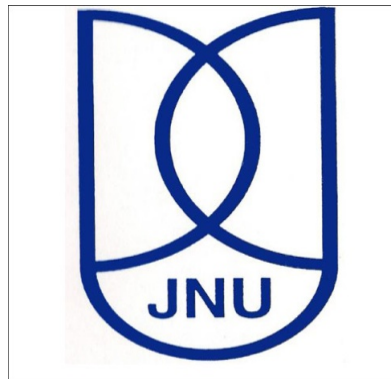


**IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL MODERNIZATION IN
KAZAKHSTAN, 1991-2005**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL MODERNIZATION IN KAZAKHSTAN, 1991-2005" submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for the evaluation.

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DEDICATED TO

MY LOVING

GRANDMOTHER

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Deepak Kumar

Abbreviations

MDG	Millennium Development Goal
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WHO	World Health Organization
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
NEP	New Economic Policy
SCNE	Supreme Council of National Economy
PACP	Public Administration Country Profile
KEGOC	Kazakhstan Electricity Grid Operating System
WTO	World Trade Organisation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

INTRODUCTION

Modernization is a process which defines the structural changes in the bases of the society and state. Generally, it is defined as the progressive change from *pre-modern* or *traditional* to *modern society*. In simple words, it is the break away from the tradition. It is the idea propounded by Max Weber. He provided the bases of modernization paradigm which was later developed by Talcott Parsons. As Knobl (2003, p.97) would argue that “Modernization is the process which explains about the social variables which contribute towards the social progress and development of society and culture through the process of social evolution. Also, modernization focuses not only on the change but also responds the change by explaining the various dimensions of society.” Modernization is emerged from various schools of thought such as socialist and free-market ideologies, world system theorists, globalization theorists and dependency theorists.

Huntington (1971, p.2) goes a step further while explaining about modernization as a process. He states that, on the one hand, modernization implies “advancement through progressive changes. On the other hand, political modernization means a definite change in the polity, structures, functions, ideologies, and so on. In the process of modernization, the old values are altered and new values are developed, dogmas are replaced by rationality, and tradition is replaced by modernity”. It is affected by the fact that it is affected by the wider social and economic factors. Furthermore, Huntington goes a step forward while defining modernity which includes the broader definition including the human aspects. He states that:

“a multifaceted process involving a change in all areas of human thought and activity”.

(Huntington, 1971 p.2).

Therefore, modernity transforms human elements which includes the “thoughts, psychology, attitude, and so on”. In fact, modernity is the “transformation of society

along with all social beings who occupy certain social milieu and settings” (Huntington 1971).

The term *modernization*, as a western concept, emerged in the 1950s sharply contrasted with the theories of historical evolution and social change which prevailed in western thought during the 1920s and 1930s. The modernization theory of the 1950s and 1960s thus contrast starkly with the secular permission of the 1920s and 1930s (Huntington, 1971 p.290-91). The extraordinary acceptance of modernization theory in both western and non-western societies in the 1950s derived in part from the fact that it justified complacency in one and hope in the other. Huntington argues that the benefits to understand the society through this concept was garnered by the non-western societies whereas western societies themselves could not benefit much from it (Huntington, 1971 p.290-91). Apter (1965, p.53) advocates that modernization is the process which establishes the agencies instruments of modernity that allow to maintain independent relationships rather than the dependent ones.

To study the changes through *ideology*, there is a need to analyze its nature, role, and significance of its progression and development. There are two problems challenges the concept of ideology. Firstly, primarily all the concepts of ideology recognize an association between theory and practice.(Heywood, 2003 pp.5-6). The term highlights the role of ideas in politics and the connections between beliefs and theories. Secondly, it also talks about the concept of ideology has not been able to stand apart from the ongoing struggle between and amongst the different political ideologies and believes. Historically, the term *ideology* has been used as a political tool or device with which rivals are condemned or criticized (Heywood, 2003 pp.5-6).

Apter (1965) suitably describes about the ideology. He argues that:

“Ideology is a generic term applying to general ideas that are potent in a specific situation to conduct. It is a process with wider meaning conducts social behavior in a more honorable and dignified manner. There are four ideological tendencies that shape bases of the society: nationalism, socialism, science, and National Socialism which emerges as a force to be reckoned with, particularly in neo-

mercantilist societies. Among them, the ideology of science and the professional rules and norms associated with it is an important bridge between the modernizing and the industrial nations”.

(Apter, 1965 pp.314-317).

The significance of ideology has been noteworthy with respect to modernization process of a country, be it in economic sense or in political sense. Lenin, Gramsci and Althusser believed that the ideologies were a set of ideas which served the interests of particular social classes. It is possible to speak of *proletarian ideology* as well as *bourgeois ideology* (Saksena, 2009 p.65).

Freeden defines ideology as something which is inventive and imaginative. He states that:

“ideologies as inventive and imaginative representations of social reality. They play an important role in the fashioning of group identities and policies and are therefore an interminable fact of social life” (Quoted in Saksena, 2009 pp.66-67).

The debate on ideology towards its settling mode was derived from the three major sources. Firstly, wars, Nazism and Stalinism which set the dangerous background and was the root cause of suffering and pain for the people. Secondly, in spite of the fact that ideologies serve a function in developing societies, it was held that in industrialized democratic societies they no longer serve anything purpose than a decorative role. Most of the major parties in industrialized societies had achieved major economic welfare and mixed economy structures.(Saksena, 2009 p.67).The thesis of *end of ideology* was a partial reflection of the improvements and growth of western economies in the 1950s. Thirdly, in the 1950s the ideology was a kind of science of superstitions that needed to be uncovered and unbundled. The advancement in empirical social science was in urgent need of a value-free harshness, skepticism, and substantiation for the examination of ideological concerns in the western societies (Saksena, 2009 p.67).

According to Foucault, modern power tries to influence the individuals through various forms of constraints which constitute their social practices rather than their distortions of belief systems. Therefore, Marxian theories of ideology generally suggest that the continuation of a particular social order is secured by consent of ruling ideologies. For Foucault, a certain form of social cohesion is achieved through practices, techniques, and methods which penetrate not many minds but the bodies (Zhao, 1993 p.72).

The reductionist and empiricist class of thinkers challenged the concept of ideology. They are argued that the concept of *ideology* should be assessed and confronted in several ways. For instance, the constructive nature of language and discourse should be there to contribute towards the importance of the post-Marxist and discourses around the theory of politics; the understanding of Foucault in the limitations of power demonstrates state-centered, economic, and political orientations; and, the post-Marxian understanding of *ideology* gives importance to the practice of ideology and symbols related to it as the

The future of ideology is relevant in the postmodern world but it needs to develop in such a manner that will make society and its situation easier to understand in a more flexible manner. The ideology has been divided in the process of left and right to oppose the progress of change. The conflicts were for the capture of power, democracy and then socialism. The need for popular power came out first in the political sphere and then in the social sphere. But the need for nationalism is important in bringing democracy and sovereignty together (Schwarzmantel, 1998 pp. 187-194).

The postmodernist scholars critique the politics by putting emphasis on pluralism, difference, and identity to determine the conditions of the politics which being practiced in the society. The concept of *ideology* is inspired by the politicians for the diversity in the society and growing complex situation in the society and in a way it is inevitable to project the society. The projection of ideology would be difficult if the continuous development of modernity and transformations are prevalent in the society. With the shared tradition of community, *ideology* tries to build a society which offers the solutions to the problems. It attempts to solve the general solutions of the society by creating a social order to combine separateness and distinctiveness of the individual or the group of

peoples. Eventually, it paves the way for emancipation from social and natural constraints (Schwarzmantel, 1998 pp. 187-194).

THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS IN KAZAK SOCIETY

The political modernization processes in Kazakhstan occurred for the establishment of a modern political system. It happened due to the need of effective economics and social development. The term modernization stands for the movement to transfer from agrarian traditional society to modern society. For entering the global world economy, the post-Soviet countries like Kazakhstan tried to settle modernization through radical social, economic and political changes to steer the country towards development. The need for globalization of democratic processes and the diversity is defined by the need in meeting democratic principle in the modern society. The study of political modernization was the transitional process made by the western scholar to prove it is a process of change in contemporary Kazakhstan (Rinat, 2016 pp.1571-1572).

The impact of modern political, economic and cultural development of Kazakhstan on the world economy was at a certain measure. The changes in modernization process pose a lot of challenges in social bases of people in Kazakhstan. The idea of modernization relies on the idea of progress. If we use the word *Modernization* certainly, we mean a certain forward process. As a rule, the word *Modernization* associates with the following words, that is, *development*, *growth* and *evolution*. modernisation is also a process in any society (Seydullayeva, Orynkhanova & Tazhibayeva, 2015 p.73).

For more than twenty years, the political modernization processes of Kazakhstan led to the changes in democratic value and consequently the transformation of Kazakhstan's civil society. The freedom of speech, freedom of movement and the personal initiative have become the characteristics of modernization process in Kazakhstan. In terms of Kazak society, the *modernization* is the way of providing the qualitative life to people and mass consciousness to the citizen to be aware of the economy of knowledge. In return, the Kazak citizens provide an opportunity to get social guarantees, welfare, and social security (ibid, p.74).

Therefore, variety of opinion of a modernization paradigm helps to gauge the political changes in the Kazak society from different perspectives. As it argued modernization gives opportunity, both to citizens of the country and the ruling power, to estimate the degree of impact of many reforms on parameters of working of any society, be it Kazak or any other society, for that matter (ibid, p.74).

According to a World Bank report, Kazakhstan is one of the top forty countries which is politically stable and free from hostility. Even after independence, Kazak society has mostly remained stable and peaceful. The need for political stability in country is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, political instability has become an impediment for the growth and economic development of any society including Kazak society. The political insatiability obstructs investment, triggers capital flights and creates ambiguity in the economic domain of a state. Secondly, the need for economic growth is important for the democratization and political reforms in the society. Thirdly, political stability builds trust among people by transitioning state to promote a well-ordered society. It guides the people towards ethnic, religious and other forms of evils and gives secular direction of the society. Fourthly, political stability helps to turn the geopolitical pressures that many countries are facing including the Muslim world (Kazakhstan United for Global Security, 2015).

The political system in Kazakhstan is very special to understand the structural similarities in the post-Soviet phase. Its traditional social relations of race, tribe, and ancestors have their roots in the pre-soviet era. Kazakhstan has weakly developed national identities because of the experience of the Soviet rule. The natural resources posses by Kazakastan are vital for Kazakhstan in strengthening the economy. The export in huge quantity gives it a benefit in developing the socio-political life. The economic system of Kazak society is well understood through the concept of *rentierism*. *Rentierism* is the process by which the state intervention took place for prospering the fragile economy by adopting the rent in different sectors. That's how the Kazak society approached to develop its economy. The lack of groups in Kazakh civil society and the lack of strong institutional, financial and intellectual support are creating tension among the groups. Several groups are trying

to establish the dialogue with the state by following major two ways. First, they are raising the local urban problems and demanding the greater transparency in politics of Kazakh society. Second, NGOs are also raising their voices to bring in transparency in the process of politics in Kazakhstan to a greater extent (Franke, Gawrich&Alakbarov, 2009, pp.113-117).

The disintegration of USSR left the post-soviet states in the disorganized economic order and with least guiding political structure of the former union which gave way out for tensed relations amongst the states. The problem arises due to the limitations of the resources of the Kazakh state. The eruption of national and ethnic identity and the combination of military, economic and political superiority of the leaders create another problem in the making of a strong Kazakh society. The basis of the fragility of Kazakhstan is the communist regime which had its root in former Soviet times. In the post-Soviet development, the economic problem was the reason behind the failure of the state. The prices of the commodities were high which created clumsy situation among the people of Kazakhstan. Another problem has been the border issues that Kazakhstan is facing after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Large numbers of migration of the ethnic people created a problem for the Kazakh society and the corruption in the administration was also a major problem for Kazakhstan. It has to be quite aware in the maintaining of the society in such a way that will bring the balance in guiding the society so well (Nougmanov, 1993, pp.10-12).

The fragmentation of society, in case of Kazak society, arises due to the increasing complexity in the social structure and compositions. The division happens in the individual groups in numerous ways connected with several subgroups and sometimes creating conflicting social and economic interests in the society. The place of the traditional communities in social hierarchy has created the cohesion and raised the question on the value system. There are two ways of questioning the defining marginality in the traditional societies, in case Kazak society and its social composition. The first one is the state association with society in the transition period, and the second one is the uncertainty of the groups in the social system. The state had to put in a lot of effort to

realize the concept of modernization through general cultural and social development. This is because the illiteracy rate in Kazakhstan was very high and poverty was one of the reasons that hindered the process of development in Kazakhstan (Rysebekova, 2015 pp.352-354).

The factors that contributed to the transition of Kazakhstan are the identity and ethnic conflict, instability in the political system in the initial phase of its independence, border problems with Russia and the concept of 'Eurasianism' introduced by Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev and Slavic migration that created the problem in social structure of Kazakhstan. These are the problems that paved the way for the transition of the political system in Kazakhstan.

IDENTITY AND ETHNIC CONFLICT IN KAZAKHSTAN

The disintegration of USSR and collapse of cold war regime in Kazakhstan changed the understating of politics of identity and ethnic conflict in Kazakhstan. The ethnic and the identity conflict occurred among the various ethnic groups like Russians, Uzbeks, Ukrainians, Tatars and several other ethnic groups. Generally the Kazakhs were nomadic people in the early phase of their state formation and they had problems with the other ethnic people. That's why the problem arose in Kazakhstan for the transition of its society (Dave, 2007 p.9). The linguistic identity was one of the major problems in Kazakhstan because the Kazakh society was divided into two ethnic bases in the name of language; that is the Russians and the Kazakhs (Smagulova, 2006, p.309).

