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E-mail: [otanhistory@gmail.com](mailto:otanhistory@gmail.com).

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E-mail: [otanhistory@gmail.com](mailto:otanhistory@gmail.com).

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**ON SOME TRADITIONALIST ASPECTS AND HISTORICAL PARALLELS OF MODERN KAZAKHSTANI NATION-BUILDING (HISTORIOGRAPHIC REVIEW)****Rustem Dzh. Kubeyev<sup>1</sup>, Kuanysh M. Murzakhodzhaev<sup>1\*</sup>**<sup>1</sup>Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology CS MES RK. Kazakhstan, Almaty

\*Corresponding author

e-mail: rustemlw@hotmail.com (Kubeyev), kuka\_ist@mail.ru (Murzakhodzhaev)

**Abstract.** The paper reflects some of the main trends in the Kazakh nation-building project, noted in the works of Kazakhstani and foreign researchers. Certain correspondences between the "Kazakhstan case" and the general developments of scholars were traced in the article. Particular attention is paid to the Kazakhstani specifics, due to the legacy of the Soviet period and the complex, largely unprecedented political, socio-cultural and demographic processes that took place on the territory of the republic in previous decades, which have a direct impact on the current state of Kazakhstani society. In the context of the research topic, some parallels were also drawn with the historical past of Kazakhstan, in particular, the use of traditional, traditionalist elements by representatives of Alash-Orda in order to reform and modernize traditional society was traced. Attention is also paid to the attitude of the representatives of the movement to the ideology of Muslim reformism of the early 20th century noted in the works of the authors – Jadidism.

**Key words:** Kazakh society, nation-building, modernization, traditions, historical parallels, Alash-Orda, Jadidism.

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**О НЕКОТОРЫХ ТРАДИЦИОНАЛИСТСКИХ АСПЕКТАХ И ИСТОРИЧЕСКИХ ПАРАЛЛЕЛЯХ СОВРЕМЕННОГО КАЗАХСТАНСКОГО НАЦИЕСТРОИТЕЛЬСТВА (ИСТОРИОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ОБЗОР)****Кубеев Рустем Джаулыбайулы<sup>1</sup>, Мурзаходжаев Куаныш Мадиевич<sup>1\*</sup>**<sup>1</sup>Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова КН МОН РК. Казахстан, Алматы

\*Автор-корреспондент

e-mail: rustemlw@hotmail.com (Кубеев), kuka\_ist@mail.ru (Мурзаходжаев)

**Аннотация.** В работе отражены некоторые из основных тенденций в казахстанском проекте нациестроительства, отмеченные в работах казахстанских и зарубежных исследователей, прослежены определенные соответствия между «казахстанским случаем» и общими разработками ученых. Особое внимание уделено казахстанской специфике, обусловленной наследием советского периода и сложными, во многом беспрецедентными политическими, социо-культурными и демографическими процессами, происходившими на территории республики в предыдущие десятилетия, оказывающими непосредственное влияние на современное состояние казахстанского общества. В контексте темы исследования также проведены некоторые параллели с историческим прошлым Казахстана, в частности, прослежено использование представителями Алаш-Орды традиционных, традиционалистских элементов в целях реформирования, модернизации традиционного общества. Внимание также уделено отмеченным в работах авторов отношению представителей движения к идеологии мусульманского реформизма начала XX в. – джадидизму.

**Ключевые слова:** казахстанское общество, нациестроительство, модернизация, традиции, исторические параллели, Алаш-Орда, джадидизм.

