History plays an essential role in the development of a state. Today, the approach to historical science and its purposes are changing, the ethnic factor is being added to it, and the social, cultural and spiritual part of the historical past is being studied. New approaches help to establish a comprehensive picture of a people’s history. The relevance of the study is explained by the necessity of establishing a comprehensive historical model of Kazakhstan. The novelty consists in combining official, state history and ethnic narratives, i.e. the socio-cultural dimension. The history of Kazakhstan as a state has gone through many historical vicissitudes, as has the history of the peoples inhabiting its territory. Thus, to search for a general historical past, both political and economic history, i.e. state history, ethnic narratives, cultural and social history, is combined. The combination of these two approaches facilitates the interpretation of the historical past of the region and answers the questions that are acute in the contemporary world, such as those of nationhood, identity and state consciousness. The study considers methods and theories of interpretation of Kazakh history, the official historiography on which textbooks are written, and several studies presenting “alternative” history where authors focus on issues of ethnicity. The study also examines such crucial concepts as Russification and Kazakhisation and issues of nation-building and nationalism. The research has promoted the conclusion that, at the present stage, state historiography includes quite a few ethnic components, there is a parallel national school of history working in the field of “alternative” history.
History has been in existence for a long time, and it has played and continues to play an essential role in the life of the state and society. History has had and continues to have various functions: knowledge, narrative, educational or propagandistic. There are now many methods, schools and approaches available to the historian and a wealth of sources and accumulated literature. Notably, history is one of the most essential sciences for the state and one of the methods of building national identity and civil society. Historians in every country are challenged not only to search for the truth for the good of science but also to explore themselves in society. Thus, through the study of the history of one’s state or nation, the historian performs a personal cognitive function. The historian also performs their duty to the state, participating in a long search for answers to questions about the nation’s place in the world, the history of that nation and its specificities (Kucera 2017). For Kazakhstan, which 30 years ago entered a new stage in its state development, becoming independent but remaining in the post-Soviet space, the question of searching for a national identity is still relevant.

It is the science of history that allows a nation to identify its roots in the global historical past, helping it to develop its line of destiny. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore ways of interpreting the country’s historical past and the role of history in establishing a united nation. To accomplish the purpose, the following objectives were set: to examine the main historiographical material, to analyse the achievements of state history, to identify its features, and then to examine the ethnic component in this historiography, to conclude on their correlation in the representation of the hist-
historical past of Kazakhstan. For Kazakhstan, the question of its history has only recently emerged, as the territories were for a long time part of the Russian Empire and then the Soviet Union. The national policies of both states have always strived for unification based on one nation, the Russians. Thus, at this stage, historians have the enormous objective of restoring the ethnic elements in the history of Kazakhstan, celebrating national heroes, of discovering their place in world history (Masanov et al. 2001). Thus, if in the 19th-20th centuries, the history of Kazakhstan was Russified, now historians note its Kazakhization (Alpysbes 2019). The necessity of studying ethnic, proto-national and national narratives is explained by the fact that they provide a unique slice of reality open to historical-cultural, social and political analysis. The process of depersonalisation of supreme power largely provokes subsequent changes in ethnically oriented narratives, thus ensuring a gradual transition to national historiography (Badmaeva 2016; Jeong et al. 2022).

