Kogabayeva [ID]¹*, **A. Kurmanaliyeva**[ID]¹,
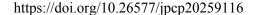**P. Catterall** [ID]², **S. Kaupenbayeva** [ID]¹

¹Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan
²Westminster University, London, UK
*e-mail: kogabayevaassel@gmail.com

ABOUT THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL UNITY

In this article, the authors explore the complex relationship between language, nationalism and national unity. The authors draw attention to the socio-cultural nature of language, its integrative potential and impact on national identity. The authors systematize existing theoretical and methodological approaches, offering a new perspective on the dynamics of language and its role in strengthening national unity. The authors substantiate the role of language in shaping national identity, inclusiveness and argue that has an impact on mitigating social discord. Emphasizing effective language governance and institutional support, the authors draw attention to policies that promote social cohesion and stability, which allow for a broader understanding of the complex relationship between language and nationalism, as well as influence the strengthening of common values, the overcoming of barriers and promotion of inclusiveness, which ultimately helps to create a more stable and harmonious social environment. The scientific and practical significance of this work is that it can help specialists in this field understand the complexity of the role of language in social stability.

Key words: language, national unity, nationalism, postcolonial theory, ambivalence, hybridity, mimicry.

Ә. Қоғабаева¹*, А. Құрманалиева¹, П. Кэттералл², С. Қаупенбаева¹

¹Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ Ұлттық университеті, Алматы, Қазақстан
²Уестминстер университеті, Лондон, Ұлыбритания
*e-mail: kogabayevaassel@gmail.com

Ұлттық біртұтастықты қалыптастырудағы тілдің рөлі жөнінде

Бұл мақалада авторлар тіл, ұлтшылдық пен ұлттық бірлік арасындағы күрделі байланыстарды қарастырады. Авторлар тілдің әлеуметтік-мәдени сипатына, оның интегративті мүмкіндігіне және ұлттық болмысқа ықпалына назар аударады. Авторлар тіл динамикасы мен оның ұлттық бірлікті нығайтудағы рөліне жаңаша көзқарас ұсынып, қалыптасқан теориялық және әдістемелік тәсілдерді жүйелейді. Авторлар тілдің ұлттық бірегейлікті қалыптастырудағы рөлін, инклюзивтілікті және әлеуметтік жіктелуді азайтуға ықпалын атап көрсетеді. Тиімді тілді басқаруға және институционалдық қолдауға баса назар аудара отырып, авторлар қоғамның бірігуі мен тұрақтылығына ықпал ететін, осылайша тіл мен ұлтшылдық арасындағы күрделі қарым-қатынасты түсінуді арттыратын, сонымен қатар ортақ құндылықтарды нығайтуға, кедергілерді жеңуге және инклюзивтілікке ықпал ететін саясатқа назар аударады. сайып келгенде, неғұрлым тұрақты және үйлесімді әлеуметтік ортаны құруға көмектеседі. Бұл жұмыстың ғылыми-тәжірибелік маңыздылығы сол сала мамандарына тілдің қоғамдық тұрақтылықтағы рөлінің күрделілігін түсінуге көмектесе алады.

Түйін сөздер: тіл, ұлттық бірлік, ұлтшылдық, постколониалдық теория, амбиваленттілік, гибридтілік, мимикрия.

А. Когабаева¹*, А. Курманалиева¹, П. Кэттералл², С. Каупенбаева¹

¹Казахский национальный университет им. аль-Фараби, Алматы, Казахстан
²Вестминстерский университет, Лондон, Великобритания
*e-mail: kogabayevaassel@gmail.com

О роли языка в формировании национального единства

В этой статье авторы исследуют сложную взаимосвязь между языком, национализмом и национальным единством. Авторы обращают внимание на социокультурную природу языка, на его интегративный потенциал и влияние на национальную идентичность. Авторы систематизируют

существующие теоретические и методологические подходы, предлагая новый взгляд на динамику языка и его роль в укреплении национального единства. Авторы фундируют роль языка в формировании национальной идентичности, инклюзивности и оказывает влияние на смягчение социальных разногласий. Подчеркивая эффективное языковое управление и институциональную поддержку, авторы обращают внимание на политику, которая способствует социальной сплоченности и стабильности, что позволяет расширить понимание сложных взаимоотношений между языком и национализмом, также оказывает влияние на укрепление общих ценностей, преодолению барьеров и содействию инклюзивности, что в конечном итоге помогает создать более стабильную и гармоничную социальную среду. Научное и практическое значение этой работы заключается в том, что она может помочь специалистам данной области понять всю сложность роли языка в социальной стабильности.

Ключевые слова: язык, национальное единство, национализм, постколониальная теория, амбивалентность, гибридность, мимикрия.

Introduction

This paper aims to address the question: How does language contribute to the formation of national unity in a post-colonial context, particularly in Kazakhstan? While nationalism has been widely studied, the specific role that language plays in forming or undermining national unity, particularly in post-colonial states like Kazakhstan, has not received sufficient attention, as is discussed below. By exploring this gap, the paper aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the relationship between language and national unity.

Situations, tensions, and attitudes towards the state language that could destabilize modern Kazakhstani society raise concerns about national security, the cohesion of society and the future of the state. If we look at the path of developed countries with a strong foundation, the problem of nation-building has been systematically addressed through the implementation of strategies which have in recent decades been subjected to extensive academic research. Meanwhile in Kazakhstan during the years since independence, a significant number of studies discussed below have examined the state's language policy and its impact on national unity. However, for a more in-depth assessment, a comprehensive study needs to be conducted, covering not only governmental initiatives but also real linguistic practices among the Kazakh population, public perceptions of the Kazakh language, and the role played by that language in the cultural and economic spheres.

The issue of national unity is subject to constant dynamic changes due to political, social, and cultural influences, necessitating further research to address evolving challenges. The factors that influence national unity include a sense of shared history (Deutsch, 1969), economic parity, political stability, open social dialogue, educational opportunities, and linguistic cohesion. Additionally, the promotion of a standardized national language can serve as a foundation for legitimizing political power and as a unifying force that integrates a nation within a shared cultural framework (Hobsbawm, 1990).

