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## ALIKHAN BUKEIKHAN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE KAZAKHS

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**Abstract.** The article is devoted to the study of the ethnic component of the identity of the Kazakhs at the beginning of the 20th century on the basis of the works of Alikhan Bukeikhan. The article considers internal and external factors that influenced the development of the ethnic identity of the Kazakhs. Particular attention is paid to the problem of the plurality of Kazakh identities, the study of various components of identity, the mechanisms of their formation and manifestation. The authors for the first time presented a comprehensive description of the identity of the Kazakhs at the beginning of the 20th century. The theoretical and methodological basis of the study includes the ideas about the identity of B. Anderson, F. Bart, E. Hobsbaum. The main content of the study is the analysis of the scientific works of Alikhan Bukeikhan, in which the idea of the role of "Alash" in the revival of the national identity of the Kazakhs runs like a red thread. According to the authors, this issue reached its climax in December 1917 after the Second All-Kazakh Congress of the Alash Party and the decisions made at it. As a result of the study, the authors came to the conclusion that the Kazakhs of the period under review are characterized by a multiple identity, consisting of several levels. It is emphasized that the reasons for such a hierarchy in ethnic identification were the large share of the territorial component, the increased role of the religious factor and the crisis of tribal identity.

**Key words:** Alikhan Bukeikhan, Kazakhs, ethnic identity, tribal identity, Alash, regional identity, religious identity.

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**Аңдатпа.** Мақала Әлихан Бөкейхан еңбектері негізінде ХХ ғасырдың басындағы қазақтардың бірегейлігінің этникалық компонентін зерттеуге арналған. Мақалада қазақтардың этникалық бірегейлігінің дамуына әсер еткен ішкі және сыртқы факторлар қарастырылады. Қазақ

бірегейліктерінің көптігі мәселесіне, тұлғаның әртүрлі құрамдас бөліктерін, олардың қалыптасу және көріну механизмдерін зерттеуге ерекше көңіл бөлінеді. Авторлар алғаш рет ХХ ғасырдың басындағы қазақтардың бірегейлігінің кешенді сипаттамасын ұсынған. Зерттеудің теориялық және әдіснамалық негізіне Б. Андерсон, Ф. Барт, Э. Хобсбаумның жеке басы туралы идеялар кіреді. Зерттеудің негізгі мазмұны – Әлихан Бөкейханның қазақтың ұлттық болмысын жаңғыртудағы «Алаш» идеясының қызыл жіптей өрбіген ғылыми еңбектерін талдау болып табылады. Авторлардың айтуынша, бұл мәселе 1917 жылы желтоқсанда Алаш партиясының екінші жалпықазақ съезі мен онда қабылданған шешімдерден кейін шарықтау шегіне жеткен. Зерттеу нәтижесінде авторлар қарастырылып отырған кезеңдегі қазақтар бірнеше деңгейден тұратын көптұлғалық сипатта болады деген қорытындыға келді. Этникалық идентификациядағы мұндай иерархияның себептері аумақтық құрамдас бөліктің үлкен үлесі, діни фактор рөлінің артуы және рулық бірегейліктің дағдарысы екендігі атап өтіледі.

**Түйін сөздер:** Әлихан Бөкейхан, қазақтар, этникалық бірегейлік, рулық бірегейлік, Алаш, аймақтық бірегейлік, діни бірегейлік.

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## АЛИХАН БУКЕЙХАН И ВОПРОСЫ РАЗВИТИЯ ЭТНИЧЕСКОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ КАЗАХОВ

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**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена изучению этнического компонента идентичности казахов начала ХХ века на основе трудов Алихана Букейхана. В статье рассмотрены внутренние и внешние факторы, оказавшие влияние на развитие этнической идентичности казахов. Особое внимание уделено проблеме множественности идентичностей казахов, исследованию различных компонентов идентичности, механизмам их формирования и проявления. Авторами впервые представлена комплексная характеристика идентичности казахов начала ХХ века. Теоретико-методологическая база исследования включает представления об идентичности Б. Андерсона, Ф. Барта, Э. Хобсбаума. Основное содержание исследования составляет анализ научных работ Алихана Букейхана, в которых красной нитью проходит идея о роли «Алаш» в возрождении национального самосознания казахов. По мнению авторов, этот вопрос достиг своего апогея в декабре 1917 г. после Второго Всеказахского съезда партии «Алаш» и принятых на нем решений. В результате исследования авторы пришли к выводу о том, что для казахов рассматриваемого периода характерна множественная идентичность, состоящая из нескольких уровней. Подчеркивается, что причинами такой иерархии в этнической идентификации послужили большой удельный вес территориального компонента, возросшая роль религиозного фактора и кризис родовой идентичности.

