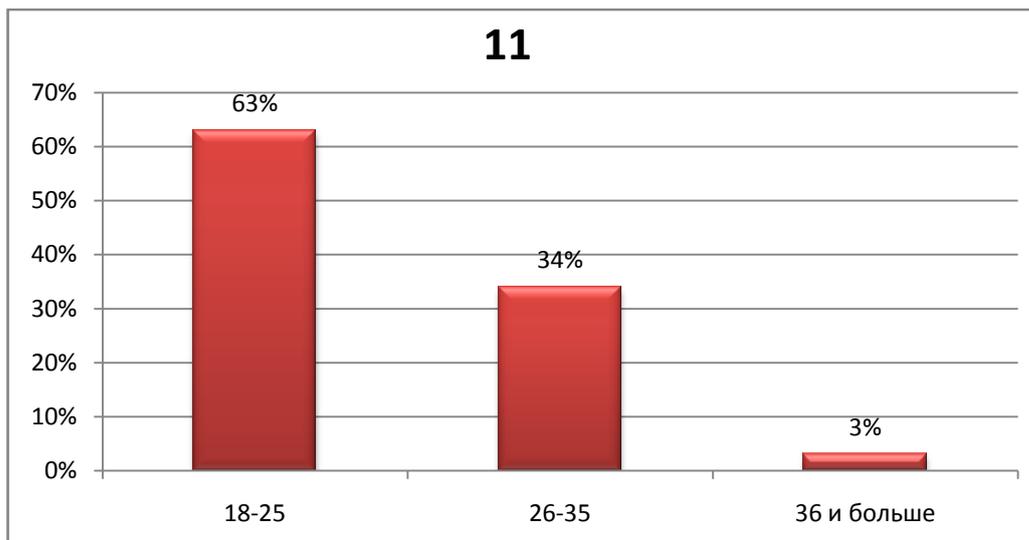




11. С какого возраста вы хотите жить (или уже живете) самостоятельно ?

**Mark only one oval.**

- 18 - 25
- 26 – 35
- 36 и больше



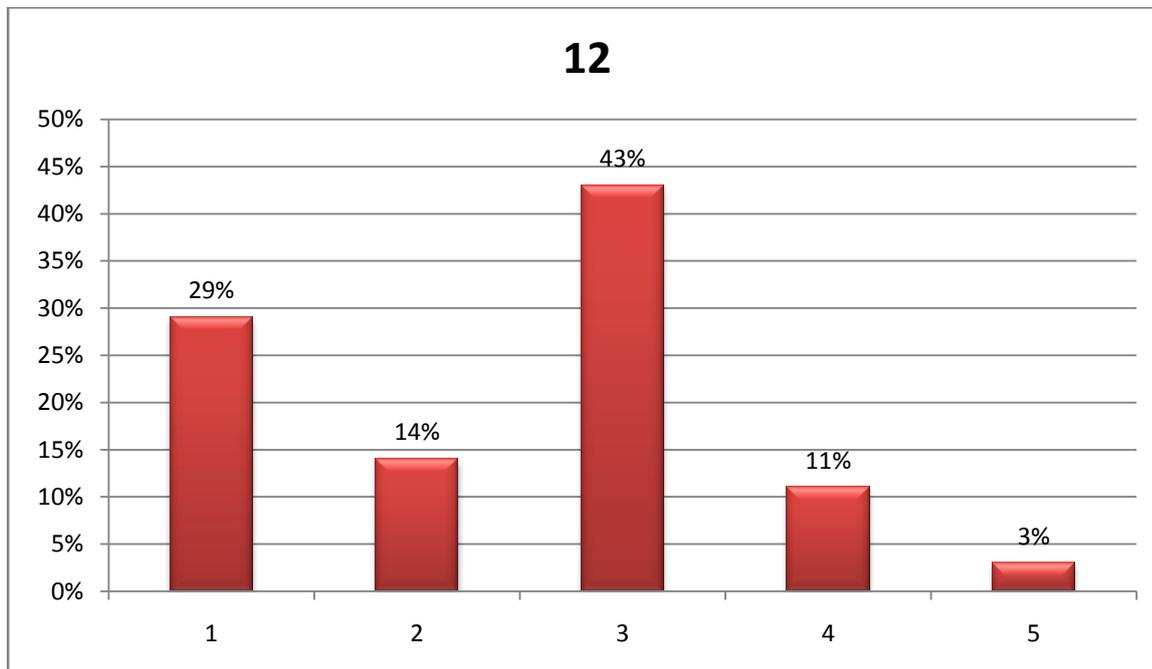
12. (Если вы работаете или когда-то работаете) . Если вы слышите негативные отзывы об организации в которой работаете (работали) на сколько (от 1 до 5ти) вы принимаете эти негативные отзывы на свой счет?

*Mark only one oval.*

1      2      3      4      5

---

не принимаю это на свой счет      чувствую себя виноватым

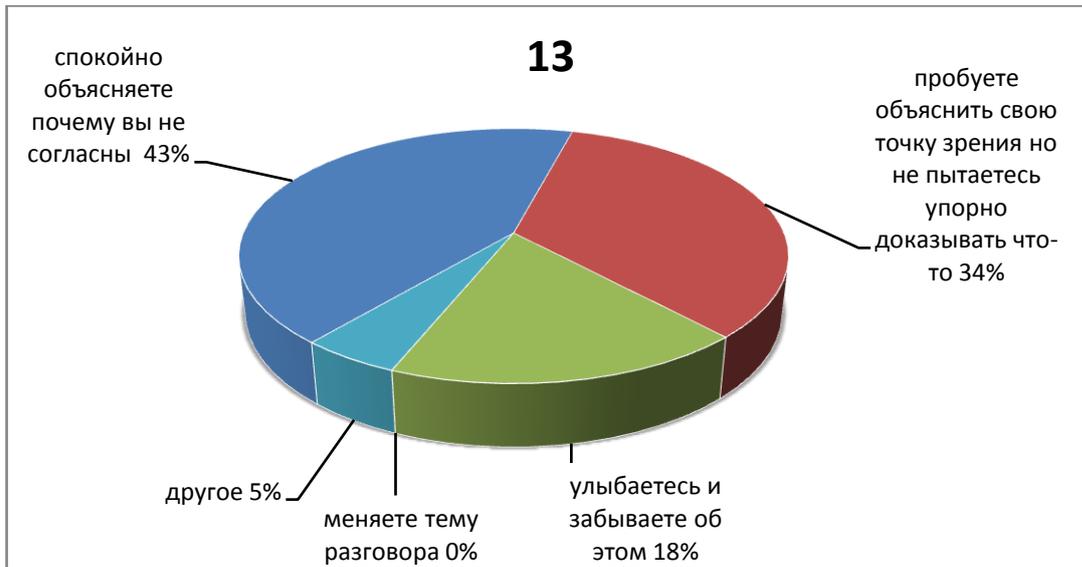


13. В случае если вы с кем-то не согласны то вы:

*Mark only one oval.*

- спокойно объясняете почему вы не согласны (свою точку зрения)
- пробуете объяснить свою точку зрения но не пытаетесь упорно доказывать что-то
- улыбаетесь и забываете об этом

