

THE STATE OF CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE NATION-BUILDING IN MODERN KAZAKHSTAN*

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Abstract. The article examines nation-building in Kazakhstan from the point of view of the relationship between its homogeneous and heterogeneous cultural foundations. The article shows that the cultural and linguistic heterogeneity of the entire multiethnic society in Kazakhstan is inextricably linked with the Kazakh-Russian heterogeneity of the titular nation. The consequence of the heterogeneity of the titular nation is the three-element social structure of society in Kazakhstan: 1) the Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs, 2) the Russian-speaking Kazakhs, and 3) the Russians and other nationalities. Due to the linguistic heterogeneity of the Kazakhs as the nuclear state-forming nation, such a transition is seriously hampered today in the nation-building in Kazakhstan. The results of the opinion poll demonstrate a different level of support for heterogeneity among different ethnocultural groups. The tendency to support cultural titular homogeneity among Kazakhs is significantly higher than among other ethnocultural groups.

Key words: Kazakhstan, nation-building, cultural foundations, homogeneity, heterogeneity.

Introduction

The gaining of independence set before Kazakhstan the task of the nation building from its multiethnic population, which it inherited from the USSR. Nation-building is understood as a process and social technology that aims to create a nation as a unity of political and cultural communities [1]. The political community is based on the state, and the cultural community is based on culture and language.

The urgency of the problem of cultural foundations of the nation-building in Kazakhstan is determined, first of all, by the fact that this process is carried out on the basis of its heterogeneous cultural foundations, although the theory and practice of nation formation presuppose homogeneous cultural foundations. In other words, instead of the Kazakh language and culture as homogeneous cultural foundations, the

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nation-building in Kazakhstan is carried out on heterogeneous cultural foundations of the Kazakh and Russian languages. As it is well known, in Kazakhstan since Soviet times, Russian has played a leading role in the linguistic structure, which is used by all ethnic groups of the population in almost all social spheres.

National building on Kazakh-Russian heterogeneous cultural foundations allows maintaining interethnic stability as a socio-political precondition of a civil nation. At the same time, the dominance of the Russian language causes dissatisfaction with a certain part of the Kazakh ethnic community, which sees this as an infringement of national character of the state in Kazakhstan. Kazakh nationalist elites demand the nation-building to be conducted on Kazakh homogeneous foundations.

This contradiction between homogeneous and heterogeneous cultural foundations is one of the fundamental problems of the nation-building in Kazakhstan, which remain acute and relevant throughout the entire period of independence. The state, as the leading subject of the nation-building, manages to influence ethnic elites, not to bring the emerging contradictions to extreme forms and maintain social stability at the level necessary for the functioning of a multiethnic society. In general, the issues of cultural and linguistic relations in Kazakhstan have not become the subject of any clashes or conflicts at any mass level.

The problem of cultural foundations of the nation-building does not lose its relevance, as it is constantly present in the socio-political agenda of Kazakhstani society. As in any society in Kazakhstan, there are isolated incidents in which the relations between the Kazakh and Russian languages come to the fore, and these incidents receive publicity and coverage in the media. Some of these incidents are covered in Kazakhstan, but the “Language patrol” incident has spawned a widespread information campaign, which has been joined by Russian political forces and the media. For several weeks, coverage of this incident has been on the information agendas of Kazakhstan and Russia.

A nation as a unity of political and cultural communities with their unifying identity is not a static structure, but dynamic socio-political processes that are influenced by other social processes. Cultural foundations of the nation-building, the ratio of heterogeneity and homogeneity in their structure are also subject to constant change under the influence of various processes, without losing their relevance. Having great socio-political significance, cultural foundations of the nation-building in Kazakhstan require constant theoretical monitoring, continuous analysis in the context of the transformation of Kazakhstani society.

Methodology

In theoretical terms, the theory of nations and nationalism by Ernest Gellner is of great importance for the study of the topic of the article [2]. In this theory, a nation is the result of overcoming cultural heterogeneity of a traditional society and achieving cultural homogeneity of an industrial society. The process of overcoming cultural and linguistic heterogeneity of a multiethnic society and achieving cultural and linguistic homogeneity we interpret as the formation of cultural foundations of the nation-building in Kazakhstan.