**Ключевые слова:** Алихан Букейхан, казахи, этническая идентичность, родовая идентичность, Алаш, региональная идентичность, религиозная идентичность.

**Introduction.** Studies on ethnic identity, the ways of its formation and subsequent development, as well as the problems of preservation and transformation are among the priority areas of modern ethnology. In a number of other social identifications, the category of ethnic identity occupies a special

place, since it is the main feature for determining a person's ethnicity. According to the famous Russian ethnosociologist M.N. Guboglo, "an identification vacuum is tantamount to infantilism with all possible deviations and deviant actions for a person without a rudder and sails" (Guboglo, 2003: 252). The study of ethnic self-awareness and ethnic identity of the Kazakhs at the beginning of the 20th century is not only theoretical, but also of great practical importance, since the issues related to them are directly related to such phenomena and processes as ethnic mobilization, the desire of the Kazakh people to recreate their own statehood, and much more.

**Materials and methods.** The basis of the research methodology is the constructivist understanding of identity. The fundamental works of B. Anderson, F. Barth, E. Hobsbawm and others are of great importance for the study. To understand the phenomenon of identity, the original concept of the "imaginary community" proposed by the British scientist Benedict Anderson was used. According to the author, any collective identities (ethnic, national, etc.) are a socially constructed phenomenon imagined by people (Anderson, 2001). The Norwegian anthropologist F. Barth held a similar point of view. According to the author, in the process of identification, which is reduced to the social construction of intergroup differences, the category of "borders" plays an important role. The concept of "ethnic border" is a set of cultural markers that allows for the differentiation of ethnic groups (Bart, 2006). Instead of the theory of multiple identities, a new concept of multiple identities is proposed, based on the understanding of multiculturalism, which manifests itself at the personal and group levels in the works of M.N. Guboglo (Guboglo, 2003). The theoretical and methodological basis of the study includes the ideas about the identity of B. Anderson, F. Barth, E. Hobsbaum. The main content of the study is the analysis of the scientific works of Alikhan Bukeikhan, in which the idea of the role of "Alash" in the revival of the national identity of the Kazakhs runs like a red thread.

**Discussion.** Issues related to the study of ethnic self-consciousness and ethnic identity of the Kazakhs at the beginning of the 20th century were vividly reflected in the works of Alikhan Bukeikhan. Huge and richest ethnographic material is presented in such his works as "Kyrgyz", "Valuable treasure of antiquity", "Woman according to the Kyrgyz epic "Koblandy", "Scheme of childbirth ...", "Notes on the Kyrgyz of Pavlodar district" and others (Bukeikhanov, 2006 ). Of great importance in the study of the ethnographic heritage of A. Bukeikhan are collections of his works (Alikhan Bokeykhan, 2016) as well as complete works in 7 volumes (Alikhan Bokeykhan, 2009) and 15 volumes (Alikhan Bokeykhan, 2017), collected and published by the famous researcher S. Akkuly. A characteristic feature of the works of A.N. Bukeikhan is the detailing of the materials contained, supported by extensive statistical data. In our opinion, the works of A.N. Bukeikhan, written in the best traditions of pre-revolutionary ethnography, are of great interest to scientists today and can undoubtedly be called the "golden fund" of Kazakh ethnography.

Several works of domestic and foreign scientists are devoted to the historical and ethnographic heritage of Alikhan. Among the fundamental works of domestic researchers, it should be noted the works of K. Nurpeisov (Nurpeyisov, 1995), D. Kamzabekuly (Kamzabekuly, 2002), M. Asylbekova and E. Seitov (Asylbekova, Seitov, 2003), M. Koygeldiev (Koygeldiev, 2008), T. Zhurtbaya (Zhurtbay, 2008), S. Akkuly (Akkuly, 2017). Ethnographic heritage of A.N. Bukeihan was not ignored by researchers from far and near abroad, such as A. Bennigsen (Bennigsen, 1986), M.B. Olcott (Olcott, 1987), V. Kozodoy (Kozodoy, 2021) and others. However, despite the abundance of scientific literature devoted to the scientific heritage of A.N. Bukeihan, issues related to the study of the ethnic identity of the Kazakhs have not yet become the subject of a separate scientific analysis.