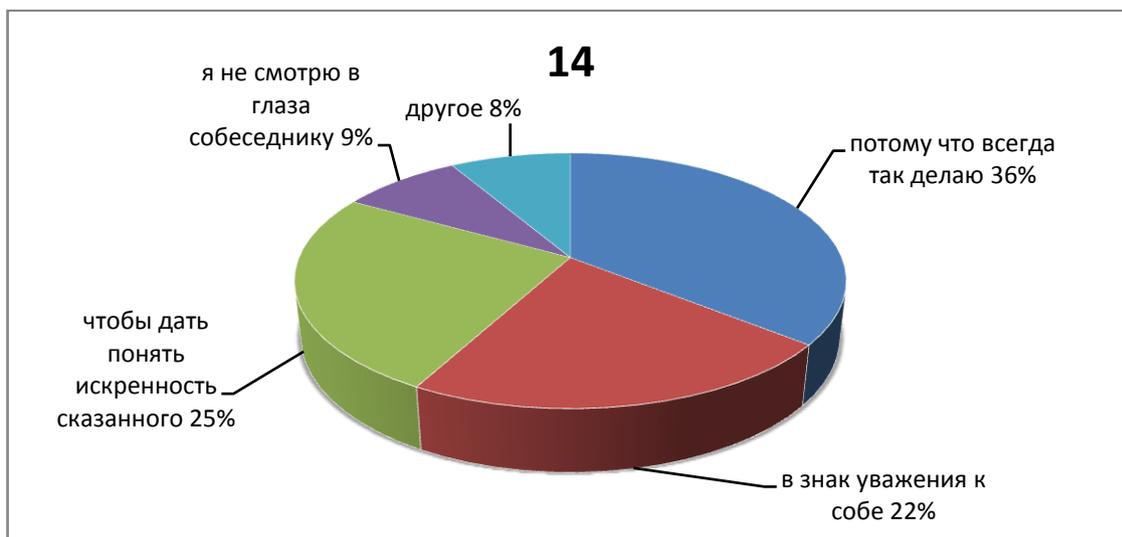
- меняете тему разговора
- другое



14. При разговоре вы смотрите собеседнику в глаза :

**Mark only one oval.**

- потому что всегда так делаю
- в знак уважения к собеседнику
- чтобы дать понять искренность сказанного
- я не смотрю в глаза собеседнику
- другое

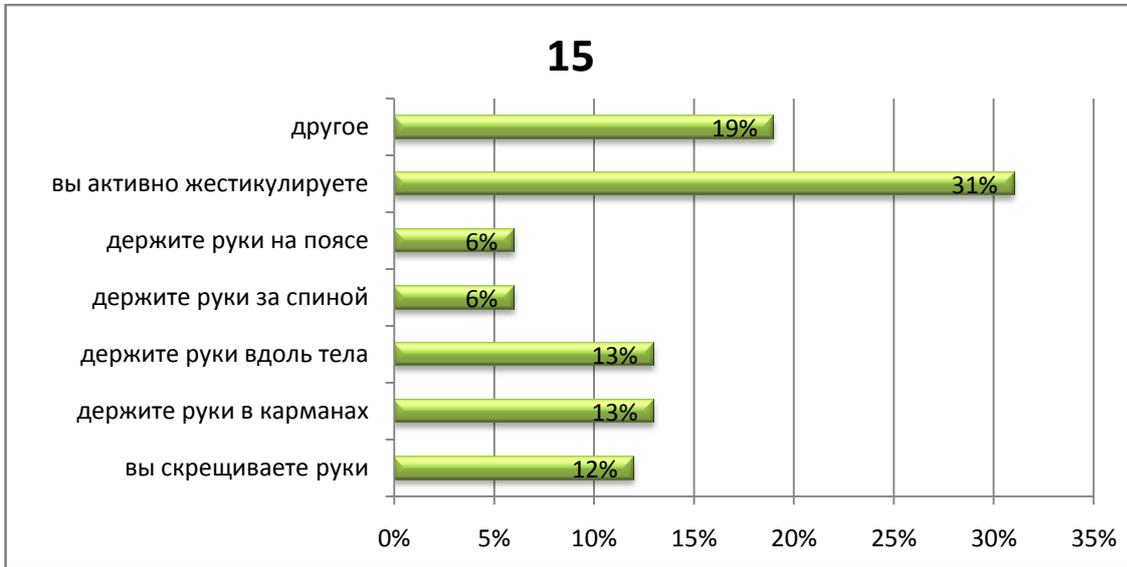


15. Обычно при разговоре вы(максимум 2 ответа):

**Check all that apply.**

- вы скрещиваете руки

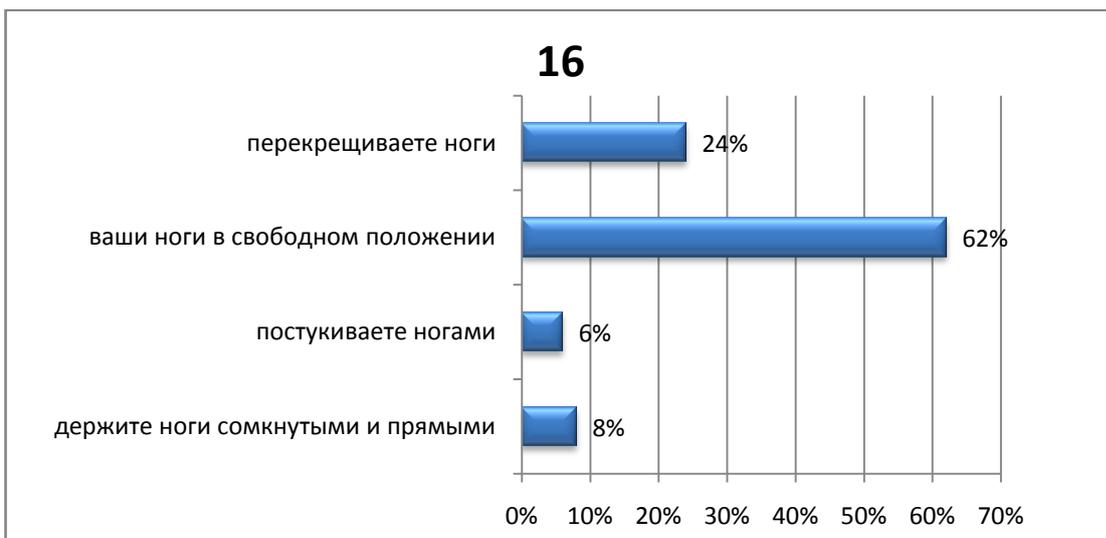
- держите руки в карманах
- держите руки вдоль тела
- держите руки за спиной
- держите руки на поясе
- вы активно жестикулируете
- другое



16. При разговоре обычно вы(максимум 2 ответа):