The emergence of national historiography is a crucial area of development for any modern state, beyond the boundaries of academic science. Over the years of independence, Kazakhstani historians have tried to develop new approaches, allowing the historical process to be seen as it was – interconnected, integrated and in the process of development. However, the process of redefining the historical past of the Kazakh people also had a negative side: many works have appeared exposing the past and historical facts have been rejected or viewed only in a negative light. An objective historical assessment of a historical process, phenomenon, event and person must be given in terms of the significance and role of the people and the state in history (Aitymbetov et al. 2015). The problem of searching for a nation through history science and the revision of historical facts has been the subject of more than one study. Several publications explore in detail the process of national identity development in post-Soviet Kazakhstan and the role of historical science (Alpysbes 2019). In addition, historians have for decades been asking questions about the role of national history and the role of ethnic narratives in constructing a comprehensive picture of each country’s historical past (Aitymbetov et al. 2015). In post-Soviet Kazakhstan, several works deal in general with the question of the search for identity in post-Soviet Kazakhstan, which historical motives are resorted to by both official history and alternative historians (Laruelle 2002). There are also several particular works on the role of history, on the purpose of the state in the search for a unified historical past in which researchers try to trace the current state of Kazakh history and the objectives of its further development (Nurligenova 2019). One promising field of study of national history is the study of the history of one region about other regions of one state or regions of a neighbouring state (Tomohiko 2008; Amangazykyzy et al. 2021). Some historians have little involvement in writing the official history in force in the country, very “Kazakhstani”, and instead focus their attention on the national diversity of Kazakhstan. They are also interested in social history, another subject that has received little at-
tention in the historiography developed since independence in 1991 (Ayagan and Satanov 2020).

Thus, it can be concluded that the problem of searching for national identity through history is a universal problem facing newly independent states, but also states that are trying not to lose their national idea in the context of world globalisation. Problems such as these allow historical science to develop and continue to play an essential role in society.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

Various methods of interpreting history in modern Kazakhstan including national, political-economic, historical-geographical approaches have been used to consider the specifics of the steppe location of Kazakhstan. This study employs a descriptive method to provide an overview and synthesis by examining the various approaches and schools of history and their stages of development in contemporary historical science. The methodological change from the formational paradigm requires the development of alternative methodological approaches, one of which is the cultural-interpretive approach, designed to consider and understand the historical process in the most comprehensive way. A rejection of the methodology of primordialism and a move towards constructivism leads to a consideration of ethnic and national motives for state development and national identity. National identity in this case appears as a mental construct, as a phenomenon of the sphere of consciousness, as a result of the capacity of imagination of the individual and the ethnic group or nation, i.e. as a subjective category. A comparative analysis performs a comparison of the two approaches to the study of history in contemporary Kazakhstan and focuses on how they relate to each other at this stage of development.

The application of the above methods and approaches will make it possible to achieve the purpose of the study, to consider the existing historical schools, their role and correlation and their specific features in a comprehensive and in-depth manner.

The study was divided into several stages for in-depth and detailed analysis, and a specific method was applied to each stage, which allowed the objectives to be performed in a more integrated way. The stages of the study follow the structure of the work presented. The first stage was an analysis of the historiographical material, examining the literature and materials on each aspect, which helped to consider in-depth the process of changing historical interpretations at the present stage. A literature review of recent years was conducted and training materials provided by the state for educational purposes were examined. The next stage was to identify the role of historical science in the definition of the nation, in the search for a national identity. To clarify this role, the historical context was analysed and the achievements of Kazakhstan in developing its scientific schools were reviewed and considered. The third stage deals with the main aspects of official historiography, its trends of development and its
methodological approaches, with particular attention to the policy towards the educational system in the country by the authorities. The fourth stage is to consider the specificities and challenges of alternative history, which is to appeal to ethnic narratives but also to consider other significant features and differences in the use of ethnic components by “alternative” and “state” historians. The final stage is devoted to an assessment of the relationship between the two components and approaches in contemporary historical science in Kazakhstan and the perspectives of their interaction. The implementation of all these stages allowed the historical context and existing methodological schools to be comprehensively considered, compared and achieved.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Tendencies of reference and reinterpretation of the historical past are a strategic trend of science development not only in Kazakhstan but also in the entire post-Soviet space. This trend is both theoretically and politically relevant. In general, history itself has experienced specific changes that have enabled it to be approached as one of the most dynamic sciences. Firstly, modern history has become an interdisciplinary science and historical research is no longer exclusively based on written sources and archives. They apply the methods of many related scientific disciplines. Secondly, the role of the scientist has changed. The methods of phenomenology and hermeneutics have changed the type of historical research itself. In this approach, each national history is not presented as an abstract chronological annal of structures and civilisations, but as the living history of a nation in all its complexity and uniqueness (Kabir 2013). New research is being conducted based on new archival holdings, and papers of various historical trends are being written. Uncharted pages of Kazakhstan’s history are being discovered, which contemporary historians, both official historiographers and “alternative” historiographers, are assessing. Such issues as the deportation of Soviet peoples to Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics, collectivisation, the repression of 1930-1950, and others. The history of Kazakhstan in the Modern Age – XVIII – early XX century is examined in a new way. This period correlates with the colonisation of Kazakhstan by the Russian Empire and an analysis of the consequences of this process.

