Towards a 'More Rational' International Order?

The West, China and the Democratization of Post-Soviet Kazakhstan

Doktorandin: Luba von Hauff, M.A.

Promotionskolleg: Konturen einer Neuen Weltordnung

Universität der Bundeswehr, München / Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung /

Universität St. Gallen

Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Carlo Masala (UniBW),

Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider (FU Berlin).

Datum: 05.12.2016

Contents

Introduction **3**

Chapter I
Political Systems and International Relations after the Cold War **11**

1. Democracy **12**
2. How Democratize? **17**
2.1 The Regime and Authorities 17
2.2 The Political Community 20
3.Why Democratize…? **22**
3.1 Systemic Stability and Support 23
3.2 Democratization: National Origins – International Drivers? 25
4. …And Why Not? **29**
4.1 Non-Democratic Responses 29
4.2 China: An Anti-Democratic Missionary? 32
Conclusion **37**

Chapter II
Localizing the International: On Similar Pathways and Variant Outcomes of Socialization in IR **42**

1. Norms, Pro-norm Behaviour, and International Relations **42**
1.1 Socialization: Purposes and Processes 46
1.2 International Expectations… 53
1.3 … and Local Realities 56
1.4 'Successes' and 'Failures' 59
Conclusion **65**
2. Research Outline **67**
2.1 Design and Methodology 67
2.2 Why (Only) China? 74

Chapter III
Post-Soviet Kazakhstan's Democratization Pathway (1991 – 2001): 'Failed' Socialization or 'Successful' Localisation? How Newly Independent Kazakhstan Became a 'Democracy with Soviet Characteristics' **82**

1. The Political Point of Departure **83**
1.1 Western Benchmarks after the End of the Cold War: The CSCE/OSCE 83
1.2 The Local 'Cognitive Priors': The Legacy of Patrimonial Traditions and Soviet Socialization 86
2. Separation of Power and Political Competition: The Evolution of the Presidential Vertical **89**
2.1 The Failure to Separate Power 89
2.2 Post-Soviet Political Competition… 96
2.3. … and the Emergence of Political Opposition 102
3. Post-Soviet Discourse and Democratization **107**
3.1 Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: The Content of the New Social Identity 108

3.2 Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: The Contestation of the New Social Identity 111
4. National Legacies and International Disappointments: Localization under Social Influence **116**
4.1 Mimicking: Responses to Systemic Stress 116
4.2 Social Influence: The Social Promise of Democratization 120
Conclusion **124**

Chapter IV
Kazakhstan's Continued Democratization Pathway (2002 – 2012): From 'Soviet Characteristics' to the 'Kazakh Way' **132**

1. Political Competition and the Presidential Vertical **133**
1.1The New Point of Departure: 'Democracy with Soviet Characteristics' 133
1.2 A New Pattern? The Case of the DVK 136
1.3 Asserting the Presidential Vertical 141
Repression and Co-optation 141
The 2002 Law on Political Parties 145
Political Extremism 149
1.4 The New Pattern of 'Stable' Political Competition 152
2. Discourse and Democratization: The New 'Kazakh Way' **156**
2.1 The Content and Contestation of Kazakhstan's Social Identity: The Second Decade 157
Conclusion **165**

Chapter V
The 'Kazakh Way': A Chinese Construct? **174**

1. The Ascendance of 'Asian' Values in Central Asia **174**
1.1 The Shanghai Cooperation Organization 174
1.2 The Securitization of Political Competition 180
1.3 Ideational Neutralization 183
2. Strategic Localization **188**
2.1 The Strategic and Ideological Uses of Kazakhstan's Democracy Resistance 188
2.2. Strategic Localization 191
Conclusion **196**

Conclusion **201**

Introduction

'The world is in some sort of global power transition. From concerted power to multipolarity perhaps, or some kind of diffused system of power. … Of course, China is at the centre of this.'[1]

During the past decade, 'emerging powers' have gained momentum on the global stage and have begun to eye critically the international system's post-Cold War order. This order carried the epithet 'liberal' – because it manifested itself in multilateral institution building and international law, as well as in the spread of liberal norms such as democracy, respect for human rights, and free markets. It also carried the epithet 'Western-dominated', since it was epitomised by Western powers, most notably the United States (the remaining post-Cold War 'superpower') and the European Union (the then emerging 'normative power'), as well as Euro-Atlantic organisations such as NATO and the OSCE.[2] Addressing this 'old' liberal and Western-dominated order, then, the newly emerging states came to demand not only a place at the 'international high table' of global governance, but also the right to bring along their 'own rules of the game.'[3]