Empirical approaches play an important role in studying cultural foundations of the nation-building in Kazakhstan, in particular, a mass sociological survey that covered 1200 people in the eight largest cities and regional centers of the country (Almaty, Aktobe, Atyrau, Kostanay, Kyzyl-Orda, Nur-Sultan, Ust -Kamenogorsk and Shymkent). Conducting the sociological survey in large cities is due to the fact that homogeneous and heterogeneous cultural processes in Kazakhstani society take place in the most intense and explicit form in them.

Cultural and Linguistic Homogeneity and Heterogeneity in Kazakhstan

In the Strategy “Kazakhstan-2050” Nursultan Nazarbayev concisely and succinctly expresses the formula of nation-building in Kazakhstan: “The Kazakh people and the state language act as a unifying core of the developing Kazakhstani civic community” [3, p.72]. In this formula, the Kazakh people act as a core ethnos, uniting around itself all the nationalities of Kazakhstan into a single political and cultural community, that is, a nation. At the same time, “the state language should become the consolidator of the people of Kazakhstan” [3, p. 69], that is, the cultural basis of the nation-building.

The logic of nation-building consists in the consolidation, or integration, of a polyethnic, multicultural, multilingual society around the leading, core ethnos on common cultural foundations. We mean cultural homogenization of a diverse ethnocultural community, in which the language of the core ethnic group plays a leading role. If we talk about Kazakhstan, then the consolidating role of the state language is quite consistent with the logic of cultural homogenization of the polyethnic Kazakh society. The main goal of the state’s language policy is for the entire multi-ethnic population of the country to master the Kazakh language, becoming the language of interethnic communication. When this goal is achieved, it will be possible to consider that a single civil nation in Kazakhstan has been built.

However, there are serious problems on the way to achieving this goal, one of the main ones being cultural heterogeneity associated with the widespread use of the Russian language in Kazakhstan. In essence, the function of integrating a multiethnic society that the state wants to give to the Kazakh language by assigning the status of the state language is performed instead by the Russian language in Kazakhstan. Since Soviet times, the entire population in the republic speaks Russian, and a number of non-titular peoples - Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, Tatars, Koreans and others - are monolingual groups, they speak only Russian.

By cultural homogeneity, we mean in this work the situation of the dominance of the Kazakh language as the language of the core (title or state-forming) nation in the linguistic space of Kazakhstan over all other languages in society. Despite the striving for linguistic homogeneity, the reality of modern Kazakhstan is linguistic heterogeneity, which means the functioning of not one, but two or more languages in society. Linguistic heterogeneity in Kazakhstan is expressed in the functioning of the Kazakh language as the state language and the Russian language, in which interethnic communication and the main social communication in society are carried out. If Russian is spoken by the entire population of Kazakhstan, then Kazakh is spoken almost ex-

clusively by Kazakhs and a small number of representatives of Turkic ethnic groups.

The use of the Russian language in one form or another persists to this day in all post-Soviet states, primarily in their capitals and large cities. Consequently, in all former Soviet republics, as well as in Kazakhstan, national-Russian linguistic heterogeneity remains. There is, however, a significant difference in the nature and form of linguistic heterogeneity in Kazakhstan and most post-Soviet states, where the language of the titular nation is dominant in the linguistic space. In these states, despite the persisting national-Russian linguistic heterogeneity, there is a noticeable tendency to strengthen national homogeneity. In Kazakhstan, the dominance of the Russian language in the national-Russian linguistic heterogeneity is quite obvious. Here, as in Belarus, Kyrgyzstan (certain regions), Ukraine (in the eastern and southern parts), the prospects for linguistic homogeneity do not look definite.

