

Maturing and specifics of Kazakhstan modernization model

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Abstract. Study of modernization processes in post-Soviet space is one of the most topical directions of political sciences analysis. Researchers define three forms of modernization: revolutionary, evolutionary and mixed. This article covers the specifics of the search of optimal balance of democratic values and national specifics. The author considers modernization in narrow and wide aspects and notes that a certain level of political system modernization is obtained now and it demonstrates some features of Kazakhstan modernization model.

[Matakbaeva L. **Maturing and specifics of Kazakhstan modernization model.** *Life Sci J* 2013;10(12s):597-602] (ISSN:1097-8135). <http://www.lifesciencesite.com>. 98

Keywords: Modernization, democratization, social integration, national idea, polyethnic population, civil society.

1. Introduction

The idea of modernization appeared in 1950s and since that time it turns into the foundation of the general model of global development process. The essence of this model is description of the character and directions of the shift from traditional structures to modern political systems. Study of political changes in society in the context of its rationalization and improvement is a whole branch of research initiated by A. Comte, E. Durkheim, K. Marx, M. Weber, E. Tocqueville) and other classics [1]. Most well known modern representatives of the theory of political modernization are G. Almond, S. Lipset, S. Huntington, S. Eisenstadt [2,3,4,5]. Modernization concepts are divided into two types. First type is original spontaneous modernization that is typical for countries that underwent transition to rational social structures as a gradual prolonged development of internal processes (Great Britain, USA). Second type is secondary mirrored modernization typical for countries for some reasons drop behind in development and now trying to catch up with the level and the quality of life of developed countries by wide using of the experience of these countries. Theories of political modernization form very conflicting developing scientific knowledge. Research of combined societies such as the republics of post-Soviet space requires interdisciplinary approach that unites analysis of economy, politics, civilization model of development.

Research methods:

Research methods: monographic research, desk research and traditional analysis of documents that discover specifics of post-communist transformation of Kazakhstan society. Author's position is historically grounded and theoretically thought-out analysis of existing theories of modernization and scientific approaches to the

essence of modernization development in their system interconnection.

2. Main part.

Modernization of all aspects of life of Kazakhstan society requires legitimization of existing and new institutions. In the way of political development old traditional political institutions inevitably come into conflict with new modernized institutions. That is why the main features of political institutions are their legitimacy and effectiveness. Despite wide cooperation of different countries and their approximation in a number of qualitative parameters modernization ideas spreading wider and wider come into conflict with numerous state and social and cultural forms of social stratum organization. In this situation the problem of social integration of society and state is urgent problem of modern world including Kazakhstan.

Modernization that implies open society, market capitalism and institutions of liberal democracy is organic for the countries of North Europe and America. Spreading wide modernization ideas collide with unique realms of different countries and enriches with new meanings and flavors come apart into numerous models that relates to peculiarities of a certain country. Western countries gradually worked out the new form of integration of self-regulating and internal legitimization of society and state. Mechanisms that unite society have been worked out for centuries. These mechanisms are based on personal political and economical independence of individuals that creates mutual interests in their life activity. Creation of civil society was followed by maturing of capitalist relations, forming of a special bourgeois moral and the spirit of entrepreneurship.

New independent states meet the problem of creation of institutions capable of keeping internal

unity of the country its internal legitimacy. The new model of state organization should grow in the depths of society itself. The future of modernization in all post-Soviet space is defined rather by the possibility to social adaptation to it than political will and economic decisions. Kazakhstan now is new and independent subject of international relations. The first-priority task for it is extremely complicated task of creation of strong statehood. Catbird seat at the junction of Europe and Asia, developing modern transportation system, large oil- and gas pipelines, railways and auto-roads, sea ports and other infrastructure with increasing cargo traffic that connect the country with the countries of East and West Europe, the countries of Middle Asia and Transcaucasia, CES, China, Turkey and Iran as well as all existing potential defines Kazakhstan place in world economy system. But the process of democratic transformations in Kazakhstan is complicated painful and in some sense unique.