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**ҚАЗІРГІ ҚАЗАҚСТАНДЫҚ ҰЛТ ҚҰРЫЛЫСЫНЫҢ КЕЙБІР ДӘСТҮРЛІ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ  
МЕН ТАРИХИ ПАРАЛЛЕЛЬДЕРІ ЖӨНІНДЕ (ТАРИХНАМАЛЫҚ АСПЕКТ)****Көбеев Рүстем Жаулыбайұлы<sup>1</sup>, Мурзаходжаев Қуаныш Мәдиұлы<sup>1\*</sup>**<sup>1</sup>Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов ат. Тарих және этнология институты ҚР БҒМ ҒК. Қазақстан, Алматы

\*Автор-корреспондент

e-mail: rustemlw@hotmail.com (Көбеев), kuka\_ist@mail.ru (Мурзаходжаев)

**Түйіндеме.** Мақалада қазақстандық және шетелдік зерттеушілердің жұмыстарында атап өтілген қазақстандық ұлттық құрылыс жобасындағы кейбір негізгі үрдістер көрсетілген. "Қазақстандық ерекшелік" пен ғалымдардың жалпы әзірлемелері арасында белгілі бір сәйкестіктер анықталып, талданған. Кеңестік кезеңнің мұрасына негізделген және республика аумағында өткен онжылдықтарда орын алған, қазақстандық қоғамның қазіргі жай-күйіне тікелей әсер ететін күрделі, көп жағдайда бұрын-соңды болмаған саяси, әлеуметтік-мәдени және демографиялық процестерге, жалпы айтқанда қазақстандық феноменнің ерекшелігіне назар аударылған. Зерттеу тақырыбының мәнмәтінінде Қазақстанның тарихи өткенімен кейбір параллельдер жүргізілген, атап айтқанда, Алаш Орда өкілдерінің дәстүрлі қоғамды реформалау, жаңғырту мақсатында дәстүрлі, дәстүрлілік элементтерді қолдануы айқындалды. Сондай-ақ, авторлардың еңбектерінде аталмыш қозғалыс өкілдерінің XX ғасырдың басындағы мұсылман реформизмі идеологиясына – джадидизмге қатынасына назар аударылды.

**Кілт сөздер:** қазақстандық қоғам, ұлттық құрылыс, модернизация, дәстүр, тарихи параллельдер, Алаш-Орда, жәдидшілдік.

**Introduction.** For Kazakhstan, as a young post-Soviet state, the issue of nation-building is especially relevant. Accordingly, taking into account the historical specifics of the republic (being part of the USSR, the multi-ethnic composition of the population), clarifying the definitions of "nation" and "ethnos", the issues of their correlation and interaction is one of the most important tasks of the domestic humanitarian and social science.

It is no coincidence that Russian authors L. Safonov, A.D. Orlov, M.M. Vagabov talk about the intensity of ethno-political processes in the post-Soviet space, their ideologization and politicization, which, in their opinion, "further strengthens the conceptual uncertainty of the concept of a nation, which in Russian is often and unreasonably mixed with the concept of ethnicity" (Сафонов и др., 2017:125).

Thus, reviewing historiography on this topic (with some historical generalizations) can undoubtedly have a certain significance for researchers studying certain aspects of modern state building and nation-building processes.

**Discussion.** Issues of nation-building, nationalism were studied by such researchers as R. Brubaker, B. Anderson, C. Calhoun, L. Greenfield, E. Hobsbawm, E. Gellner. In result of studies, among the scholars 2 types of nation and nationalism were identified, civil and ethnic, which were customarily distinguished. Accordingly, modern states and nations were viewed through the prism of this approach (although a combination of elements of both was recognized in some cases in practice). The so-called "ethno-symbolic approach" proposed by the British researcher A.D. Smith. The above-mentioned concepts are present one way or another, in the works of the scholars dealing with the issues of nation-building. At that we can see the correction and adaptation of these concepts in some cases.

**Results.** Correspondingly, reasoning from one or another concept of nation, the processes of nation-building are considered from a certain perspective.

Russian researcher N.A. Baryshnaya speaks of nation-building as a way of regulating relations between ethnic groups, emphasizing the need to develop conceptual approaches to the phenomenon of nationalism (Барышная, 2014: 43).