**Results.** The issues of the development of ethnic identity and the revival of the ethnic self-consciousness of the Kazakhs are one of the most important ideas of A.N. Bukeikhan. The idea that the duty of every Kazakh is to know their ancestors up to the seventh generation has long been rooted in the minds of the people. So A.N. Bukeihan in his writings cited a Kazakh proverb, according to which one of the Kazakhs did not know his seven ancestors, that mankurt, so every Kazakh had to know his seven ancestors (Turik balasy, 2009, V-bolim: 407). Knowledge of the seven-generation structure, according to A.N. Bukeikhan is the duty of every Kazakh, because "he who does not know his ancestors up to the seventh generation knows nothing."



In the Kazakh environment, ignorance of one's ancestors up to the seventh generation was considered a shame and was strictly monitored. Seven-generation kinship played a big role in the life of the Kazakh society, determining its self-consciousness and contributing to the preservation of the integrity of the people. In order to maintain the gene pool of the people, the principle of exogamy was introduced, which implied the prohibition of marriage relations within the clan.

A feature of the Kazakhs was pronounced patronymic relations, patronymic ideology and consciousness. According to A.N. Bukeikhan, the blood connection between the Turkic tribes that were part of the so-called large, medium and small hordes, has been firmly held for a long time. To the question "who are you?", each Kazakh answered: "I am the son of three hordes." If the question comes from a Kazakh, then one of the hordes or some clan from their midst will be named in response (Bukeikhanov, 2006: 31). In addition, each Kazakh knew the name of his smaller tribal division. Until the middle of the XVIII century, to a similar question they received the following answer: "I am a child of six Alash". In these answers to the question of identification, the idea of the unity of the Kazakh people is clearly heard. The ancestors of the Kazakhs knew firsthand that the strength of the people is in its unity, and not in disunity.

At the beginning of the 20th century, when the crisis of the Kazakh tribal identity occurred, caused by the agrarian colonization of the Kazakh steppe, the situation changed dramatically. The resettlement policy of tsarism and the associated plunder of Kazakh lands made nomadism impossible, which subsequently led to a reduction in the number of livestock, which, according to A.N. Bukeikhan, is the only wealth of the Kirghiz. He noted that "Kazakhs are a people engaged in cattle breeding" (Turikbalasy, 2009, V-bolim: 407). Therefore, the reduction and death of livestock for the Kazakh was tantamount to his own death. Since ancient times, the nomadic way of life was the basis of the Kazakh identity, and therefore the transition to settled life was accompanied by the loss of all signs of Kazakhness. So, N.E. Masanov argued: "In the event of the loss of signs of nomadism and the loss of the process of nomadism, there was also a loss of a specific sociocultural (nomadic) self-consciousness and, accordingly, the ethnonym "Kazakh" (Masanov, 1995: 247).

The result of the agrarian course was the impoverishment of the Kazakhs, which had catastrophic proportions. The consequence of the social differentiation of the Kazakh society, which reached a high level, was the emergence of such a phenomenon as *otkhodnichestvo*. It played a negative role in the life of the family. This was reflected in the fact that the institution of tribal mutual assistance ceased to fulfill its functions. The *otkhodniks*, rejected by the clan, began to adapt to the new conditions of life outside the clan. In such cases, when the participation of the clan in the life of an individual is terminated or minimized, the clan identity gradually fades into the background and its place is taken by the common Kazakh identity. At present, among the Kazakhs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, tribal affiliation is realized very clearly and serves as one of the main criteria for intra-ethnic differentiation.

An important role in the process of transmitting knowledge about their ancestors is played by tribal memory, the presence of which is an indispensable condition for the preservation of ethnic identity. Unlike the main body, for example, the "kozha" group quite clearly continues to maintain awareness of its difference. At present, people from "kozha" remember that they are not included in the tribal structure of the Kazakhs. At the same time, they associate their ethnicity with their country of residence, in this case, with Kazakhstan. Some part of the "kozha" continues to emphasize their Arab origin, preserving and broadcasting their identity. A feature of this group is endogamous barriers, which made it impossible to marry a representative of another tribal group. In some circumstances, when marriage to a member of another genus group was advantageous, such prohibitions were violated. In the event that representatives of three generations from the Khoja clan married representatives of the Kazakh clans, they were called "karamany" or "aralaskan kozhalar" - "mixed skin" (Ibadullaeva, 2015: 74).