In countries where different national groups live, state policies might aim to create a common civil society to manage ethnocultural diversity. National identity can thereby be fostered by promoting shared cultural and linguistic characteristics that create a sense of belonging to a particular nation, which is used to mobilize citizens and support certain political ideas. Also closely related to the idea of the nation in politics are issues of national security and sovereignty. Furthermore, national identity may derive from ethnic or religious affiliations, and from this perspective, it holds significance for the governance of society, particularly in societies with ethnic or racial diversity. All these aspects demonstrate that the complex relationship between the concept of the nation and political processes can play a decisive role in shaping political identities, strategies, and decisions.

Although national identities have a long history, nationalism as a political idea only emerged in the 18th and 19th centuries, initially articulated primarily by European figures such as Johann Herder, Giuseppe Mazzini, Ernest Renan and Johann Fichte. For figures like Mazzini, nationalism was an idealistic means of organizing political society around the seemingly natural affinity of the nation (Rowley, 2012), rejecting in the process the pre-existing territorially based structures and hierarchies dominated by landed elites.

This process of emergent nationalism also coincided with the first convulsions of anti-colonial struggle in Latin America, ignited not least by the impact of the French Revolution on men like Francisco de Miranda (Racine, 2003). After the end of the Second World War, a further wave of decolonisation from European rule occurred in Asia and

Africa. It was this process, rather than the earlier nationalist revolutions in Latin America,[1] that sparked the emergence of post-colonial theories of nationalism in the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, the spread of mass culture, including film production, provided both new vectors for carrying national culture, and potential threats to the maintenance and intergenerational transference of national attributes and memories. Along with the internal changes in consciousness that occurred, the capabilities and scale of production also influenced the disappearance of clothing, household items, and other national characteristics exemplified in popular culture. A number of important works emerged from scholars to map and reflect on the impact of these developments, among the most influential of which were those of B. Anderson, E. Gellner, E. Hobsbawm, and A. Smith. At the same time, the legacy of colonialism produced its own literary response in the form of the theories of postcolonialism articulated most significantly by F. Fanon, E. Said, G. Spivak, and H. Bhabha.

During the 1980s and 1990s, major publications on nationalism have included Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism" (1983), Ernest Gellner's "Nations and Nationalisms" (1983), Anthony D. Smith's "The Ethnic Origins of Nations" (1986), Eric Hobsbawm's "Nations and Nationalism Since 1780" (1990), Etienne Balibar's "Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities" (1991), Homi Bhabha's "Nation and Narration" (1990), Michael Billig's "Banal Nationalism" (1995). The 1990s additionally saw the foundation of several journals to explore these themes, including "*Nations & Nationalism*" (1995) inspired by Smith's work. "This constructivist paradigm also includes postcolonial studies as a core premise for the study of nationalism" (Dinter, Marquardt, 2021: 9).

Almost all of these works emphasize the pivotal role of language in the formation of nations. Before the Enlightenment era language, particularly in written form, was primarily employed for conveying and interpreting medieval religious and theological texts or for legal codes, statues and contracts. The emergence of printing in Europe in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries onwards led to a shift from scribal to print culture, facilitating a wider and faster spread of text and a greater fixity of meaning (Dingley and Catterall, 2020). As a result, increasingly the printed word was assuming the role of a national symbol, thus fostering unity by demarcating distinctions between "us" and "others" (Anderson, 2016). The growing challenges associated with globalization, migration, and political polarization further exacerbate difficulties in ensuring political stability, social cohesion, and economic development, thereby undermining national unity. While effective language, education, and integration policies can strengthen unity, poorly implemented policies may lead to ethnic tensions, inequality, and social unrest. In the modern world, fostering inclusive national unity is crucial for maintaining stability, preventing conflicts, and ensuring long-term economic and social progress (Kang et al., 2024).

In addition, the growth of multiculturalism and migration has led to changes in language and in the complexity of the relationship between different ethnic groups. Language thus emerges as a primary instrument for regulating various social processes, with a nuanced understanding of its contextual usage facilitating insights into the dynamics of cultural evolution. To elucidate the intricate nexus between language and national unity, it becomes imperative to delineate a robust theoretical and methodological framework. This article underscores a commitment to advancing conceptual frameworks conducive to the effective analysis of the interplay between national unity and language, underscoring the imperative of interdisciplinary research. This thematic domain finds resonance in the scholarly activities of linguists and political scientists, spanning investigations conducted within the precincts of Kazakhstan as well as globally recognized research endeavors. While this thematic area has been subject to intensive scrutiny and extensive scholarly inquiry, the diverse experiences engendered by disparate contexts, historical legacies, and social stratifications warrant exhaustive deliberation.

The primary objective of this article resides in laying the theoretical and methodological groundwork for subsequent research in this domain, accentuating the seminal works that have hitherto informed scholarly discourse. The interface between national unity and language constitutes a pressing concern of contemporary society, with the delineation of these frameworks underscoring its topical relevance and salience, particularly within the context of Kazakhstan. The integration of global conceptual paradigms affords a comprehensive theoretical and methodological vista, facilitating nuanced analyses of this multifaceted terrain.

---

[1] Instead, there was for long a tendency to assume that the nationalists of Latin America had essentially civil goals about political and constitutional change, and ethnic dimensions to nationalism there were only increasingly analysed in the twentieth century (see Miller, 2013).

Methods and materials

The article uses the scoping review method to analyze and summarize the existing literature on the topic, with the aim of providing a comprehensive overview of the current state of the problem. At the initiation of the research, it was essential to gather and synthesize foundational theories and approaches that have been internationally tested and recognized. This decision was made to build a robust theoretical framework that enables a deeper understanding of the complex linguistic situation in Kazakhstan through the lens of broader postcolonial and nationalist concepts. Such an approach is justified because it allows the problem in Kazakhstan to be examined using well-established models, testing their applicability to the Kazakh situation through comparing it with similar processes in other countries.