Foreign scholars D. Ó Beacháin and R. Kevlihan recognize that both types of nationalism (civic and ethnic) are just some ideal types, models, so they see their task in identifying 'divergent tendencies', 'divergent trajectories' in governing processes. The authors do not agree with R. Brubaker in his 'nationalising nationalism' concept, saying that such point of view is focused only on ethnic nationalism, and it precludes the existence of situation when the elements of both civic and ethnic nationalisms are present in states (*and states even try mediating between them*). On their opinion, Kazakhstan is a good example of this situation.

Foreign authors D. Ó Beacháin and R. Kevlihan, examining the state building project in Kazakhstan starting from gaining its independence in 1991, note that the country has seen both civic and ethno-nationalist trends in state building, but none of these specific trajectories of nationalism in Kazakhstan is not as important as

the tension between two very different trajectories. According to researchers, at least at the beginning of the 2010s, the government of the country managed to cope with these contradictions quite effectively both at the political level and in relations with various ethnic groups and neighboring states. It is noteworthy that the question of whether Kazakhstan will be able to continue to cope with these contradictions in the post-Nazarbayev era is considered by scholars to be one of the most important ones facing Kazakhstan.

In particular, the authors cite the well-known opinion that any nationalism is based on dualism (a contradiction between ethnic and civic elements). The authors start from the accepted understanding of the civic model of the nation state (including historical territory, equality of members, as well as a common civic culture and ideology. The main concept in this case is the equality of independent citizens with the state, regardless of the language they speak, different cultural practices, racial characteristics or other potential divisions) and a nation-state emphasizing a common origin, local (indigenous) culture associated with a form of biological/genealogical determinism. Based on this concept, the nation is a community of common origin, a community that existed before the nationalist mobilization and in some way different from foreigners.

D.Ó. Beacháin and R. Kevlihan draw attention to the fact that these concepts (civic and ethnic nation) are often presented in a dichotomous form, represent an "either / or" assumption. The reality, however, is often more complex. Applying the "constructivist sensibility" from the work of B. Anderson, the authors depart from such a dualistic point of view. On their opinion, 'Civic nations, far from being essentially civic in nature, *imagine themselves to be civically oriented*'. At that, reality often does not match such perceptions.

In the same way, states based on the idea of a common ethnicity, imagine a community of common origin. It is important to note that notions of civic and nation-state are not necessarily mutually exclusive in time, *since states and societies are quite open to rethinking, including 'selective and collective remembrance and amnesia'*. However, apart from global cosmopolitanism, civic and ethnic representations are partly defined by their boundaries with some "others". According to the authors, the definitions of civic and ethnic nationalism are "ideal types" that cannot be found in reality. At the same time, the analytical usefulness of civic and ethnic nationalism is disputed. R. Brubaker's opinion is also given that these categories cannot be considered mutually exclusive due to the fact that the definitions are not sufficiently specific, and although they can be used for comparative purposes, it is difficult to classify a certain policy as a kind of civic or ethnic in its essence. It also highlights how normative considerations are often used when comparing the two categories, portraying civic nationalism as liberal, voluntaristic and inclusive. D.Ó Beacháin and R. Kevlihan agree with R. Brubaker that civic and ethnic nations are not necessarily mutually exclusive. However, the authors believe that clear differences remain between the two when used as some ideal types 'that are useful in analysing policies in their particular context'.

Researchers emphasize the importance of context because context determines the impact of a policy, including whether any given policy or initiative ultimately contributes to civic or ethnic orientation in the practice of the state and social representations of the nation, or is uncertain in its consequences (Donnacha and etc., 2013:337-356).

The above point of view is confirmed in the Message of the Leader of the Nation Nursultan Nazarbayev to the people of Kazakhstan "Strategy "Kazakhstan-2050": a new political course of an established state", which speaks of a new Kazakhstani patriotism, designed to unite the entire Kazakhstani society, regardless of belonging to one or another ethnic group, equality in the rights of Kazakh citizens of all ethnic groups. At the same time, the *special responsibility* of representatives of the Kazakh ethnic group in maintaining interethnic harmony is emphasized (Назарбаев, 2012).

