

military-political influence of Turkey in the Greater Caucasus and Caspian regions. France and the United States, as NATO allies and partners, begin to realize that Turkey is playing its own game, thus violating the unity of the Alliance.

Summing up, the authors draw the following conclusion: only Russia can solve the aggravated "Karabakh issue." Precisely, Russia has interacted with the peoples of the Caucasus for many centuries, knowing well the mentality and value system of the Caucasian peoples. Its historical mission is always to prevent conflicts in the Caucasus and maintain the necessary geopolitical balance. However, it is hardly possible to count on its protection in the name of "friendship of peoples," and at the same time take up an anti-Russian position for the sake of "flirting" with the West. Russia today holds a rather pragmatic position, guided just by national interests and acts within the framework of the international law. Precisely, the course of this "international political chess game" on Nagorno-Karabakh will depend on Russia's position.

VALENTINA SCHENSNOVICH. IMPACT OF THE MASS MEDIA OF KAZAKHSTAN ON THE ETHNOPOLITICS OF THE REPUBLIC // *Analytical review was written specifically for the bulletin "Russia and the Moslem World."*

Keywords: Mass media of Kazakhstan, "fourth power", instrument of power, ethnopolitics, regional identity, multi-ethnic societies, Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan, Eurasia, integration, ethno-confessional harmony, Islam, Christianity, DUMK, ROC.

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Abstract. At the current stage, the topic of the influence of the media on ethnopolitics is relevant. The researchers show that a multinational state, such as Kazakhstan, has to take into account that the media today often become the main source of information for the population. Otherwise, destructive opposition forces, exacerbating existing ethnic conflicts, can lead to the collapse of the state.

Introduction

Due to the transformation of the Kazakh political system from the beginning of the 90s to the present, the position of the media has changed. After gaining independence, in the media system of the republic underwent some changes. The Kazakh media sought to implement the ideas of the libertarian theory of mass communications, which assigns the role of free media as a tool for controlling and criticizing the authorities. However, in the Kazakh media environment, there was a substitution of concepts. Access to the instrument of power, which is the media, has become confused with the power itself. The concept of “mass media – the fourth power” considers them as a separate political force, equating it with the three generally recognized branches of government. The media are recognized as full participants in political governance, performing a specific function.

State information policy of Kazakhstan

The process of formation of mass media in Kazakhstan, according to Yu. Balakina [1], was not spontaneous or unambiguously predetermined, but was conditioned by a purposeful state information policy. As the author of the article

emphasizes, the most important role in the structure of the modern media policy system of Kazakhstan is played by the all-Kazakh mass media due to their capabilities in promptly informing the population of the state. Despite the differentiation of Kazakhstan's society and its polyethnicity, the media political system effectively achieves its goal. This is due to the mobilization of various information flows aimed at different social and ethnic groups. The most popular mass media in Kazakhstan are part of the media policy system, one of the main goals of which is to form public opinion. Today, the media have all the resources to exert both negative and positive influence on the ethno-political processes taking place in the world, including in the Republic of Kazakhstan. Through the media, the Government and legislative bodies receive information about existing problems and emerging conflicts. Despite its positive role in influencing ethnopolitical processes, the media can also play a role that provokes and exacerbates conflict.

During the transition period, there is a process of national revival of all ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan. The previously existing Soviet policy aimed at eliminating national traditions, peculiarities, and customs has failed. It was replaced by the rapid development and revival of national languages, traditions, and culture. And in this process, the role of the media, the researcher notes, is truly invaluable. The bloody inter-ethnic conflicts that have led to grave consequences in the destinies of multinational countries can serve as proof of this.

The impact of mass media on ethnopolitical processes

Mass media are increasingly used as political tools to influence ethnopolitical processes. One of the existing problems of media development is the influence, and not always positive, on the entire range of socio-political processes in a particular society. Even such an authoritative organization in the modern democratic world as the OSCE confirms the need for a kind of

control over the activities of the media in the field of inter-ethnic relations. This is especially important in multi-ethnic societies that strive for democracy. Modern independent Kazakhstan is one of such societies. The policy aimed at preventing the destructive impact of the media on inter-ethnic relations in the Republic of Kazakhstan by the state and the public is welcomed by the OSCE principles. Kazakhstan as a new democracy sees the support of the OSCE, an organization recognized by the democratic world community.