Cultural and Linguistic Heterogeneity of the Kazakhs

In the post-communist Baltic and Transcaucasian countries, there is an unambiguous connection between the titular nation and its language in the sense that all representatives of the titular nation speak their own language, forming a homogeneous cultural and linguistic community. The transition from heterogeneity to homogeneity in the cultural and linguistic sphere of these countries looks like an expansion of the scope of application of the titular language to non-titular ethnic groups with the prospect of their assimilation, and an increasing movement of Russian and other non-titular languages into the private sphere. In this sense, the social structure of society in these countries is divided into a titular majority and a non-titular minority.

In Kazakhstan, due to the long-term Russification of the Kazakh people in the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, there is no unambiguous connection between the titular nation and its language, which exists in the Baltic and Transcaucasian countries. Although in censuses and other polls of the population, Kazakhs from the Soviet era to this day claim that their native language is Kazakh, which they know quite well, but in reality a different picture is obvious. In fact, most urban Kazakhs speak Kazakh at a superficial level, using Russian as the main vehicle for social and personal communication. The speakers of the Kazakh language are mainly rural residents and the first generation of those moving to the cities.

In the Baltic States and Transcaucasia, the indigenous population (core nation) is culturally and linguistically homogeneous. In Kazakhstan, the indigenous population in this respect is heterogeneous, linguistically divided. In Kazakhstan, in other words, there are two types of heterogeneity: on the one hand, general heterogeneity at the national level among the entire multi-ethnic society, and, on the other hand, narrower heterogeneity at the ethnic level among the Kazakhs. These two types of heterogeneity correspond to a social structure consisting of three sociolinguistic groups: 1) the Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs, 2) the Russian-speaking Kazakhs, and 3) the Russians and other non-titular ethnic groups.

Kazakh-speaking and Russian-speaking Kazakhs are divided into two groups, since, having a common ethnic identity, they are separated by language. This division is imposed

on other social boundaries, such as urban-rural, modernization-traditionalism, and others. Since Soviet times, Kazakhs have been divided into two socio-cultural groups, which can be considered as two nations. The post-Soviet migration of Kazakhs to cities did not lead to a smoothing of the boundaries between the two groups, including in the linguistic sphere.

Urban Kazakhs and Russians are separated by ethnicity, but united by a common cultural and linguistic space. This means that urban Kazakhs and Russians have more social and cultural similarities than differences. Under the conditions of Soviet internationalism, urban Kazakhs were a strongly Russified, assimilated, nation. In independent Kazakhstan, as in other post-Soviet states, the boundaries between ethnic groups have become sharper, but the Russification of Kazakhs in cities is preserved and reproduced. Coexistence of urban Kazakhs and Russians in a single socio-cultural and linguistic space is one of the main factors of interethnic stability in Kazakhstan.

Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs and Russians do not have a common ethnic identity, as well as a common linguistic identity. The relations of these particular sociolinguistic groups contain a potential for conflict. The nationalist elites opposing the Russian language represent precisely this part of the Kazakh ethnic society. Practice, however, shows that these elites cannot attract a broad mobilization potential.

The listed sociolinguistic groups have different, even opposite, views on the cultural foundations of the nation-building in Kazakhstan. So, Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs should be expected to support in the issue of cultural and linguistic homogenization, Kazakhization of the multi-ethnic society. Kazakh-speaking elites are putting pressure on the state in an attempt to abolish the constitutional provision on equal use of the Russian language in state and local government bodies and other legislative norms related to the Russian language. The situation with the “Language patrol” nationalist group shows that the activists of language homogenization also resort to direct methods of influencing the multiethnic society.

Russians and Russified non-indigenous nationalities are interested in preserving the dominant position of the Russian language as long as possible, linking to a large extent with this their identity with Kazakhstan and the desire to remain in it, to which E. Poppe and L. Hagendorn drew attention [6]. In other words, Russians are interested in strengthening the existing Kazakh-Russian heterogeneity with the dominant position of the Russian language, as is the case in modern Kazakh society. At the same time, they regard any attempts at Kazakh linguistic homogenization as an infringement of their linguistic rights and a Kazakh ethnocracy.