Kazakhstani author S. Beisembayev also notes the role of Kazakh nationalism in the formation of Kazakh statehood, drawing attention to the recognition of the *special role of the Kazakhs* as one of the clearest examples of the ethno-oriented policy pursued in the republic since independence (Бейсембаев, 2015: 3).

A.B. Shaldarbekova makes an attempt to assess the state of national ideology in Kazakhstan at the present stage. Particular attention is paid to the use of the terms "Kazakhstani" and "Kazakh", as well as "civil identity", "ethnic identity", the grounds and historical prerequisites for the choice of the state in favor of civic identity (the country's multinationality, the ability for citizens of various ethnic groups to identify themselves with the state and state institutions).

In addition, as the author notes, the choice in favor of civic identity was made for reasons of internal stabilization of society, since when asking about the national identity of the Kazakh people, A.B. Shaldarbekova cites 3 main signs of identity: the presence of a common experience of the state in society (including an assessment of the common past, which is a stable set of value perceptions of the most important events in the history of society;

- some common values shared by most of the nation;

- as the third sign of identity, the author names the common responsibility for the future of his country.

This responsibility is invariable, it either exists or it does not exist, and the absence of this responsibility automatically indicates that there is no national identity in this case.



Accordingly, the researcher concludes that it is important for people to realize the commonality of their fate with the fate of the country or the entire nation, calling it the highest level of identity, thereby, in fact, confirming the aforementioned thesis about the greater compliance of civic identity with stability within a multi-ethnic state.

At the same time, *the author tends to see the roots of modern national identity in the history of the formation of the Kazakh ethnic group, the creation of the Kazakh state, as well as the traditional (nomadic) way of life of the Kazakh people.* In addition, the author speaks of a common Turkic national identity and is inclined to consider the Turkic civilization as the basis of the Kazakh national identity. Mention is made of the inseparability of the Kazakh national identity from the common Turkic identity, some of the principles of which were laid down in the era of the Turkic Khaganates (Шалдарбекова, 2019).

V.V. Bocharov and V.A. Popov, noting the fact of the activation of the most archaic forms of potestary and social relations after the demise of the USSR, also consider this to be typical of periods of disintegration and socio-political crises. *The authors draw attention to the fact that the frequently encountered schemes for the formation of ties (social and political), which they tend to consider "replicas of archaic ones".* Researchers explain this by the ongoing process of globalization and, accordingly, the defensive reaction of public consciousness, when the traditional conservative social environment serves as a counterbalance to the "modern macrosociety", its unstructured nature. It is these reasons that scientists tend to explain the "clear irrationalization" in public culture and consciousness (Бочаров, Попов, 2019: 8).

The authors note changes in the value system of modern representatives of the Kazakh ethnic group, which currently differs significantly from the one that existed several decades ago. Moreover, these changes in the socio-cultural sphere of representatives of the Kazakh ethnic group from Kazakhstan even affect their relations with their "ethnic relatives" (Шайкемелев, 2013: 156).

In addition, researchers talk about such a *new co-citizenship* as the Kazakh people, while emphasizing the transit state of the Kazakh society, as well as the existing differentiation of the Kazakh environment itself according to linguistic and *value characteristics* (Шайкемелев, 2013: 156-157).

Russian author S.I. Morozov, speaking about the phenomenon of nationalism in general, shares the opinion about its possible beneficial effect on the stabilization of the political system (*due to uniting around a certain national idea*, protecting the interests of ethnic groups, etc.), and also draws attention to the fact that in certain cases this phenomenon can have a destabilizing effect on the political system of the state (Морозов, 2012: 233).

Another Russian researcher D.E. Letnyakov draws his attention to the existing, in his opinion, contradiction in the rhetoric of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev, who mentions expressions that can be attributed to the elements of a civil nation ("all-Kazakhstan identity", "multinational Kazakhstan", "Kazakhstanis"), and at the same time uses such a term as "state-forming nation" (Летняков, 2019: 22).