The republic undergoes large-scale reforms resulting in formation of society that is drastically different from Soviet society and functioning on the base of the principles of political and economic pluralism. Democratization process in Kazakhstan started with elimination of totalitarian political structures in historically short time. Shift from official ideology of the proletarian dictatorship state to social state caused changing of state organization and ruin of the communist party. Need for decentralization dictated by economics, market and incomes differentiation contradict with egalitarian values that did not only comprise the official ideology but are shared by a number of people until now. The principle of inviolability of borders set during colonial and empire periods strengthen ethnical, religious and national separatism. Economic crisis is deepened by the drawbacks of administrative apparatus – bureaucratization, corruption and ties of relationship and colony. Traditional (tribal or party-technocratic) elites exploit the absence of strictly defined rules in their fight for power. Education and upbringing processes became inconsistent because drop behind the requirements of economic and political development.

Besides it's worth mentioning that global community plays significant role because it sensitively reacts on the ongoing changes and ties support with the extend actions of governments of these countries correlate with the standards accepted by this community without considering internal specifics of these countries. So power-holding structures were forced to appeal both to traditional and new sources capable of provisioning the necessary support for its activity. Of course this led to broadening of political space in which political

power is realized. But at the same time it also forced politicians to find out and make different political decision immediately.

Global integrating development (GIP) has become more and more active in last decades. Integration processes forces the mankind to rethink and revalue its integrity. The mankind overcomes numerous contradictions on its way to integration from differentiation of its components and complication of their interactions to shift of ideas and the systems of world outlook. For centuries this process was fragmented it went on regional level. World religions spread and got implanted, spread and fade the processes of colonization and assimilation of peoples, created and came apart empires and ethnic-national conglomerates. Growing internationalization of production formed the system of global economies. As a result national ties that hold social unity for a long time are coming apart.

But despite the growth of cooperation of different countries and their approaching in a number of qualitative features global integrating development always comes in contradiction with many state and social and cultural forms of social organization as well as appearing social movements including ethnic-national and religious. This contradiction relates to genetic differences and the differences in the history of evolution both Western and non-Western world. Exclusive character of Western model of social development remains intact even now when a number of non-Western countries adapted to it in a great extent. Japan and some Far East countries demonstrate impressive success stories due to acceptance of modern rational forms of managing economy and merging with them specific cultural and historical traditions. Obviously all non-Western countries have to modernize their national economies to adapt them to effective mechanisms of global economy and thus benefit from international differentiation of labour. This task may be solved only on the base and by the way of creation of such system of productive forces and relations of production that were in principal correspondence with today technological standards. In other words for the most developing and post-Soviet countries including Kazakhstan modernization means forced reconstruction of social structure that is an aggregate of different economical, political and psychological transformations and changes of a certain society on its way to entering the system of modern societies. The principal direction of social reconstruction is creation of a wide layer of autonomous subjects of economic and social and cultural activity that together create civil society. It is just the direction that comes into principal contradiction with the trend on keeping leading role of the state as omnipotent

owner in many countries. This contradiction is the most vividly manifested in post-Soviet states.

In most post-Soviet republics including Kazakhstan the state keeps its specific character. Usually it comprises well-established corporate-distributional social-political structure of this or that origin and uses traditional relations subsystems (communal, caste, tribal, clan, etc.) Constantly reproducing symbiosis of state apparatus and partially transforming elite groups significantly hampers modernization. Introducing western values creates the necessity to merge original civilization values with effective economic institutions. Forming market environment promote criminal use of powers of authority so corruption became important element of social structure. Immediate results of keeping such specifics of statehood are deep-rooted corporate-distributive type of individual social orientation, social depression and creative passiveness of a number of strata of the population, legal ignorance and specific "non-western" comprehension of it.