According to the observation of Yu.Balakina in the context of the transition to democracy in multi-ethnic societies, it is the media that have the potential to help eliminate various contradictions, including on an ethnic basis. Gaining a different status in the process of its transformation into the so-called "fourth power", the media are aware of their different place and role, especially in the field of inter-ethnic relations. The role of the media in such processes can also be reversed, i.e. negative. This happens when the media, their role, influence and resources are not aimed at uniting, but at disuniting and disintegrating a transitional multi-ethnic society. Modern leaders of ethnic conflicts actively resort to the media in terms of defending their own interests.

According to the author of the article, three main trends are characteristic of modern information processes in Kazakhstan:

- 1) distancing of the media from state guardianship, their independent development, the withdrawal of the state from direct interference in the activities of the mass media, the formation of relations: "society" – "mass media";

- 2) legalization of the information space, the formation of the legal basis for the activities of the media, the resolution of all problems only by judicial procedure;

- 3) commercialization of the majority of mass media, their aspiration to make a profit in any way, the formation of the advertising market in the country.

In the modern world, striving for democracy and freedom of speech, the media is becoming the most widespread and often the only source of information. In addition, their current capabilities give them a special status and influence, the ability to influence political processes, including ethnopolitical ones. One of the positive elements in the media is the dissemination of information about the nature and consequences of ethnic conflicts to a wide range of the population. The media can perform a preventive function of rejecting inter-ethnic conflicts. In the opposite case, when the media spread deliberately false or biased information about the causes or prospects of inter-ethnic differences, they can have an extremely negative impact, still more dividing the society that is already on the verge of crisis, the researcher emphasizes.

Ethnopolitics of the state

After the declaration of independence of Kazakhstan, the interest in the national culture, traditions, history and language of the titular ethnic group and representatives of all ethnic minorities increased in the republic. Almost all national cultural associations were formed, notes Yu. Balakina, during the period of "surge" of ethnic consciousness, from 1992 to 1994, although some associations on the ethnic principle were founded before 1991, which is due to the high degree of ethnic identity and the willingness to create associations among a number of ethnic groups. Ethnopolitics, the author points out, is an integral part of the policy of the state, political parties, organizations and associations, indicating a strategic course in the national issue, in the development of interethnic relations.

According to the researcher, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the previously suppressed sense of national pride, belonging to a particular ethnic culture, language has reflected in an unprecedented surge of national feeling. The process of national revival is positive for the new sovereign States.

However, despite the positive assessment of these processes in the field of ethnopolitics in Kazakhstan, there are also negative examples in the ethno-political processes. Ethnic conflicts in Yugoslavia, the Russian Federation, the problems of Transnistria, Kosovo, and today in Ukraine – this is nowhere near a complete list of bloody clashes between former friendly ethnic groups who faced the horrors of a war unleashed on ethnic grounds.

Yu. Balakina believes that the ethnic factor, as an effective essential force, can increase the creative potential of a nation, develop it and turn it into a competitive force. In order for the ethnic factor to become a constructive force, democracy is necessary, since only in the regime of the rule of law, in conditions of openness and civilization of interethnic relations, it can contribute to the development of each ethnic entity, form social unity and interethnic closeness.

Regional identity

Analyzing the state strategy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the formation of a model of social harmony and national unity, V.A. Malinovsky [3] notes that the Kazakh identity is based on the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 1995, which enshrined the priority of equality of human rights and freedoms regardless of their ethnic and religious affiliation. The values proclaimed in the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1995 and the Concept of the Formation of the State Identity of the Republic of Kazakhstan (1996) were developed in the Doctrine of National Unity of Kazakhstan (2010). A number of the conclusions presented in this document are of a strategic nature and are intended to last indefinitely. Among them: the content of the term “state identity” as the main condition for development for any society and for any people; the basic aspects of sovereignty that form its basis – the territory, the limits of which are clearly defined and approved with neighboring states in accordance with international

requirements by the state border; interethnic harmony, unity of the people of Kazakhstan; citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan, etc.