The authors of the textbook "Mangilik El" link the future of the Republic of Kazakhstan, its existence in the 21st century with the Kazakh "national being", "way of life". There is also a strong influence that spiritual values (Islamic) and traditions of the Turkic world had on the development of the Kazakh people. It is emphasized that the Kazakh ethnic group has been living on its historical territory since ancient times, the Kazakhs, *as the only state-forming ethnic group*, are given the role of uniting other ethnic groups living in the republic around themselves. Among other things, the Kazakh style and way of life are called upon to serve as the root, the core of the country. The significance of the wisdom of the people, their past for the future of the country is also recognized. Among the foundations of the nation's self-determination are indicated, including the revival of the traditions of the Silk Road, the uniqueness of culture, history and the state language (with respect for the languages of all other ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan), as well as the Kazakh national culture.

*As you can see, many of the foundations and ideas designed to be fundamental for the further development of a modern state originate in antiquity and directly relate specifically to the sphere of traditions and customs, although the modern era is often associated with the so-called post-traditional society.*

Also noteworthy is the combination of building a civil nation and an emphasis on the "state-forming role" of the Kazakh ethnos, which is due to the specifics of the historical development of the republic and the uniqueness of the existing composition of the country's population. Thus, we can say that the specific example mentioned in the works of the authors on the Kazakhstani version of nation-building is fully consistent with the developments of foreign scholars considering the concepts of a civil and ethnic nation, their combination and interaction (lack of mutual exclusion) in general, and is a clear confirmation of them подтверждением (Касымбеков и др., 2015: 5).

The authors of the textbook "Mangilik El" link the future of the Republic of Kazakhstan, its existence in the 21st century with the Kazakh "ethnic being" («национальным бытием»), "way of life". There is also a strong influence that spiritual values (Islamic) and traditions of the Turkic world had on the development of the Kazakh people. It is emphasized that the Kazakh ethnic group has been living on its historical territory since ancient times, the Kazakhs, *as the only state-forming ethnic group*, are given the role of uniting other ethnic groups living in the republic, around themselves. Among other things, the Kazakh style and way of life are called upon to serve as the root, the core of the country. The significance of the wisdom of the people, their past for the future of the country



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Conclusions on the formation of identity – as we see, in the formation of civic Kazakhstani identity, elements that are usually identified with traditionalism are actively used, at that this process “keeps up” with modern trends in the study of issues of civic and ethnic nationalism, identities and their relationship.

Some authors note changes in the value system of contemporary representatives of the Kazakh ethnic group, which currently differs significantly from the one that existed several decades ago. Moreover, these changes in the socio-cultural sphere of representatives of the Kazakh ethnic group from Kazakhstan even affect their relations with their ‘ethnic kinsmen/kindred’.

In addition, researchers talk about such a *new co-citizenship* as the Kazakhstani people, while emphasizing the transit state of the Kazakhstan society, as well as the existing differentiation of the Kazakh environment itself according to linguistic and *value characteristics* (Шайкемелев, 2013: 157).

Famous Kazakh scholars A. Nyssanbayev and R. Kadyrzhanov, studying the phenomenon of a ‘common national’ idea that unites society, representing, in their opinion, “a complex of orientations, values and ideals of an ideological nature aimed at consolidating the people of Kazakhstan, sustainable socio-economic development of society, strengthening the security and independence of the state”, they ask about the actual formation (finding) of this idea. Researchers believe that its sources are national self-consciousness, which reflects the existence of the nation, as well as history, philosophy, poetry, science, art and other areas of public life. At the same time, the authors emphasize that the issue of national consolidation of the population, which is a multitude of ethnic groups (in fact, the formation of a common identity) is relevant in almost all newly formed states. Fundamental, in this case, is the issue of resolving the contradiction between the understanding of the national idea and, in fact, the nation (ethno-cultural and civic).