In the initial years, there was a problem in the political process in Kazakhstan regarding the constitution. In 1993 and 1995, the constitutional reforms took place to develop its culture and tradition among the ethnic groups. The new constitution established the language centre for the transition of its society. Kazakhstan protected the people in the name of human rights and declared that any discrimination in the name of religion, race,

gender, language, ethnicity, creed and place of birth is strictly prohibited. With this process, the transition process started in Kazakhstan (Burkhov, 2017 pp.3-4).

BORDER ISSUES WITH RUSSIA

The border problem of Kazakhstan with Russia was one of the major problems in the transitional process. In the initial phase of its independence, Kazakhstan faced many problems along the Russian border. The Orenburg region is the most important region in which the border problems were taking place significantly. The border problems created many problems in the life of the people of Kazakhstan. It made a huge impact in the social, economic, cultural, environmental and ethnic space (Gerasimenko, 2017 p.67). To tackle the border problem, the Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev brought the concept Eurasianism in 1994 by saying that Kazakhstan is in the heart of Eurasia. The concept Eurasianism is important for the president Nazarbayev because it helps in economic benefits and multi-vector policy of the state. He had the intention to link the foreign policy of Kazakhstan with Asia and Europe. In Royal Institute of International Affairs, Nazarbayev delivered his view points by saying- “There is a need to move to a qualitatively new level of relations between our countries on the basis of a new international association formed on the principles of voluntariness and equality. The Eurasian Union (EAU) could become such an association. On the formation of the Eurasian Union of States the specific areas of cooperation, such as the economy, science, culture, education, defense, and ecology were determined” (Raikhan, 2013 p.382).

SLAVIC MIGRATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN KAZAKHSTAN

The migration of the Slavic population like Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Germans, Tatars, Uyghurs, Turks, Tajiks, Kyrgyz, Turkmens, and others have created the problems in the social structures of Kazakhstan. Because of the drastic migration during the initial period of independence, the Kazakh society witnessed many problems in the social, political and economic spheres. The argument behind the opposition of migration is the resources. The Kazakh intellectuals argue that if the migration took place drastically the

country will face many serious problems especially meeting the needs of the people. They argued that the country's people should get the benefit of the resources that is reserved in the country (Kuscu, 2014 p.181).

The conflict in the distribution of the resources and the non-Kazakhs complaining that the major resources were taken by the Kazakhs opens a mere hope for them. The non-Kazakhs, especially Russians, argue that the kazakhification of the administration posed challenge for them in three ways. Firstly, the Kazakh language has been declared in the constitution as the state language. Secondly, the state holidays and rituals related only to the Kazakhs are recognized. Thirdly, the places, the streets and currency changed in the name of Kazakhs posed a serious challenge for the state. These are the factor that can be considered the problem of the Kazakhstan with respect to the non-Kazakh people (Nazpary, 2002 pp.148-149).

The identity and ethnic conflict, the border problems with Russia and the Slavic migration created problems in the social structure of Kazakhstan. These problems are to be taken into the account for the transitional phase of modernization process in shaping the social structure of Kazakhstan.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:-

The present study is based on qualitative, historical, analytical and descriptive methods of research. Historically, it examines the political modernization process in Kazakhstan after the disintegration of USSR. Analytically, it will try to explore various dimensions of the political development and the relationship between development and political modernization. It will study the various stages of modernization and will relate to the post-Soviet phase of development to a great extent. It will study the nature of the political system in Kazakhstan by observing the various dimensions of the society. The study will be based on both primary as well as secondary data. Primary sources will include a governmental reports, laws, documents, etc. Secondary data will include books and articles published in an edited volume, research paper etc.

DEFINITION AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY:-

Modernization is the most important way to understand the development of any country. Because it is the way in which we come to know about the development of a country by seeing the growth of society and its cultural dimensions. So it is important to figure out the various aspects of society, economy, polity, democracy and the act of participation of the people in the modernization processes of Kazakhstan. Modernization is the way to find out the phases of society that persisted in Kazakhstan and will also include the way developmental processes are going on in Kazakhstan. It will cover the form of political preface after the dissolution of USSR and will find out the most important way to implement the process of development in Kazakhstan.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY:-

The scope of the study is to comprehend the theoretical understanding of the modernization process in Kazakh society and have some idea about the existing society in Kazakhstan. It also includes the study of the concept of ideology and political modernization processes that persisted during the Soviet rule and post-Soviet phases of development of modernization process. The paper will also include the outcome that brought the changes in the life of the people of Kazakhstan.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:-

The objective of the research is to know the modernization process of Kazakhstan. How it impacted the people's life in Kazakhstan? This can be stated in the form of following specific objectives.

- To analyze the implication Kazakhstan is facing after the dissolution of USSR.
- To examine the political modernization process in Kazakhstan
- To understand how ideology has the impact in political modernization process in Kazakhstan.
- To study the changing dimensions of Kazakh society through modernization

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:-

- What is an ideology?
- What is political modernization?
- What is the relationship between ideology and political modernization?
- What is the nature of political modernization in Kazakhstan after the disintegration of USSR?

HYPOTHESES:-

- Political modernization processes in Kazakhstan are being influenced by past Soviet culture, the growth of strong leadership as well as present economic conditions.
- Because of socio-economic conditions, Kazakhstan is initiating civilization along with Eurasianism as ideologies of the state.

CHAPTERIZATION:-

The *Introduction* chapter introduces the concept of modernization and ideology. It briefly introduces the two concepts from the beginning of the chapter. It makes the theoretical understandings about the topic and for its explanations. The concepts of modernization and ideology are understood in consonance with the Kazak society and state and transformations that took place with their influence.

The first chapter is titled as *Theory of Ideology and Political Modernization*. This chapter will provide the bases of ideology and political modernization in explaining the understanding of the subject matter of the topic.

The second chapter is titled as *Soviet Ideology and Political Modernization Processes*. This chapter shall broadly highlights the Soviet ideology and political modernization processes and how the Soviet ideological process shaped the background in Kazakhstan.

The third chapter is titled as *Political Modernization in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan*. This chapter analyses the post-Soviet phase of modernization processes in Kazakhstan. How it grows in different phases.

The fourth chapter is titled as *Nature of Political Modernization and Ideology in Kazakhstan*. This chapter finds out the model which is best for the processes of change in Kazakhstan and will bring out the model of the developmental process.

The *Conclusion* chapter sums up the entire findings of the research incorporating major inputs and observation of the research.

CHAPTER II

THEORY OF IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL MODERNISATION

This chapter deals with the emergence of ideology in social sciences and also makes an assessment of factors for its emergence. The process of political modernisation shapes the economic development, social processes and cultural aspects of the Kazakh people. The analysis of this chapter would therefore be based on the various ideologies of Kazakhstan and its process of modernisation.

EMERGENCE OF IDEOLOGY

Ideology plays a vital role in the recognition of human society in a significant way. So on and so forth, the society has been like the significant place to bring an ideology when provided with the various types of systems in it. It is the idea which provides the possibility of action and further claims the self-justification of the society. Ideology is the process that transforms the life of the individual in a very effective way (Ries, 1964 pp.235-236).

There has been considerable development in terms of changing ideologies in the world and of the ways of interpreting ideologies and the factors shaping them. But these ideological bases are often posed with different challenges in the changing world order including those by post-modernity, and globalisation.

THE CHANGING WORLD ORDER

The cold war witnessed the ideological fight between the communist bloc and the capitalist bloc which was led by the then Soviet Union and the United States respectively. In the aftermath, the Soviet Union collapsed and the world order has transformed from bipolar to unipolar. This period is known as the post-cold war period. The collapse of communism as an outcome of the ideological defeat during the cold war period remained a matter of debate. In further consequences, the collapse of communism in Europe was an

important reason behind the victory of liberal democracy particularly in the US, and further onwards as a practical change worldwide (Heywood, 2015 p.17).

POSTMODERNITY

The characteristics of modern societies are Industrialisation, class division and class commonality, whereas postmodern societies are characterized by the pluralistic society, which is based on the information of the individual which transformation of patrons to producers. The main feature of transformation of religious, ethnic and class loyalties has been their replacement by individualism. (Heywood, 2015 pp.18-19).

However post-modernity by some scholars has been depicted as late modernity. It has unnerved both the ideological movements that transform the society into a great melting pot. In the post-1960s era, with the emergence of some new ideological movements like the peace movements, women's movements, and the green movements has led to inlets of post modern thought in the society (Heywood, 2015 pp.18-19).

GLOBALISATION

The concept of globalisation can be undressed as an intangible notion. The idea at the heart of the concept was developed in what Kenichi Ohmae termed the borderless world. Borderless world can be identified with a free flow of ideas, goods and services of national and state boundaries. Ohmae emphasizes two main things: a) that governments have become obsolete; b) that demand is associated with well informed customers who, tell the global corporations what, how and where to produce. (Ohmae, 1991 pp.73-74) By analysing these two propositions and using its experience as a consultant to the global corporations, generating a prediction that helps in triumph over ideology based on faith in man as an inventor. It also provides a justification of the power of informed customers to triumph over a man as a regulator. It's the regulator one has to fear (Ohmae, 1991 pp.73-74).

Affect of political ideologies on globalization:

First, globalisation has major implications for projecting ideological nationalism which is based on the idea of a nation. The idea of modern liberalism and social democracy has

been compromised by the waning feasibility of national economic strategies and conservatism has to seize with globalisation's propensity to weakening institution and national uniqueness. Second, for its own sake globalisation is an unbiased ideological force. To strengthen the market of neo-liberalism it has gone hand to hand with the various expenses of the state. Third, globalisation has initiated a sort of oppositional forces. That is considered as a form of forces in the developing world in the form of religious fundamentalism to defend the western world (Heywood, 2015 pp.19-20).

FACTORS FACILITATING EMERGENCE OF IDEOLOGY

The term ideology has been developed over a period of time. The pertinent question here is what is the core meaning of ideology? One can say simply that it is the way to understand the systems which already exist in society. So, ideology can be defined as the process which studies the part or the whole part of the society along with the balance of these systems to serve as a guide to society. Ideology can be viewed as the legitimate authority in associating the distinctiveness of the individual (Apter, 1966 pp.320-21).

Biological and psychological backgrounds also influence the development of political modernization. Ideology cannot be defined through its value in a single ideological context to represent the political beliefs of the citizens. As a process it cannot be reduced to a single element in the more sophisticated ways. The ideological conflict appears in the complexity of the political behavior, in the structure of the society to implement the individual's attitude towards society (Feldman & Johnston, 2014 p.273).

CONCEPTUALISING POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

Political ideology is defined in terms of the attitude of the individual in judging the persisting policy process of the system in society. There are two ways of defining political ideology. The first one – contextual orientation – is defined by toleration of diverse groups, positive view of human nature, conflict to hierarchy and authority, high empathy and low correctiveness. For the development of ideology, the economic and

socio-cultural factors serve as the basis of fulfilling the needs of order, certainty, and security (Fiedman & Johnston, 2014 pp.338-339).

ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN MODERNISING SOCIETIES

Modernisation of ideology is the most important factor to provide a suitable base in understanding the society to a great extent. Industrialisation in societies has become the continuity within the system where the role of the individual is crucial in maintaining societies. The bureaucratic role of the individual is organised in such a manner that the obligations to rules are derived from the enterprise. The industrial society needs both the bureaucratic roles and the professional role in the typical society (Apter, 1965 pp.323-324).

As we know that the term “ideology” has been used by Antonie Destutt de Tracy during the French Enlightenment era. The main purpose of de Tracy’s work was to build and establish the relevance of zoology while recognising people’s conditions. It has been structured in a way in which the mode of rationality is interpreted to truth and the assurance in the inferential state of mind. There are different ways to understand the linguistic and cultural phenomena that are related in a shared consciousness that are defined in the culture of anthropology and linguistics. This has constituted the epistemological and ontological order in the validation of the scientific understanding of any society (Silverstein, 1992, pp.211-214). The localness of culture also takes the opposite mode in guiding about locating the ideology in the factual sense by uniting the real contextual facts to use the technical lay of usages. Ideology can be seen as the opposition side of the scientific truth and mystifications in guiding the institution in self-legitimation to solve the aspects of the scientific analysis of the formation of the ideology (Silverstein, 1992, pp.211-214).

Ideology is also the basis on which society is related to the system of religion. The fundamentals of the philosophy of Hegel include identification of the characteristics of

religion as a form of ideology. The following two elements are considered to be factors determining the relationship between ideology and religion (Giddins, 1971 p.205).

First the influence of religion in social life plays a significant role in making the social system more clearly comprehensible. There are two associated sets of problems to investigate the ideological temperament of religion which are significant: the symbolic beginning of religion content of society and the modern life of secularized way of consequences in the society (Giddins, 1971 p.205).

The modernisation process transform society from one form to another. This shows that modernization a multi-faceted concept that can be interpreted in various ways. It can be interpreted from economic, sociological, cultural, psychological and political standpoints. It includes the various dimensions in a society when trying to provide a basis to understand change is society.(Huntington, 1971 p.286).

On needs to bear in mind that the phenomenon of modernization has occurred in the Western world. It spread through the process of industrialisation as well as commercialisation in the era of colonialism and imperialism. In some of the society the process of commercialisation is considered as modernisation instead of industrialisation and bureaucracy. Modernisation could be interpreted as industrialisation as well (Huntington, 1971 p.286).

CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERNISATION

The characteristics of modernisation are: diverse sources of innovation, colonialism as modernising the force, traditionalism, and development, roles as indicators of modernisation and the management of roles. These are the elements through which the society makes a mark to change its shape from traditional to modern societies. These have been described as below.

DIVERSE SOURCES OF INNOVATION

The diverse sources of innovation are one of the factors of modernisation. It is the source which argues that the modernisation process started in the Chinese part of Southeast Asia where the two culturally and ethnically groups married each other to bring the society closer. This can be the factor to develop the modernisation skills of the society. Secondly, the benefit of the innovative roles, which primarily reflect the minds of the youth in providing the basis of the modernisation processes. Communication is the process through which the individual can ensure how much the society developed in the way that can be considered to make the people in the society is going to modern. So these three factors provide the basis on which the society follows modernisation (Apter, 1965 pp.45-49).

COLONIALISM AS MODERNISING FORCE

The process of colonialism established the role of bureaucracy and commerce in the modernisation process. Colonialism is the period in which the society transforms to a changed one. The traditional factor here is the process of the network which makes the commercial activities possible. The process of industrialisation and commercialisation led to colonial powers establishing colonial territories which had their markets. Their main interest in their home territories was to change the situations of economic conditions to determine the condition of trade and commerce. In colonial system, political modernization represents two things. Firstly, there should be the westernized elites who could participate in the process of political life of the people. Secondly, there should the westernized form of government where the elites could participate (Apter, 1965 pp.50-53).

TRADITIONALISM AND DEVELOPMENT

The changes in society are reflections of the consequences of controlling and directing the organisational complexity and differentiation in society. The increase of modern

technology gave rise to the complexity of the structure in the society. The interest in social change gave rise to the development of the process of modernisation. The historical process involved a change from traditionalism to modern society. A shared quality of interest is needed to provide a basis for a broad understanding of a society's political and theoretical bases (Apter, 1965 p.57).

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND MODERNISATION PROCESS

According to Pye (1965), the political and social development could have played a decisive role in facilitating the economic growth and per capita income in the development of societies. The dynamic process of economic growth is the facilitating factor responsible for development of the society. Economic growth can be studied in the form of political development. Historically, economic development has been visible in a variety of political systems and multiple policy formulations.. Most of the underdeveloped countries are materially advanced, but they should know the economic growth should also assure proper maintenance of the system in a political sense as it can help in the development of, and bring the society together (Pye, 1965 p.5).

SOCIAL PROCESSES

The social system of political development starts not to develop the political system but the social processes. It is the process that focuses on the commercialization, industrialization, urbanization, literacy rate and occupational structure that are considered to be the part of modernisation and they have their connotations for political change. This gives emphasis on the processes, not the system. It is the process that causes political change. The large asset of the social process is tending to establish the relationship between the variables and particularly in changing the variables of the state. Initially, the variables are developed to provide data for understanding the society in order. Secondly, the social-process is concerned with the social, economic, and demographic independent changeable variables which are also responsible for political change. The economic and

the political change in the form of consensus of the system normally make an attempt to change the growth of political attitudes, values and behaviour in the system (Huntington, 1971 pp.309-310).

THE ECONOMY AND ENVIRONMENT DURING THE SOVIET PHASE

The economy during the communist period was regulated and controlled by the means of production in planning ways of investment and distribution to produce a regulating factor to determine the economic activities in Soviet Union. This process affected the centralisation of the economy and changed it significantly. This was the new alternative path to theoretical structure in understanding the structure of the society.. The degradation of the environment and the scarcity of the natural resources was the main concern. The restriction over the resources was accepted partially as manifesting the control of communism in Soviet Union (Scricciu& Stringer, 2008 pp.170-171).

The transition of post-Soviet political process is the main concern in the field of the modernisation processes. In late 1980s the changes in the region lead to development in the post-Soviet Union. The power struggle between the elite groups resulted in a transition in Russia. The testing of regimes, changes in regimes, institutional design and the political economy played important role in changing the society (Sakwa, 2000 p.151).

THE PECULIARITIES OF POST-SOVIET TRANSITION

The peculiarities of the post-Soviet process in political transition can be explained in following three different groupings. The first group of thought centers on comparing the processes to the countries of Latin America and southern Europe as well as to the east and the west while explaining transitory process of democracy in the Soviet Union. The second school of thought explains the problems faced by the Soviet Union through the historical and cultural process of the countries. The legacy of the Soviet Union is thought to be an impediment for the democratic transitory process of the post-soviet Russia. This

happened due to the lack of the proper transitional ways and the cultural perception that forced the countries for not successfully implementing the process of democracy in the Soviet Union. The third problem was that of weak state processes in the form of democratisation of the Soviet Union. The state weakness in the post-Soviet process has two broad proportions. The competition among the state and non-state actors over the monopoly of violence and the incapability to provide a system of the rule of law that was always needed to explain the society of Soviet Union (Gel'Man, 2003 pp.91-92).

THE IMPACT OF MODERNISATION IN KAZAKHSTAN

The impact of modernisation in Kazakhstan during the Soviet period is evident through the growth of industrialisation and the fast economic growth. The Russian presence in Kazakhstan was much more than the other countries that impacted the Kazakh society to a great extent. The rise of the manufacturing industry during the Second World War is the matter of concern in raising the process of modernisation in Kazakhstan with the Russian presence. The Kazakh society was full of mineral resources and the Soviet plan provided the suitable basis in understanding the plans and processes that needed to develop Kazakhstan. The coal reserves, the iron ore, the copper and the presence of non-ferrous metals pave the way to establish the process of industrialisation in major centres of Kazakhstan. (Lewis, Rowland & Calm, 1975 pp.291-293)The manufacturing rate also gives the impetus to the growth of industrialisation. In the Soviet period the development in Kazakhstan dramatically reflected the economy. During the period 1926 to 1939, the population growth doubled due to the process of industrialisation and that process followed the system of urbanisation in the Kazakh Republic. However the growth doubled during the period of 1939 to 1959. Finally, during the period 1959 to 1970, the growth rate of Kazakhstan was higher than the two Soviet regions Belorussia and Moldova because of the process of development and urbanisation. This industrialisation process expanded because of the migration of Russians and other ethnic groups to the urban areas of Kazakhstan. That increased the population of Russians in Kazakhstan. The Russian population grew significantly from 2.6 million in 1926 to 4 million in 1959. The urban Russian population also increased significantly (about 87 percent) during the

period of 1959-1970. In contrast to Kazakhstan, the other four republics did not benefit due to the inefficient appropriation of natural and mineral resources in the society. The rise of industrialisation and urbanisation increased the population of Russians in Kazakhstan (Lewis, Rowland & Calm, 1975 pp.291-293).

This chapter has dealt with the evolution and theoretical development of Ideology. It also dealt with the philosophical and normative evolution of ideological concepts. It further dealt with the classification of socio-cultural development of ideology in society level and the international level. In addition, chapter dealt with the notion of world order, ideological development and transformation of modernity to post-modernity.

This theoretical development has been analysed in the background of Kazakhstan. How country has transformed from traditional to modern society

CHAPTER III

SOVIET IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL MODERNIZATION

PROCESSES

This chapter focuses on the process of socialism as an ideology and how did the term socialism helped in setting of New Economic Policy (NEP) in the Soviet Union. The massive modernization processes are the factor that helped in building the society and polity in the Soviet Union. The collectivization process contributed to the suitable bases in agriculture and rapid economic growth in modernizing the society. It can be seen through literacy rate, urbanization process and informal interactions like kolkhoz and sovkhoz. Then the chapter goes from the Stalinist era to post-Stalin period. Finally, this chapter will discuss about perestroika and glasnost and its impact on the modernization process in Kazakhstan.

SOCIALISM IN SOVIET UNION

Socialism in the Soviet Union played an important role in the advancement of society in a very way. It came in effect with the introduction of NEP during the period of 1920 to early 1921. By 1921 it freed itself from the foreign invaders and the revolution changed from war to peace. They tried to change the process of war communism to the peaceful manner. So what they did is they used on the grains of the peasants, to manage the shortage of food and fuel. They focused on the process of transportation so that the workers and peasants can ensure routine production. It also led to establishment of industries for the processing of food grains into finished products, so that it could reach people easily. It was the process by which socialism was to be established and it allowed the farmers to sell their food grains to the market. The process of trade went smoothly for successful working of business of in country. But the death of Lenin in 1924 seized the state power and defeated the armies and nationalized the state industries and food production was revitalized and the land was distributed to the peasants. With this, three

solutions brought by Leon Trotsky, Nicolai Bukharin, and Joseph Stalin to deal with the problems of Soviet Union (Keeran & Kenny, 2010 pp.48-54).

Debating with Trotsky and Bukharin, Stalin developed his own model developing towards socialism. Firstly, he argues that the socialism could be established through the process in one country. In 1915 he gave the idea that is 'the victory of socialism' in which he said that socialism could be possible through one capitalist country. In contrasting to Trotsky and Bukharin, Stalin said that the Soviet Union could move towards socialism without the help of western countries, without non-communist allies and without the help of the developed capitalism. It will develop through the process of industrialization through rapid processes. Thirdly, industrialization needs large finance. He said that the growing of more agricultural products will provide surplus finance to the country and this will be the way for the fulfillment of production in a mechanized way. Fourthly, the cooperation of the agricultural production and the industrial growth gave the impetus to the centralized planning and provide the suitable base to develop the Soviet Union (Keeran & Kenny, 2010 pp.48-54).

NEP OF THE SOVIET UNION

The NEP shaped the economic dimensions of society in the Soviet Union. It was proposed by the Russian leader Vladimir Lenin. Lenin proposed this idea for the development of economic system through the market and capitalist-oriented economy of the society to make a profit for the state. During the time of civil war in 1918 to 1922, the Russian economy was almost bankrupt. It proposed the market-oriented economy to fulfill the demand of the people. It abolished the nationalization of industry and established the mix economy model which allowed the individual to set up small industries (Lenin, 1992 p.184).

At the advent of tenth party congress, the Bolsheviks adopted the NEP and abolished the prodrazvyorstka and prodnalog. In 1917 the Bolshevik controlled the key centers of Russia. This led to the civil war in Russia. During that period the Bolsheviks wanted to the economy would be based on the process of war communism. In this system, the

farmers had to produce for the interest of the state. During the civil war, Bolsheviks controlled 80 percent of the Russian cities who are basically farmers. They were faced with a lot of problems of the imposition of tax and other things on them. But after that, NEP led by Lenin brought the hope for the people in some extent and established the market economy for the people to produce the food grains to develop the fragile economy which was ruined during the war communism (Kenez, 2016 p. 47-48).

ORIGINS OF NEP

When the Bolsheviks captured power in 1917 they had no clear-cut plan in the field of the economy. But it was Lenin who first introduced the NEP in the name of 'state capitalism' to guide the business of the state and stopped the nationalization process which was imposed during the war communism period. In wartime period the state nationalized all the bank and industry and forcibly captured the peasant's money and food grains for maintaining an army in wartime (Ball, 1990 p.28). The government established the supreme council of the national economy (SCENE) to administer industry and the whole economy. As a result of which production declined and per capita income of the people declined by 60 percent. This led to unrest among the people in 1921. They raised their voice against the government. But the tenth party congress led by Lenin abolished the war communism and instead of that brought in NEP. He proposed that the NEP will be step towards the capitalism and will mark the process of transition in the economic sphere to build the process of capitalism in the country (Ball, 1990 pp.28).

When the Bolsheviks were thrown out and the party had an alliance with the peasantry for not imposing high tax on them and allowed them to use the land in free use and produce the grain in a greater way. The economy was controlled by the competent authority and they created more small-scale industries to cooperate with the farmers and motivated them to produce more grains (Bean, 1997 p.80).

THREE TRENDS OF DEVELOPMENT OF NEP

The development of the NEP in 1921 gave rise to the development of Soviet Union in three significant ways. Firstly, the change in the society took place from war economy to post-war economy and the resources that were available were now being spent for the development of the society. The economic policy of the state changed significantly for the non- proletarian class and including the peasantry and in the boarder sense to the middle-class people in the society that includes the artisans, merchants and the industrialists. The power holds of the communist party was now eliminating its restrictive policy and allowed the private enterprises to settle the private employment for the wage workers and allowed to import foreign capital in concessions. This system led to the peculiar mixed economy in the form of Soviet history (Szamuely, 1988 pp.342-343).

The localization of the market in the form of trade was legalized and the centralized management leads to the market economy very much credited forms and the immediate money benefit in the market gave a clear-cut idea to establish the path of socialism in the country. It is the process that ideologically linked each other to change the shape of the background of the Soviet Union (Szamuely, 1988 pp.342-343).

During Stalin times there was growing skepticism in 1928 when he was trying to bring the complete collectivization process in the Soviet Union. He was putting his emphasis on the field of development of the industry. He paved the way for the industrial workers to produce more food grains so that the country will meet the future needs. The government was fully aware of carrying the collectivization process and was aware of the hardship involved in process of meeting them (Narkiewicz, 1966 pp.22-24).

COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

The early period was the period which made Lenin's attitude clear towards the peasants to bring the social revolution in the field of agriculture. During the February revolution in 1917, the union took place. But the proletariat did not want to give any hope to the

peasant class. In this way, the October revolution brought for the support of the middle-class peasants. Lenin realized that the importance of the cooperation between the workers and peasants in bringing the society together. The socialization of agriculture produced two links for practical expressions. One is the collectively organizing the farms for the peasants and the second one is organizing the state farms in maintaining the needs of the state (Narkiewicz, 1966 pp.22-24).