The motor behind the desire for change was these nations' sense – according to Ikenberry 'not just the BRICS' (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) but also 'middle states' like Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea and Turkey, among others – that the Western-centric configuration of the liberal order - the West's domination of multilateral institutions and more generally of global governance - was 'unjust' and 'irrational'; that it stood in contradiction to its effective 'decline' on the international stage, and these nations' own simultaneous 'rise'.[4] In this regard, the notion of 'decline' was largely associated with the West's structural weaknesses that were disclosed by the global financial and European sovereign debt crises, and the ensuing shift in economic power and material capabilities (in terms of financial reserves and spending capacity, but also in terms of technological progress) from the West to the East, and the general global South.[5] It is against this background that the new 'rising powers' came to be 'increasingly disinclined … to continue as rule-takers rather than rule-makers in the international system.'[6]

Thus far, however, there has been little political or academic consensus as to how a potential trajectory of global governance, induced by the emerging powers' disaffection with the current international order, may proceed in the 21st century. Essentially, this is due to these powers' material, political, cultural, and ideational heterogeneity; their still on-going and (in spite of discontent) effective integration with the international system; as well as to

the as yet relatively short timeframe for analysis of their normative agency on the international level.[7] To be sure, some spheres of limited agreement among the new powers have crystallized to date: for instance, agreement has been found on the necessity to restrict international military interventions; on the preferability to mandate more deferential environmental obligations on the developing nations, and more generally, on the need to establish 'ultimate parity with the developed world.'[8] Nevertheless however, as yet, today's 'emerging powers', Ikenberry emphasises, do 'not (constitute) a bloc. … (T)hey have different geopolitical interests in energy, in trade, in security.'[9] For this reason, it is not quite clear what kind of 'diversification of the liberal order' will eventually emerge during the years to come – at least on the international, systemic, level.[10]

On the local level, by contrast, a trend as to what a 'diversification' of the liberal order might look like in the future seems to become apparent. Indeed, during the past decade, Freedom House and other watchdog organizations have been noting that 'freedom in the world', that is, the global presence of political rights and civil liberties, has been in gradual decline for years, with authoritarian regimes gaining pace or at least remaining resilient.[11] This development has also been taken up by the academic community, which, during the past years, has not only diagnosed a worldwide 'democratic rollback', but also the 'return of authoritarian great powers.'[12] The 'failure' to spread Western-style liberal democracy and the unconcealed challenge of this system of governance on the part of some 'emerging' nations, notably Russia and China, substantially undermined the seemingly unequivocal validity of the post-Cold War's linear autocracy–democracy transition paradigm and with it, a core tenet of the liberal international order: the establishment and consolidation of democratic governance in non-Western, non-democratic states.[13]

In other words, during the past decade, non-Western 'emerging' powers have come to contest the validity and legitimacy of the post-Cold War liberal and Western-centric international order, both on the level of global governance as well as on the local level of (non-Western) national political development. This co-occurrence of global and local 'diversification' processes, in turn, raises the question as to how these processes may be interlinked, and commends to consider the 'emerging powers' normative agency within the international system from a different – that is, from a local - angle. This is because the question as to how emerging powers are about to shape (or already have shaped) the 'liberal world order' has as much a local dimension as an international one. [14] In both dimensions, then, the People's Republic of China is said to be playing a substantial, formative role, having been charged (by the West) with both the building of an alternative, illiberal and China-

centric international order as well as, in support of its international ambitions so-to-say, with the promotion of authoritarianism on the local level.[15]

It is against this background that this research project sets in, pursuing the objective to explore the ability of 'emerging power' China to influence other non-Westerners' acceptance and implementation of the democracy norm - and thus, by extension, their adherence to the liberal international order. In the case at hand, the other non-Westerner shall be the newly independent post-Soviet nation of Kazakhstan, a direct neighbour of the People's Republic. This a state to which the West, after the Soviet Union fell apart, ascribed distinct hopes that it would emerge as a 'beacon of democracy in an otherwise bleak Central Asia' and thus become an avid supporter of the liberal international order. [16] It is, however, also a state that, during the past decade and after having institutionalized its relationship with China, has not only come to renounce its previously exclusively Western-oriented style of political-normative development, but also joined the choir of other 'emerging nations', demanding a 'fairer, more rational, and equitable world order.'[17]

As such, then, this research project is about ideational change on the domestic level and the consequences of such change on the international level, and vice versa. For this reason, the theoretical perspective of this book is on the process of socialization, addressing the subject how domestic political actors come to change their minds and identities following social interaction on the international level, and how these (local) minds and identities, in turn, come to influence the international system. This particular case, then, makes the rarely made linkage between democratization and socialization. It focuses on the social aspects of internationally promoted normative-political transformation, that is, on those immaterial elements that motivate a nation's change of identity, and thus a change of its governance form - be it towards or away from democracy.