The scholars, referring to the experience of nation-building in the modern world, are supporters of the logical principle "and - and", and not the exclusive "either - or". Based on this principle, in Kazakhstan it is necessary to use both of the above concepts of the nation, ethno-cultural and civic, in the formation of the national idea, without relying on one, while excluding the other.

Asking about the practical implementation of resolving contradictions between the concepts, Kazakhstani researchers see the answer in assigning the role of the basis to the Kazakh ethnic group, around which the Kazakh civic society will be consolidated. A. Nysanbayev and R. Kadyrzhanov at the same time emphasize that this method of nation-building (according to E. Smith – the model of the ‘dominant ethnies’) is one of the most widely represented in the world.

According to researchers, due to the historical past (the historical legacy of the Soviet period with its totalitarian society, which still largely negatively affects the process of Kazakhstani nation-building, when civil society in the country is not mature enough to develop a national idea, the foundation on which a civil national identity), the main tasks of nation-building are performed by the state. As the authors note, this process takes place ‘by touch’, through practice, in conditions where the theoretical justification of this process by the scientific community is not sufficiently provided. In practice, the construction of a Kazakhstani civic nation is being implemented, where the Kazakh ethnic group is assigned a state-forming role. The scholars tend to see this as a practical implementation in the republic of eliminating contradictions between the concepts of an ethno-cultural and civic nation, based on the logical principle of ‘*and – and*’ (Нысанбаев, Кадыржанов, 2022).

At that on the above-mentioned A.D. Smith’s opinion, identifying such ‘ethnic cores’ helps researchers a lot. In particular, he says, often the nation’s boundaries and character are shaped by the state’s ethnic core.

In spite the fact that the most of the present-day nation-states are polyethnic, many of them were actually formed on some ethnic basis, a ‘dominant ethnies, which annexed or attracted other ethnies or ethnic fragments into the state to which it gave a name and a cultural charter. For, since ethnies are by definition associated with a

given territory, not infrequently a chosen people with a particular sacred land, the presumed boundaries of the nation are largely determined by the myths and memories of the dominant ethnies, which include the foundation charter, the myth of the golden age and the associated territorial claims, or ethnic title-deeds' (Smith, 1991: 39).

A. Tsai notes that interethnic harmony in Kazakhstan is one of the most important and most frequently articulated achievements of the post-Soviet independent period. An institutional consent symbol backed by the policy of authorities is the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan. In 2008, the Assembly formulated five basic principles of the Kazakhstani model of interethnic tolerance: the unity of the people; the most important values of the nation, and one of them was *consolidating role of the state-forming ethnoses*.

On the opinion of Kazakhstani researcher, as a successor to Soviet policy, independent Kazakhstan continues the policy formed from the perspective of preserving the cultural characteristics of various nationalities (ethnic groups) with the building of a common civic identity (Цай, 2015: 4-5).

In this context, *as a kind of compromise between the ethnic and civil* (primordialist and constructivist/modernist) understanding of nationalism, it is also appropriate to mention the direction of historical symbolism, the author of which is the British researcher A. Smith. The origins of historical ethno-symbolism is the theoretical criticism of modernist approaches, as well as a different interpretation (reading) of the historical chronicle (historical fact).

The author is agreeing with the opinion that the source of historical ethno-symbolism is the 'theoretical critique of modernist approaches' and 'different reading of the historical record'.

According to ethno-symbolists, it is the traditions, memories, ethnic heritages symbols and myths (as well as that give power) what gives nationalism its power are the myths, memories, traditions, and symbols of ethnic heritages and the ways in which a popular living past has been, and can be, rediscovered and reinterpreted by modern nationalist intelligentsias'.

In each generation these elements of tradition, myth, symbol and memory participate in reconstitution of modern national identities in each generation, 'as the nation becomes more inclusive and as its members cope with new challenges' (Anthony D. Smith, 1999: 9).