The ethnic center of the Kazakhs is Kazakhstan. Today, while remaining a national state, the Republic of Kazakhstan expresses the interests of the entire population, regardless of ethnicity. The definition of Kazakhstan as a national state takes into account the strategic trend in the development of state identity – the formation of a nation-state in the future. The Presidential Decree of December 28, 2015 approved the Concept of Strengthening and Developing Kazakhstan's Identity and Unity. The object of the Concept is 1996 was, for the most part, the identity of the Republic of Kazakhstan as a state, and the object of the Concept of 2015 is the socio-political community – the people of Kazakhstan in the new capacity of a single nation in all its internal diversity. The foundation of Kazakhstan's identity and unity is national values based on cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity; Kazakhstan's identity and unity is a continuous generational process. It is based on the fact that every citizen, regardless of ethnic origin, connect his/her fate and future with Kazakhstan. A common past, a shared present, and a shared responsibility for the future unite society into one whole.

As noted by S. Sadykov [6] the press of the Republic of Kazakhstan strives to consolidate the modern Kazakh society. The newly independent states, face the task of national consolidation of the multi-ethnic population into a single community, united by a high level of the ideas of the Kazakh ethnic group. In these conditions, the position of the state, which seeks to reconcile the Kazakh elite with the Russian-speaking elite, is of great importance. It seeks to prevent a confrontation between them, so that the conflict of values does not turn into a conflict of interests and dangerous actions for society. In the republic there is an objective need for the existence of both a titular ethno-cultural concept of the nation and a civil one. From the point of view of journalists, to preserve the stability of society

and the state, it is necessary to strengthen both the civil national identity and the ethno-cultural identity of the Kazakhs. Therefore, it is important to include the idea of a civil nation in the development of a national idea. This will have a positive impact on the identity of all Kazakhstanis, regardless of their ethnicity.

The journalists emphasize that the formation of a single Kazakh people around the state-forming ethnic group – the Kazakhs – assumes their special place in the structure of the civil nation. We are talking about the inclusion of an ethno-cultural concept that would be compatible with the civil concept. It should be borne in mind that the nature of the unified people formed in Kazakhstan has ethnic and historical roots, primarily associated with the Kazakhs, and this aspect should find its place in the national idea. And on this path, publicists believe, Kazakhstan will find a national idea that will be common to all Kazakhstanis. Reaching a consensus on this issue, without which state-building is impossible, means for Kazakhstan the consolidation of society into a single nation. The materials that regularly appear in the press of Kazakhstan, contribute, on the one hand, to the self-identification of various ethnic groups, and on the other – to their self-identification as a single Kazakh people.

Kazakh scientists believe that the concepts of “Kazakh society” and “Kazakh people”, although of the same type, but with the difference that the range of reflected phenomena is different in time, scale and volume. Therefore, they are not completely identical. “Kazakh society” emerged after the unification of Kazakhstan with Russia (20th century) and is to some extent distracted from interethnic relations, while the ethno-political community of peoples – the “Kazakh people” – began to form in the course of deformed socialism, the renewal of society and the implementation of national policy. Attempts to identify these concepts often lead to the substitution of the subject of analysis. At the same time, the concepts of “Kazakh society” and “Kazakh people” should not be separated from each

other. The concept of “Kazakh people” implies that we are talking about a qualitatively new social phenomenon, about the integration of people of different nationalities into one ethnopolitical community. The political experience of sovereign Kazakhstan shows that while maintaining interethnic peace, ethnopolitical processes are actively functioning.

The article by E.M. Espolova [2] considers the model of interethnic and international harmony initiated and implemented by the first President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev, which has proved its effectiveness throughout the entire period of development of independent Kazakhstan and continues to play a crucial role in the process of modernization of the country. Representatives of various ethno-cultural communities living in Kazakhstan form a single state-political and cultural-historical whole. This ensures stability and creates the basis for the economic progress of the country and the growth of the well-being of the people. In foreign policy, the path of multi-vector and Eurasian integration was chosen. The holding of the OSCE Summit in Astana in 2010, the chairmanship of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation in 2011, the holding of congresses of leaders of world and traditional religions in Kazakhstan, the initiation of regional integration associations demonstrate Kazakhstan’s commitment to dialogue and cooperation.