An important element of tribal memory is ethnic self-name (endoethnonym). With regard to the Kazakhs of that time, it should be said that their ethnic self-name differed from how the ethnic community was called by the surrounding peoples. The Kazakhs called themselves "Kazakh", other peoples, mostly Russians, used the ethnonym "Kyrgyz" or "Kyrgyz-Kaisaki" in relation to them.

The ethnonym "Kazakh", according to A.N. Bukeikhan, a wrong interpretation is given. He dwells on five common mistakes, wittingly or unwittingly legitimizing the wrong ethnic nomination of the



Kazakhs. Russian history calls the Kazakh community "Kyrgyz". This is mistake. The Arabic and Turkish sources also do not provide reasoned data regarding the etymology of the word "Kazakh". The origin of the ethnonym "Kazakh" from the word "kashak" - "fugitive" has no basis, since it is not supported by reliable data. In the book "Mustafadal akhbar" the ethnonym "Kazakh" is also interpreted incorrectly. It cannot be said that its author does not know the meaning of Kazakh words. According to A. Bukeihan, the reasons for the dishonest attitude to the interpretation of the concept lie in strong fanaticism and hatred for the people, who are not Nogai in origin (Turik Balasy, 2009. III-bolim: 388).

The fourth mistake about the origin of the term "kazak" is the representation of some Russian historians regarding the definitions of "kazak-kaysak". The term "Kazakh" has nothing to do with the word "Khalisak", according to A. Bukeikhan. In the Kalmyk language, this concept is translated as "a person guarding the border." Using an erroneous interpretation, Russian historians write about the Kazakhs as "Kyrgyz-Kaisaks" (Turik balasy, 2009. III-bolim: 388-339). The reason for the confusion A.N. Bukeihan sees the following: "One of the peoples of Siberia became "Kazakh" ("Cossack army") after he learned from the Turks and became like our Kazakhs. If the Russian cavalry claims the name "Kazakh", our Kazakhs are not going to lose their name and become Kyrgyz. The Kazakhs will remain Kazakhs to the end (Turik Balasy, 2009. (Turik Balasy. II-bolim: 382-383). A. Bukeikhan connects the circumstances of the spread of such an ethnonym with the fact that the Russian state, in order to distinguish the Kazakhs from the Cossack army, began to use the term "Kyrgyz -kaisaki.

About the fifth mistake in the interpretation of the term "Kazakh" A. Bukeihan writes the following legend, which is common among the people, that a man from a Turkic tribe found a lost girl while hunting in the field. The girl was very beautiful, and when he brought her home, people looked at her with admiration and said: "Shirkin-ai, kyz-ak eken!" ("Oh, what a beautiful girl!") This word gradually changed to "Kazakh." They say that from this girl he had three children, and from these three children the entire Kazakh people grew. They say that the Senior Zhuz comes from the eldest child, Middle zhuz - from the middle child, and the Younger zhuz - from the youngest. The origin of the ethnonym "Kazakh" from the word "kyz-ak" in the meaning "Oh, what a beautiful girl!" Is a false judgment. The text says that this girl gave birth to three sons, from whom the Kazakh people descended. And such erroneous judgments, according to A.N. Bukeikhan, are quite common in history books.

A. Bukeikhan wrote that the Alash people tried to write the history of the Kazakhs. The materials of oral history collected by the students of the Alashovites tell the story of one premature Nogai boy who grew up talented and was subsequently elected khan. The father of this boy (khan), having learned that his son was born prematurely, said that "a child begged from God, born prematurely, will weaken my people." However, later he still came to power and strengthened the state. The boy chosen by the khan received the call "Alash". This genealogy, according to A. Bukeikhan, is real (Turik balasy. III-bolim: 389-390). Thus, A. Bukeikhan associates the origin of the Kazakh people exclusively with the name of Alash Khan.