**Check all that apply.**

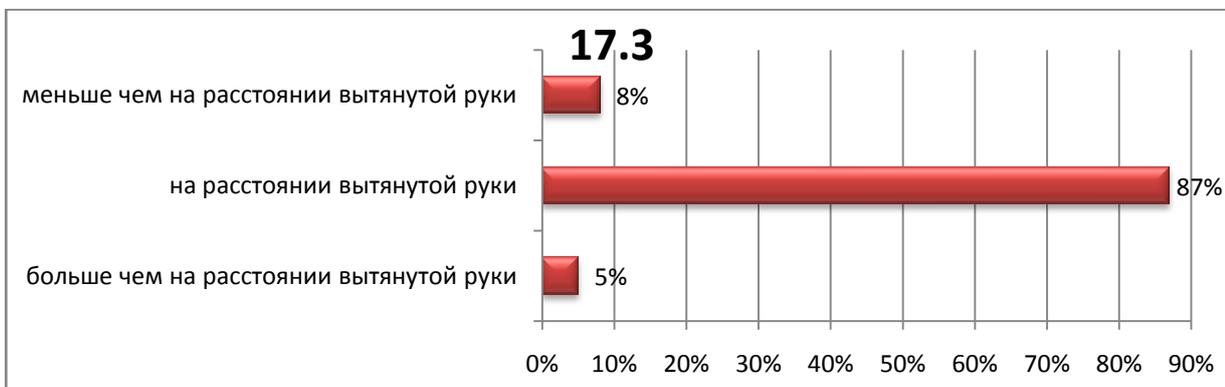
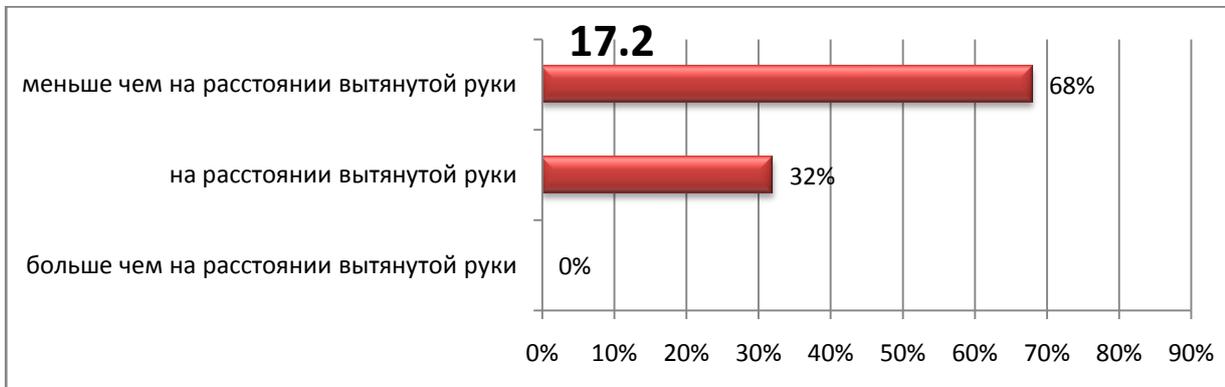
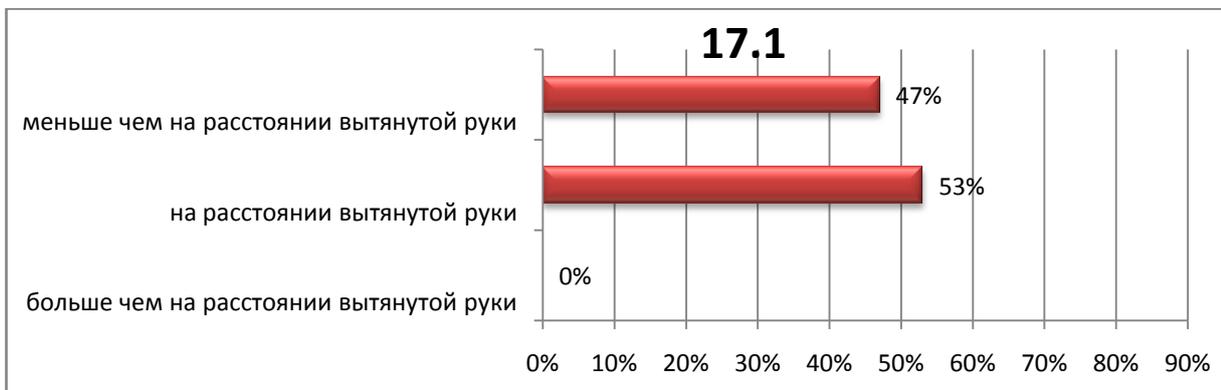
- перекрещиваете ноги
- ваши ноги в свободном положении
- постукиваете ногам
- держите ноги сомкнутыми и прямыми



17. На какой дистанции вы разговариваете:

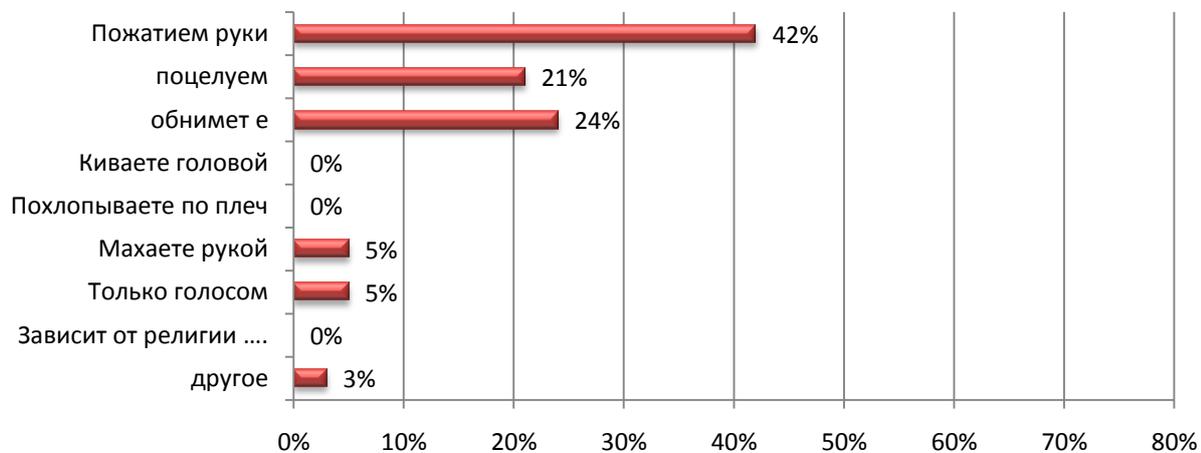
Mark only one oval per row.

	меньше чем на расстоянии вытянутой руки	на расстоянии вытянутой руки	больше чем на расстоянии вытянутой руки
17.1 с другом	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17.2 с подругой	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17.3 со знакомым	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17.4 со знакомой	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17.5 с незнакомцем	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17.6 с незнакомкой	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