The next significant factor worth considering in this section is the role of history in nation-building. A nation exists where its political and cultural communities coincide. The tool that performs this coincidence is national identity. Kazakhstan is one of those post-Soviet states that has been reasonably successful in resolving the contradiction between ethnic and civil identities. Such a balance has been attained by pursuing a rational national policy that consists, on the one hand, of promoting the development of the Kazakh language and culture by the state. On the other hand, the state insists on the equality of all citizens.
of Kazakhstan, regardless of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious and other identities (Alicheva-Himy 2005). Despite this comprehensive and rational approach to the problem of national identity, Kazakhstan is defined by the problem of its duality. Relevant problems of national identity development in modern Kazakhstan are considered to be the revival of the titular nation, the competition of civil and ethnic approaches to nation-building, the contradiction between the Kazakh and Russian languages (Daudov and Fedorov 2017). The problem is identified in the terminological dispute over the name of citizens of the state: Kazakhs or Kazakhs. The term “Kazakhs” speaks exclusively of ethnicity, exposing the national identity. The name “Kazakhstani” refers to civil identity; all inhabitants of the country can be Kazakhstani, regardless of their ethnic identity. The discussion of self-name is also part of the historical self-knowledge section, and historians analyse the past of Kazakhstan to resolve this discussion. Thus, two trends can be distinguished – a history that attempts to prove the primacy of ethnic Kazakhs and their claims to the role of the titular nation, and the establishment of its historical science without another, claiming to be the titular nation ethnus – the Russians. For official historiography the question of legitimization of equality of historical past of both nations through strengthening the position of Kazakhs, but also by preserving the heritage which the Russian ethnus left in the Kazakh steppes. Both of these trends are concerned with the homogenisation of history, especially the national elites, who are trying to identify signs of the ancient unification of the Kazakh ethnus.

The issue of a fair balance between the two approaches confronts the education system, which is naturally dominated by the state’s view of Kazakhstani history. The issue before the authorities is how to “nationalise” the school system without destabilising the inter-ethnic balance. The national movement, the establishment and consolidation of the Kazakh nation, is all about the study of history at school in general. It is especially complicated to implement reform of the Soviet education system and its legacy in the teaching of history in the republics in general. During the Soviet period, the distinction between nationalism and chauvinism on the one hand, and peoples’ aspirations for independence and self-determination on the other, was erased. Any expression of national sentiment was seen as a manifestation of nationalism (Kadyrzhanov 2014). Now, the government of independent Kazakhstan has an objective to re-establish the country’s national heritage without denying the contribution of other ethnic groups, primarily Russians, to particular historical events. Both official and alternative historiography has attempted to objectively assess the positive and adverse aspects of Russo-Kazakh relations in previous centuries (Alicheva-Himy 2005). The interest in the study of the historical past is specific not only to the Kazakh national elite but also to the remaining Russian elite. The theory of Eurasianism is often used to consolidate its position in Kazakhstan’s historical past. Beneath its multiculturalism, the so-called Eurasian ideology is
one expression of Russian nationalism in its version that is not ethnic but imperialist. However, eventually, the Kazakh elite is also performing for their purposes, with a different interpretation (Kozybayev 2006).

Thus, notably, historical science has come under the sway of several factions in society at once, each pursuing its political interests. For 30 years now, the history of Kazakhstan has been supplemented by new works and new methodologies. The main reason for this interest is the search for national identity, the settlement of national contradictions within post-Soviet Kazakhstan and the reconstruction of one’s historical past.