The sociocultural group of Russian-speaking Kazakhs is distinguished by the greatest ambivalence in the issue of cultural homogenization. On the one hand, the Kazakh language is an essential element, a symbol of their ethnic identity, which, however, they speak to a very limited extent. Russian-speaking Kazakhs are aware that, if necessary, they or their children can master the Kazakh language at the level necessary for their social mobilization. However, the prospect of replacing the Russian language with the Kazakh language does not look attractive for many urban Kazakhs. Indeed, the idea of modernization advantages of the Russian language over the Kazakh language is deeply rooted in their minds, which creates more opportunities for social and cultural growth for Russian-speaking Kazakhs.

The linguistic heterogeneity of the Kazakhs creates serious obstacles to the implementation of the nation-building, in which the state Kazakh language should become the consolidator of the people of Kazakhstan, that is, the civil Kazakh nation. In the Baltic and Transcaucasian countries, nation-building is understood as a transition from heterogeneity to homogeneity in the cultural and linguistic sphere, that is, as an expansion of homogeneity based on the titular language and a reduction in national-Russian heterogeneity. In principle, the transition from heterogeneity to homogeneity is a general rule in the formation of a single cultural community in nation-building. Due to the linguistic heterogeneity of the Kazakhs as a core state-forming nation, such a transition is seriously hampered today in the nation-building in Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstani Society: Perception of Linguistic Homogeneity and Heterogeneity

To concretize the provisions and conclusions of the above analysis of the problem of cultural foundations of nation-building within the framework of our project, a mass sociological survey of the population in eight regions of Kazakhstan was carried out. The peculiarity of the survey was that it was conducted only in the largest cities of Kazakhstan, namely, in three cities of republican significance - the capital Nur-Sultan, the main metropolis of the country Almaty, the largest city in the south of the country Shymkent, as well as in the regional centers of Aktobe, Atyrau, Kostanay, Kyzyl-Orda and Ust-Kamenogorsk. Of the large cities of Kazakhstan, only Karaganda remained uncovered by the survey, but this did not significantly affect the representativeness of the sample.

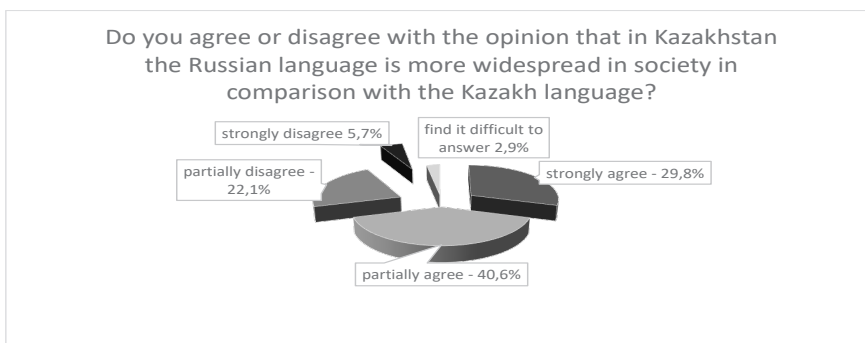
Conducting a sociological survey only in the largest cities is explained by the fact that it is in them that the tendencies of linguistic and cultural processes in Kazakhstan are most noticeable. Historically, cities in Kazakhstan were formed as administrative and industrial centers with a high level of interethnic contacts based on the Russian language, which led to the Russification of a multi-ethnic population, including Kazakhs. Cultural and linguistic heterogeneity with the dominance of the Russian language was formed in the Soviet period in the cities. During the period of independence, the expansion of the use of the Kazakh language is observed mainly in cities, including the trend of homogenization of the linguistic space and its interaction with the continuing heterogeneity of social life. That is why conducting a sociological survey in large cities from different regions of the country will make it possible to determine the state and prospects of the cultural foundations of the nation-building in a fairly clear form.