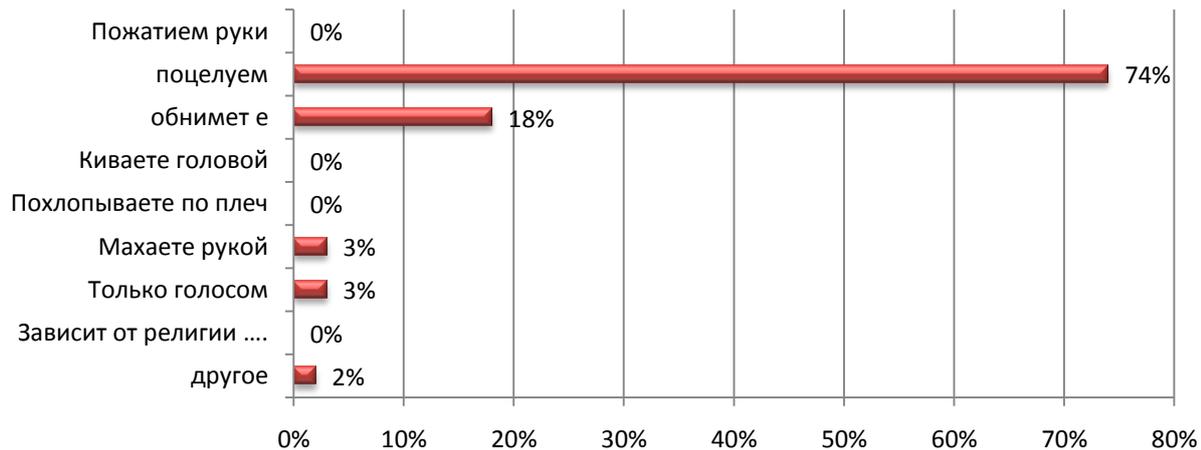




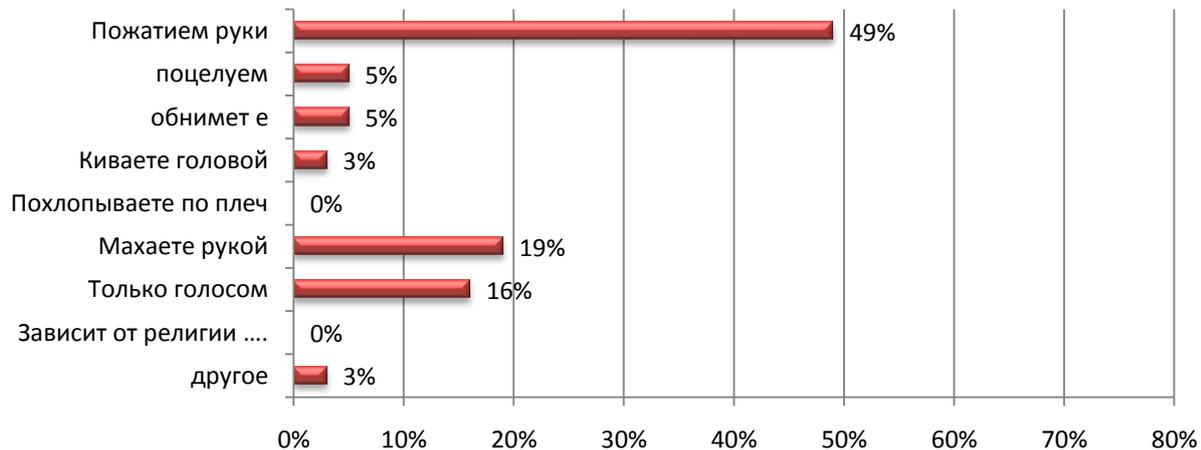
### 18.1



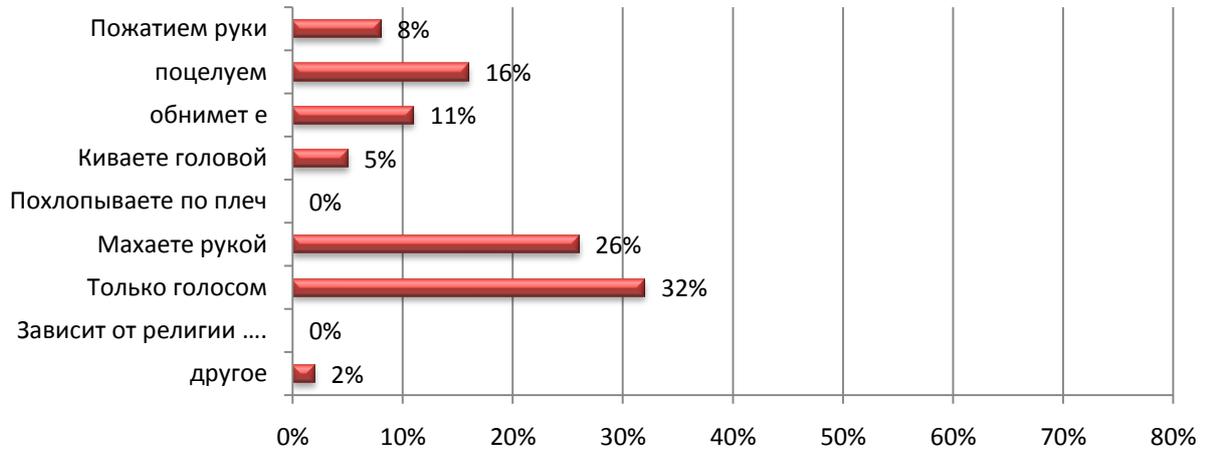
### 18.2



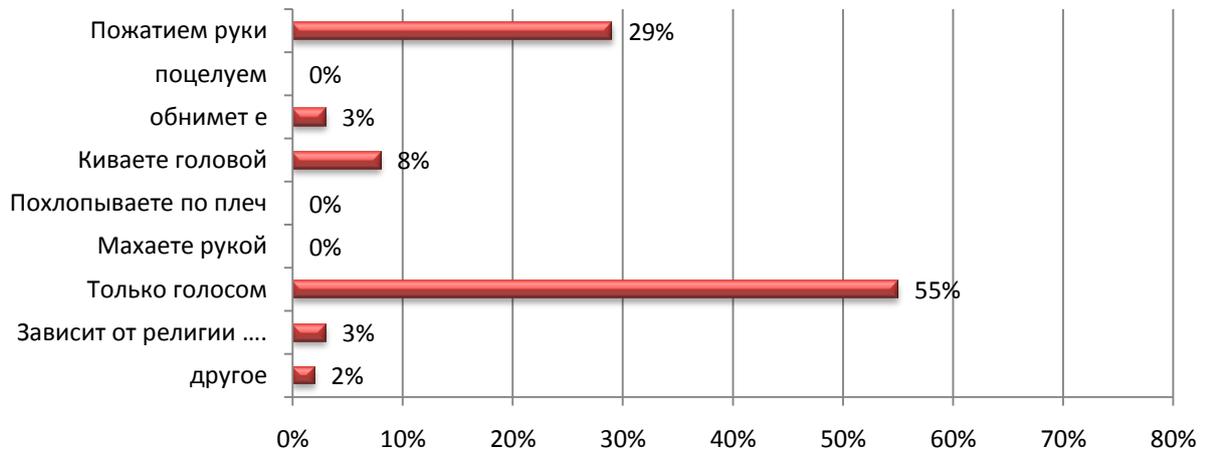