Consideration of official historiography is possible through an analysis of the content of educational materials for various levels of education. The review of the literature provided by the state for the study of its history is one of the best methods for learning about the peculiarities of national historiography. One of the trends in science, namely in Kazakh historiography of pre-Soviet and Soviet times, was the study of the education and establishment of the Kazakh people. The end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century was the time when the conventional ethnopolitical structure of Kazakh society disintegrated. In the works of pre-revolutionary authors, of course, there are more lively descriptions of researchers, witnesses included in the steppe environment, giving many detailed observations, and well-written historical sketches can be identified in their writings (Alpysbes 2019). During the Soviet period, textbooks in the republics varied little and had the purpose of national unification, establishing common Soviet historical heroes and characters, who were often “heroes” only of the Russian part of the USSR population (Barabash et al. 2022).

M. Kozybayev’s first post-Soviet history textbook, published in 1992, devotes many pages to the Soviet period, which was especially complicated and tragic for the Kazakh people. Another significant work published in 1993 by a team from the Institute of History and Ethnology and the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan is the “History of Kazakhstan from the most ancient times to the present day”. Here the authors try to revive the collective memory by describing the heroes of the struggle for national independence and Kazakhstan’s cultural and scientific elite destroyed by the totalitarian regime (Marat 2007). In a book published in 2001, A. Abdakimov places Kazakhstan’s history in the world. The author presents schoolchildren and students with the history of the Kazakhs as a result of the development of Eurasian culture, as a product of nomadic civilisation and as an organic continuation of the history of the Turkic peoples. The history textbooks consider forced sedentarisation, the exodus of a million nomads to China and Mongolia, collectivisation, industrialisation, the famine of the 1930s, World War II and the post-war years separately (Kozybayev 2006; Chung 2003). The new historical view of Kazakhstan is explored in detail through new symbols. These symbols are reflected on the covers of history and literature textbooks and in alphabet books. The symbols of the sun and the flying eagle in the centre, the
The state is the largest subject that participates in the identity process of the nation. The most powerful trend of this process is kazakhkation. Kazakhization should be considered in its historical context as a system of processes that were largely reactive to the processes in the national sphere of Kazakhstan that occurred during the Soviet period. To understand modern Kazakhization as a response to processes in the national sphere of Kazakhstan in the Soviet period that affected Kazakhs in one way or another, the analysis of Kazakhization in the demographic, political and linguistic spheres of Kazakh society is of paramount significance (Insebayeva 2016). The Kazakhstani official historiography consists of homogenisation of the historical past and interpretation of national history that places the ethnogenesis of the titular nation in the extremely distant past, thereby connecting it historically with the peoples and ethnicities living on the territory of the state in ancient periods. For example, current Kazakh historians associate the history of the Kazakhs with the ancient Turks, up to the Huns, but such a conclusion has no scientifically valid arguments. Along with the exaggeration and glorification of national history, one of its main trends in the revision of the Soviet and Russian heritage for Kazakhstan. In theory, this trend is reflected in the interpretation of relations between the Kazakhs and Russians and, in general, about Tsarist Russia, in its policy towards the Kazakhs through the prism of “colony-empire” (Turlybekova and Shamshudinova 2021). That the state is actively involved in establishing a national identity and developing public image projects is evidenced by the funds allocated. Some researchers may interpret such actions as acts of history manipulation or propaganda, but it is easy to ensure that this is just a trend throughout the post-Soviet space (Alicheva-Himy 2005).

The main problematic historical blocks that Kazakhstani historiography has to develop currently are, firstly, the problem of the development of a “common past” of an ethnically heterogeneous community of citizens of sovereign Kazakhstan. Secondly, official history has the objective of assessing the Soviet period of national history comprehensively and diversely in the context of the development of the paradigm of “independent Kazakhstan as a Fatherland”. Thirdly, the national historiography set the objectives of the scientific definition of the period of establishment of the Kazakh ethnos and its statehood; and the problems of the civilizational orientation of the Kazakh ethnos in his-
history and Kazakh civil society in the present and future (Aydıngün 2016).