The next phase of the research will focus on a more detailed exploration of local contexts, incorporating the work of Kazakhstani scholars. These studies will provide a more nuanced understanding of the unique features of national unity formation in Kazakhstan through the role of language.

To identify primary resources, the Google Scholar and Scopus databases were employed. Using the keywords "nationalism" AND "language" AND "post-colonial theory" relevant sources were sought. Subsequently, suggested sources underwent further refinement, excluding the duplicate literature and irrelevant materials. Preference was given to selecting books and scholarly articles exclusively. Following this, the content of chosen sources was scrutinized, and research works not geographically relevant were excluded. Emphasis was placed on incorporating classical theories and theorists within the field of cultural studies to establish a robust theoretical framework. Additionally, political and linguistic research conducted in Kazakhstan was included, given the interdisciplinary nature of the study.

The selection of sources is of paramount importance, considering their ability to integrate diverse perspectives, research findings, and concepts. Additionally, the chosen sources offer new insights or reinterpretations of existing literature, while representing different viewpoints and avoiding bias. Selecting only foreign literature, we deliberately ignored domestic research in order to activate new approaches to the study of this topic. In the third section, individual domestic examples are given to apply and test the validity of the postcolonial theories identified.

Results and discussion

Nationalism Studies

"Nationalism" became increasingly and widely debated as a subject of academic analysis in the later 20th century. An early postwar contribution came from the German-American theorist Karl W. Deusch. His celebrated *Nationalism and Its Alternatives* opens with the famous observation that "A nation", so goes the rueful European saying, "is a group of persons united by a common error about their ancestry and a common dislike of their neighbor" (Deutsch, 1969: 3). This view was expressed, more positively, in the highly influential contribution provided by the Irish scholar Benedict Anderson. Whereas Deutsch was looking back on nation-building processes with a jaundiced eye shaped by his experience of Nazi Germany, Anderson had spent a lifetime experiencing contemporary nation-building processes in South-East Asia where he lived and worked. Accordingly, in his book *Imagined Communities* (Anderson, 1983) he analyzed ideas of national identity and belonging, and the nationalist ideologies that politicize such frameworks from a socio-anthropological perspective and proposed that a nation should be viewed as an "imagined community" created by imagining the commonalities between people who have never met each other but feel connected through common symbols, language and culture. For him, a key vector of this process was the emergence of print sources, language-based means of furnishing that commonality, not least through the banal nationalism – such as the routine use of inclusive language – that Michael Billig (1995) was later to highlight. Anderson also emphasized specific social mechanisms for the formation of national identity, such as spatial factors (empires, "dominance", borders) and temporal factors (narratives of nationalism, history-making, the formation of a national language). Whilst print culture and its role in nation-building can already be discerned in some countries by the sixteenth century, if not earlier (Catterall, 2023a), Anderson (1983) says that the emergence of nationalism is a product of the Enlightenment. In his opinion, the role of religion in society has decreased and has been replaced by nationalism. He thus posits that the cultural origin of nationalism lies in the weakening of the status of religion or in its function as a source of social unity and meaning (a point elaborated in Catterall, 2023b). That is, if earlier people found meaning in religion and sacrificed themselves for it, now the religious interpretation of the world is rejected, and

they turned to the development of their nation and language. Indeed, as Durkheim had pointed out long before, the nation become increasingly an overarching ontological framework through which meaning was expressed and within which civil society operated, itself in the process acquiring some of the appurtenances of religion (Dingley, 2008).

Anderson had been a Marxist when a student at Cambridge, and his brother Perry was a key member of the British New Left of the 1950s. Writing decades later (Anderson, 1983), however, concluded that neither Marxism nor other alternative ideological frameworks could compete with the identitarian basis that nationalist ideologies could often mobilise. His approach thus allows us to consider nationalism as a sociocultural phenomenon that interacts with spatial, temporal and cultural aspects of society. He uses the image of "Two-Faced Janus" to show the two-faced nature of nationalism, that is, to show that nationalism is deeply rooted in the idea of a common nation and creates an imagined community united by common symbols and myths. This comparison highlights the dualistic nature of nationalism, meaning that it can be a unifying force, but can also lead to exclusion and conflict with other nations. In addition, he points out that the colonial experience significantly influenced the formation of the fictional communities he studied. Anderson therefore discusses how colonial regimes used various tools such as language, images, symbols and ideology to create certain notions of community and identity. His work also shows that colonial states created alternative laws to strengthen their power and sought to link them to pre-colonial imaginaries and frameworks. Thus, it is concluded that the colonial experience significantly influenced the formation of imagined communities through the manipulation of consciousness, culture and ideology.

One of the outstanding works since then, British sociologist and philosopher Ernest Gellner's book on "Nations and Nationalism", presents a theory of how nations and nationalism arise and develop. Gellner (1983) connects the emergence of nations with the industrial revolution and its reshaping of economic exchange. He believed that industrial development required standardization of language and education to function effectively, not least because of the drive to develop trade and markets. This creates the basis for the formation of national communities. The author says that nations arise from the standardization of cultural elements such as language and knowledge, which smooth processes of economic and financial transactions while also, in theory at least, ensuring harmony and community

within society. Gellner proposes the idea of functional exchange, which means that people will need to exchange modern goods, services and information. National boundaries and standardized cultural elements are said to facilitate this process. The concept of a «national project» is introduced as a strategic enterprise, as a result of which a nation is formed, though it is probably more apt to say that Gellner was describing ways in which the requirements of modernising processes led to the consolidation of nation-states, usually if not always centred on pre-existing culturally and/or linguistically determined national identities. This project involves standardizing cultural elements to create a unified identity. Gellner emphasizes the role of the state in establishing and maintaining national identity. For Gellner the state plays a crucial role in the formation of a nation, and the emergence of nationalism is a response to these changing relations between state, economy and society.