One more aspect of social integration is political structure of society. Besides cultural breaks there are social breaks between classes, regions and individual groups. The main problem of reformation strategy is overcoming these breaks. The need to form relevant system of political institutions that commune, religion, national idea in different periods were used as instruments of social integration. Commune organization is capable to provide the minimal requirements and does not allow extended production because hamper growth of people's demands. The other structure capable of integrating society is religious system. A state may form and exist on the base of this system. But religious system was never the only integrating force although it has significant integrating potential that should not be ignored.

Historical events of contemporary history show that national idea is one of the instruments of society interaction that has exceptional power. Nationalism in the sense it is understood now appeared relatively late not earlier than first half of XIX century. National idea has the features capable of attracting supporters. Nationalism is apologetic of exclusive character of one's nation, ethnos its superiority over the others and justification of failures by deliberate action of nation's enemies. It is also promotion of the idea of a special mission of the people in the world, its critical role. All these elements as one can see may cause an effect of the society that is comparable with the effect of religious idea. National ideas as opposed to religious idea are more late than religious and submit a person not to religious dogmas or moral laws but appeal to his (her) natural ethnicity. A person from the birth

belongs to a certain ethnic structure that delivers him (her) from personal freedom and personal responsibility.

The problems of investments, state regulation, and political system reformation are in the limelight of discussing modernization problems. But behavioral codes, cultural matrix of society that is the key to successful development are also taken into consideration. Still in one of the most important books in the history "Die protestantische Ethik und der «Geist» des Kapitalismus" M. Weber proved that the breakthrough in development that allowed the West to overcome the rest of the world was related to Reformation and spread of such Protestant values as honesty, mutual assistance, requital for a work, thrift [6]. These values crossed the boundaries of the family life and became social norms that boosted entrepreneurial confidence, labor discipline, spirit of enterprise. So mechanisms uniting society have been maturing in developed countries for many centuries. These mechanisms are based on personal political and economical freedom of individuals that creates mutual interests. It resulted in a new form of self-regulation and internal legitimating of society and state. Forming of civil society was followed by maturing of capitalist relations, forming specific bourgeois moral and the spirit of enterprise. Reformation created a special spiritual base for these processes in Europe. Protestant ethics sanctified the new economical order and the new tenor of life. At the same time national or religious idea had no critical importance for maturing of civil society and capitalism in all the countries of western civilization (Great Britain, Germany, and North America). They played supporting educative roles.

In the middle of the last century due to Confucian ethics that is also focused of discipline, diligence, educational cult, hierarchy countries of Eastern Asia made significant breakthrough.

Specific feature of Kazakhstan is that the republic as opposed to developed countries has no necessary historical period of native maturing of classic reign for more than seventy years did not allow civil society to grow and substituted all society integrating structures. People were completely dissolved in state, dedicated to it. Relations between them took the form of contacts of subjects of one state. Totalitarianism penetrated into everyday life and of course brought under control economic, political relations and its ideology took the form of moral law rejecting everything the mankind achieved before. As a result totalitarianism that was incapable of self-reformation collapsed. Breaking down of this state left the people along with themselves without any mechanism of mutual life. Significant economic freedom increased the scope of speculation and

stealing, political freedom caused chaos in all levels of management, sharpen national problems. It is objective vision of society free from totalitarianism but having no.

One more problem of political modernization in polyethnic state like Kazakhstan is the necessity of making out ideology of multinational state clear to the most of people and shared by the most of people. Political authority in multinational state cannot be legitimate when it does not account for real processes in lives of a certain ethnoses their consciousness, psychology, value orientation, experiencing or not experiencing attraction of the other systems, other centers as well as adaptive capabilities of ethnoses to formation changes. Integrity and unity of multiethnic state with high level of social and cultural differences may be stable and solid when it is based on the complex of beliefs, religious, ideologies that relates to value orientations, interests and forms of reasoning of ethnoses that form the state.