The Kazakhs of the period under review were characterized by a clear awareness of the common origin, which is confirmed by myths about a common ancestor. Such an ancestor, the idea of which is rooted in the minds of the Kazakhs, is Alash. About the etymology and semantics of the term "Alash" A.N. Bukeikhan. The origin of the term "Alash", in his opinion, goes back to the time of Genghis Khan, who divided the entire state between his four sons. He gave Desht-i-Kipchak to the first son of Zhoshy. Six tribes lived on the territory he controlled, each of which had its own call, sign, tree. At this time, the battle cry of all the uluses of Zhoshy was "Alash". The meaning of the word "Alash" is "countryman". A. Bukeihan noted: "When Alash was Alash, Alasha was the khan" (Turik balasy. II-bolim: 392-393).

Adherents of the idea of "Alash" considered themselves the successors of this legendary ruler. Having adopted this term, they put into it a deeper meaning than just an ancestor, the battle cry of the Kazakhs or "the whole people". It seems to us that the essence of the word implies a state principle, the consolidation of the Kazakh people and patronymic – the main regulator of all forms of relations in a nomadic society. The branched system of kinship relations inherent in the Kazakhs served to protect and contributed to the preservation of the unity of the people, in fact, performing the functions of the state.

In the structure of the identification matrix of the Kazakhs at the beginning of the 20th century, a large place was occupied by regional identity, characterized by the attitude of the individual to his "small

homeland". According to the views of P. Sorokin, "of all the ties that connect people with each other, ties across the area are the strongest. The same place of residence generates in people a community of aspirations and interests. The similarity in lifestyle, family ties, companionship, created since childhood, give them a common character, creating a living connection... (Turik balasy. IV-bolim: 210). Thus, among the Kazakhs, the following territorial communities were clearly distinguished: Pavlodar, Kokchetav, Karkaraly, Omsk Kazakhs, etc., opposing themselves to other local communities.

Today, regional affiliation plays a significant role in the Kazakh society. The division into groups according to the principle of territorial distribution (north, south, west) often leads to disagreements and disputes, which "crushes" the ethnic group and prevents its ethnic consolidation.

In the period we are considering, we can single out such a variety of identity as confessional. By group affiliation, the majority of Kazakhs of that period belonged to Muslims, however, confessional identity was not dominant among other types of identities. So, A. Bukeikhanov wrote: "The Kyrgyz, until recently, in the middle of the 19th century, were rather indifferent to religion, in particular, to Islam" (Bukeikhanov, 2006: 32).

We find confirmation of this fact in A.I. Levshin: "What faith are you?" I once asked two Kirghiz Cossacks. "We don't know," they replied. You will hear this answer from most of their compatriots" (Levshin, 1996: 313).

By the end of the XIX century. interest in religion is growing, which is confirmed by the fact that some Kazakhs enter the higher Muslim schools located in Bukhara, Samarkand, Kazan and other Muslim centers. In this regard, A.N. Bukeikhanov noted that "religious and land issues were ahead of the issues of political freedom among the Kyrgyz" (Bukeikhanov, 2006: 39-40). This was confirmed by the first Kazakh proclamation, which was widely distributed in the steppe. The authors of this document, according to A.N. Bukeikhan, "called on the children of Alash to rise as one person against the encroachments of the Russian government on the religion - Islam and against the attempt to convert the Kyrgyz people to "peasants" and the Orthodox faith" (Bukeikhanov, 2006: 33). According to the author, the results of the activities of Orthodox missionaries are insignificant, since "Orthodoxy is accepted either by young homeless orphans who have come off the steppe and accidentally ended up in Russian villages, or a couple in love - a bride and groom, in order to convert to Orthodoxy and receive freedom. It is clear that there cannot be many such converts to Orthodoxy, since in the steppe the care of orphans is the responsibility of the clan, and public opinion does not recognize the freedom to choose a bride and groom" (Bukeikhanov, 2006: 33). In addition, attempts to Christianize the Kazakhs were not successful due to the fact that such a phenomenon was punished very strictly, led to disinheritance, and the most difficult consequence for a convert was to be ostracized - expelled from the clan.

Nevertheless, for a number of reasons, there was a drift of religious identity, which can lead to the loss or marginality of ethnic consciousness. A striking example of an ethnic group of that time that changed its religious identity is the "baptized Kazakhs" of Altai. In the middle of the XIX century, a local group of Kazakhs from the village. Black Anui of the Republic of Altai adopted Orthodoxy in exchange for the preservation of the land. However, the change of confessional identity, according to the Russian ethnographer I.V. Oktyabrskaya, did not entail the loss of the language, ethnonym, and most importantly, self-consciousness (Oktyabrskaya, 1997).