The Assembly of Peoples of Kazakhstan (APK), created on the initiative of N.A. Nazarbayev, has become a public institution that has played a key role in preserving civil peace and social harmony in the state. A solid legal framework for inter-ethnic and inter-religious equality has been established. It includes a whole system of laws – on freedom of religion, on languages, on public associations. The equality of all citizens is spelled out in the Basic Law of the country. Kazakhstan’s policy in the interethnic sphere is based on the principle of “Unity in diversity”. This is most clearly manifested in the language policy. First of all, the network of schools with the state language of instruction is expanding. At the same time, the State supports the

development of ethnic languages and cultures. There are 35 printed publications in 15 languages in the country. TV channels broadcast programs in 11 languages. The principle of "Unity in Diversity" means that the image of modern independent Kazakhstan is formed by all 130 ethnic groups, whose representatives call themselves Kazakhstanis.

Language Law

The law that gave the Kazakh language the status of the state language was adopted in 1997. In the legislative acts of the first half of the 1990s, the emphasis was placed on the politicization of the Kazakh ethnicity. But this ethnocratic approach, due to the outflow of the Russian-speaking population, was replaced in the Constitution of Kazakhstan in 1995 by a political-territorial approach, where instead of ethnic priority was given to the civil principle. Since that time, the Kazakh nation has been recognized as a subject of the republic. The Kazakh language is in the status of the state language, and Russian, along with Kazakh, has been legalized the right to be used in state organizations and in local self-government bodies.

The issue of language is in the focus of public and media attention. And for Kazakhstan, with its specific ethnic composition of the population, the language has not only a special significance, but is also one of the main factors in strengthening national sovereignty and statehood. Therefore, the language occupies a priority place in the strategy of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan, in the Doctrine of National Unity.

The role of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan

S.N. Mamytova [4] shows the role of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan in the implementation of the state program for the modernization of public consciousness, in improving the Kazakh model of interethnic interaction by involving the

scientific and expert community and organizing the APK departments in higher educational institutions.

Multi-ethnic composition of Kazakhstan has a huge impact on the process of its spiritual revival and unity of the nation. For several centuries, a rich experience of harmonious interethnic relations has been accumulated, and mechanisms for effective interaction and mutual enrichment have been developed. This helped to overcome the problems that arose during the formation of independence. After the collapse of the USSR, the former communist system of values collapsed too, and part of the Kazakh society was left in a state of confusion and rejection of the past. It is the presence of well-established traditions of interethnic tolerance and the deep historical roots of friendship and harmony of peoples that have allowed us to overcome the growing crisis of spirituality and unity of the nation. Of particular importance is the historical experience of absorbing the best of the foreign at the present stage, when the republic is making efforts to integrate into the world cultural space, to master the latest foreign achievements. At the same time, under the influence of the massive introduction of the patterns of Western “mass culture” into the public consciousness, a part of the population, especially young people, has a negative attitude towards national traditions and the cultural and historical heritage of their ancestors. In this regard, the implementation of the state program for the modernization of public consciousness “Rukhani Zhangyru” has begun in Kazakhstan.

The Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan plays an important role in the preservation and development of ethnic identity, the revival of spirituality and unity. It initiates many events aimed at studying and popularizing the rich historical and cultural heritage of the people of Kazakhstan. Since 2009, the scientific and expert groups established under the APK have been conducting research on interethnic relations, monitoring public opinion, and on their basis they make recommendations for improving the effectiveness of state ethnic policy. Major centers

for scientific research are higher educational institutions, on the basis of which the departments of the APK are created. The results of scientific research conducted by scientists-experts are actively implemented in the educational and bringing-up process of universities. However, the author of the article notes that not all problems in the field of interethnic relations have been solved. The potential of the APK deputies, academic experts, ethno-cultural and youth associations has not yet been fully utilized.