We connected the problem of homogeneous and heterogeneous cultural foundations of nation-building with the social structure of our society, in which we identified three sociocultural groups of Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs, Russian-speaking Kazakhs and non-indigenous ethnic groups of Kazakhstan. The problem, however, is that it is almost impossible to single out two groups of Kazakhs differing in language within the framework of a sociological survey, since all Kazakhs consider themselves to know and use the Kazakh language in communication. In all polls, including population censuses, Kazakhs indicate Kazakh as their native language, which they use in communication. Very rare Kazakhs confess that they do not know the Kazakh language and are Russian-speaking. Obviously, in order to identify these sociocultural groups and obtain

their opinions, it is necessary to turn to other methods of sociological research, in particular, a focus group and an expert interview. Nevertheless, the results and conclusions obtained in our mass survey carry a lot of useful information for studying the problem of homogeneous and heterogeneous foundations of nation-building in Kazakhstan.

If cultural homogeneity is oriented towards the Kazakh language, then heterogeneity results from the greater spread of the Russian language in comparison with the Kazakh language. In order to identify to what extent the existing linguistic heterogeneity is recognized or not recognized in Kazakhstan, the question was asked: “Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that in Kazakhstan the Russian language is more widespread in society in comparison with the Kazakh language?” In the general distribution, as illustrated in the picture 1, 70.4% of the respondents answered positively (“completely agree” or “partially agree”), and 26.9% answered negatively (“partially disagree” or “completely disagree”).

Picture 1.



In terms of ethnicity (table 1), among Kazakhs, 66.9% of respondents answered positively to this question, and 30.3% of respondents negatively; among Russians, 83.9% partially or completely agree with this statement and 13.6% partially or completely disagree; among other nationalities 76.8% agree and 22.2% disagree.

Table 1.

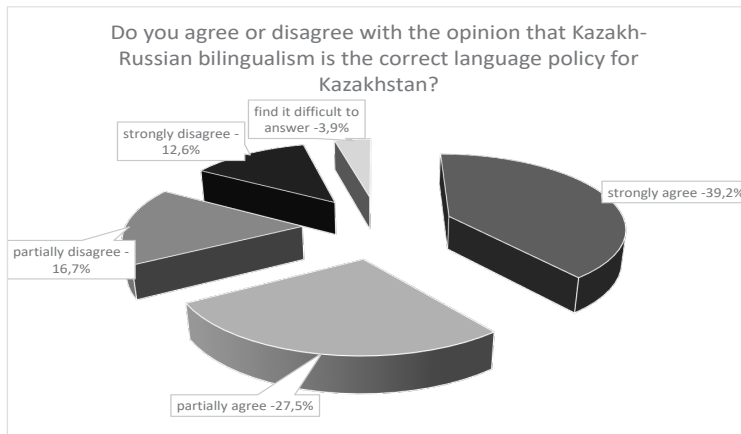
Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that in Kazakhstan the Russian language is more widespread in society in comparison with the Kazakh language?	Kazakhs	Russians	other ethnic groups
strongly agree	27,7%	40,1%	29,3%
partially agree	39,2%	43,8%	47,5%
partially disagree	24,6%	12,0%	19,2%
strongly disagree	5,7%	1,6%	3,0%
find it difficult to answer	2,9%	2,6%	1,0%

Hence it follows that among all ethnic groups of Kazakhstan there is a significant excess of those who agree with the greater prevalence of the Russian language in comparison

with the Kazakh language over those who disagree with this opinion. A similar picture is observed in other social sections of the sociological survey. The general conclusion from the analysis of the results on this issue is that Kazakhstanis generally agree that Kazakh-Russian heterogeneity has developed in society with the dominance of the Russian language in it.

There is another question related to this issue, also connected to Kazakh-Russian bilingualism and linguistic heterogeneity: “Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that Kazakh-Russian bilingualism is the correct language policy for Kazakhstan?” In general, as illustrated in the picture 2, in the answers to this question, the agreement (66.7%) of the respondents in all social sections noticeably exceeds the disagreement (29.3%).

Picture 2.