In the period of modernization ethnic-national identification becomes significantly stronger in the structure of social consciousness. It means different understanding of the model of ethnic-national safety, ethnic self-determination and presenting different models of state organization. Multinational state such as Kazakhstan is characterized by differentiation of social and cultural life in the ways, levels and participation in organization of social living and integration of these variants in universal social and cultural systems – states. Their conflicting interaction is the reason and at the same time mechanism of forming “conflict” and “consensus” potential in their contacts. “Consensus” potential is realized in legitimating of authority of the system which mission is to construct and express universal for these “societies” symbols and values. The state that originates from civil society is its official expression. The main idea of this state is “totality in it is linked with full freedom and wealth of individuals so interests of the family and civil society should be concentrated in the state but totality of the aim cannot be achieved without intrinsic knowledge and volition of singularity and should keep its right” [7].

A person in his (her) relations with civil society and state express his (her) individuality, his(her) civism. Civil society has such mechanism of self-regulation that allow person to realize his (her) dual nature as individual and social person. It helps to smooth man-to-man opposition by social origin, religious, national and other differences. People gradually start to realize not only their egoistical interests but interests of different groups. These interests are impossible to realize directly so they

find their indirect expression and manifest themselves in emerging of public organizations: trade unions, political parties, mass movements, etc.

Integrating society on the base of a certain ideology and religious idea and the idea of leadership does not create effective instruments of its self-regulation and self functioning. To reproduce itself society needs increasing doses of ideological injections. As a result every idea rendered absolute of finite and demonstrate its absurdity and insolvency.

To our mind no one of abovementioned instruments of society integration may be used for the welfare of the people, to unite and mobilize society on self-development, internal legitimating in today Kazakhstan with its polyethnic population, variety of cultures, linguistic and confessional identity.

Kazakhstan modernization is first of all realization of two tasks: formation of civil society and real national institutions of state independence. The most effective instrument for further development of Kazakhstan is civil society, based on political, economic and spiritual freedom of individual with conditions for liberation of creative activity of a person. Political authority creates conditions for strengthening of civil society and in some cases simply does not hamper these processes because they can grow only in everyday life of people from their everyday experience. “Political modernization is growing capability of political system to constantly and successfully adapt to new examples of social ideas and create new types of institutions providing not only control for the resources but channels for effective dialog of government and population” [8].

Declaration on State Sovereignty of Kazakhstan Soviet Socialist Republic dated October, 25 1990 and Constitutional law of Kazakhstan Republic “On State Independence of Kazakhstan Republic” dated December, 16 1991 were the first legitimate legislative acts that meant de facto independent existence of Kazakhstan state. The period of forming statehood started that may be referred in history as “adapted modernization”.

Kazakhstan has a number of foreign-policy and internal features that by certain extend influence modernization of political system. Among them are the following:

- republic is situated deep in the continent and thus has no outlets to the sea, transportation backbones are underdeveloped;
- Kazakhstan economy and transportation system is deeply connected with Russia so Russia is present in internal problems of Kazakhstan directly or indirectly;
- relatively small (17 mil.) polyethnic

population on vast territory (2.7 mil. square km) that leads to differences in self-identification of Kazakhstan population;

- orientation on primary production in economics, weak infrastructure, dependence on foreign investments;

- environmental pollution of many regions;

- lack of experience in democratic development of political elite of Kazakhstan that leads to personal interests domination over state interests.

The problems of strengthening state power, democratization, and support for it with population, elimination of drawbacks are extremely important now.

There is no alternative to democratic orientation of Kazakhstan in transition period. The other may leads only to chaos and organizational atomism in the state that in turn will have negative impact on its position in CES. Market reforms does not by themselves bring heaven to people, they are contradictory and create only premise for further creation of democratic law-based state that prevent liberal anarchy from appearing in crisis transition period. So market reforms are relevant first of all to jural democratic conditions. Market reforms are effective only in the situation of democratic changes.

Kazakhstan is market social state with its democratic model. Political democracy development does not contradict with the essence of liberal economy in each country and integration of economics of CES countries. When different groups of owners are not confident in stability of political life or have no right to elect or replace appointed by central authority akims (leaders), one shouldn't hope for progress in economic, scientific, educational and cultural interaction. Such is interrelation of politics and integration in society. Constructive social-political order is possible only under the conditions of jural democracy of social and political life. Development strategy should be defined by internal capabilities of the country with account for state specifics, specifics of political history, ethnic traditions.