As previously noted, the problems of interpreting history are not confined to the state, which, through the education system, intends to establish a necessary national identity, promoted to the population. Several historians consider the entire history of Kazakhstan in a completely new way, establishing a so-called alternative history. The works of official historiography have seen an appeal to ethnic narratives, but it is among the second strand that historians most often refer to the national heritage; it is in their midst that the stratum of the socio-cultural, ethnic history of Kazakhstan is established.

Ethnic narratives include the study of routine, relations with the environment and society, economic system and occupations, trades and crafts and related skills, production cycles and folk festivals, household and social mechanisms that form the very culture of sustenance (Kainazarova and Aktaeva 2017; Chung et al. 2021). An appeal to national history is noted in the replacement of Soviet symbols with national, ancient ethnic symbols. The destruction of the statue of Lenin in post-Soviet societies is a perfect example. In the centre of Almaty, the old capital of Kazakhstan, a monument to Lenin has been replaced by the Golden Man, an archaeological discovery that traces Kazakhstan’s history on these lands back to the 4th-3rd centuries BC. Another example is the renaming of streets: Kommunisticheskaya Street became Abylai-Khan Street in Almaty. Notably, the ability of state symbols to represent various ethnic groups other than the titular group will clarify the nature of the project of national identity construction, which can be based on both ethnic and civic principles. An essential legacy that has been deeply rooted and is still establishing the nature of post-Soviet politics is an ethnic social organisation accompanied by ethnic hierarchies (Yeboah et al. 2022). Notably, the substitution process was the result of a negotiation of various alternatives among nation-building elites. Communities may experience a linguistic displacement in their history, and their mother tongue may completely or partially lose its communicative function. However, this does not involve the loss of its symbolic meaning, as group members may continue to have a strong attachment to their mother tongue (Kainazarova and Aktaeva 2017).

One possible alternative to national history is a local and regional history, especially the history of border regions where many cultures and ethnic groups interact with each other. The study of regional history in a unified national context allows a deeper insight into the history of the ethnic group and the restoration of lost historical connections (Seitkaziyev et al. 2020). One example of a work devoted to regional ethnological history is a work on the relationship between the Dzhungar and Kazakh khanates in the XVII and mid-XVIII centuries. National historians are appealing for a review of the facts and literature on the attitude of these khanates to Russia. This historiographical worldview is vividly represented in the form of Kazakhstan’s “alternative history”, which, following new trends, takes a one-sided view of
historical events. Dzungar-Kazakhstan relations were a crucial stage in the development of Kazakh statehood and the most significant trend in international relations throughout Central Asia. Contrary to conventional historiographical ideas, there are theories that the Kazakhs were the first nomads in the region to master firearms. In this he considers the essential and crucial secret of the Kazakh military victories in the XVII century. According to academic M.K. Kozybayev, the defeat of the Siberian Khanate by Yermak’s forces was the first step towards the colonisation of Kazakhstan. The famous Kazakh scientist conceptually changes the established position in Russian and Kazakh historiography about the voluntary joining of Kazakhstan to the Russian Empire. He agrees with some positive changes, but also identifies the extremely adverse consequences of “Russian colonisation”: as Russification, the expropriation of Kazakh lands, the restriction of elementary human rights, the destruction of territorial integrity “colonisation seemed a decisive factor in Russian history, which conditioned the specific features of Russian social and state development” (Bakhtiyorovich 2021).