In the study of nationalism, B. Anderson, E. Gellner, E. Hobsbawm are united by the idea of constructivism. The latter in particular argues that mythologies and the "invention of tradition" occupy a special place in the formation of various nations and states. Hobsbawm, in his work *The Invention of Tradition*, published in 1983 with Terence Ranger, says that traditions and nations are invented. This work delineates how newly created or renewed traditions emerge, usually with the active encouragement of elites, to form and strengthen national and social identities. Practices from various societies are given here, including examples such as the British coronation, Scottish dress and the spread of performative aspects of national identity enactment, such as the singing of national anthems.

Hobsbawm (1996) examines the influence of multiculturalism on language use by discussing its historical development and the conceptualisation of multiculturalism. He argues that the desire for universal literacy, the political mobilization of ordinary people, and a certain form of linguistic nationalism led to the coexistence of people of different languages and cultures. He also points to the fact that we live in a multilingual world and that currently there is only one language, namely English, for universal global communication. He also suggests that policy decisions about how languages are used for public purposes, such as in schools, are important in multicultural states. As Hobsbawm makes clear, a common language is an effective practice for understanding public texts issued by the government, hence the role of language and literacy learning in historic patterns of nation-building (Weber, 1976).

As Guibernau (2007) points out, nation-building from the nineteenth century onwards has always been accompanied by processes of linguistic homogenization.

Hobsbawm (1996) argues that the confusion of identities between states and nations can be dangerous, while acknowledging that frequently the governing elite of states understandably wish to promote a sense that nation and state are coterminous. Since in practice this is frequently not the case, Hobsbawm suggests that consequences can include the idea of "ethnic cleansing" and the creation of apartheid societies. He also notes that confusing the identification of states with nations is dangerous because it can lead to the exclusion of people who do not conform to the dominant culture or language of the state.

Anthony Smith, a British sociologist and theorist of nationalism, made a significant contribution to the study of this phenomenon. He was a prolific writer and one of his most influential books was *Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Survey*. Smith (1995) introduced the concept of "ethnosymbolism" and viewed nationalism as a complex phenomenon that includes cultural and symbolic aspects. He argued that nationalism involves the use of symbols, myths, history and language to create and strengthen national identity. This is consistent with his general idea of the cultural basis of nationalism. Smith (1995) emphasized the cultural basis of nationalism, which he believes goes beyond mere political structures. He believed that national communities have a unique culture that shapes their understanding of themselves and others. Smith attached great importance to the idea of generational continuity of cultural elements. He argued that national cultures have residual influences that continue to influence modern society. In his works, Smith (1995) criticized the view of nationalism as merely a political ideology, arguing that focusing only on political aspects does not allow a full understanding of the origin and nature of national communities. He thereby helped to clarify the semantic distinction between nationalism and national identity.

Nationalist theorist John Hutchinson studied cultural nationalism under the influence of his mentor Anthony Smith. The concept of cultural nationalism was first elaborated by the eighteenth-century German philosopher, Johann Herder, with Hutchinson seeking two hundred years later to describe this concept critically and examine how it serves as a means of linking people and nation (Woods, 2016: 4).

Hutchinson (1999) argues that viewing cultural nationalism solely through the lens of language is misguided. In contrast, cultural nationalists seek to revive the notion of a distinct and historically rooted collective identity that includes unique origins, history, culture, homeland, and social and political practices (Hutchinson, 1999: 394). Hutchinson rejects the assumption that cultural nationalism is a surrogate state movement for cultural homogeneity, for although states might seek to use the invention of tradition and authorised heritage discourse (L. Smith, 2006) in that way, cultural forms and their expression within civil society are not always so easily controlled or policed. Instead, he argues, cultural nationalism seeks to "rediscover" historically rooted ways of life (Hutchinson, 1999: 392). He thereby argues against the idea that cultural nationalism is archaic or primordial, and emphasizes that cultural nationalists act primarily as moral and social innovators seeking to formulate the first basis of collective progress (Hutchinson, 1999: 393). His view is therefore that, contrary to the misconception that cultural nationalism is a temporary movement incompatible with full modernization, it is a recurring movement with deep historical roots that persists and remains relevant, not least to people's sense of national belonging, in the modern world (Hutchinson, 1999: 392).

According to Hutchinson (1999), cultural nationalism differs from political nationalism for several reasons: while political nationalism sees unity as based on legal uniformity, cultural nationalism believes that a sense of a common historical past allows us to reconcile social solidarity with the powerful development of individuality. While political nationalists tend to group around one symbol, such as a flag or an anthem, cultural nationalists consistently use several symbols – which are more likely to derive from cultural and popular practice, rather than political forms and processes – and strive to harmonize them, since the nationalist project consists of the development of the nation as a multifaceted way of life (Hutchinson, 1999: 394). While political nationalists tend to form elite-centric parties that strive to mobilize against the existing state and either capture its institutions or create a counter-state, cultural nationalists are mainly led by historians, philologists, artists of all regions and strive to create historical models, acting both as moral and social innovators (Hutchinson, 1999: 399). Cultural nationalists need to distinguish the concept of "society" from the type of "established" order implemented by the state. Society is a "spontaneous" or organic order that historically precedes the individual. But despite the integrity of this concept, it is not a totalitarian system. For a cultural nationalist, true indi-

vidualism develops through participation in a dense network of gender, professional, religious, familial and regional identities, which must be maintained because national creativity contributes to diversity (Hutchinson, 1999: 398).

Postcolonial studies

Almost all of the aforementioned works foreground the direct connection of language with national identity. The well-known statement of sociolinguistic representative Max Weinreich "A language is a dialect with an army and a navy" (Weinreich, 1945) emphasizes that the difference between them is determined by social and political conditions, and not by linguistic problems. Even though Weinreich's aphorism is conveyed through humor, it shows the close connection between the national language and the nation state.