### 18.3

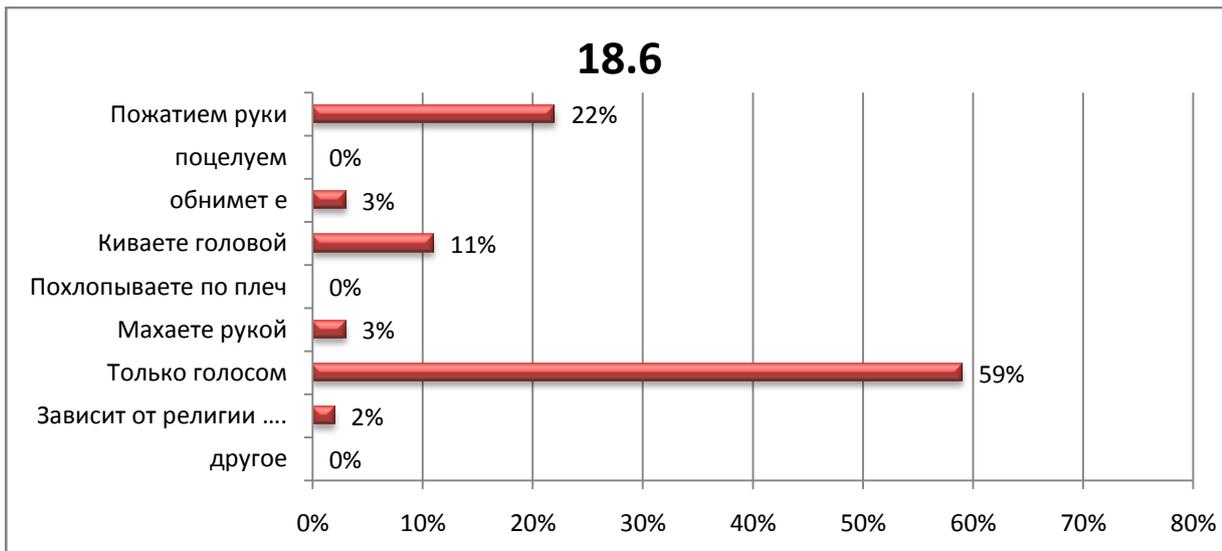


**18.4**



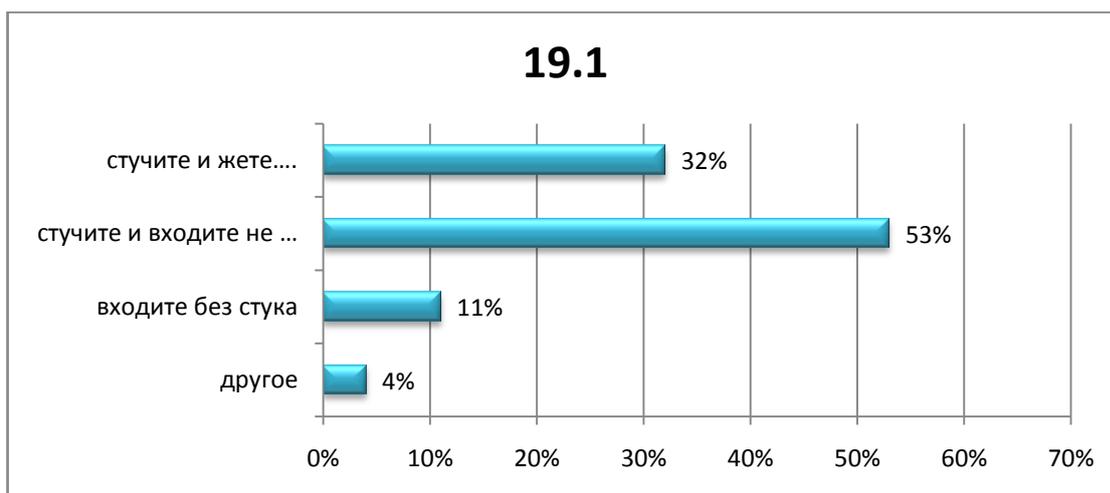
**18.5**

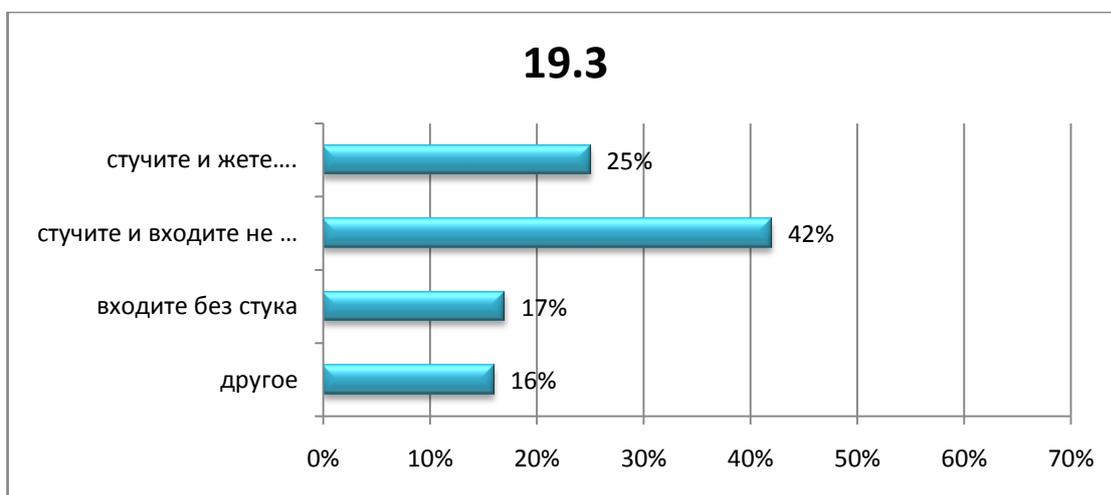
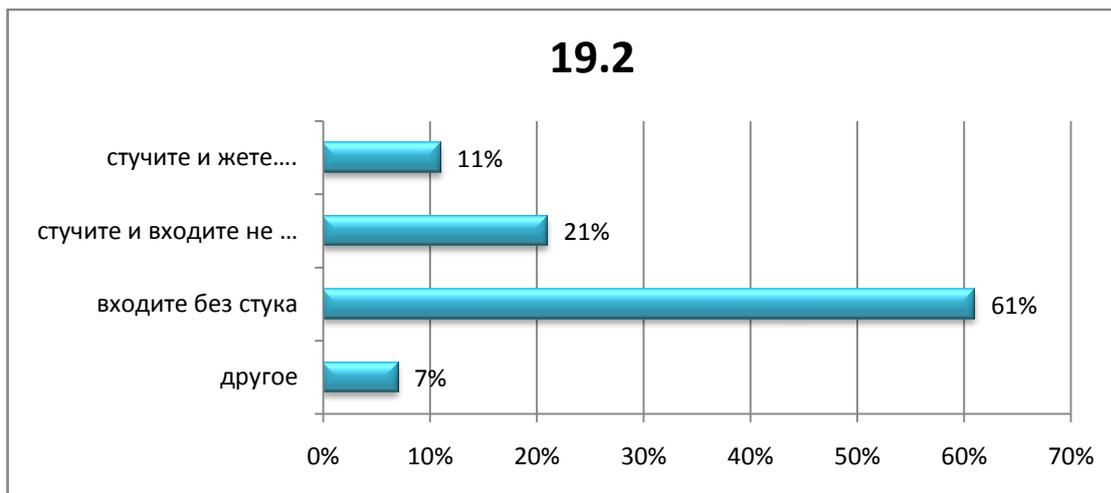