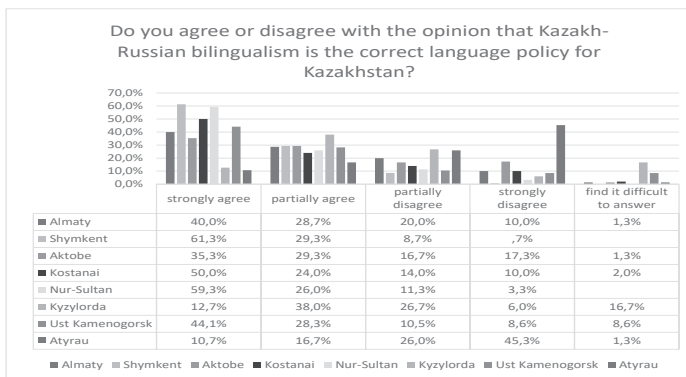
However, in the ethnic context (table 20, there are noticeable differences in the percentage of agreeable (59.2% among Kazakhs, 90.6% among Russians and 89.9% among other ethnic groups) and dissenting (36.1% among Kazakhs, 8.4% among Russians and 8.1% among other ethnic groups).

Table 2.

Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that Kazakh-Russian bilingualism is the correct language policy for Kazakhstan?	Kazakhs	Russians	other ethnic groups
strongly agree	27,6%	75,5%	75,8%
partially agree	31,6%	15,1%	14,1%
partially disagree	21,0%	4,2%	2,0%
strongly disagree	15,1%	4,2%	6,1%
find it difficult to answer	4,7%	1,0%	2,0%

In the regional section (picture 3), large differences among those who agree with this statement are observed in Kostanai and Atyrau (74.0% and 27.4%, respectively) and the opposite numbers of those who disagree (24% and 71.3%, respectively).

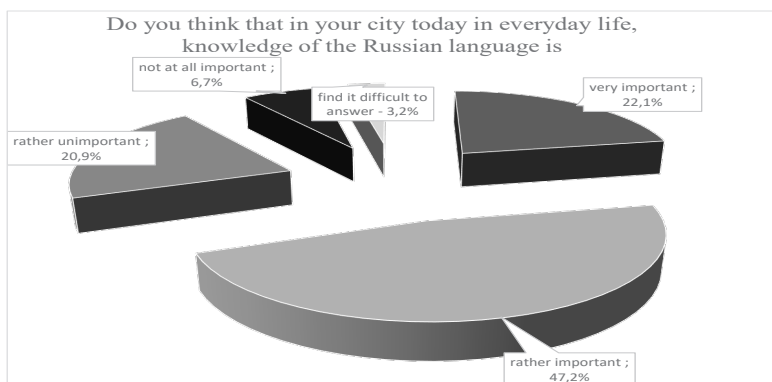
Picture 3.



These poll data show a greater desire of Kazakhs for cultural and linguistic homogeneity, and Russians and other non-titular nationalities for heterogeneity. In general, the heterogeneity in the form of Kazakh-Russian bilingualism is perceived by the majority (66.7% versus 29.3%) of the population of Kazakhstan as the correct language policy for a multi-ethnic society.

For the analysis of cultural and linguistic heterogeneity, the perception of the Russian language by various layers of Kazakhstani society is of great importance. To do this, the respondents were asked about the importance of knowledge of the Russian language in today's daily life of their city (picture 4). The importance ("very important" and "rather important") of the Russian language in all social sections was indicated by 69.3% of the respondents, while the opposite opinion ("rather not important" and "not at all important") was expressed by 27.6% of respondents.

Picture 4.



Ethnically, as illustrated in the table 3, 62.6% of Kazakhs agreed with the opinion about the importance of the Russian language in their city and 34.1% of Kazakhs

did not agree with them. Among Russians and other nationalities, the overwhelming majority (90.1% and 90.9%, respectively) recognized the importance of the Russian language in their city, while the opposite opinion among them is held by 6.3% and 8.1% of the respondents, that is, an insignificant minority.

Table 3.