Kazakhstan's model of ethno-confessional harmony

V. Ovchinnikov [5] examines the trends and features of the creation and functioning of the model of ethno-confessional harmony in Kazakhstan. The development of a special model was due to the threat of sociopolitical stability, changes in the ethno-religious structure of the population in the post-Soviet period, and the multinational and multi-religious nature of the state.

After the collapse of the USSR in Kazakhstan, as in most of the former Soviet republics, citizens' interest in religion increased. The new independent state was faced with the task of strengthening the national and spiritual unity of citizens, preventing the "politicization of religion" in the process of reviving Islam. By trial and error, the state and society formed an idea of the model of state-confessional relations, of the mechanisms of the revival of Islam and religious traditions while maintaining the course of fundamental socio-political transformations and the construction of a secular state. Imperfect legislation, the lack of state control mechanisms at the stage of building a new model of interfaith harmony led to the unregulated growth of religious associations that received support from abroad, the influx of foreign missionaries, and created the basis for the involvement of citizens, especially young people, in destructive religious movements.

The Moslem community of Kazakhstan is heterogeneous, and the belonging of different ethnic groups to the same

denomination has not led to the neutralization of interethnic contradictions. In addition to Kazakhs, the Moslem community is represented by 17 ethnic groups: Uzbeks, Tatars, Uighurs, Tajiks, Kurds, Dungans, Chechens, Ingush, etc. In this situation, the state authorities understood that they needed to enlist the support of traditional Christian religious organizations. To ensure, first of all, the loyalty of the Russian population, as well as slow down the migration of Russians from Kazakhstan. This should have been the basis for building a stable model of inter-confessional and inter-ethnic harmony. As a rule, Kazakhs were representatives of the Moslem community, while Russians were representatives of the Orthodox community.

A special feature of the Kazakh model of ethno-confessional harmony is the system of constant interaction between the secular state and religious organizations on all important issues of socio-political development. The functioning of the model of ethno-confessional consent of the Republic of Kazakhstan is regulated by the Constitution and a number of legal acts, which grant equal rights to all religious associations and note the independence of the state and religious organizations within the legal framework. In 1993 the Constitution introduced a provision prohibiting the activities of public and religious organizations that proclaim or practice religious intolerance, which was also enshrined in the 1995 Constitution. The implementation of the state national policy was facilitated by the creation of an advisory body under the President of Kazakhstan – the Assembly of Peoples of Kazakhstan (1995, since 2007 the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan). Since 1996, the Presidential Council for Religious Affairs has been functioning in the country. Issues of coordination of relations with religious organizations began to be resolved within the framework of the Ministry of Information and Public Consent. The state has increased its support for official Moslem religious associations.

The Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) in Kazakhstan has been given a special place in the model of ethnic and confessional harmony being created. The number of parishes of the Russian

Orthodox Church in Kazakhstan has begun to grow steadily. As of 2012, there were 271 religious associations of the Russian Orthodox Church in Kazakhstan, including the Republican religious association-the Metropolitan District, as well as 9 dioceses and 261 parishes. During 2000–2018 the Orthodox Church of Kazakhstan has consistently positioned itself as a reliable partner of the state.

Despite the consistent construction of a secular state, in Kazakhstan in 2000–2010, there was an increase in both traditional and new religious organizations in the region. The protest events of 2011 in the country showed the need to modernize the mechanism for regulating the religious sphere. In the process of strengthening the role of the State in regulating religious activities, a new legal framework was formed, and religious associations were re-registered. As a result of the reform, a single Islamic organization was created, which preaches the Sunni Islamic faith, taking into account the historical features of Islam in the territory of the republic. Official Islam is represented by the Spiritual Administration of Moslems of Kazakhstan. Since that time, the structures of the ROC in the Republic of Kazakhstan have been called the Orthodox Church of Kazakhstan by the official authorities.