19. Перед тем как войти в комнату вы  
*Mark only one square per row*

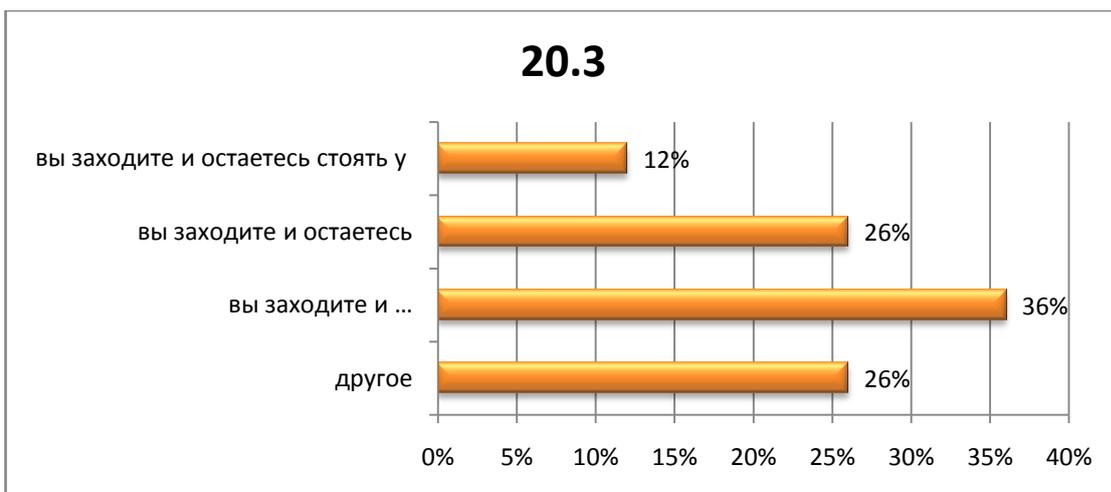
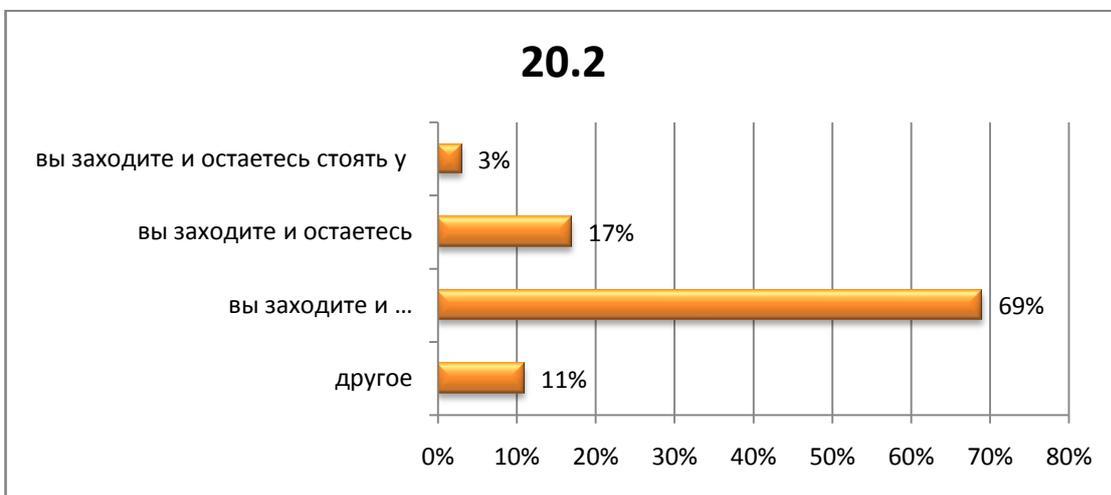
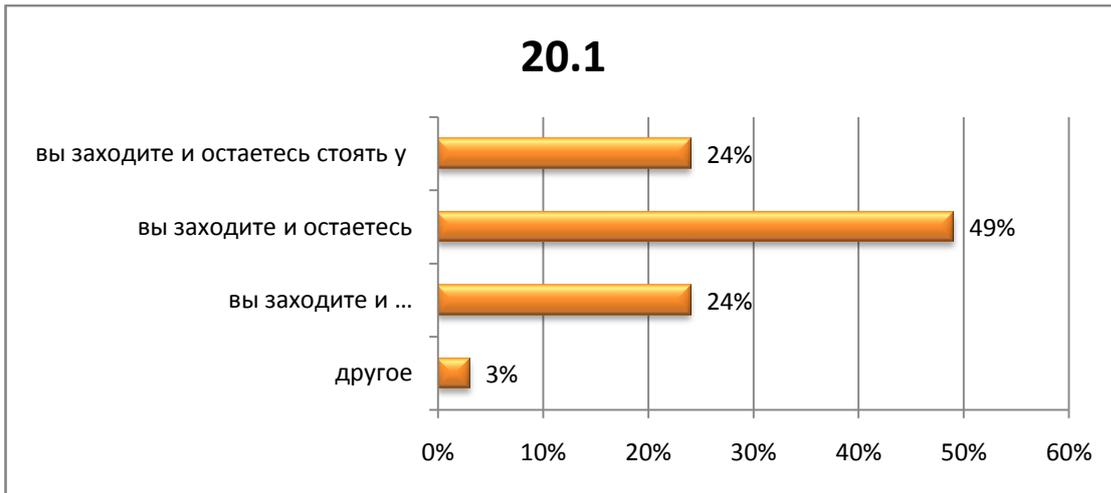
	стучите и жете приглашения войти	стучите и входите не дожидаясь приглашения	входите без стука	другое
на работе	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в доме	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
в общественных местах	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>





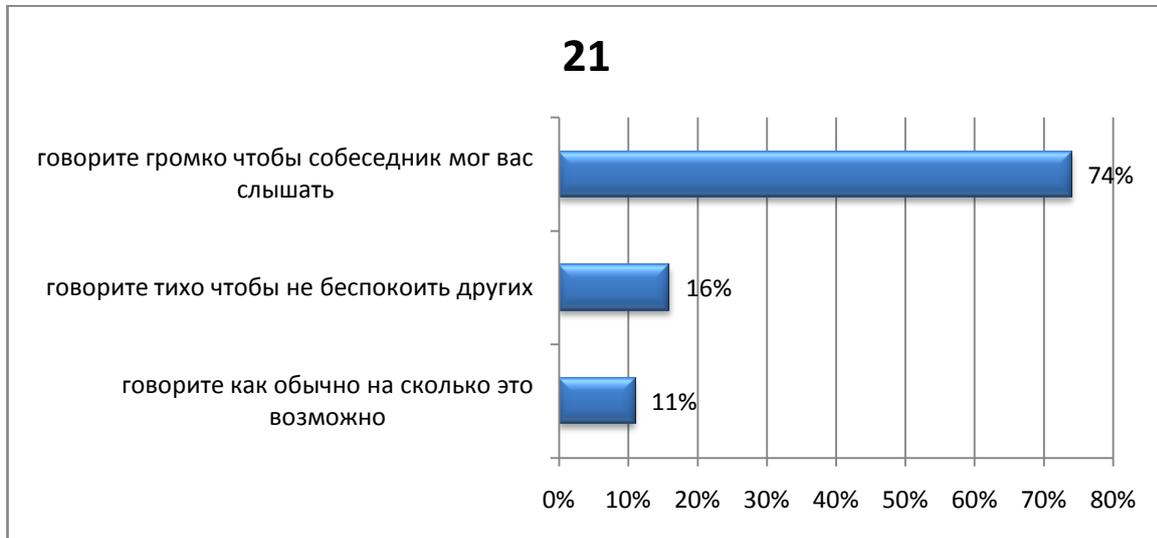
20. Как вы ведете себя когда заходите в комнату(офис/кабинет) другого человека?  
*Mark only one square per row*

	когда заходите остаеьсь стоять у порога	вы заходите и остаеьсь стоять	вы заходите и усаживаетесь поудобнее	другое
на работе	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
дома	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
общественных местах	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



21. В общественных местах (парках, залах ожидания, магазины, рестораны...) чаще всего вы :  
*Mark only one oval.*

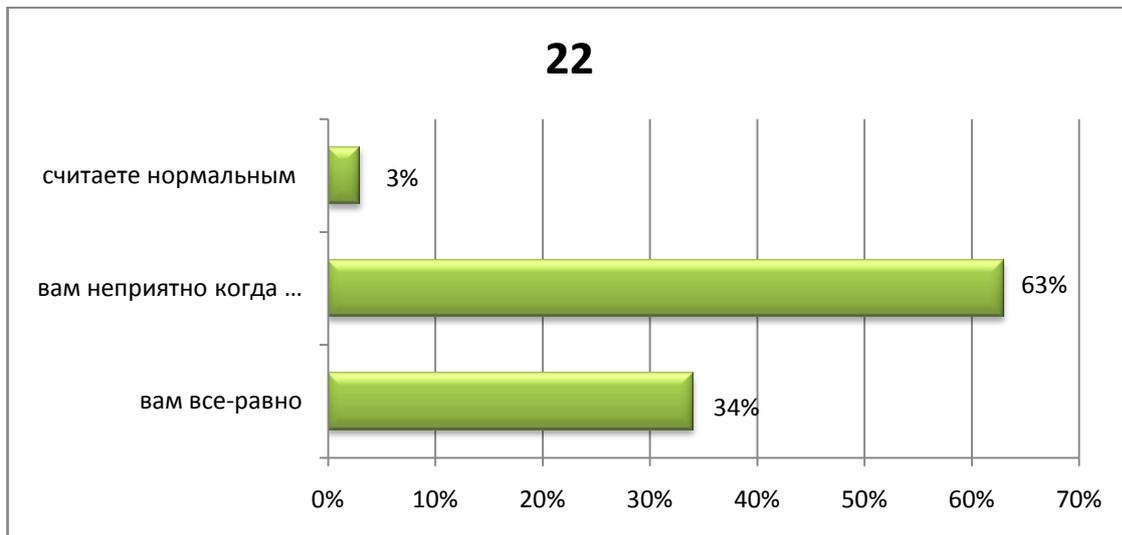
- говорите громко чтобы собеседник мог вас слышать
- говорите тихо чтобы не беспокоить других
- говорите как обычно на сколько это возможно