Reformation period that Kazakhstan has already underwent showed the following: in transient process of creation of modern market relations people's behavior was formed only by economical and jural means. The system of universal values reflecting the spirit of the time has not yet taken shape. Transformations of post-Soviet Kazakhstan carried out in republic were consistent and gradual, each reform related to time, place and method [9]. Still one should agree with Kazakhstan researcher M. Ashimbaev that "important achievement of political development of the country is practical realization

and affirmation in Kazakhstan one of the basic principles of democracy - separation of powers into legislative authority, executive authority and judicial authority, introduction of election procedure, political diversity and pluralism, development of nongovernmental organizations, active development of nongovernmental information market, preserving internal stability and national accord, economic liberation" [10].

The problem of institutionalization of legitimate statehood of democratic type is actual for Kazakhstan as for many stated in post-Soviet space. Lack of experience led to accumulation of mistakes, going backward, inadequate use of resources and funds. The results are difficult to represent in some qualifying systems. One may agree with opinion of European Institute's researches T.L. Karl and F. Shmitter that in these "interesting time" structural position of actors is not the base for short-term political forecasts and for evaluation of events already taken place. The authors believe that transition practices are the periods of abnormal politics that require specialized conceptualization because "when events are unexpected, actors are not typical, identities are shaken, institutions do not function, support cannot be accounted for, choice is hasty and risks are inevitable and it is not possible to secure from them, ordinary instruments if social sciences are useless" [11].

Conclusion. So Kazakhstan acquires new forms of state organization that indicate evolution of political system. Only the skeleton of democratic building has been constructed during the current period of transformation of society even without all backup abutments. Permanent feature of this stage is crisis that penetrates into all social life so one may speak about trends not results. Increasing level of scholarship and awareness of people as well their sensitivity to situations in the other countries led to the growth of their requirements to political institutions of their own countries. The problems discussed became more and more complicated; decision depends of hidden compromises and the search for compromises. Political leaders and ordinary citizens capability to cooperate and compete on the base of acceptable for all set of rules, or consolidation is critically important o=in such situation. Fixing of this system of relationship will help transition to modern liberal representative democracy. According to the logic of today political development of Kazakhstan by the way of cultural progress the state is improved as social institution, the range of administrative functions grows and the number of people involved in reproduction of its steady development increases. That logically states the question of delegation of some authorities that

became extrinsic to government to new institutions of civil society, of widening of self-regulating sphere.

Political modernization assumes involvements of masses in political decisions, competition of different political groups as allowed by legislation, supremacy of law that lead to accountability of government, checks and balances, elite rotation, equal protection of the law. So political modernization is somehow wider than democratization but still democratization is the consequence of modernization.

3. Conclusion

Political modernization as a process of changing of system features of political life and the functions of political system institutions in transition period has no applicable analogous model.

For Kazakhstan modernization means first of all realization of two tasks: forming of civil society and real national institutions of state independence. The most effective instrument for further development of Kazakhstan is civil society based on political, economical and spiritual freedom of individual having all the conditions to free his (her) creative activity. Political authority creates conditions for strengthening of civil society and in some cases simply does not hamper these processes because they can grow only in everyday life of people from their everyday experience.

Political modernization for Kazakhstan is firstly the gear of dynamic development of the state with transitional economy and relevant institutions because the priority was given to economic transformations before political. Secondly important features of Kazakhstan reformation experience became evolutionary character, highlighting the important tasks of economic, social and administrative character. Thirdly all reformation process required institutional support that is development of normative acts (as President orders, constitutional changes, enactment of a bills, by-law acts, programs); creation or transformation of

relevant structured; development of new subjects of political process. That is why development of legal bases was followed by structural and institutional changes of state institutions, i.e. new model of state organization.

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12/14/2013