According to Michael Westphal (2021), who considered the close connection between languages and national states, emphasizing the ideology of national existence based on a common language, the concept of "national state" is closely related to the idea of "national identity". Language plays an important role in the formation of national identity, as it serves as a unifying factor that unites people within the nation. Moreover, the ideology of "one nation, one language" is the basis of debates about national identity in many national states. This ideology means that the national language represents a single whole, and the standard variety of the language is equated to the common language (Westphal, 2021: 25). In general, the concept of the national state provides the political basis around which national identity is built and maintained, and language often serves as an important marker of national identity within these institutions. In addition, Westphal (2021) noted that the German romantics played an important role in promoting the ideology of monolingualism in Germany. In response to the French linguistic hegemony in Europe, the German romantics established a strong connection between the common homogeneous German language and the concept of the German nation. They believed that language is a unifying force capable of uniting various cultural aspects of a nation. For example, Johann Herder, an outstanding representative of German romanticism, emphasized the importance of language in uniting related groups, tribes, and nations, and the importance of the collective richness of language in preserving history, poetry, and cultural heritage (Westphal, 2021: 24).

Nation-building in multilingual post-colonial countries is often aimed at the development of one language as a common national language. An example is the development of Swahili as a national language in Tanzania after independence in 1964. Post-colonial language planning in Tanzania understood English as the colonial language, and Swahili, which was used as the lingua franca in East Africa, instead as the anti-colonial national language. The Swahili language has become the main means of transforming the ethnically diverse population of Tanzania into a "unified and stable nation". Thus, the program of anti-colonial language planning in Tanzania was influenced by the nationalist ideology of European monolingualism (Blommart, 2014: 49).

Partha Chatterjee's (1993) book "The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories" explores the influence of nationalist consciousness in Asia and Africa in contrast to Western nationalism. This shows that political nationalism differs from the general nationalism represented by anti-colonial nationalists. His analysis divided culture into material and spiritual spheres, including religion, caste, women, family and rights, all frameworks for regulating social and economic relations. In the process, Chatterjee shows how the elite of the middle class formed a spiritual vision of the nation, prepared it for political struggle and recruited various marginalized groups into its ranks. This work creates a theoretical framework for analysing nationalism and emergence of the modern state in the context of post-colonial societies, revealing the paradox of a unique nation in the spiritual sphere and a universal state in the material sphere. Chatterjee (1993: 21) concludes that the search for postcolonial modernity is closely related to the struggle to come to terms with the past.

In postcolonial theory, nationalism is often considered as a phenomenon associated with the process of national identity formation in the late colonial and postcolonial periods. In this context, researchers have emphasized the complex and contradictory aspects of nationalism. On the one hand, nationalism is considered a means of mobilizing people to fight for freedom and assert their independence from colonialism. On the other hand, after gaining independence, nationalism may face problems within the country as a result of social or ethnic differences, cultural tensions and other difficulties associated with the process of national construction. Nationalism in postcolonial societies can also be considered from the point of view of issues of postcolonial identity and the influence of nationalism on the inclusion or exclusion of various groups in society.

Homi Bhabha, a well-respected scholar in this field, who has established himself as a scholar in the

United States, in his 1994 work "The location of culture" explores in detail the issues of identity, power, and cultural reconstruction in a postcolonial context. Among them, the concepts of mimicry, ambivalence and hybridity, established in the theory of culture, were well analyzed and subsequently spread.

Mimicry in the postcolonial context refers to the strategic imitation of the cultural, social, or political models of the colonizer. It can be used to adapt and survive in new situations, while maintaining one's identity. Mimicry is manifested not only in behavior, but also in language, lifestyle and other aspects, that is, it reflects the desire of the colonized to imitate. This indicates a desire to deny one's identity and language, as well as the dominant culture. Thus, mimicry is a sign of double articulation and ambivalence (Bhabha, 1994: 121).

Ambivalence in postcolonial theory refers to a dual, contradictory perception of the colonial experience. This concept reflects the complex feelings of post-colonial societies about the past, including both positive and negative aspects. For example, in colonized countries, after gaining independence, a dual attitude towards the colonial heritage is formed. Some elements of Western culture and technology may be accepted as good, but at the same time, local communities may be outraged by the loss of their indigenous heritage, not accepting the historical injustice associated with colonization. The term "ambivalence" was used to describe this situation (Bhabha, 1994: 121).

Hybridity, arising as a result of such ambivalence, is reflected in language, art, religion and other aspects of culture, which creates a new being, a different personality. This phenomenon is denoted by the term "hybridity" and is used to describe the mixing of different cultural elements, identities and practices. This phenomenon shows the ambiguity and dynamism of cultural exchange processes. Emerging creole languages in colonial countries can be an example of hybridity in the postcolonial context. They often arise because of mixing of the languages of the colonizers and local languages (Bhabha, 1994: 159).

Table 1 – Types of nationalism

types of nationalism	role of language	source
Civic nationalism	In countries that do not provide for cultural, linguistic identity, where there is a civil nationalism that represents unification by political culture, there remain internal unresolved questions, some states support a certain dominant culture and language, even if they claim to adhere to this type, in fact, there may be signs of ethnic, cultural nationalism.	Stilz, A. (2009).
Ethnic nationalism	"Of these, the most famous and significant element is language, as it clearly distinguishes its speakers from non-speakers and creates a direct sense of expressive intimacy among them»	Smith, A. (1995).
Cultural nationalism	Myth, ethnosymbolism, language together constitute the national consciousness, and because the national consciousness is a synthesis, we cannot separate the language from it, cultural nationalism is accompanied by political nationalism.	Woods, E. T. (2016)
Postcolonial nationalism	Changes in the languages of the former countries, creole languages, decolonization of the national consciousness, the desire to develop with the return of lost linguistic forms through a common language policy	Dinter, S., Marquardt, J. (2021)

Features of postcolonial theories

When considering the current state of the Kazakh language, one can observe manifestations of ambivalence, mimicry and hybridity. In some cases, the Kazakh language finds itself in a subordinate position, which leads to a desire to resemble Russian, sometimes even at the expense of one's own Kazakh roots. This phenomenon is not new: even during the times of the Russian Empire, Kazakhs began to give their children Russian names. For example, one of Abai's sons, born Aigerim, was named Mekail (Mikhail). Later, during the Soviet era, such tendencies became more systemic, as names reflected the political realities of the time. Names such as Mels (an abbreviation of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin) and Marlen (Marx and Lenin) appeared, as well as hybrid forms such as Sovetbek, Syzbek and Sovkhozbek, where Kazakh suffixes were attached to Soviet terminology. This process can be analyzed through the prism of mimicry, a concept developed by Homi Bhabha. According to Bhabha, mimicry is not just imitation but a strategic adaptation in which colonized subjects adopt elements of the dominant culture while remaining distinct from it. In this context, the Russification of names among Kazakhs can be seen as a conscious attempt to integrate into the

dominant power structure, gain privileges, or enhance social status.