The ethnic structure of the society determined its religious structure. The main types of religious self-identification of citizens are associated with Islam and Christianity. Traditionally, the most numerous among them are Hanafi madhhab Islam and Orthodox Christianity. 81% of the citizens of the republic consider themselves believers, 19% – atheists and agnostics. Despite the consistent measures taken after 2011, the situation in the political and religious sphere worsened in 2015–2016. Other States began to interfere in complex internal interfaith processes. After the attempted “coup d’etat” in the Republic of Kazakhstan in 2016 and the increase in the level of terrorist danger, measures were taken to “tighten” religious legislation. The state's position was reflected in two main documents: the State Program on

Countering Religious Extremism and Terrorism in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2013–2017 and the Concept of State Policy in the Religious Sphere of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2017–2020. In 2016, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Civil Society was established by presidential decree.

The construction of Kazakhstan's model of ethno-confessional harmony was accompanied by transitions from "rigid" to more flexible mechanisms and forms of control in the religious sphere. The leadership of Kazakhstan is faced with the task of ensuring the development of the state and society and the formation of a new civil-national identity based on traditional culture and religion, primarily on the values of Islam, and the eradication of radical forces that destroy interethnic and interreligious harmony. According to official data, in Kazakhstan, about 75% of the population consider themselves believers, 94.9% of citizens positively assess the interethnic situation, and 94.5% feel that they are representatives of the united people of Kazakhstan. The state policy in the field of interethnic relations is supported by 95.7% of citizens, and the level of tolerance to representatives of other ethnic groups is 83.7%. This allows the researcher to draw a conclusion about the positive results of the national and confessional state policy and the success of the implementation of the Kazakh model of ethno-confessional harmony.

Conclusion

The media have a significant impact on inter-ethnic relations. All parties are interested in the resource capabilities of the mass media, both the official authorities and various political forces that seek both cooperation and conflicts with other ethnic groups, and with the state itself. At the present stage, the possibilities of interaction between the media and the political authorities in resolving inter-ethnic problems have significantly expanded. Today, the political practice of conducting negotiations,

meetings, and debates to resolve differences in inter-ethnic relations is effectively attracted by the resource capabilities of the media.

In a multi-ethnic society, the preservation of peace and harmony becomes especially important, especially for the new democracies of the post-Soviet space. The influence of the media on the formation of peaceful inter-ethnic relations has an impact on the successful implementation of the democratization process, which is relevant for many post-Soviet republics, in particular for Kazakhstan. Through the use of mass media, it is possible both to positively influence the peaceful coexistence of a multi-ethnic society, and to provide a basis for inter-ethnic conflicts that are destructive to state foundations.

It is not only the media themselves that have an impact on the formation of inter-ethnic relations. Ethnopolitical processes and official ethnopolitics influence the content aspects of the media. In an ethnically polarized society, in the context of conducting an unfair ethnic policy, the media reflect these existing contradictions. At the same time, the media either exacerbate these problems even more, or contribute to their effective resolution and prevention of new ones. The state is always in a position where it is necessary to observe the most important values of democracy, such as freedom of speech, and at the same time to ensure the harmonization of ethno-political processes in multi-ethnic societies. Thus, the state cannot withdraw itself from the activities of the mass media, regulation and control in this process are dictated by the issue of preserving inter-ethnic harmony and the existence of the state itself.

At the present stage, the media are active participants in political processes, including in the field of ethnopolitics. The media today not only inform, but also have the ability to impose, form stereotypes and manipulate people's minds, including in the field of interethnic interactions. Such blatant manipulation of the population's mindset can be carried out by oppositional, destructive external and internal political forces. They can, by

undermining inter-ethnic peace and harmony in multinational States, achieve their own political goals, even to the point of destroying statehood as such.

Thus, the researchers emphasize, the modern media is the most important political institution that has great opportunities to influence the ethno-political, social and other processes in society. Being an integral part of the culture of modern society, the media seek to spread their influence on public opinion, thereby forming new realities and changing reality. In addition, in multi-ethnic societies, the media can play a positive role in the process of consolidating the entire civilian population of the country. By promoting common political interests and spreading the ideas of peaceful coexistence, the media influence the preservation of inter-ethnic harmony.

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