As we can see, on the one hand the Kazakhstani case of nation-building is in much unique (due to the number of ethnic groups living in the territory of the republic, the history of forming such polyethnic population, and 'historical environment' of this process), and on the other hand it in much corresponds with modern trends in nation-building and state-building studies, which we can see from the scholars' works.

At the same time, if we turn to the history of this issue, we can see that such use of traditional, traditionalist elements in the process of building a modern state (even under the slogan of the ideas of modernization, renewal and progress) is by no means new in Kazakhstan's history.

Even a brief digression allows us to see in the works of the authors this aspect of the interaction between "traditional" and "modern" in Kazakhstan as well.

As an example, we can cite the activities of representatives of the Alash movement, largely inspired by the ideas of Jadidism (the Muslim reform movement).

Among Kazakh researchers, there is also a view of the Jadids as one of the forms of the national liberation struggle. According to the supporters of this point of view, *it is this formulation of the question that reveals how the Jadids relate to "Alash" and "Alash-Orda"* (Некоторые методологические вопросы..., 2022).

In general, speaking of the ideological and theoretical origins of Jadidism as a modernist reform movement, in the works of the authors we can once again see an opinion *about the relationship between tradition, traditionalism and renewal, modernism, about the deriving of one from the other*. In particular, the arguments of I. Alekseyev about the scientific and philosophical heritage of Marjani in the context of latter's support for the opinion of *historicism as one of the acceptable epistemological applications of modernity*. Possessing encyclopedic erudition and being deeply immersed in the intellectual world of Islamic knowledge, *Marjani, unlike many other Muslim modernists, does not interpolate the categories of the modern times, translating them into the language of Islamic discourse, but, on the contrary, derives the epistemological foundations of his historical approach directly from the Islamic tradition of wisdom* (Алексеев, 2019: 31).

Kazakh historian D. Kydyrali also notes the influence of Sh. Marjani on the development of Jadidism, in particular on the founders of the movement I. Gasprinsky, H. Osmani, G. Barudi and others. The researcher ranks the religious figure and educator among the "founding fathers" of the movement, including emphasizing his merits in the development of Abai Kunanbayev (Кыдырალი, 2020).

Kazakhstani author B.N. Zhunussov, speaking about the influence of the ideas of Jadidism on the Kazakh intelligentsia at the beginning of the 20th century, notes that *at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the growth of national self-consciousness was largely associated with the unification of two ideas – enlightenment and religion, which, in his opinion, received its final form as Jadidism. At the same time, the author notes that the Kazakh intelligentsia formed its own national ideology of the national liberation movement of the Kazakh people (Alash)*.

At the same time, the researcher draws attention to the fact that at present, in the mass consciousness, in the journalism of Eastern countries, one often encounters an assessment of the Jadids of the past, as (and their current followers) as "collaborators", Russifiers, enemies of Islam, due to the fact that Jadidism represents a fairly broad set of views and approaches that has developed around the idea of modernizing the traditional Muslim society.

As is known, having started as a reform of traditional Islamic education, Jadidism developed into a broad movement of Islamic intellectuals (mainly representatives of the Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire) for the modernization of traditional Muslim societies and the activation of the role of Muslims in the social and political life of Russia.

The author acknowledges the possibility that among the representatives of the Jadids (i.e. literally "new") there could be supporters of extreme views (modernists, Westernizers, secularists, etc.).

Also B.N. Zhunussov notes that there is a tendency to show *the Jadids only as fighters against colonialism (Alash Horde in Kazakhstan)*, ignoring their Europeanism.

Based on this, the researcher comes to the conclusion that at the present time *the definition of the essence of Jadidism as a truly Islamic response to the challenge of the West is extremely relevant. On this issue, the author agrees with A. Bennigsen, who called Jadidism the "diamond" of Islamic civilization.*

The paper also cites the author's opinion that 'the young Kazakh intelligentsia and the advanced Muslim clergy vividly absorbed all the views of the progressive Muslim intelligentsia, and also fought against the darkness and ignorance of their people'.