Do you think that in your city today in everyday life, knowledge of the Russian language is	Kazakhs	Russians	other ethnic groups
very important	15,5%	47,9%	33,3%
rather important	47,1%	42,2%	57,6%
rather unimportant	25,9%	4,7%	6,1%
not at all important	8,2%	1,6%	2,0%
find it difficult to answer	3,3%	3,6%	1,0%

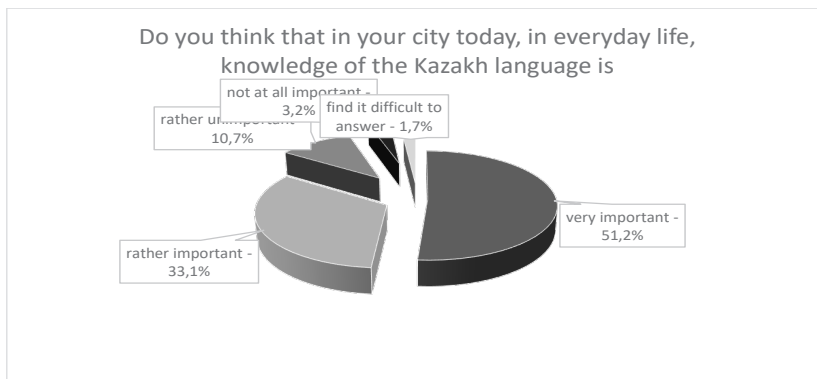
In the regional context (picture 5), high levels of agreement on the importance of the Russian language in the city were shown by Almaty (80.0%), Kostanay (78.7%), Ust-Kamenogorsk (76.9%), Aktobe (75.4%), Nur-Sultan (75.3%) and Shymkent (75.3%), that is, in the largest cities of the republic and regional centers of the north and east of the country. The indicators of Kyzyl-Orda (60.7%) and especially Atyrau (32.0%), those regional centers where the share of the indigenous population is higher than 90%, are noticeably lower.

Picture 5.



A similar question regarding the Kazakh language is also important for the analysis of linguistic heterogeneity in society (picture 6). The importance of the Kazakh language in the everyday life of the city of residence is indicated by 84.3% of the respondents according to the linear distribution of the poll, while only 13.9% of the respondents adhere to the opposite view on this issue.

Picture 6.



Ethnically, the differences in the answers to this question are just as noticeable as in the answers to the previous question (table 4). Among Kazakhs, 89.3% consider knowledge of the Kazakh language to be very important and rather important in the daily life of their city of residence, while only 9.7% of respondents consider it rather unimportant or even not at all important. Among Russians, 64.1% consider the knowledge of the Kazakh language to be important in modern Kazakhstan, while 30.8% of the respondents hold the opposite opinion. Among other ethnic groups, knowledge of the Kazakh language is considered important in everyday life by 78.8%, and at the same time, 20.2% of respondents do not consider it important.

Table 4.

Do you think that in your city today, in everyday life, knowledge of the Kazakh language is	Kazakhs	Russians	other ethnic groups
very important	61,6%	12,0%	32,3%
rather important	27,7%	52,1%	46,5%
rather unimportant	8,1%	21,9%	13,1%
not at all important	1,6%	8,9%	7,1%
find it difficult to answer	1,0%	5,2%	1,0%

It is interesting that although Russians and other nationalities mostly recognize the importance of the Kazakh language in everyday life, however, they do not show a desire to learn this language and speak it. Recognition of the importance of the Kazakh language can be interpreted as a manifestation of the loyalty of Russians and other non-indigenous nationalities to the state. But this loyalty is rather passive and is not expressed in their active efforts to learn the language. Nevertheless, the recognition of the importance of the Kazakh and Russian languages by the majority of the population can be seen as a form of manifestation of the heterogeneous cultural foundations of the nation-building in Kazakhstan.

Conclusion

The study of the cultural foundations of nation-building is of great importance not only for studying the national question, but also for the political system of Kazakhstan as a whole. The analysis of this problem carried out in the article shows the importance of the aspect that is associated with the relationship between homogeneous and heterogeneous foundations of the nation-building. In Kazakhstan, where the dominant position in social and interethnic communication has been occupied by the Russian language since Soviet times, the leading role of heterogeneous cultural foundations in relation to the homogeneous foundations of nation-building has objectively taken shape.