The overthrow of the Traist regime made the superstructure for facilitating the agriculture in the Soviet Union. Lenin guided the distribution of land in equal ways to the peasants that occupied by landlords in the country. The landlords are not the reason behind the agrarian problem but there are other factors that responsible for the peasant's development. Lenin tried to bring the form of collective development in bringing the economy to the agricultural field. The proper form of collective action needed to develop the peasant's agriculture. The land commune system prevalent during that time was the factor to determine the fundamental element of collective action (Narkiewicz, 1966 pp.22-24).

The collective movement falls under two stages that are the Bolshevik revolution's triumph and the beginning of the five-year plan in agriculture. The highest form of agricultural form is commune and that brings the collectivization individual property. The movement was predicated on the rapid development of a new technical base. Lenin believed that "only a material base, technique, the utilization of tractors and machines in agriculture on a large scale could change the mentality of the peasant. The tractors were regarded as one of the most important implements in the transition to a new system of agriculture" (Ledejinsky, 1934 pp.1-14).

RESULTS OF COLLECTIVIZATION

The result of collectivization in Stalin times brought the three main ways of understanding the heading of the process taking together. The first one is the restoration

of food surplus in the rural areas. The second thing is that the confiscation of the property of the kulaks and the state socially excluded them in the form of the new rural order (Harrison, 1996 pp.3-5). A relative study in 1930 divides kulaks into three categories of excluding of them from villages, deporting them into the remote areas and thirdly confined them in the forced labor campus. In this way, many families of kulaks come under that category. This process was to abolish the hegemony of the kulaks in the villages and the traditional form of the economic model should be abolished in the villages. So the peasants under Soviet rule would prosper in a collective way to make the economy in a greater order (Harrison, 1996 pp.3-5).The third thing is that the collectivization itself. The adoption of the first five-year plan in 1929 gave the impetus to set the intention to bring more amount of household for the peasants. Stalin viewed “this degree of collectivization was to be achieved on the basis of advances in farm mechanization and electrification. But what happened far exceeded the plans. Within months, a relentless upward pressure both from the Stalinist leadership above and from local officials down below drove the targets higher and higher. In December 1929, a drive for all-out collectivization was launched; within three months more than half the peasant farms in the country had been incorporated into collective farms” (Harrison, 1996 pp.3-5).

VIRGIN LANDS CAMPAIGN OF KHRUSHCHEV

Khrushchev changed the political regime of the state and identified the autocratic regime persisted during Stalin era. He carved out the mistakes that Stalin committed during his period shocked the communist elites. His argument was during Stalin period they used to press, media, literature, music, and art as their ideological base. During Stalinization campaign, the Soviet intellectuals were revived and got the chance to criticize bureaucratic corruption prevalent. The most important campaign of Khrushchev that changed the nation-building process of Kazakhstan is the virgin land campaign. According to Khrushchev- “the virgin land campaign affected the Kazakhs more than any other Soviet policy decision, with the possible exception of collectivization” (Dinc, 2010 pp.49-51).

During Khrushchev times the Kazakh steppe and the Siberia used for grain production. By this way, the name raveled in Moscow in the form of Soviet government. The Kazakhs used it as the pastureland for generations and these lands are not anymore the virgin land for centuries (Dinc, 2010 pp.49-51). With the result, many Russians and Ukrainians farmers went there to produce the grain and to become independent in the global market in terms of grain cultivation. In this way, most of the Slavic population settle down there and formed the majority not only in northern Kazakhstan but also the whole part of Kazakhstan. Khrushchev policy towards the education in inculcating the language among the nation-Russians in Kazakhstan and by 1938 the Russian language got the second language status in Kazakhstan. By 1959, the government of Russia granted a law to choose the language of their children. In this way, the virgin land campaign brought the significant change in the society of Kazakhstan (Dinc, 2010 pp.49-51).

The Kazakh society strengthened to bring the process of modernization and brought the ideology by the emphasis on urbanization process, literacy rate, economic modernization and the status development of women. These factors were the main reason behind the transition of Kazakhstan and strengthened to bring an ideology in Kazakhstan in the modernization process.

INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESSES

The industrialization process took place through rise in literacy rate, urbanization processes and informal interactions like kolkhoz and sovkhoz. This played the most significant role in managing the political processes of Kazakhstan. Industrialization process brings the changes in society by setting up big industries and creating job opportunities. Education will also have the impact on the modernization process of Kazakhstan.

LITERACY RATE

The decision of the government in Soviet Kazakhstan is to identify the process of educational background in managing the affairs of the state. Providing the good policy making in the form of education is the basis of education that gives the suitable way to understand the process of literacy rate in Soviet Kazakhstan. To examine policy on education it should be noted to make the distinction between power and authority would make the literacy rate in the country. The decision of the political leaders made a difference in putting the elementary and secondary education among the people. The Soviet policy on education i.e. denying the religious form of ideology and inculcating the Marxist form of ideology in education played an important role. They inculcated the compulsory education in several stages so that the technical base of education would be strengthened (Chabe, 1971 pp.525-527).

URBANIZATION PROCESSES

The urbanization process of Soviet Kazakhstan was paid attention for a number of reasons. The rapid development in the field of peasantry gave the idea to change the cities background to an extent. It's put emphasis on the trained labor and provides the military base in the cities and understanding the structure that needs to be focused on the urban areas. The Soviet way of implementing the process of urbanization was original and much experiment was not be given the chance to ponder on the societal structure in Soviet Kazakhstan. The mechanism is the most important element that shapes the society very much and guiding the processes of urbanization in a more serious way (Medvedkhov, 1990 pp.1-3).

IMPROVEMENT OF WOMEN STATUS

The early Soviet period witnessed the Kazakh society regarding women very rigid and there was no proper equality in the process of education, health, marriage and so many other factors. But women constituted the major hold in society regarding every matter. In

early 1920s, the soviet government adopted smooth policy in establishing civil marriage, easy divorce, abortion services, maternity benefits and childcare facilities for uplifting of women (Lapidus, 1978 p.55).

During the decades of 1980s the literacy rate of women increased and witnessed 61 percent in higher secondary education and 54 percent in higher educational system. In work field the women occupied 70 to 85 percent of all the places and their wages were far ahead of men. With this it looks that the status of women in Kazakhstan changed strongly and gave them better status in society (Pilkington, 1992 p.182-183). In the pre-soviet period the status of women was much degraded and the Kazakh society was filled with bride price, child marriage, violence, male domination and polygamy. After arrival of the soviets the ideology changed the emancipation women was started to be taken as a serious concern (Chenoy, 1996 pp.516-518).

The emancipation of women in Lenin's period is linked to the regime of communism. Lenin suggested that the emancipation of the women is categorized in four ways. They are promoting legal rights, guaranteeing economic independence, giving women political and administrative duties and lastly saving them from the bondage of the household burdens (Oz, 2013 p.41).

The industrialization process started in Kazakhstan through the process of literacy rate, urbanization process, economic modernization process and improvement of the status of women. These are the factor that strengthened to bring the political modernization process and ideology together.

THE KOLKHOZ MODEL

The kolkhoz is the collective form of control in foods grains. It is the model through which the poverty would be eradicated by the help of collectivization process and that involves the society in eradicating poverty in families and provides the suitable base to

understand the society to a great extent. The result of collectivization is the model to determine the system of kolkhoz system in a coercive manner (Harrison, 1996 pp.6-8). In the 1930s rapid development of industries gave way to understand the process of the food supply of the country. In 1930 the wartime period the management of firms decentralized and the agricultural policy brought a significant change in the life of people. Stalin stressed “the kolkhoz itself was its progressive satisfaction. As the status of the village and farm workforce improved, the kolkhoz became more and more like a sovkhov. This was reflected in a variety of trends (Harrison, 1996 pp.6-8). Kolkhoz managers were no longer a mixture of ill-educated peasants and political cadres who knew nothing of farming, and collective farm management became increasingly professionalized and specialized. The rising status of the ordinary kolkhoz workers was reflected in the introduction of a minimum income based on sovkhov piece rates; with this reform, the peasant ceased to be the residuary claimant on food supplies” (Harrison, 1996 pp.6-8).

SOVKHOZ MODEL

It is the model that came in the 1920s to shape the state firmly in Soviet Kazakhstan. It is the ideological concept that holds the socialist pattern of agriculture in the highest order. It is the process through which the landless workers would be recruited in the rural areas and the state will pay a significant amount of wages to them. By the time of 1990, the number of sovkhoves increased up to 45 percent. It is larger than kolkhoz and was more dominant in the central Asian states like Kazakhstan. After the collapse of Soviet Union, the process of sovkhov was reorganized in a cooperative basis based on the concept of privatization policies. The sovkhov in Kazakhstan focused on the development of agriculture and also focusing on the cattle and horse breeding to raise the productivity of milk and meats (Watanbe, Konagya, Akiyama and Kubota, 2010 pp.205-208).

The sovkhov is the greater planning network that persists in the field of economy. With its correct planning, the sovkhov can manipulate the framework of policy that will help in achieving the goals of the state. During the period of sovkhov, the collective firm gets the nod to manage the relative patterns of work in society. The paramount plan gave the

conversion rate very strong and the production organization helps in managing the appropriate factor to determine the conditions of the cities and the industrial centers (Stuart, 1974 pp.149-150).

SOVIET RULE IN KAZAKHSTAN

The traditional authority in Kazakhstan was dismantled with the force that was geared by the Soviet authorities with the process of forced collectivization. According to Kazakh specialist Martha Brill Olcott- “the result was a disaster, almost genocide. Best estimates are that 4 million Kazakhs died in 1929-33, and those four-fifths of Kazakh livestock were slaughtered or starved. Grain yields also dropped, to about one half their pre-collectivization levels, ensuring continuing famine throughout the 1930's. In this period the last of the nomads either starved to death or fled to China”.(INS Resource Information Centre, 1994 pp.4-8).

At the same time the kulaks, the farmers of Russian and Ukrainian started moving away from Kazakhstan. The execution of Kazakh leaders took place during the time of Lenin and this widened the gap between the Turkic population and Slavic leadership. But during the period of the Dinmukhamed Kunayev, a Kazakh who was the first secretary of the communist party of Kazakhstan played an important role after the death of Stalin and Brezhnev to control the administration in Kazakhstan in a responsible manner (INS Resource Information Centre, 1994 pp.4-8). Again during the Gorbachev times in 1986 Kunayev was replaced by Gennadiy Kolbin which created dissatisfaction among the people and the bloody riot took place. With this process, Kazakhstan made its way in bringing the path towards independence. In 1989 the inter-ethnic riots took place again and Koblin was replaced by Nursultan Nazarbayev. He implemented the cooperation among the people and handled the administration in a more smooth way. With his position, Kazakhstan was declared independence on December 16, 1991 (INS Resource Information Centre, 1994 pp.4-8).

STALIN PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT IN SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN

The period of Stalin can be seen in the practice of industrialization, collectivization of agriculture and the changes in the Kazakh society under the NEP. These are the factors that shaped the development of the Kazakh society to a great extent. The planning of the state to mobilize the resources of the industrial base of the country has been the main concern in the process of industrialization. From 1928 to 1932 the development in the industrial sector took place in a positive way rising up from 3.3 million to 6.2 million per year. The production of hydrocarbon and coal in the process of industrialization rose significantly. A number of industries such as Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk, the Ural Mountains, Kramatorsk heavy industries were settled to develop the Kazakh society to great extent (Mccauley, 2014 p.81)

The job creation rose up to the astonishing amount and the urban population rose astonishingly. Unemployment had been the problem in imperial Russia, but the advent of Lenin's NEP created a job for the agrarian sectors. The process of unemployment dropped to 50 percent with the process of industrialization and the labor got more work to settle their market. There began several hopeful projects for maintenance of the goods of the Kazakh state. The people of Kazakhstan were benefitted by the process of social liberalization. The process of education was given to both men and women to improve the quality in the workplace. The policy of Stalin was to develop the quality of health and education to provide the better life of the people. By this policy, diseases reduced significantly and the life expectancy of man and women increased higher in decades of 1950s. With this process, the development took place in Soviet Kazakhstan (Tucker, 1992 p.228).

The NEP under Lenin tolerated the agriculture that was owned privately. He decided to wait for the period of twenty years to put it under the control of state and industrial development. With the advent of Stalin, the process of collectivization changed. Demands for food intensified in the grain product regions in Soviet Kazakhstan. In the joining of kolkhozes, the harvest increased and was sold at the lower price. The slowing of natural production let the central committee to think the process of goals in Soviet

Kazakhstan. The first five-year plan gave the impetus to the state to think the political control on agriculture to develop the economy rapidly and increase the export to increase the foreign currency for the development of Soviet Kazakhstan. The state-controlled the 99 percent of the collective firm and with this process the starvation took place and around 5 million people died. The Kazakh people suffered the most than other Soviet republics (Jason, 2011 pp.911-913).

POST-STALIN PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT IN KAZAKHSTAN

Though Kazakhstan was full of natural resources, but the execution needs greater effort by the political system of the country. The lack of adequate transportation system and bad communication systems prevented Kazakhstan for taking the urgent steps to exploit the natural resources that it reserves. But the oil and the gas industries have the impact on the development of the economy in Kazakhstan and create the standard of living for the people. The discovery of oil field gave impetus to make itself rich in the production of oil. In this what happened is the international oil company came to deal with it, so that the international trade takes place in and that will benefit the country to strengthen itself in the form of economy. If the growth of Kazakhstan is considered, it is highly depended on the natural resources and its reserves (American Councils, 2012 pp.3-4) Another factor is that the multi-ethnicity has impact on the process of development in Kazakhstan on the basis of business that created the bonds in Kazakhstan (American Councils, 2012 pp.3-4).