Thus, the researcher avoids a strict opposition between the modernist-minded part of the Kazakh society and the clergy, noting the presence among the latter and supporters of a certain progress.

At the same time, the role of the outstanding Kazakh philosopher and educator Abai, who stood at the origins of this intelligentsia, who managed to "catch the spirit of the times and the views of the progressive Muslim intelligentsia", as well as each who had authority among the people, is especially noted. In addition, the author emphasizes a role of Hajji (representatives of traditional institute – auth.) who had great authority among the people, in rallying and awakening the consciousness of the masses.

*In general, attention is drawn to a kind of "prepared ground" in Kazakh society for the ideas of Jadidism. The researcher emphasizes that in Kazakhstan, the processes common to the entire Muslim population of the Russian Empire were expressed in the creation of the Alash national liberation movement. At the same time, the new Kazakh intelligentsia and the Muslim clergy focused precisely on representing the interests (the author says "liberation") of the Kazakh people (Жунусов, 2013).*

Foreign researcher Ozgecan Kesici, considering the activities of members of the Alash-Orda movement to modernize the Kazakh society in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, in particular, the issue of changing Kazakh ethnicity in favor of the definition of "Kazakh nation", draws attention to the following aspects of this topic:

In general, the author draws attention to the fact that the very writing of national history, which is mainly led by indigenous intellectuals, is an obvious part of the nation-building process, helping to strengthen the legitimacy of the emerging nation. The author also argues that this provides the indigenous intellectuals involved in this process with a method of building social legitimacy.

In the context of the research topic, the conclusion of O. Kesici is of interest that in an effort to modernize the Kazakh society, proclaiming itself a nation, in the course of attempts to modernize the Kazakh society, the movement used such a tool as the myth of a common origin. For this reason, the author is not surprised by the fact that the movement was called "Alash" (the name of a mythical character who is considered to be the father of all three Kazakh zhuzes). The scientist explores the discourse about "Kazakhness" and its difference from Muslim neighbors in five factors; the "true" myth about the common origin of the Kazakhs, the Kazakh history as one common destiny, a nomadic way of life, weak, in his opinion, ties with Islam among the Kazakhs, and, finally, the legitimization of the leaders of the Alash movement as figures speaking on behalf of the Kazakh nation. Moreover, according to the researcher, the myth of Alash was used by the leaders of the movement for both external and internal strategies.

O. Kesici considers cultural nationalism to be a particularly important element in the activities of the Alashorda people, through which the elite of the intelligentsia participated in the formation of the Kazakh "national community" in the course of the ethno-historical revival. Moreover, according to the author, in the case of Alash, we are dealing more with the rediscovery of national culture than with its invention, since the elites looked into the past and found lessons for the present in it. *In addition, the people of Alash Orda also turned to the past to legitimize new policies and innovations.*

As you can see, the researcher also notes the facts of using elements of traditionalist thinking by the Alash Orda people in order to build a modern nation. In addition, the phenomena that, as a rule, are usually linked with traditionalism and opposed to modernization and modernity, largely predetermined the path of development chosen by the Alash Orda people towards building the Kazakh nation as a nation of a Western, modern type.

**Conclusion.** As we can see, the issues of building a modern nation and state are of great interest among researchers. At the same time, as it often happens, reality turns out to be wider and more diverse than theoretical

approaches, forcing scientists to develop new concepts, or to adapt, correct existing ones. It can be noted that often the concepts that are usually referred to as “traditional” and “modern” (modern) are often opposed to each other, often intertwined, inextricably linked, and in ongoing social processes complement, “work” on each other, and this is shown by the review works of the authors not only on the modern period, but also on the earlier one, the beginning of the 20th century, when intellectuals in Kazakhstan, largely driven by the ideas of Muslim reformism, used traditional, “traditionalist” elements for the purposes of modernization.

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