A special feature of using ethnic narratives in historical research is the reference to special heroes, historical figures who have left an influential trace in the nation’s history. Personalities are reincarnated everywhere – in the state institutions of Central Asia, from mythical to real, from ancient to contemporary. The vividly depicted historical character, a man and a warrior, embodies ideas about the “high culture” and “significant history” of the peoples of Central Asia (Aliyassova et al. 2014). In Kazakhstan, the role of such an individual is played by Abylaykhan, embodying the notion of masculinity within national ideologies reinforced by Central Asian political elites. In addition to being part of broader national ideological projects, a coherent historical narrative of the national defender is an essential part of attempts to educate a loyal modern soldier, united with his compatriots based on cultural values and objects of loyalty. State history selects the brightest personalities and heroes, alternative and regional history refers to the origins of smaller settlements and towns, selecting for each a distinctive personality (Savin 2020).

Nomadic heritage represents an essential part of Kazakhstan’s history and is the source base for numerous ethnic narratives. Numerous excavations and textual studies are being conducted to re-establish the historical past of the nomadic tribes of the Kazakh steppe. However, the authorities urge that the modern national mentality should not be connected with the nomadic culture that dominated the territory of modern Kazakhstan until the end of the XIX century. As nomadic culture cannot contribute much to the idea of a unified modern statehood, the President stresses that for many centuries local settled communities of people have strengthened the Kazakh national identity (Insebayeva 2016; Saduakassova and Svyatova 2022).

Another feature of using ethnic narratives is through the study of the historical contribution of national elites, intellectuals. The reference to the era of intellectual activism is frequently indic-
ative of the particular significance attached to this group of people in the construction of national identity. Therefore, many historians study the turn of the XIX-XX in search of answers to questions about the stages of nation-building and national identity. Kazakh intellectuals of this period engaged in a vigorous debate about what defines Kazakh identity. While there is a national dichotomy (Kazakh/Kazakhstani) for the modern stage, the nomadic/settled dichotomy was common for that period. The loss of the nomadic trait, which essentially defined their identity, meant for the Kazakhs their relegation to the status of barbarians, for although they no longer belonged to the nomadic culture, they had not yet become part of the sedentary-agricultural one. Moreover, the forced, compulsory nature of settled life was responsible for the Kazakhs’ hasty and, consequently, superficial assimilation of the specific practices of the agrarian and urban industrial civilisations (Rorlich 2000).

CONCLUSIONS

After analysing the literature and implementing the research steps, the following conclusions can be obtained. For many states, the search for a national identity is an urgent issue at the current stage. Historical science thus appears to be one of the means of discovering the origins of a nation. For the countries in the post-Soviet space, the problem of searching for a nation is even more urgent, especially after the lack of a definite national idea and the incorporation of these states into the Russian Empire and then the Soviet Union, whose national policies were defined by national unification and russification. Thus, it can be observed that a specific historical revision is occurring in all historical schools in Kazakhstan. Both state historiography and alternative historians are all trying to assess the genesis of the Kazakh nation in a new way, to consider the peculiarities of the establishment of the Kazakh statehood in a comprehensive way. Special attention is given to reviewing and re-evaluating relations between Russia and Kazakhstan at various historical stages without overstating, but also without neglecting significant historical facts.

Using old historical methods is complemented by current historical approaches, the most significant of which is the involvement of ethnic narratives, which play an essential role in the reconstruction and development of national identity. Both official and alternative historians have recourse to this method, and the necessity of referring to the national heritage repeatedly permeates the speeches of Kazakhstan’s political leaders. The reverse process of Russification – Kazakhisation – is occurring and is reflected in policies regarding language, education, especially history, and the media. Thus, the national policy of modern Kazakhstan is based on a balance and respect for the other ethnic group, the Russians. Nevertheless, the interests of the Kazakh ethnic group clearly distinguished in historical terms, the ethnic narratives of the Kazakh
steppes allow the reconstruction of the national historical past, the establishment of common national heroes, and the research of regional history, considering the influence of all ethnic groups involved in the historical processes occurring in the region. The two approaches are skillfully combined in official national historiography, allowing for a dynamic development of historical science. It can be said with confidence that interest in the history of Kazakhstan will only increase, due to the funds allocated by the state for the study of national history, and due to Kazakhstan's cooperation with many other countries in Europe and Asia, which allows using new source bases and methods.

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