22. В общественных местах (парках, залах ожидания, магазины, рестораны...) чаще всего вы :

**Mark only one oval.**

- считаете нормальным когда люди говорят громче чем обычно
- вам неприятно когда другие говорят громко
- вам все-равно

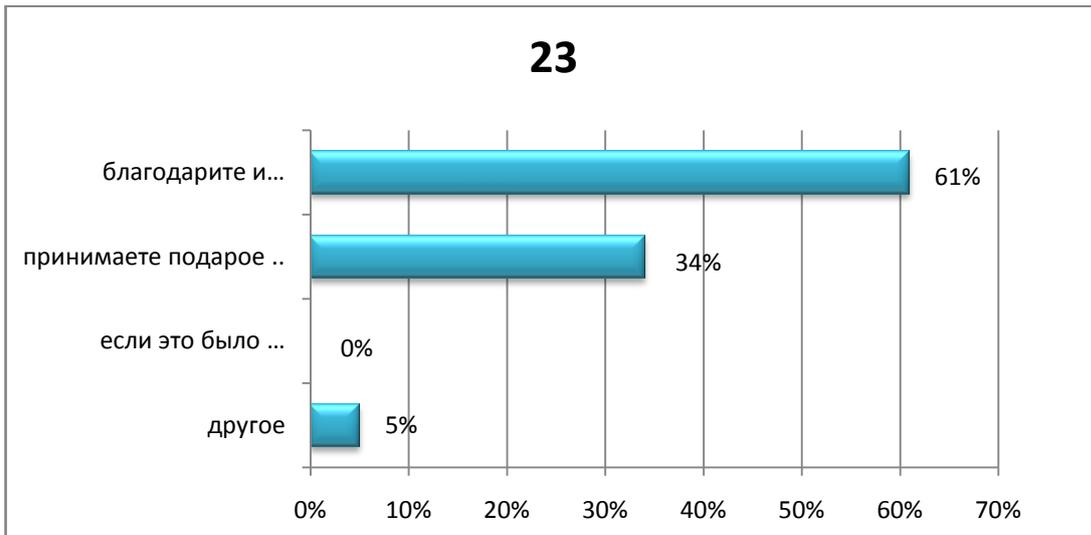


23. Когда вы получаете подарок то вы :

**Mark only one oval.**

- благодарите и принимаете подарок
- принимаете подарое но сначала говорите что это было совсем необязательно
- если это было действительно необязательно то благодарите но подарок не принимаете

другое

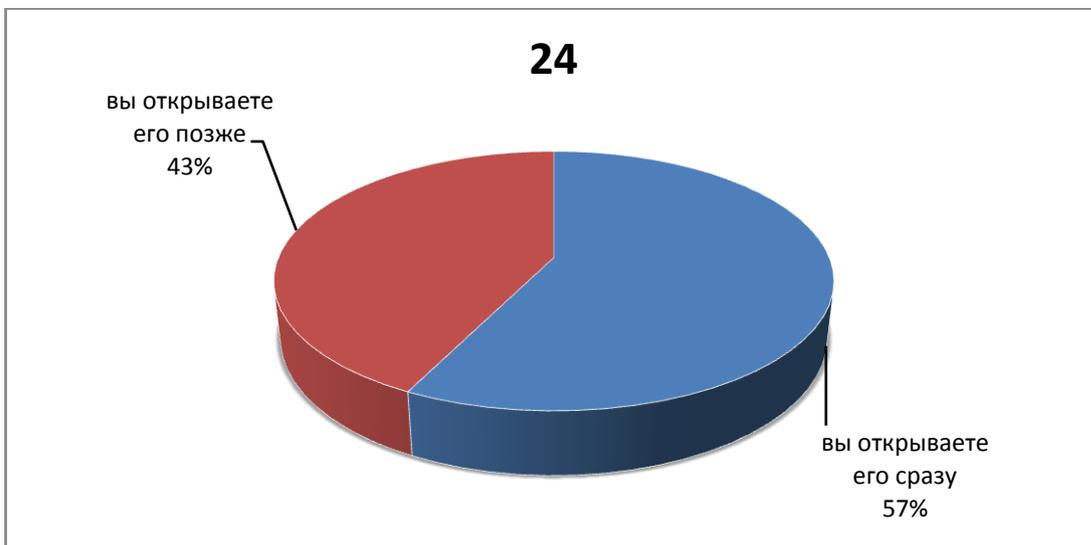


24. Если вы получили подарок от гостя то :

**Mark only one oval.**

вы открываете его сразу

вы открываете его позже



25. Обсуждение каких тем при разговоре со знакомыми людьми вы предпочитаете избегать?

**Check all that apply.**

политика

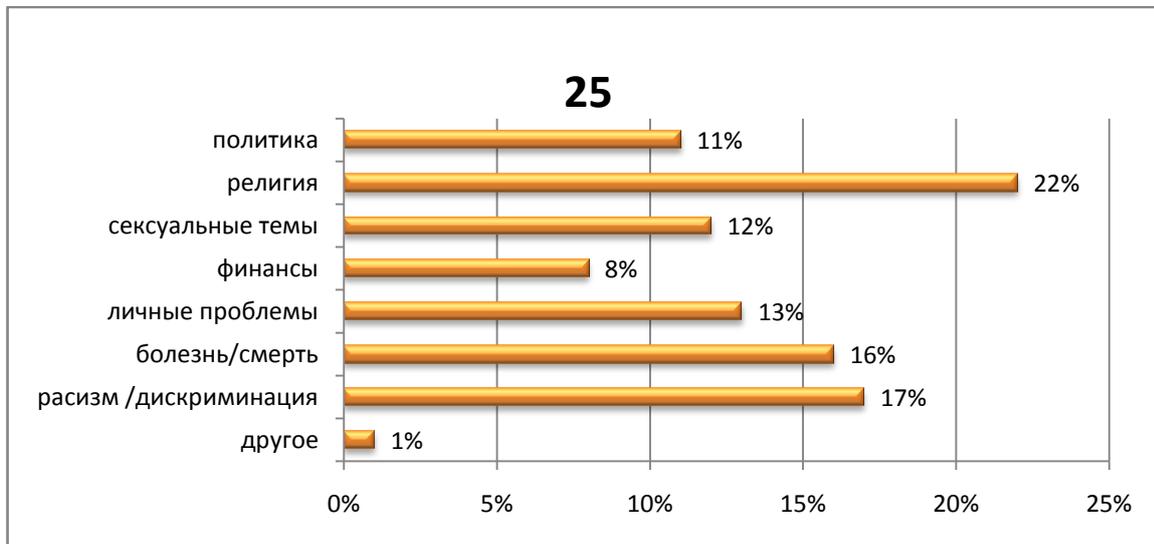
религия

сексуальные темы

финансы

личные проблемы

- болезнь/смерть
- расизм /дискриминация
- другое



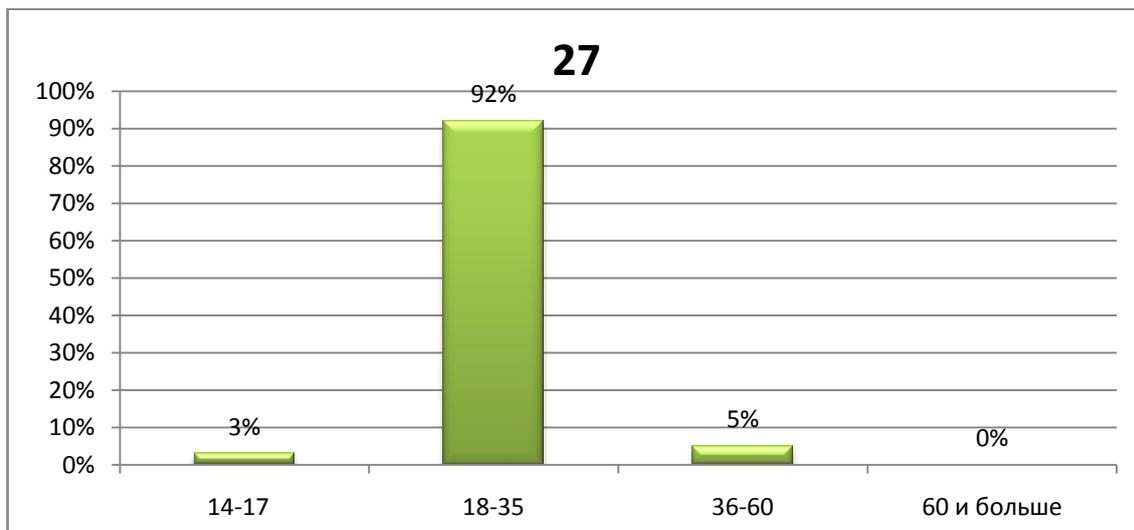
26. Если ваш ответ "другое", укажите что это

.....