However, the influence of Russian on Kazakh is not limited to mimicry; it also results in hybridity, visible in the mixing of Kazakh and Russian linguistic elements. This is evident not only in names but also in everyday speech, where Russian loanwords and hybrid expressions are widely used. For example, in professional and formal discourse, phrases such as "tapsyrma beru" (derived from Russian "to give a task") or "zhospar kuru" ("to create a plan") reflect linguistic fusion that goes beyond simple borrowing. While this hybridity can be seen as a legacy of Russian linguistic dominance, it also represents an adaptive strategy that allows Kazakh to function in a multilingual society. Moreover, there is a clear ambivalence towards the Kazakh language. On the one hand, state policy actively promotes its revival through educational initiatives and strengthening of its official status. On the other hand, Russian remains dominant in many urban areas and professional environments, with Kazakh often perceived as a language of tradition rather than a language of modern communication. This duality reflects an internal conflict among speakers, who navigate between the practicality of Russian and the desire to preserve their cultural and linguistic identity.

If we consider the manifestations of hybridity in the language, then studies in the linguistic sphere of our country can be drawn upon. Kazakh sociolinguists E. Suleymenova, N. Shaymerdenov, B. Hasanuly and others have explored social issues of the formation of the language environment. The inability of experts to come to a consensus regarding the term nonetheless limits the development of this area. The use of such international terms as -geo, -bio, -macro, -micro, -mono, -multi, -poly, -agro in Kazakh terminology emphasizes that this is a natural phenomenon in the development of the language and that no language in the world derives from native words only. Although similar terms have equivalents in our language, it is vital to use what is in practice accepted at the international level (Nesipbai, 2023). And here we notice the dominant position of "the other". On the other hand, the opposite party claims from the position of nationalism that the purity of the national language affects national identity and national psychology (Aysultanova, 2011: 38).

Suleymenova E, Tuimebaev Zh., Aimagambetova M. (2024) in their article "Ugly Duckling Phenomenon: Language Choice in a Bilingual Kazakh Family", analyze four cases employing participant observation method. They observed Kazakh children who were brought up in a Kazakh-speaking family. Despite this, they chose to speak in Russian under the influence of YouTube, TikTok, games, and language preferences in the yard and garden. Their concept of "Ugly Duckling phenomenon" is taken from the character created by the nineteenth-century Danish author Hans Christian Anderson and thereby seeks to explore such psychological and cultural aspects as self-rejection, dissimilar origins and identity problems. However, the article does not present theories such as Lacan's "other" (Lacan, 1977) that explains this phenomenon. That is, we see the need to highlight the cultural and psychological problems underlying the choice of language.

Western studies passed through political postcolonialism, and their subsequent studies became cultural and literary studies. Postcolonial studies under the influence of Lacanian psychoanalysis and Foucault's discourse and deconstruction theories allow us to reveal the cultural foundations of nationalism in our country (Nichols, 2010). Regarding its positioning within the context of Kazakhstan, it can be asserted that these phenomena remain inactivated in an epistemic standoff within the post-Soviet sphere, not solely confined to our nation. Research works in this direction are published mainly in foreign publications (Kudaibergenova, 2016), the author of research papers describing the political side of the problem, in one of her articles claims that the propaganda of nationalism is a game of political players aimed at the recently growing Kazakh-speaking electorate, and populism is a tool of political marginal groups, called "nationalists". In fact, she shows that the government itself occupies a binary position: the Kazakh-language part of the annual message is characterized by nationalist discourse, and the Russian-language text shows the duality of the discourse, which mostly focuses on development and modernisation. She claims that the inability of the authorities to recognize nationalism as legitimate and even the absence of an effective program aimed at the development of the Kazakh language is the result of political leaders insecurity, lack of trust and inheritance of Soviet ideology. On the one hand, the authorities were able to introduce nationalism into Kazakh-speaking society through nationalists and spread the marginality of the Soviet system. But due to the uncertainty of the policy, perhaps trying not to break relations with the northern neighbor, they persecuted nationalists, deviated from the previous direction and considered these groups marginal, which split the society (Kudaibergenov, 2016).

Both the imperial Russian and Soviet governments experienced similar instability (Tlostanova, 2020). It is known that these two systems, by creating copies of Western models of colonization, turned the countries under their jurisdiction into areas of practice. Some of these aspects, characteristic of the postcolonial paradigm, have confused researchers in this field. At the same time, if postcolonialism mainly criticizes and opposes the capitalist system, then Tlostanova (2020) believes that in Soviet rhetoric the idea of overthrowing the imperial system, liberating the oppressed from the "prison of the people", "creating freedom" confuses researchers in this field. Since postcolonialism is a movement based on the study of Western colonialism, this means that its tools are not sufficient to fully describe the post-Soviet situation. This is despite the reality that the Soviet system was in many ways a continuation of the imperial system and "Great Russian" chauvinism was reflected in its various practices. For example, the Soviet government initially pursued a policy of "korenizatsiya" to gain the trust of the local ethnic population as a liberator from oppression. This policy, which rejected the violent Russification policies of the imperial government and attempted to introduce equality of local cultures and languages, did not last long. In 1932-1933, as a result of disputes about lowering the status of the "Great Russian" people, waves of nationalism and interethnic tension grew locally. The direction of "korenizatsiya" changed to Russification.