When considering ethnic identity, language and culture are important indicators – the main ethno-differentiating features. A. Bukeihan and his like-minded people understood the importance of these social markers for the ethnic group, which is why they became one of the key issues in the implementation of the national idea. Preservation of Kazakh culture and raising the level of Kazakh literature, in their opinion, contributes to the maintenance of Kazakhness. He assigned a special role in such an important matter to the Kazakh youth, who received instruction in Russian. The author noted "Kazakh youth who studied Russian should take on one task: to carry out every case that is out of court, to maintain the name "Kazakh" in everything instead of the misleading name "Kyrgyz". It's an impossible thing, it's against the tide – It's all empty words, we are the children of glorious grandfathers who made the water flow against the current!" (Turik balasy. IV-bolim: 383).

The Alash people had a special attitude to the language, due to the fact that the linguistic picture determines the consciousness of the ethnic group and contributes to the preservation of the national color.

Therefore, their main slogan in this regard was the conduct of education in the primary grades in their native language. According to A. Bukeihan, the administration opposed this in every possible way and demanded that the teacher in the primary grades of Kazakh schools know the Russian language (Turik balasy. II-bolim: 383).

Assimilation in the expression of A.N. Bukeikhan, the Russification policy pursued in the Kyrgyz steppe was aimed at the destruction of the language. Until October 1917, people who did not know the language occupied the positions of translators of the Kyrgyz language. A. Bukheikhan wrote that “this was done on purpose, as the senior clerk of the office of the steppe governor-general told the writer of these lines: “the Kirghiz themselves must rise to our level; we don’t have to learn their language!” (Bukeikhanov, 2006: 20-21).

The lack of periodicals in the Kazakh language and the printing house also caused great dissatisfaction. Periodicals in the Tatar language were subscribed in a significant number, newspapers in Russian were practically not in demand. A.N. Bukeikhan noted that “after the dissolution of the First Duma, Black Hundred newspapers were sent to the Kyrgyz steppe free of charge, but the Kyrgyz turned out to be indifferent to them, and some recalled the folk aphorism about the wolf, which, having found a poisoned piece of bacon on the road, bypassed it, saying: “heavy and you are tasty, a piece of bacon, however, for what mysterious reason did you find yourself lying on the road? (Bukeikhanov, 2006: 37-38). Therefore, the appearance in 1913 of a national newspaper in the native language, according to the author, evoked an exorbitant sense of pride in their people and led to the rise of national self-consciousness. According to the recollections of eyewitnesses of the events of those years, many were waiting for the newspaper “Kazakh” like fresh bread.

**Conclusion.** For the first time, on the basis of the works of Alikhan Bukeikhan, a comprehensive description of the identity of the Kazakhs at the beginning of the 20th century is presented. Particular attention is paid to ethnic identity, which, in our opinion, reached its apogee in December 1917 after the Second All-Kazakh Congress of the Alash Party and the decisions made at it. The idea of "Alash", acceptable to every ethnophore, received its doctrinal formalization at this congress. The whole Kazakh people, as one person, accepted this news with jubilation. The vigorous activity of the Alashorda people led to the fact that the Kazakh people rose to the realization of state identity. Speaking about the leaders of the Alash movement, as carriers of a new identity, it must be emphasized that they were an example of selfless service to the Fatherland, their people and their national interests. The main merit of the adherents of the idea of "Alash" is that they tried to raise the identity to the state level, thereby making every effort and in every possible way contributing to the formation of the basis for future nation-building.

Alikhan Bukeikhan made a huge contribution to the study of ethnic identity and ethnic self-consciousness of the Kazakhs. The Kazakhs of the early 20th century were characterized by a multiple ethnic identity, consisting of several levels: Kazakh – a regional division – a Muslim – a tribal division. The reasons for such a hierarchy in ethnic identification are the large proportion of the territorial component, the increased role of the religious factor, and the crisis of tribal identity. Currently in Kazakhstan there is an increased interest in religious rites, traditions and their performance, which led to the activation of religious self-awareness. This is evidenced by the growth in the number of religious organizations. Civic consciousness is at the stage of formation, it has not become nationwide. Today, the Kazakhs do not have stable ideas about themselves as a single people. They identify themselves with separate groups in accordance with regional and tribal criteria.

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