The development of Kazakhstan was looking for some kind of revolution considering the ability to change the society. In post-Stalin period Kazakhstan witnessed the impact on education, electrification, health care and the process of sanitation. This penetration was very important in making the strong bond in society to reconsider its future in a good manner. With this process, the technical education increased in a faster manner to provide the base in which the Kazakh society could develop. Clan identity also played a very important role in maintaining the pride in the community of Kazakhstan (Olcott, 1983 pp.13-15).

PERESTROIKA IN KAZAKHSTAN

It is a kind of reform started during Gorbachev. In literal terms it means restructuring the socio-economic background of the Soviet political system. It is the process through which the market reforms took place in the form of socialism to meet the needs of people for fulfilling the people's basic needs. It is the major process that gave rise to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The Kazakh people raised their voice under perestroika to change the face of the country. Firstly, the people disagreed the appointment of Kolbin as the first secretary and they believed in the slogan that the perestroika in a way will bring democracy in Kazakhstan (Umbetalieva, 2012 p.1). Secondly, the Kazakh people were disappointed regarding their nationalistic character and the subjugation of their language as a major concern. Thirdly, the agitation was organized by the republic party to make the advantageous position for the people of Kazakhstan. In this process, the people tried to make the country very strong under the process of perestroika. They wanted to change the whole structure of the country in the economic sphere to lead the country so well (Umbetalieva, 2012 p.1).

GLASNOST IN KAZAKHSTAN

It is the concept that originated in Russia at the end of eighteenth century which means openness and transparency. The concept came for the reforms of the judicial system in Soviet Kazakhstan. The concept was popularized by Mikhail Gorbachev in the context of escalating government transparency in soviet Kazakhstan. The system of glasnost seeks to change the mindset of the people and try to solve the problem. Gorbachev came at the helm to criticize the policy of the government and provide the exposure through the mass media. With that more liberty was gained by the people of Kazakhstan after implementing these policies (McCarthy, 1989 pp.6-7). How Gorbachev came to power is the matter of concern. He came to power feeling the lack of strategic understanding. During this period military was not paying attention to the political space. He came to power realizing that USSR going through the economic hardship. The military

competition with the USA was major cause of disturbances in the economic sphere. The government has to take steps to boost the economic conditions of the people in the field of productivity. This was the way through which the Soviet Kazakh states would maintain its balance in managing its affairs in taking the country higher (McCarthy, 1989 pp.6-7).

IMPACT OF PERESTROIKA AND GLASNOST ON THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS OF KAZAKHSTAN

The impact of perestroika and glasnost have made a significant effect in the field of economic field, political changes, setting up the social policies and the national building process. These are the process through which the Kazakh society impacted very much. The Soviet economy based on the concept of socialism helps in developing the Kazakh society in an intensive way to make the progress in society. The new economic techniques help in increasing the capacity of the resource capturing capabilities (Phambili, 1988 pp.6-8).

Socially, the people developed in establishing the house and producing the food for improving the standard of living for their family. The main thing is that due to the enhancement of the economy their social aspects of life changed significantly. In this process what happened the health condition improved significantly with the better settlement of the house. The increase in salaries has put the impact on the life of the people in Kazakhstan. And the process of socialism and the improvement of human rights arose on the policy taken by the government (Phambili, 1988 pp.6-8).

This chapter deals with socialism as an ideology through New Economic Policy and rapid modernisation processes. It discussed the collectivisation of agriculture through which the modernisation process took place. To modernise the society industrialisation took place through literacy rate, urbanization process, economic modernisation process, improvement of women status and informal interactions like Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz. Stalin and post-Stalin period of development helped in building modernization process in

Kazakhstan. Perestroika and Glasnost also played important role in bringing modernization process in Kazakhstan.

Chapter IV

POLITICAL MODERNIZATION IN POST-SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN

This chapter discusses the transition that took place from Soviet modernization process to post Soviet modernization process. It discusses how the transition helped Kazakhstan to bring the modernization process. It also examines the elements that shaped the modernization process in Kazakhstan. Political stability, governance processes, economic modernization are to be the key concern along with the process of multiculturalism and social modernization processes. The chapter broadly outlines the ideological features of political modernization processes. It discusses ideological features like nationalization of ideology based on “Eurasianism”. How Eurasianism helps in shaping the ideological process in Kazakhstan will be a major concern. The chapter also discusses the identity of Kazakhstan in various ways. The harmonious cooperation with other ideologies, like “ideology of civilization” is discussed in detail.

TRANSITION OF KAZAKHSTAN FROM SOVIET MODERNIZATION PROCESSES TO POST-SOVIET MODERNIZATION PROCESSES

The transition of Kazakhstan is the main theme of this chapter and how it transformed from Soviet legacy to post-Soviet modernization process would be the key factor to discuss. The state of Kazakhstan has developed in a stable manner. The sovereignty has proved to be the boon for it. The Kazakh state under Nursultan Nazarbayev has gained a high standard of living in Central Asia, next only to Russia, among all the states of erstwhile USSR. The president of Kazakhstan promoted the various measures to promote economic cooperation, ethnic harmony, and political mobility and for the socio-economic development of the country. The elites in Kazakhstan has created market-based economy and accelerated the nationalization process by adding the Soviet internationalism (Dave, 2007 pp.8-9).

The fall of the Soviet Union and development of the Central Asian states, especially Kazakhstan has created two important issues. Firstly, the Soviet policy to guide the central Asian states in the form of 'divide and rule' which raised awareness among the central Asian states to make themselves independent. Secondly, the Central Asian states were ruled by the tsarist colonialist rules which sought to destroy the whole cultural identities, institutions, and belief system of the people. Terry Martin and Yuri Slezkine take seriously "the ideology, political rhetoric and policies of the Soviet state in defining itself as an anti-imperial and anti-colonial state that put forth significant effort to create nations among its so-called backward and oppressed peoples" (Hirsch, 2005 pp.4-5). Kazakhstan has also pursued creating a suitable base to bring out a cultural identity of the nation (Dave, 2007 pp.10-27). In the decisive decision making process the government is trying to increase the production off the land and promote social justice for the people by protecting them from exploitation. The prices for the domestic goods declined significantly for the people. As discussed above the economy played a key role in modernizing the structure of the society. The economic structure focused on fastening the process of modernization for the development of society in Kazakhstan (Larsson, 2010 pp.10-11).

NAZARBAYEV'S MODEL OF DEMOCRACY IN KAZAKHSTAN

The transformation process of the Kazakh society witnessed the democratic transition through the emergence of ten political parties in Kazakhstan stood as the symbol of the multiparty system. However the People's Democratic Nur Otan Party is the sole party which has held the government and other parties stay in the opposition. The opposition parties have been divided into two groups. One is moderates and the other one is activists. The moderates focus on constructive criticism and look for the issues in a constructive manner, but the activists have the clear-cut agenda to criticize the government's policy and programs in every aspect (Kukeyeva & Shkapyak, 2013 p.81). As president Nursultan Nazarbayev stated: "we acknowledge that perhaps we have not yet reached the same level that developed nations have achieved and it's not just us, but many Post-Soviet countries. But people are not ready for drastic changes. When our

neighbours in Kyrgyzstan tried to establish complete freedom of democracy, it led to such catalysms that they still can't recover. We see this in Ukraine and Georgia, our people see it. We say the economy first, and then politics and considering this we need to move gradually" (Kukeyeva & Shkapyak, 2013 p.81).

The Kazakh socio-economic development in the sphere of political and economic aspects can be taken as a model of development for the central Asian state; because of its achievement in the sphere of social economic processes it gained a lot of respect in the international community (Kukeyeva & Shkapyak, 2013 p.81).

ELEMENTS OF POST-SOVIET MODERNIZATION PROCESSES IN KAZAKHSTAN

The elements of post-Soviet modernization processes in Kazakhstan can be identified as: firstly, political stability and how political stability helped in building the political process in Kazakhstan. Secondly, the process of government persisting there would be the key concern to describe the whole form of political agenda there. Thirdly, economic modernization processes are the basis on which the state can boost its economy by setting up large scale industries for the well being of the people. Fourthly, a multiplicity of culture persisted there and facilitated the modernization process. Lastly, the social modernization process led to the development of the attitudes, values, ideas, and ideologies of the people (Knox, 2008 pp.480-483).

POLITICAL STABILITY IN KAZAKHSTAN

Kazakhstan is a unitary republic and Nursultan Nazarbayev is the head of the state. The Kazakh parliament consists of a bicameral legislature, the upper house is Majlis and the lower house is senate. The political stability in Kazakhstan can be studied through its political, social and economic structure and processes. The legislative body of Kazakhstan passed the legislation to abolish the executive power of President. Under the presidency of Nazarbayev, the country has witnessed a remarkable progress in maintaining the economy by cooperating with other great powers like Russia, America and China through a multi-vector foreign policy. But the political development of the

country has been criticized to some extent because of the structure of democracy is not that good like the western countries. The opposition parties have not played a major role in the political process of Kazakhstan. They think that the deceptive activities of the former government are the reason behind the low participation of other political parties. With this they facilitated the political reforms in a more established manner to develop the country to a great extent (Knox, 2008 pp.480-483).

THE IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL STABILITY IN KAZAKHSTAN

In the e post-soviet phase Kazakhstan has been considered as a politically stable country. According to the World Bank, Kazakhstan has been among the top countries in the world which are politically stable. After gaining independence in 1991, Kazakhstan has enjoyed the peace and good will of its own by maintaining the political stability of the country. Kazakhstan is inching towards political stability because political stability is necessary to avoid political instability. Secondly, a rising economy facilitates political modifications. Through political reforms and developments, political stability can play important role in the process of the democratization of the country. Thirdly, political stability facilitates the growth and development of civil society groups. Fourthly, since 1991 , the Kazakh republic has witnessed a growth in its GDP. The investment of the foreign company has been great which has led to the economic development of the country. According to Daniel Witt- “Nazarbayev has led Kazakhstan through difficult times and into an era of prosperity and growth. He has demonstrated that he values his U.S. and Western alliances and is committed to achieving democratic governance”. Political stability has enabled Kazakhstan to maintain a strong relationship with other countries like Russia, China, and USA (Kazakhstan United for Global Security, 2015 pp.3-4).

GOVERNANCE PROCESSES IN KAZAKHSTAN

The governance process in Kazakhstan plays an important role in managing the affairs of the state. Kazakhstan has three branches like the legislature, executive, and judiciary.

THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT IN KAZAKHSTAN

The legislative branch of the government the Republic of Kazakhstan plays a decisive role in the referendum process of the country. It conducted the referendum on August 30, 1995. The Kazakh parliament consists of two houses: the Senate and the Majilis. The Senate is composed of the deputies from the various cities by the process of indirect election. Sixty-seven deputies are elected on the basis of administrative territorial division with equal representation and ten deputies shall be elected on the basis of party list system according to the system of proportional representation and in the territory of unified national constituency. Their election should be carried out in the process of the universal process under the secret ballot system. They have six years term for senators and five years for Majilis members (Public Administration Country Profile, 2004 p. 5).

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT IN KAZAKHSTAN

The president of the Kazakh republic is an integral part of the executive branch of the government and the head of the state. As per the provision of the Kazakh administrative law President is elected by the universal, equal and direct suffrage under the secret ballot for a term of seven years. He needs more than 50 percent of the vote to get elected. He is the one who appoints the prime minister and determines the structure of the government and appoints all the important members of the house. He takes all the decisions of the executive. He can dissolve the parliament in certain cases. He is the person who takes all the important decisions in the arena of foreign relations and distributes the parliamentary powers to its members on certain grounds (Public Administration Country Profile, 2004 p.6).

THE JUDICIARY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT IN KAZAKHSTAN

The judiciary in Kazakhstan plays a crucial role in exercising the constitutional, civic, administrative, criminal and other powers that are established by the law. The Supreme Court and other local courts are established by the process of law. It is the process of the

republic which is established with the system of law. The constitution provides for a constitutional council of the Republic of Kazakhstan which consists of seven members whose term is exceeded for seven years. They are appointed by the president and article 72 of the constitution provides for the functions of the constitutional council. The Supreme Court is the highest judicial organ of the country. It has civil, criminal and other jurisdictions. It exercises the power of supervision over the activities and procedures established by the law and also provides for the interpretations of the judicial practice of the state (Public Administration Country Profile, 2004 pp.6-7).

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN KAZAKHSTAN

The constitution of 1993 established a semi-presidential republic with unicameral legislature modelled on the system of the French republic. But it was found to be very unsatisfactory as it paved the way for ethnic tension among the ethnic Kazakhs and the Russians. Because of this, the new system was replaced (Cummings, 2002 p.7). With the advent of time, the system was replaced by the presidential system in 1995 to make Kazakhstan a democratic, secular republic by providing for three branches of the government. This system established a bicameral legislature by reducing the members of parliament for the smooth functioning of the legislature (Abazov, 1999 p.171). In October 1998, the constitution was amended to abolish the maximum age for presidency and enlarge the term of the president from five to seven years (Gumppenberg, 2002 p.139). For this purpose, Nazarbayev even called for an early election in January, 1999 and was re-elected for the period of seven years. In May 2007, the amendment of the constitution came into force that was meant to strengthen the parliament and foster the democratization of Kazakhstan (Wilshire, 2007 p.2).

ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION PROCESSES

Economic modernization is amongst the most important ingredient of the post-soviet modernization process in Kazakhstan. To develop the economy of Kazakhstan, the government has taken many diverse ways to develop the industry and adopted the latest technologies in the production factor to determine the conditions of the economy in Kazakhstan. The state has emphasized the most on the innovative way of development in the industrial sector. The Kazakh government has launched various programs in the field of economic development. They are “industrial map of Kazakhstan”, “scheme of rational placement of manufacturing capacities”, “road map of business-2020” to provide the thread to economic development. The export of raw materials constitutes for 90% of the economy (Zamanbekov, 2013 pp.747-749). The materials like fuel and other raw materials bring a large amount of profits which helps in overcoming the problems that the country is facing. With the adoption of machine building technologies like vehicles, solar batteries, and wind engines helped the manufacturing sector to develop the Kazakh economy to a greater extent. These are the factors that led to the development of the economy in Kazakhstan (Zamanbekov, 2013 pp.747-749).

ECONOMIC GROWTH OF KAZAKHSTAN IN 1999-2014

Kazakhstan experienced an impressive growth in the period of 1999 to 2007 due to the enhancement of commodity prices. The global financial crisis hampered the Kazakh economy a little bit. But it recovered after a couple of years to take the growth of the economy to a greater height. In early 2000s, the increase of internal migration led to a reform in the manufacturing sector and the economic growth has been the most moving force to develop the country. In 2014-15 country reached its point of stagnation for Kazakh economy the credit commitment that the government had received from outside. (Galina et al., 2017 pp.1454-1455).

Kazakhstan has identified different sectors for the development of its economy. These are health, agriculture, and irrigation, transport, energy and water and environment. In health

sector, recently the Kazakh government has put more emphasis on maternal and child mortality and access to improve the treatment of the people. They are enhancing the health sector to take the necessary steps to improve the health quality of the people. (World Bank Group, 2015 pp.7-12).

The agriculture sector in Kazakhstan has employed one-fourth of the people to diversify the economy. But the labour production of the country has increased by 50 percent from 2001 to 2012. Kazakhstan has also progressed framework in the process of environment management. It also engage themselves in the nation-building process by analysing climate change mitigate and to mitigate e the environmental problems that the state is facing (World Bank Group, 2015 pp.7-12).

President Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed in the parliament to modernize Kazakhstan's economy, politics and the national identity with the help of positive collaboration with the legislative and executive branch of government. Following the presidential order, The distribution of the president's power in the lower level improved the effectiveness of the governance process of greater responsibility and independence (World Bank Group, 2017 p.2).

MULTICULTURALISM IN KAZAKHSTAN

Multiculturalism is a process by which different cultural and ethnic aspects are studied to understand the ongoing conditions of the society. Kazakhstan has experienced the Russian dimension of the multicultural society through modernization and after independence they followed the multicultural policy by maintaining their wider form of cultural society. Since the origin of the term in the 1960s, there are different definitions which came to define the term multiculturalism in 1990s for its greater understanding (Inglis, 1996 p.4).

In Kazakhstan multiculturalism not only hosts its own culture but also respects the other guest cultures by spreading the mutual trust and tolerance to share the values in the society (Busi, 2014 p.14). Multiculturalism is manifested through adoption of three

language policies that is the state language, the Russian language and the English language for the international affairs. But language which is mostly spoken in Kazakhstan is Russian, because the influence it had in Kazakh life before the independence of Kazakhstan was insurmountable. Even now, in most of the rural areas Russian language is spoken among the ethnic minorities. In Kazakhstan, there are different religions. Among them, Islam is the most prevalent religion. The economic progress plays a key role in bringing peace by the toleration of ethics and religious stability. The social welfare factor should emphasise on the healthcare, education, job creation and housing. If it will implement them properly then it can improve the society in a greater way. By these elements, the society could be developed in all the spheres in Kazakhstan (Busi, 2014 pp.21-40).

Kazakhstan's multicultural society has manifested from the fact that there are 130 nationalities people and ethnic people living peacefully. The Soviet legacy laid the foundation of the Kazakh society and its multicultural character. Multiculturalism is evident from the population of the country which has around 65 percent Kazakhs, followed by 22 percent Russians, 2 percent Ukrainians, 3 percent Uzbeks, 1.5 percent Tatars, 1.5 percent Uyghurs, and 1 percent Germans, etc. this is the data which shows the multicultural character of Kazakhstan in a great extent (Mustafayevna, Kunayshbekovna, sharabekovna, Abdurakhmanova & Sadikovich, 2013 p.1).

SOCIAL MODERNIZATION PROCESS

Social modernization process is one of the elements of the post-Soviet modernization process in Kazakhstan. In his address Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev stated that good relations with the people by establishing the system of law and order in the society.. Kazakh President further addressed the “principle of responsibility can be achieved by raising the consciousness of the people. The principle of participation is needed to improve the qualities of life of the people and the state should support the individual in the sphere of creative and social work to strengthen them”. (Nazarbayev, Nursultan,

“Kazakhstan’s Social Modernization: Twenty Steps to a Society of Universal Labor”, http://www.amu.kz/en/student/Twenty_Steps_to_a_society_of_universal_labor.PDF).

The Kazakh president has identified the ways in which the society would be developed in a conscious way for the collective good of the Kazakh people. “Firstly, it is necessary to understand what is going on around in the society where one lives. Open consciousness is also the way to bring changes in life by technological revolutions. One must be ready for the changes in the way of life, communication, and other aspects. Open consciousness is the capability to learn from others by own experience” (Nazarbayev, 2017 pp.1-4). This part deals with the ideological features of the political modernization processes. This part covers key features like the nationalization of ideology based on ‘Eurasianism’. It deals with how Eurasianism is important in building the ideology in Kazakhstan. It also overviews the Kazakh national identity and how this identity is important for the Kazakh people to build ideology in Kazakhstan. Within the national identity, the civic identity of the Kazakh people is discussed. It also discusses the harmonies it is having with other ideologies like the ‘ideology of civilization’.

NATIONALIZATION OF IDEOLOGY BASED ON ‘EURASIANISM’

The concept of Eurasianism originated in the 1920s. It is based on bringing the values and culture together to promote the development of the identity of the Russian peripheries. It basically impacts the economic independence and the national construction of the landmass. It doesn’t cater to the development of intellectual perspective of the individual but it is a process to develop the individual ideologically. It can be said that the concept of Eurasianism came from the ideological political phenomena to shape the political processes of Russia. According to Mostafa- “Kazakhstan’s Eurasianism is promulgated as an official ideology by the top leadership of the country and the focus was to build peace, solidarity among peoples on the basis of morality, spirituality, cultural and religious backgrounds”. It is the concept sometimes seen as the cultural aspect of the state that represents the alternative policy of identity for the ethnic Russians (Sadykova, 2017 pp.19-20).

The term Eurasianism is a politico-ideological concept which studies the multidimensional ways of history in understanding the viewpoint and opinions of historians, philosophers, and individuals. It is the concept that deals with the goals and ideologies of the society altogether. The main theme of the Eurasianism is to deal with the multi-vector foreign policy of Kazakhstan. So it adopted the domestic as well as the regional policies to deal with the situation of the state (Mostafa, 2013 pp.160-161).

KAZAKHSTAN'S POLICY ON EURASIANISM

The region Eurasia is the unique place where all religious, ethnic and cultural groups of people live together in a peaceful manner through mutual trust, belief and accepting. Kazakhstan has adopted a various domestic as well as the regional policies to bring harmony. Kazakhstan is the state where multi-ethnicity and multi-faithfulness predominates. It is the country where Kazakhs are in majority followed by Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Uyghur, Tatars, and Germans. After independence, it realized the importance of the ethnic people and made the objective to help them live in a cooperative way. It has also followed the process of economic integration and political accommodation to maintain its policy in the sphere of regionalism (Mostafa, 2013 pp.164-166).

A KAZAKH IDENTITY

The Bolsheviks played a very important role in creating the nationality of Kazakhstan in a territorial sense. They efficiently transferred the power to Kazakh people after the collapse of the Soviet Union through the process of institutionalizing the new national identification of the people. The first movement by the Alash Orda movement endeavoured to blend the Turkic and Islamic threads to hold a European identity mediated by Russia. The idea of identity building of Alash Orda resembled towards Russia, fundamentally different from the tsarist empire. The Bolsheviks brought the process of change in establishing a new kind of ideological structure in language, territory and the economic benefits. Through the three ways of negotiation, Kazakh society can enhance the ideological change in the process of identity. First, the participation of other clan groups in the political functions can bring out the common

national identity among Kazakhs. Secondly, with the help of the Turkic people, the common process of the ideological and intellectual base can be strengthened. The third one is the ideological negotiation that the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks made in the arena of the Kazakh society which can bring the identity base in shifting the society together (Olcott, 2007 pp.41-42).

IDEOLOGY OF CIVILIZATION IN KAZAKHSTAN

After independence, the Kazakh government is following the process of the ideology of civilization. The end of Soviet era has given birth to the concept of civilisation accounts personified by Huntington's 'clash of civilizations'. The dialogues of civilization in Kazakhstan represent the response of the clash of many international, interregional and interreligious groups projected to promote the different culture. To promote the civilizations, the Kazakh government has participated in different global trends to make the country very strong civilisationally. In Kazakhstan, the ideology of civilization is doing the right steps by not allowing the western war on terror to enter its territory and also condemning the rise of extremism in the world. Through dialogues of civilizations is fighting different socio-economic and cultural causes of Islamic extremism. Kazakhstan is playing a decisive role in maintaining its position in fighting the deadly menaces like terrorism and extremism to bring glory in an international sense (Laruelle, 2015).

This chapter has dealt with the social modernisation process in Kazakhstan. It also dealt with ideological process civilisation Kazakhstan. In addition, it brought identity issue of Kazak as well as Kazakhstan's policy on Eurasiaism. At the societal level, it is found that the Kazakhstan is a multicultural country.

Apart from this, chapter also deals with economic growth of Kazakhstan from 1999 to 2014. Further this deals with Nazarbayev's model of democracy in Kazakhstan.

CHAPTER V

NATURE OF POLITICAL MODERNIZATION AND IDEOLOGY IN KAZAKHSTAN

This chapter analyses the ideologies that the Kazakh government has used to justify its regime. For this purpose, it has adopted economic stabilization as a policy which leads to the political development of the country. It also established a decentralized administrative system to justify the ideologies in Kazakhstan. It justifies its regime by a centralized political system marked by authoritarianism through the development of strong political institutions and political parties. It adopted the idea of Eurasianism to checkmate the Slavic identity under its sphere of influence. It also accelerated the nation-building process and the civic identity of maintaining the balance of the state. How authoritarianism strengthened the development of the party system is also discussed.

ECONOMIC STABILITY OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The development of economic stability is the main concern of the Kazakh government which it seeks towards an all-round development. To develop its economy Kazakhstan has adopted the innovative model of capitalist economy. It learned its lessons from China, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, Turkey and the other countries. According to Roman Vakulchuk, the market economy of Kazakhstan emerged in the first quarter of its development and is categorized into two blocs. First bloc is the dominance of the state in the energy sector and in regulating the balance in the finance and taxation sector. With this, the economy rose by 70 percent. The second bloc consists of the market-driven economy, consisting of small and medium size industries of the capital industry. This sector is regulated by the state in a limited manner to understand its capacity and regulate the economy (Starr, Engvall, & Cornell, 2014 pp.38-39).

To develop its economy, it has adopted the 2050 program to maintain its economy well. On one hand, it is trying to double the economy by increasing the share of small and the medium enterprises by 2030 by managing its privatized sector and distributing the state economy in such a way that will help in ensuring development in future. On the other hand, the organic factor plays a dominant role in bringing the economy of the state together in Kazakhstan by incorporating the skills of the labor with the management needs. The government is following the market model process to continue its strong way of economic development. The diversification of the Kazakh economy necessitates changes in the infrastructure, laws and the institution which would strengthen the human capital formation. It is providing the way in which Kazakhstan will develop itself consistently by utilizing the natural resources it has and the efficient environment needed to change the face of the country economically. The Kazakh government has joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) to build its potential in bringing a business-friendly environment to improve exports and imports to enlarge its trade with other countries. The WTO membership could bring in the required reform in the economy sector and the investment sector for overall development in Kazakhstan (ibid.pp.38-42).

The growth of the Kazakh economy in its process of transition is marked by difficulties. By the time of its independence, the growth rate was very slow, leading to fall of economic growth by 39 percent. But the year 2000 brought significant changes in the growth rate of its economy, averaging 8 percent growth, which earned Kazakhstan the reputation of the third fastest growing economy in the world. According to that growth rate, Kazakhstan came under the upper middle-income country as per the World Bank. The growing economy led to a repayment of all the debt and earned great reputation for the country. With this, the poverty of the country reduced significantly. It came down from 47 percent in 2001 to only three percent in 2013. The poverty reduction in the subsequent years in Kazakhstan witnessed a favorable environment and the per capita income grew faster at the same time helping Kazakhstan to achieve great heights (Eurasian Council on Foreign Affairs, 2015 p.3).

To enhance its economic stability, the Kazakh government took various steps to prove itself as the most economically advanced country. To develop its economy, it adopted the

initiative of 2050 program to develop itself as the most advanced country in central Asia. To further develop its economy, it adopted new technologies and strategies to improve the situation of the state. Furthermore, it has put emphasis on tourism, manufacturing industries and guiding the business in most of the major cities like Almaty and Astana (Yusuf, 2015, pp.272-273).

To develop its economy, the state needs to adopt policies facilitating diversification and industrialization. So it came up with the 'theory of trade' to bring in a comparative advantage for the state in economic field. It is the theory that seeks to develop those sectors of economy in which the country is relatively good (Imbs & Wacziarg, 2014). The process of policy implementation is for diversifying the economy to bring in a high level of income for maintaining a high income level in the state (Gill, 2014).

DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRALIZED ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM IN KAZAKHSTAN

The concept of decentralization can be attained under a system of constitutional federalism where the policy-making process acts as a way to check the abuse of power by politicians on the sub-national stage and an enhanced role is played by the public in the administrative spheres. All these processes of decentralization are involved in implementing the decision-making process at sub-national and regional levels (Martinez-Vazquez, Lago-Penas, & Sacchi, 2017 pp.3-10). There are three types of decentralization processes that emerged in Kazakhstan to justify the ideas of centralization. Firstly, the outcome of decentralization needs certain factors to justify its socio-cultural norms. For that, it followed the democratization process to bring in the modernization process. In a democracy, the need for decentralization process requires the efforts of the government to take the political economy ahead (Musgrave, 1959). Secondly, there are attempts to hold various centralising efforts by the politicians to bring in a change in the political order in a desperate attempt to hold power in the sphere of national government (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007 pp.4-10). Thirdly, the process of decentralization can be explained in terms of global competitiveness to influence the international organization in a well

ordered way. To improve, the state needs good governance and healthy economic performances. It has been noted that substantiating the government needs in the process of decentralization has been the major concern of most of the governments (De Mello & Barenstein, 2002 pp.16-22)

POLITICAL CENTRALIZATION IN KAZAKHSTAN

The political centralisation in Kazakhstan has been among the major endeavours made by the Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev. He brought about radical changes in the political system of the country after the fall of Soviet Union. He symbolised Kazakhstan in political and economic spheres and successfully portrayed himself as a symbol of peace and integrity in the process of cementing the stable situation in the country. President Nursultan Nazarbayev skillfully promoted the authoritarian rule to expand the economic reforms for this democratically emerging Central Asian nation. President Nazarbayev's plan was to maintain a strong hold and influence the political and economic spheres accordingly that favours him. His efforts over the period of time has opened up the steady centralisation process with the involvement of the regional actors and as he also moves further by monopolising the resources through the regional powers (Busygina, Filippov & Tukebaeva, 2018 pp.65-66). In the words of Alexander, Libman centralisation is "The formal appointment of aims by the central government made the personnel selection schemes the main instrument of re-centralization: former members of the central government were appointed as akims. Furthermore, the central government reestablished control over oil and gas resources of the region. Thus modern Kazakhstan turned into a de-facto and de-jure highly centralized political entity." (Libman, 2013 p.173).

The Kazakh government has adopted the system of decentralisation in the era of transition to reform its market. During the communist phase, many centralised states failed to execute the planned economy to meet the requirement of the state. That's why they created the sub-national structure in different regions to deliver the service in the

local stages for the people. It is the process to improve the living conditions of the people and to involve many international organisations to improve the governance system in justifying the process of development within the state (UNDP, 2002).

The Kazakh government has been keen to achieve the economic growth and further enhancing the socio-economic stability of the country by prioritising the areas of development and focusing on the strategy and schemes that the government has implemented. However, to develop the further strategy the government needs a well framed constitutional structure to achieve the development in a established framework. The priorities have been identified into seven key areas to achieve development in a set timeframe. They are national security, stabilisation in domestic and social fields, growth in the economy, emphasis in the field of education, health, and welfare of citizens, utilising energy resources, infrastructure, communication and transport and lastly it seeks to develop Kazakhstan as a progressive state. (Wilson, Gardner, Kurganbaeva & Sakharchuk, 2002, pp.402-407).

Further, to develop a centralised administrative system in the country, the Kazakh government needs the efforts and cooperation of the local government with the central government to further the process of development. The local government system would be a key factor to understand the territorial division in social, economic, political and legal sphere. The government has implemented the status quo policy to equalise all the power to the local divisions with regard to their economic potential and population size. The local bodies are connected in such a way to Almaty and Astana to address the problems in immediate manner so that the country can progress in set span of time. The Kazakh government has structured itself into a three-tier basis to make the society strong and stable in a centralised manner. There are local government to execute the policies and schemes in villages and towns. Secondly, the local state government works on the development in the semi-urban areas which are called Raions. Thirdly, the local state administration has intended to develop the cities like Astana and Almaty. These are the

major steps the Kazakh government needs to implement and focus upon to further emphasise on its centralised administrative system in a much vibrant way (Makhmutova, 2001 p.407-408).

THE TRANSFORMATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY SYSTEM IN KAZAKHSTAN

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the lack of proper political structure in Kazakhstan, it has largely affected the citizen's day to day life. This was mainly because of the fact that the Kazakhs did not have any experience in the form of the social and political sectors. Another reason for such an experience of Kazakhs is that they do not have any rich political history thus hindering to take further the process of ideal democratic structure in the country.

That's why Cummings rightly said that-"While the first three years witnessed a liberalisation of political activity, they also sowed the seeds of authoritarianism that had characterised the polity by the close of the 1990s". Thus, it could be argued that the emergence of NursultanNazarbayev in the political sphere has marked the new era of authoritarianism in Kazakhstan. The domination of Nazarbayev in parliament with the help of the strong party system has marked the new era of Presidentialism in Kazakhstan (Boban, 2017 pp.64-65).

The 1999 election marked the dominance of the Otan Republic Party which portrayed itself to be the major factor in the development of the political and societal structure in Kazakhstan. Thereafter, it has consistently consolidated its position to support most powerful leader Nursultan Nazarbayev to practice his dominance in the newly emerged Central Asian nation. In the consequent elections of 2004 further marked the consolidated

dominance of their power in the country. The 2004 election was also significant as the party after winning the election also turned into a dominant party between the period from 2004 to 2007. Since then they have been dominating the political arena of Kazakhstan. (ibid, p.67).

To develop political structure the state needs the elites and the institution to justify its regimes. The first relationship between the elites and the institutions is that they are co-related in such a way that they can influence the strategy and the tactic to be implemented in guiding the power of the state. Secondly, the institutions can perform functions of the state in different ways to bring the healthy ways to make the institution function properly. Thirdly, the regime in Kazakhstan has come after the 1991 transitional process in a way that can influence the institutional process in guiding the regime during the change of the state. During the time of 1991 to 1998, the Kazakh government has increasingly pursued the policy of the top-down model to popularize the demands of the constitution. The elites and the institutions have been playing a crucial role in maintaining the political stronghold in framing of the constitution (Cummings, 2002 pp.60-61).

The rise of political party in Kazakhstan has been seen as big sign of the democratic reforms in the national sphere to manage the elections of the state. In Kazakhstan, the NurOtan party's dominance in the parliament provides the political horoscope for the people. It is the most functioning party in Kazakhstan that permits all the officials to take their positions in the form of political arena. Apart from the NurOtan party, there are several other political parties in Kazakhstan which are playing the subsidiary role in managing the political affairs of the state. (Heinirich, 2010 p.33).

The Rukhaniyat party is the one which assists the government in building its position in state. The party tends to promote the spiritualization of society, addressing the social troubles and tries to expand economy of the state. The Patriot Party of Kazakhstan is the

party which supports as well as opposes the government policies whenever needed. The party aims at establishment of the democratic rule of law and taking initiative for the development of economy and promoting civil society. The Kazakh Social Democratic Party is the party which lays emphasis on rural areas and its agricultural sectors and works for providing the justice for the people in all political standards. The Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan is the pro-president party is basically tended to promote social development for people. The All Nation Social Democratic Party works for establishment and strengthening of democracy as well as rule of law which further leads to development of the socially poor people and brings the humanist perspective of bringing the democratic reforms in the country. The Azat Party has also played a decisive role in the process of structuring the rules and regulations of the state by means of constructive opposition to the state. As is shown, these parties have played a significant role in the development of the Kazakh society (Bowyer, 2008 pp.20-28).

The importance of political parties in assisting the transition of the Kazakh society from authoritarian rule to administrative rule is undergoing changes. This transition is possible with the help of both political parties as well as effective participation of people in the sphere of democracy. The emergence of the multi-party system leads to better efforts at socio-economic development by the regime with the help of good leaders. The transition to administrative rule is however, a gradual process. The beginning of the foundations of personal property, introduction of multi-party system, a vigilant role of the media and effective participation of people in making sincere efforts at abolishing the old authoritarian system and increasingly incorporating the process of pluralism in the political system will justify the regime of transformation of Kazakhstan. The role of the political party becomes important in studying the social structure of the state and bringing about consensus amongst people in support of the transformation through constitutional means (Badanova & Complak, 2016).

POLITICS OF EURASIANISM IN KAZAKHSTAN

The emergence of Eurasianism in Kazakhstan can be seen in the nation-building process and the transformation of the state's politics. This politics of Eurasianism is specifically associated with President Nursultan Nazarbayev, a historic figure and prominent political leader of Kazakhstan who worked to unite the multiethnic groups of the country. Presence of a Russian minority in the southern region had posed challenges for Kazakh politics. The government was however able to successfully address this concern and established socio-political and cultural cohesion in the country. (Sadykova, 2017 p.23). Cummings has also emphasized this point by arguing that – “in the first ten years the Russians have been the main existential political elite for the development of the Kazakh political system in a greater way”. (Cummings, 2005 p.5). The main emphasis of the country's policies and actions is to build a solid political legitimacy by confronting the ethnic fault lines to bring the nationalization process in greater order. The political elite have to ensure a smooth functioning of the process of institutionalism so as to handle the ethnic situation in Kazakhstan. Schatz highlights the balancing role of these efforts by pointing out “the framework of strategies employed by the elites to assure concerns of the non-titular groups and at the same time accommodate Kazakhs ethno-cultural claims internationalism with an ethnic face” (Schatz, 2000 p.66).

The process of Eurasianism has been evident in social life in Kazakhstan since the 1990s and is crucial in terms of the international standard of future discourse which brings the state's great heritage into the limelight. The Kazakh society, in its interactions and engagement with the process of Eurasianism represents a great heritage for the people. It shows that the process of Eurasianism, as emphasized by the president Nursultan Nazarbayev in his strategy “Kazakhstan 2030”, is the bone of contention between Asia and Europe. Nazarbayev has however argued that the idea is going to help the country in political, economic and social spheres as well as in connecting with China, Russia and the Muslim World. He also made prominent the Eurasian snow leopard concept to signify the Eurasianness and uniqueness of Kazakhstan. He further added that the animal with his

nobility, bravery, intelligence and cunningness will provide a strong hold in maintaining Eurasianism in Kazakhstan (Sadykova, 2017 pp.25-26).

EURASIANISM IN THE NATION-BUILDING PROCESS OF KAZAKHSTAN

The concept of Eurasianism, as associated with the process of nation-building analyzes the concrete political meaning and role given to it by NursultanNazarbayev who supported the integration of Eurasianism in Kazakh economy and society. To support the nation-building process, the Eurasian economic union has to solve two major problems associated with the Kazakh economy and defense policy. The first one is the creation of a single economic space and the second one is to make a joint defense policy to protect the sovereignty and integrity of the nation. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, the Kazakh president had always focused on the need for economic integration of Kazakhstan. He identified four elements for Eurasian integration: economic pragmatism, voluntary integration, mutual respect in the matter of internal affairs and equality and non-interference in others' matters and finally, the inviolability of sovereignty and state matters to substantiate the process of nation-building process in Kazakhstan. The Kazakh president has emphasized integration with the Eurasian economic union in order to bring the global economic system together and function as a bridge between Europe and Asia. According to Nursultan Nazarbayev, Eurasianism plays a pivotal role in integrating the Kazakh national identity which serves the interest of both domestic as well as international policies in a big way. It is a great way to bring the issues of identity formation and institution-building processes in future perspectives (Cornell & Engvall, 2017 pp.13-17).

The nation-building process in Kazakhstan has faced challenges from the binary national identities of the Kazakh and Russian people. The solution to this contestation and conflict was found by emphasizing the idea of nation and nationalism. Anthony D Smith characterizes a nation as-“an abstract, poly-dimensional construction connected to various spheres of life and predisposed to multiple transformations and combinations. Its basic peculiarities are historical territory, common myths and historical memory,

common culture, unified legal rights and obligations for all the members, and common economy. The concept of national identity embraces, first of all, originality, historical individuality, national idea present among the people” (Smith, 2004 p.466). The Kazakh nation building process can be described by the system of kazakhization which includes two separate controversial identities of Kazakh and Kazakhstani. This process describes the structure of the Kazakh society from a sociological perspective. The notions of identity in the Kazakh nation-building process can be seen in ideological and material objects, ethnicity, classes and the presence of diverse social groups (Aitymbetov, Tokatarov & Ormakhanova, 2015 pp.2-3).

CIVIC IDENTITY IN KAZAKHSTAN

The idea of civic identity includes the process of nationality as well as the ethnic affiliation of the people. The key things that could be considered as the elements of civic identity are: protection of the individual rights on a legal basis by providing an initiative; an open and comprehensive political system; and open public debate for the group of leaders to participate in community affairs in order to bring transparency and clarity in the state’s political system. The proper civic identity is vested in the recognition of multicultural citizenship and multiethnic statehood which adequately brings out features of recognition and legitimacy. In reality, the state-sponsored discourse on ethnic harmony and civic peace has effectively played the greater role in managing the process of nationalism for the state. The challenges faced in this regard include the process of an authoritarian patrimonial system for the categorization of ethnic minorities which uses ideological rhetoric and cooperation to manage state affairs (Dave, 2007 pp.135-136).

NEOPATRIMONIAL PRESIDENTIALISM IN KAZAKHSTAN

The concept neopatrimonialism gained popularity in the 1970s encompasses within it rational-legal authority. It is the concept defined primarily and connected with two logics that is domination and legitimacy (Erdmann & Eugle, 2007 p.95). Neopatrimonialism defines informal interaction of state with private interests. It is therefore often used as a

synonym for corruption, clientelism, patronage, cronyism, nepotism, the “big man” syndrome, godfatherism, warlordism, capture, predation, kleptocracy, prebendal regime, etc. However, most of these terms are narrower than the concept of neopatrimonialism (Evans, Haggard & Kaufmann, 1992 p. 97).