At the same time, post-colonial theory is usefully applicable because it considers language as an important tool for the formation and expression of cultural identity, as well as an instrument of power and control. Language can be an instrument of cultural resistance, when the rethinking and reuse of language structures reflects the desire to preserve unique aspects of culture. At the same time, language can be an instrument of influence and control when the colonizers impose their own language to establish their cultural dominance. Indeed, there were differences in the language policies and their place in general colonial practice pursued by different Western colonisers. The research of John La Guerre (1971) "Colonial intellectuals in politics: the experience of England and France" emphasizes the contrasting peculiarities of British and French colonial policy. Great Britain governed largely through indirect rule, with the participation and/or coerced collaboration of the local elite. English was promoted as a means of exchange and a language of administration and law in a process of colonial exploitation that mainly focused on economic interests, trade and exploitation of natural resources. It was politically and economically more profitable for British commercial interests to preserve local cultural features in their colonies in Asia and Africa. The French, on the other hand, used a policy of centralized direct control. France conducted an active policy of assimilation and familiarization with French culture, language and other institutions in their colonized countries. The French language was introduced mainly in two ways: the first was violent, and the second was spread by troops returning from the First World War and French immigrants to these colonies.

The clarity of these Western models of colonization has led to academic debates about their suitability for describing colonization in the post-Soviet space. The first problem with their applicability is the lack of confidence in the use of copies of Western colonial practice by both the Imperial Russian Government and the Soviet Government. The second is the fact that the Soviet Government presented itself as a liberator that had destroyed the Imperial power, but also carried out the forced resettlement of peoples, interfered extensively in the way of life and culture of the local population, and often engaged in exploitative economic exchange with local populations and territories. If there is a Western model which matches this phenomenon well, arguably it is instead the American combination of anti-imperial rhetoric with economically exploitative colonial realities in places like Cuba that is more apt, if under-theorised (though see, for example, Daniel, 1963; Weisskopf, 1974; Paik 2023).

Key aspects of colonial types of oppression as the forced change of language are recognized as typical features of postcolonial discourse. In addition, problems of national belonging also affect the language, culture and identity of the local population. For instance, the complexity of self-identification of children born from mixed marriages, characteristic of a polyethnic society, is also a legacy of colonial policy. It is no coincidence that in the aforementioned case "The Ugly Duckling", a modern Kazakh boy chooses a Russian-language video from social networks. Disputes arising from these problems interfere with the organization of the nation, and its solutions are implemented through other measures, such as the preparation of effective practices aimed at increasing the status of the Kazakh language and expanding the cultural space of the language.

Conclusion

In summary, this examination of articles and scholarly works serves as a foundational resource on the subject matter. Staying abreast of current research is essential for navigating the complexities of today's dynamic landscape. By thoroughly examining nationalism from multiple perspectives, various manifestations of this ideology have emerged, including ethnic, civil, territorial, economic, religious, cultural, and linguistic forms. The literature surveyed in this article predominantly explores the intricate relationship between language and nationalism.

For instance, Anderson's seminal work posited that disparate communities found commonality through shared ideas disseminated via printed media, facilitated by the evolution of printing technology and standardized language. This notion remains relevant today, with television programs and social media platforms serving as additional unifying mediums. Gellner and Hobsbawm, while critical of nationalism, cautioned against its unchecked proliferation, highlighting the propensity for any ideology to become perilous when taken to extremes. They underscored the importance of legal frameworks and societal sensibility in maintaining equilibrium.

The cultivation of a collective ethos, essential for mitigating divisive tendencies, is primarily fostered through educational institutions, civic organizations, mass media, and online networks. Language, being central to this endeavor, serves as a pivotal tool for its realization. Hobsbawm further elucidates the pragmatic advantages of language standardization in political contexts, a sentiment echoed across scholarly discourse, with empirical evidence supporting its efficacy.

While nationalism in the Western context is often perceived as organic and mature, a closer examination reveals deliberate institutional interventions in language, media, and other societal structures, indicative of strategic governance and planning. Effective policy implementation aimed at language development and institutional support has been instrumental in this process.

In conclusion, the management of language and associated institutions plays a pivotal role in shaping collective identity and mitigating societal divisions. By fostering shared values, societies can transcend barriers and foster inclusivity, thereby promoting social cohesion and stability.

References

Aysultanova Q. (2011). Ulttıq termïnjasam negizi – ulttıq psïxologïya. QazUW Xabarşısı. Fïlologïya serïyası, №2(132).

Anderson, B. (1983). Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism. Verso. https://librarysearch.kcl.ac.uk/permalink/44KCL_INST/14g2lq5/alma996173307109606881

Bhabha, H. K. (2012). The Location of Culture (2nd ed.). Taylor and Francis.

Blommaert, J. (2014). State Ideology and Language in Tanzania: Second and revised edition (2nd ed.). Edinburgh University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt14brz1t

Catterall, P. (2023a). Religion and the Constitution to 1688. In P. Cane and H. Kumarasingham (Eds.) *Cambridge Constitutional History of the United Kingdom* Cambridge University Press, 113-139. https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/cambridge-constitutional-history-of-the-united-kingdom/religion-and-the-constitution-to-1688/33885C881004920E3ABA94A89183013F.

Catterall, P. (2023b). Religion and the Constitution since the Glorious Revolution. In P. Cane and H. Kumarasingham (Eds.) *Cambridge Constitutional History of the United Kingdom* Cambridge University Press, 140-167. https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/cambridge-constitutional-history-of-the-united-kingdom/religion-and-the-constitution-since-the-glorious-revolution/D640B17AED5283FBBBC79D45032EA6C1.

Chatterjee, P. (1993). The nation and its fragments: colonial and postcolonial histories. Princeton Univ. Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691201429.

Daniel, J. (1963). Unofficial Envoy: An Historic Report from Two Capitals. *New Republic* 14 December, 15-20. https://ratical.org/ratville/JFK/UnofficialEnvoy.html.

Deutsch, K. (1969). *Nationalism and Its Alternatives*. Knopf.

Dingley, J. (2008). *Nationalism, Social Theory and Durkheim*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Dingley, J. and Catterall, P. (2020). 'Language, Religion and Ethno-National Identity: The Role of Knowledge, Culture and Communication' *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 43/2 (2020) 410-29. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1587309.