The article shows that the tendency to homogenize cultural foundations of the nation-building in most post-Soviet states is based on the cultural and linguistic homogeneity of their titular nations. The social structure of these societies from the point of view of cultural foundations of the nation-building consists of two groups: the titular majority and the non-titular minority. At the same time, the natural process of transition from heterogeneity to homogeneity of the cultural foundations of nation-building is the assimilation of non-titular groups into the language and culture of the titular majority.

The article shows that the cultural and linguistic heterogeneity of the entire multiethnic society in Kazakhstan is inextricably linked with the Kazakh-Russian heterogeneity of the titular nation. The consequence of the heterogeneity of the titular nation is the three-element social structure of society in Kazakhstan: 1) Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs, 2) Russian-speaking Kazakhs, and 3) Russians and other nationalities. Due to the linguistic heterogeneity of the Kazakhs as a core state-forming nation, such a transition is seriously hampered today in the nation-building in Kazakhstan.

The results of the mass sociological survey confirm the dominance of heterogeneous cultural foundations of nation-building both in society as a whole and among ethnocultural groups. At the same time, the results of the opinion poll demonstrate a different level of support for heterogeneity among different ethnocultural groups. Thus, among Russians and other nationalities, there is a high level of agreement regarding heterogeneity, while among Kazakhs the level of agreement is lower than among other ethnocultural groups. On the contrary, the tendency to support cultural titular homogeneity among Kazakhs is much higher than among other ethnocultural groups.

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Состояние культурных оснований национального строительства в современном Казахстане

Аннотация. В статье исследуется национальное строительство в Казахстане под углом зрения отношений его гомогенных и гетерогенных культурных оснований. В статье показывается, что культурно-языковая гетерогенность всего полиэтнического общества в Казахстане неразрывно связана с казахско-русской гетерогенностью титульной нации. Следствием гетерогенности титульной нации является трехэлементная социальная структура общества в Казахстане: 1) казахскоязычные казахи, 2) русскоязычные казахи и 3) русские и другие национальности. В силу языковой гетерогенности казахов как ядерной государствообразующей нации переход от гетерогенности к гомогенности серьезно затруднен сегодня в национальном строительстве в Казахстане. Результаты социопроса демонстрируют различный уровень поддержки гетерогенности у различных этнокультурных групп. Тенденция поддержки культурной титульной гомогенности у казахов значительно выше, чем у других этнокультурных групп.

Ключевые слова: Казахстан, национальное строительство, культурные основания, гомогенность, гетерогенность.

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Қазіргі Қазақстанның ұлттық құрылыстың мәдени негіздерінің жағдайы

Аңдатпа. Мақалада біртектілік және әртектілік мәдени негіздерінің байланыстары жағынан Қазақстанда өгіп жатқан ұлттық құрылыс зерттелді. Қазақстанның көпұлттық қоғамның мәдени-тілдік әртектілік, титулдық ұлттың әртектілігімен тығыз байланысқанын дәлелдейді. Қазақстан қоғамның үш-элементтік әлеуметтік құрылымы: «1) қазақтілді қазақтар, 2) орыстілді қазақтар, 3) орыстар және өзге ұлттар» титулдық ұлттың әртектіліктің салдары болып табылады. Қазақстанның ұлттық құрылысындағы әртектіліктен біртектілікке көшуі қазақтардың тілдік әртектілігіне байланысты қиын болып тұр. Әлеуметтік сауалнаманың нәтижелері әртүрлі этномәдениет топтарындағы әртектілікті қолдаудың әртүрлі деңгейін көрсетеді. Басқа этномәдени топтарға қарағанда, қазақтардың мәдени біртектілігін қолдану үрдісі басым.

Түйін сөздер: Қазақстан, ұлттық құрылыс, мәдени негіздер, біртектілік, әртектілік.