The concept neopatrimonialism is relevant in comparative analysis of the traditional system to modern system. The Central Asian region witnesses a confinement to the decisions of its colonial ruler in context of the categorization of people into the patrimonial system, which in itself is a colonial legacy. Henry E. Hale’s concept of patronal presidentialism, defined as “the exercise of political authority primarily through selective transfers of resources rather than formalized institutional practices, idea-based politics, or generalized exchange as enforced through the established rule of law” (Laruelle, 2012 p.309).

The patrimonialism in Kazakhstan is based on the system of the economic system that consolidates the political system in a greater way which is based on the three main centralizing elites that are the family, the oligarchs and the technocrats. The president’s family is further divided into personal strategies and appears to be a unified actor only when directly opposed by a group. The oligarchs have their contradictory dynamics in market-based competition relying on the cooperation as well as confrontation with the patrimonial state. The technocrats have their central role in formulating the private interest and the political-administrative mediation in economic competition (Laruelle, 2012 pp.222-223).

There are three ways in which the system of neopatrimonialism is misinformed among Central Asian states, especially in Kazakhstan. They are appropriateness and operationalization of the concept, oversimplification of formal and informal dichotomy and inherent normativity in the application of neopatrimonialism.

APPROPRIATENESS AND OPERATIONALIZATION

There are two ways in which the concept of neopatrimonialism has been misinterpreted in level of analysis. When the concept is applied then the emphasis is on informal opposed to formal. There are multiple ways in which the concept neopatrimonialism is employed. It can be analyzed through state, regime, organizations, practices, and customs. The typological regime of neopatrimonialism used in Kazakhstan is in the form of Weberian origin to justify the process of correlation in the society (Guliyev, 2011 p.576). In Kazakhstan, it is difficult to study the state and regime in process of conflation to state power. The problem with conflating the two in relation to neopatrimonialism is that in not distinguishing between neutral states bureaucracies on the one hand, and the personalized nature of authority and legitimacy on the other. The purpose of the concept is undermined because it is meant to be a heuristic device to analyze the interaction between both the personal and impersonal logics of authority and legitimation (Robinson, 2008 p.3).

FORMAL AND INFORMAL DICHOTOMY

The formal and informal dichotomy is difficult to determine in the concept of neopatrimonialism. Operationalization of this concept is very difficult to determine that begins from the formal and informal structure. Edward Schatz has highlighted this problem by putting the relationship between clans and states. He argues that- “strong adherence to Weberian thinking does not equip us to consider syncretic outcomes and the ways in which clans and the states adapt to new environments. If clans and the state begin in fundamental opposition, this opposition is not fate. Forms of mutual accommodation can soften the antagonism” (Schatz, 2005 p.233). The party and the formal structure of party system is dominated by president’s party that is the NurOtan party. That party is creating one kind of personification of the president Nursultan Nazarbayev and not limited in the sphere of vast human resources but it operates effectively in the form of the administrative and state resources (Isaacs, 2011 pp.80-82).

NORMATIVITY

The neopatrimonialism has been used in democratic paradigm in Kazakhstan to frame the idealistic pattern of transition in society. It is the process by which the bad governance is treated by the strong political leadership, in addition, to following the normal clientelism in the form of a normal pattern of institutional quality (Gawrich, Melnykovska & Schweickert 2010 p.12). The concept of neopatrimonialism in Central Asia can be studied under the broader concepts dealing with the study of political system, namely the process of traditional and rational-legal authority. Neopatrimonialism needs the multiplicities of trajectories to understand system that persists in Kazakhstan in enlightened way (Isaacs, 2014 p.236).

REGIONALISM IN KAZAKHSTAN UNDER PATRIMONIAL AUTHORITARIANISM

The process of regionalism in the authoritarian regime in Kazakhstan could be studied under two main issue areas: economic and security policy. By these two elements, the patrimonial regime in Kazakhstan tried to survive and maximize their personal enrichment through economic and security oriented regionalism by curbing the common threats. Even many international actors and the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, United Nation Development Program have suggested regional cooperation on multiple issues, like trade and transit to water policy, the Aral Sea, refugees, labor migration, terrorism, drug trafficking, border policies, and even human rights and democratization (EBRD, 2002).

ECONOMIC REGIONALISM UNDER PATRIMONIAL AUTHORITARIANISM IN KAZAKHSTAN

The potential for the economic regionalism is evident among the Central Asian states and especially in Kazakhstan. The multilateral agreement is self-evident and was necessary to bring significant changes after the 1991 economic crisis. Major export item of

Kazakhstan are the natural gas, oil, gold, and aluminum which can be explored to bring the balance in economic regionalism in Kazakhstan. The inter-regional cooperation with other countries like Russia and China in the field of energy sector could bring significant differentiation in the field of economic regionalism (Spechler & Spechler, 2006 p.233). There are treaties with other countries like Iran, Pakistan and Turkey signed by Kazakhstan along with other Central Asian countries to balance economic regionalism. Kazakhstan signed Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) with these countries to envision its trade and tariffs (Collins, 2009 p.259).

SECURITY REGIONALISM UNDER PATRIMONIAL AUTHORITARIANISM IN KAZAKHSTAN

To boost the economic regionalism in Kazakhstan it needs to address the security concerns at regional level. Most of the security threats in Central Asia especially in Kazakhstan have been transitional in nature since 1991. The regional threats are Islamist extremism, terrorism, criminal networks dealing with narcotics and weapons which have created major challenges in the society of Kazakhstan. But the Kazakh government has adopted security cooperation to deal with these problems and enhance the security for country (Collins, 2009 p.260). Nursultan Nazarbayev the Kazakh president tried to balance the security concern in Kazakhstan through the cooperation with Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Kazakh president joined in SCO with China, Russia, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to defend the security threats such as terrorism, separatism, extremism, and Islamism. He laid more emphasis on the military to curb all these obstacles to take the country to a great height (Gleason, 2005 pp.211-215).

This chapter deals with the political ideologies that the Kazakh government have adopted to justify its regime. They are economic stability which leads to political development. The political development needs the centralised administrative system through strong political institutions. The political parties have also played an important role in shaping the regime for Kazakhstan. There are other ideologies like Eurasianism to checkmate the Slavic population under its sphere of influence and also helps in nation building process.

Patrimonial presidentialism played important role in shaping the economic and regional balance for state. So these are the elements that the Kazakh government have taken to justify its regime.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Modernization is a process implies to develop the society and bring new changes by replacing the older one. It is the process through which the society transforms in a greater way. It is the process that transforms the life of people and gives them a new set of thinking to develop in every sort of situation and make future generation qualitatively good in political, social and cultural aspects. It is the concept that replaces the older ideas and values and brings new ideas and values.

Ideology is the idea to provide a set of relationship in theory and practice. it is the process which studies the various dimensions of the society and brings values to set up a new developmental process in linking various theories and practices. Ideology is the way to handle different situation in a honorable manner. There are different sets of ideologies, nationalism, socialism, liberalism. Marxism, etc are operating in different manner. Ideology is important for the political modernization process because it is the system through which a country develops by taking its idea and implementing this idea in the political, social and economic process.

Ideology is important for Kazakhstan to bring the modernization process. The modernization process in Kazakhstan is developed by the stability of the country in the spheres of political, social and economic. The process political stability is important to strengthen the economic development in Kazakhstan. To bring stability it is important to balance the internal and external factors between various competing groups.

Many problems were associated in Kazakhstan during the initial phase of independence. They are identity and ethnic conflict, boarder problems with Russia, Slavic migration. But the Kazakh president NursultanNazarbayev brought the idea of “Eurasianism” to bring the political stability of the country. He introduced this concept by saying that we are in the heart of Eurasia: connects both Europe and Asia. He took features of ideology and modernization to justify its regime. He took social, economic and cultural elements

of political modernization process and how this process developed in post-soviet transition.

The emergence of ideology is very important to replace the older ideas and bring the new ideas to replace them. For which it needs certain features to justify its position in society. Ideology is the process for the continuity and change in the world order. It is the phenomena to bring the political, social and cultural ideas and values together. The changing world order, post modernity and globalization are the features responsible for the emergence of ideology. Multiple images, selective recall, a relative threshold, hortatory realism, political fantasy and practical realism have contributed for the emergence of ideology.

To modernize the society the role of ideology is very important. The two terms ideology and modernization are very crucial for the development of a society. They help in building the socio-economic and cultural aspects of a society in a significant manner. The characteristics of modernization are diverse source of innovation, colonialism as modernizing force, traditionalism and development, roles as indicators of modernization and management roles. They along with ideology shape the modernization process of a particular country.

Socialism is an ideology of the Soviet Union. It is an ideology developed through rapid modernization process and New Economic Policy. The New Economic Policy brought by Lenin to develop the economy in a capitalist oriented way. The new economic policy was the victory for the peasantry. The significant amount of land was distributed to the farmers for maintaining their family. The collectivization policy came under Stalin in between 1928 to 1940 to bring the significant change in the field of agriculture. It is committed to boost the food production in urban population. It was the policy committed to bring sufficient food grains for the success of the industrialization process and the gradual collectivization process helps to bring the technological development for state to develop itself in a greater order. To bring the collectivization process beneficial for Soviet Union he put emphasis on the administrative process excellently. Collectivization of agriculture came for workers to uplift their condition in society. Lenin's idea was to bring the workers and peasants together to maintain the balance in society. He initiated

two links in socializing the practical expressions of the agriculture: organizing the firms for peasants and organising the state firm to meet the needs of the state. After collectivization, Virgin Land Campaign came for the nation building process of Kazakhstan. It is the process to change the virgin land into a produced land by the establishment of the Slavic population. The land would be used for the production of the grain to develop the state economy in a greater extent.

Industrialization had greater role to play in bringing the modernization process in Kazakhstan. It took place through literacy rate, urbanization processes, and economic modernization process. Informal interactions like kolkhoz and sovkhoz. Improvement of women status was given more importance in Kazakhstan to bring the modernization process together. The leader has to take decision to boost the primary and secondary education in country and to set the suitable educational institute for the children for developing country towards modernization. By the way of urbanization process the country can develop in a more systematic way. Urbanization process needs the trained labour and capital to develop the structure of the society. Economic modernization is a process through which Kazakhstan can develop in a greater way. The economic modernization focused on the industrial development. For industrial development it needs the raw materials, fuel, labour and technology to boost the economy of the state. Women status is also the main factor to develop the society in Kazakhstan. To provide health, education, equal opportunity in service and other factor could bring the modernization process together in Kazakhstan. Kolkhoz and sovkhoz model important in Kazakhstan in eradicating the poverty and establishing the collective balance in society. Stalin period of development in Kazakhstan in the field of industrialization, collectivization of agriculture through New Economic Policy is important to determine the backbone of the country. Post-Stalin period of development was necessary in the field of education, electrification, and health care. Perestroika and Glasnost was the two factors that provided the restructuring and opening the hope for Kazakhstan. The impact of perestroika and glasnost in Kazakh society came with the setting of social policies, political changes, and economic changes.

Kazakhstan developed accidentally in most stable and transformed manner from USSR. The success in Kazakhstan led by its great leader Nursultan Nazarbayev and promoted economic cooperation, ethnic harmony and political mobility. The transformation process started in a systematic manner by Nursultan Nazarbayev to construct the democratic form of government.

The elements of Post-Soviet transition are political stability, governance processes, economic modernization and multiculturalism and social modernization process. These are the elements helped in building the modernization process in Kazakhstan. To justify the political modernization processes ideological features played important role. The ideological features are nationalization of ideology based on Eurasianism, a Kazakh identity and harmonious relations with other ideologies like ideologies of civilization. These are the elements helped in developing the modernization processes in Kazakhstan.

Economic development is the most important ingredients to bring stabilization of political development in a more innovative way. To bring economic development it needs the energy sector to be developed in a balanced manner and market driven territory consists of small scale industry to regulate the economy smoothly for Kazakhstan.

The transition in Kazakhstan took place during 1980s and the struggle between different groups changed the regime, institution and the political process of the country. The transition of modernization process of Kazakhstan also took place with the industrialization and economic growth. The presence of Russians in their territory has made an impact in the transition process in Kazakhstan. It is the country full of natural resources and that resources could be utilized in such a manner for bringing the modernization process together. The reason behind modernization process in Kazakhstan is Nursultan Nazarbayev. He implemented and developed the modernization process through “Eurasianism” connecting through Asia and Europe.

There are some ideologies to justify the modernization process in Kazakhstan are economic stability which leads to political development, development of centralized administrative system, development of centralized administration through strong political

institutions; political parties, Eurasianism to checkmate separatist tendencies to bring Slavic population under its sphere of influence, neopatrimonial presidentialism in Kazakhstan. These are the elements of Kazakh government to justify its regime in the way of modernization processes.

The first hypothesis “political modernization in Kazakhstan ate being influenced by post-Soviet culture, the growth of strong leadership as well as present economic conditions” is discussed in first to third chapter. This helped in building modernization process by studying its elements like socialism process, literacy rate, and urbanization process, improvement of women status, perestroika and glasnost. These are the elements proved the hypothesis in building the modernization process of Kazakhstan.

The second hypothesis “because of socio-economic conditions, Kazakhstan is initiating civilization along with Eurasianism as ideologies of the state” proved in fourth and fifth chapters. The Kazakh government initiated the model eurasianism to develop the socio-cultural, economic and political aspects of being the state in the heart of Europe and Asia.

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