Dinter, S., Marquardt, J. (Eds.). (2021). Nationalism and the postcolonial. Brill Rodopi.

Gellner, E. (1983). Nations and nationalism. Cornell University Press.

Guibernau, M. (2007). *The Identity of Nations*. Cambridge: Polity.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1990). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*. Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. (1996). Language, Culture, and National Identity. *Social Research*, 63(4), 1065–1080. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40971324

Hutchinson, J. (1999), Re-Interpreting Cultural Nationalism. *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 45: 392-409. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8497.00072.

Kang, H., Fee, L., Samsu, K, Ismail, M. (2024). National Unity. A systematic review from the perspective of policy effectiveness experience. *Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development*, 8/4, 1-29. https://doi.org/10.24294/jipd8874.

Kudaibergenova D. (2016). The Use and Abuse of Postcolonial Discourses in Post-independent Kazakhstan , *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68:5, 917-935, https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2016.1194967

Lacan, J. (1977). *Écrits: A Selection*. Tavistock Publications.

La Guerre, J. G. (1971). Colonial Intellectuals in Politics: The British and French Experience. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Miller, N. (2013). Latin America: State-Building and Nationalism. In J. Breuilly (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*. Chapter 6.

Nichols, R. (2010). *Postcolonial Studies and the Discourse of Foucault: Survey of a Field of Problematization*. Foucault Studies, No. 9, pp. 111-144.

Nessipbay, A.Sh. (2023). Linguistic peculiarities of hybrid nominations in the modern Kazakh language. BULLETIN of L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, PHILOLOGY Series, 2(143), 87-93. https://doi.org/10.32523/2616-678X-2023-143-2-87-94

Paik, A. (2023). U.S. Imperialism and Rights. *Modern American History* 6/1, 64-68. https://doi.org/10.1017/mah.2023.9.

Racine, K. (2003). *Francisco de Miranda. A Transatlantic Life in the Age of Revolution*. Scholarly Resources.

Rowley, D. (2012). Giuseppe Mazzini and the democratic logic of nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism* 18/1, 39-56.

Smith, A. (1995). Nations and nationalism in a global era. Polity Press.

Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. Routledge.

Stilz, A. (2009). Civic Nationalism and Language Policy. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 37(3), 257–292. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1088-4963.2009.01160.x

Suleimenova E., Tuimebaev Zh., Aimagambetova M. (2024). The "Ugly Duckling" Phenomenon: Language Choice in a Bilingual Kazakh Family (to the Problem Statement). *Journal of Siberian Federal University, Humanities & Social Sciences*, 17(1): 197–208.

Tlostanova, M. (2020). The postcolonial condition, the decolonial option, and the post-socialist intervention. In Postcolonialism Cross-Examined (1st ed., pp. 165–178). Routledge.

Weber, E. (1976). *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press.

Weisskopf, T. (1974). Theories of American Imperialism: A Critical Appreciation. *Review of Radical Political Economies* 6/3, 41-60. https://doi.org/10.1177/048661347400600303.

Weinreich, M. (1945). *YIVO and the problems of our time*. YIVO Bulletin, 18, 3-18

Westphal, M. (2021). Nationalism and the Postcolonial, Brill. ProQuest Ebook Central, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/kcl/detail.action?docID=6707778

Woods, E. T. (2016). Cultural Nationalism. SAGE. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473957886.n31

Information about authors:

Assel Kogabayeva (corresponding author) – PhD student in Cultural Studies, Faculty of Philosophy and Political Science, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University (Almaty, Kazakhstan, email: kogabayevaassel@gmail.com);

Ainur Kurmanaliyeva – Doctor of Philosophy, Professor of Department of Religious and Cultural Studies, Faculty of Philosophy and Political Science, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University (Almaty, Kazakhstan, email:ainura.kurmanalieva@kaznu.kz);

Pippa Catterall – PhD, Professor of History and Policy at University of Westminster (London, UK, email:P.Catterall@westminster.ac.uk);

Samal Kaupenbayeva – PhD, Department of Religious and Cultural Studies, Faculty of Philosophy and Political Science, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University (Almaty, Kazakhstan, email: Samal_75@inbox.ru).

Авторлар туралы мәлімет:

Қоғабаева Әсел Маратқызы (корреспондент-автор) – мәдениеттану мамандығының докторанты, Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті, Философия және саясаттану факультеті, Дінтану және мәдениеттану кафедрасы (Алматы, Қазақстан, Электрондық пошта: kogabayevaassel@gmail.com);

Құрманалиева Айнұр Дүрбелеңқызы – филос. г.д., профессор, Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті, Философия және саясаттану факультеті, Дінтану және мәдениеттану кафедрасы (Алматы, Қазақстан, Электрондық пошта:ainura.kurmanalieva@kaznu.kz);

Пиппа Кэттералл – PhD, профессор, Уестминстер университеті (Лондон, Ұлыбритания, Электрондық пошта: P.Catterall@westminster.ac.uk

4. Каупенбаева Самал – PhD, Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті, Философия және саясаттану факультеті, Дінтану және мәдениеттану кафедрасы (Алматы, Қазақстан, Электрондық пошта:Samal_75@inbox.ru).

Информация об авторах:

Когабаева Асель Маратовна (автор-корреспондент) – докторант кафедры религиоведения и культурологии Казахского национального университета имени аль-Фараби, факультет философии и политологии (Алматы, Казахстан, E-mail: kogabayevaassel@gmail.com);

Курманалиева Айнур Дурбеленовна – философ. Доктор наук, профессор, Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби, факультет философии и политологии, кафедра религиоведения и культурологии (Алматы, Казахстан, E-mail: ainura.kurmanalieva@kaznu.kz);

Пиппа Кэттералл – доктор философии, профессор, Вестминстерский университет (Лондон, Великобритания, электронная почта: P.Catterall@westminster.ac.uk)

Каупенбаева Самал – доктор философии (PhD), Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби, факультет философии и политологии, кафедра религиоведения и культурологии (Алматы, Казахстан, E-mail: Samal_75@inbox.ru).