27. сколько вам лет ?

*Mark only one oval.*

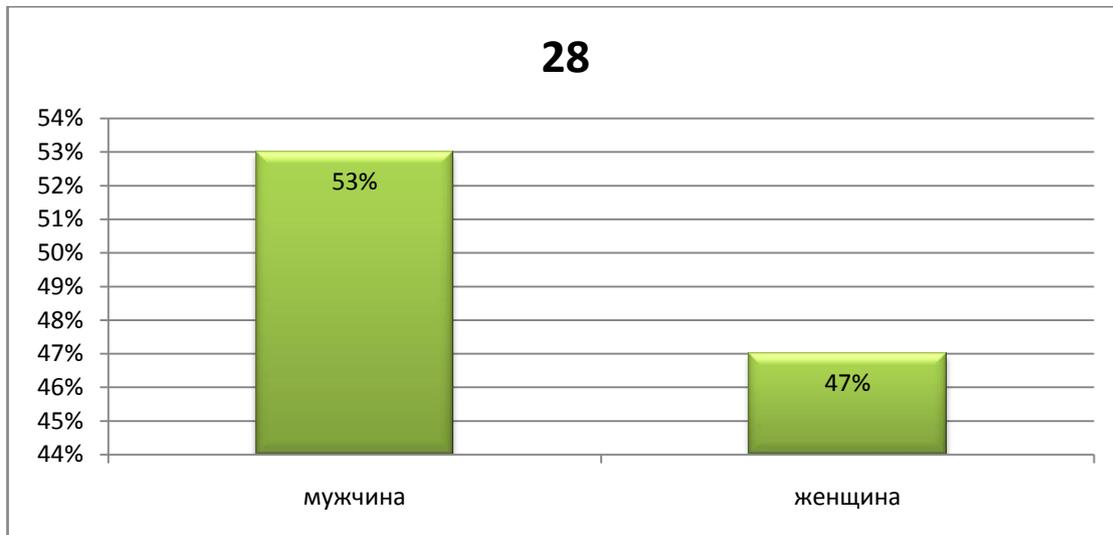
- 14 - 17
- 18 - 35
- 36 - 60
- 60 и больше



28. вы:

Mark only one oval.

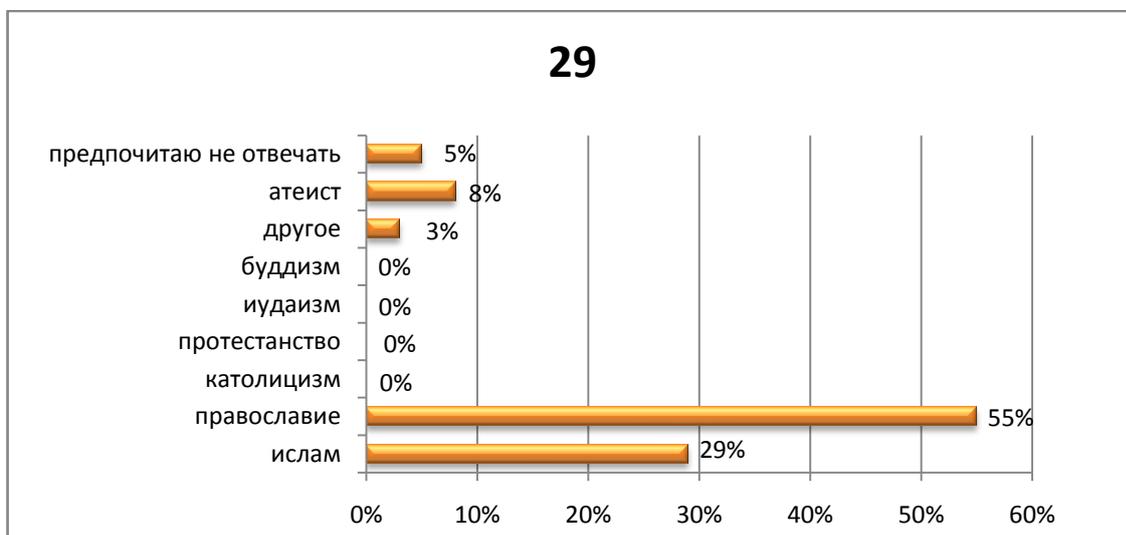
- мужчина
- женщина



29. Религиозная принадлежность:

Mark only one oval.

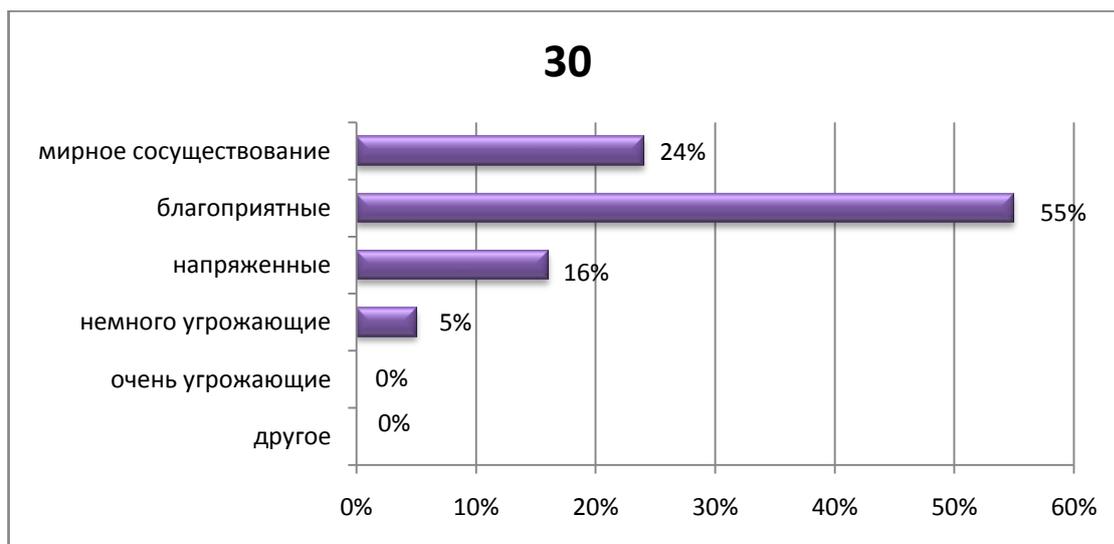
- ислам
- православие
- католицизм
- протестанство
- иудаизм
- буддизм
- другое
- атеист
- предпочитаю не отвечать



30. Как вы оцениваете межэтническую ситуацию в Казахстане?

*Mark only one oval.*

- мирное сосуществование
- благоприятные
- напряженные
- немного угрожающие
- очень угрожающие
- другое



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