The remainder of this introduction will illustrate the empirical basis of the research at hand in more detail – that is, it will elucidate the role of post-Soviet Kazakhstan as a 'laboratory' for Western and Chinese norm diffusion processes -, present the fundamental questions and hypotheses to be addressed in the course of analysis, and, finally provide a concrete overview of the structure of the book.

Why Kazakhstan?

Of the five newly independent states of post-Soviet Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the region's largest and by many accounts most prosperous country, has received the bulk of international

attention since 1991. This was not only due to the country's Soviet-inherited nuclear arsenal, its significant, and largely undeveloped, natural resources as well as its geostrategic location between China, Russia, and the hydro-carbon-rich Caspian Sea. The international attention bestowed on the post-Soviet nation rooted also in the international community's, most notably the US', desire to curtail the newly independent state's dependence on Russia – then the 'existential other' of Kazakh domestic and international politics.[18] The international interest coincided with the newly independent government's efforts to 'diversify' its one-directional foreign policy orientation, to create an international image as the region's politically most open and developed country, and to thus position itself most advantageously within the post-Cold War, Western-dominated international system that was characterised by a strongly liberal internationalist outlook at that time.

Thus, the Kazakh government, seeking the 'support of the world powers and authoritative international organizations' during its first years of independence, endorsed the liberal internationalist *Zeitgeist* and its protagonists: it got engaged in the building of a 'strong and wide-ranging' bilateral relationship with the US (since 1992), joined international organisations such as the UN, and established ties with unequivocally 'Western' - that is, liberal democratic - organisations such as NATO, the EU, and, of special importance for the purposes at hand, the CSCE.[19] The newly independent state demonstrated its commitment to the liberal norms and principles enshrined in the CSCE's 'Helsinki Final Act' and the 'Charter of Paris for a New Europe', eventually becoming an active member and advocate of the CSCE's successor organisation OSCE.[20] Among other things, the post-Soviet nation's hard-earned chairmanship of the latter in 2010 as well as its early voluntary abandonment of the inherited nuclear arsenal testify to the government's pronounced efforts to institutionalise its relationship with the Western powers - to become a fully-fledged member of the liberal-democratic community and the appending global order.[21]

Despite Kazakhstan's gradual, and on first sight almost exemplary, integration with the international liberal-minded institutions, notably the CSCE / OSCE, its domestic reality failed to fulfil the high expectations held by the West. Indeed, the restrictive rule of President Nursultan Nazarbayev - unchallenged for the past 29 years - has been coexisting with the country's active participation in various multilateral organisations, as well as the president's continuous reference to liberal democratic norms.[22] Even more than that: according to data from the INCSR which measures institutionalised regime authority, Kazakhstan, during its first and fundamental decades of integration with the international community, has become gradually more authoritarian, rather than less.[23] This discrepancy between rhetoric and

behaviour induces to ask to what extent Kazakhstan's socialisation with the norms and rules of the liberal minded post-Cold War international community, epitomized, in the case at hand, by the CSCE / OSCE, has actually occurred at all, respectively, why it failed to bring about the expected – 'appropriate' – political behaviour on the ground. Given the above background and Kazakhstan's geographic position on China's Western border, this discrepancy also induces to look for Chinese traces in this regard.

Thus, the first objective here is to understand whether, and to what extent Kazakhstan's democratization process did effectively fail. That is, the objective is to capture the original democratization and socialization patterns of post-Soviet Kazakhstan, which evolved during the first decade of its independence, in the absence of any normatively alternative, liberal order-contesting emerging powers. Building on the basis of these patterns, then, the second objective of the research project at hand is to understand, and conceptualize, the normative agency of emerging power China through the 2001-launched Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), and to find out whether, and how, the Kazakh democratization and socialization pathways have been influenced by Astana's participation in the Beijing-led SCO. The hope is that understanding what happened in newly independent, post-Soviet Kazakhstan will help to draw inferences about the above raised issue of the globally and locally burgeoning processes of 'diversification' of the liberal international order, and, importantly, about China's particular role in this regard.

Overview of Chapters

The better part of this analysis is situated on the local – micro - level of international normative 'diversification'. Approaching this subject, chapter I will introduce a working definition of the democracy concept that will be used throughout the study, delineate the core aspects of the democratization process, and finally, address the current academic debates on the subjects of democracy and autocracy promotion. Chapter II, then, will give an outline of the theoretic and methodological framework within which the research at hand is located. In this regard, the first part of the chapter will discuss the underlying theoretic concept of this analysis – socialization - and address its purposes, the appending processes, and outcomes. It will also discuss the problem of conceptualizing undesired or unexpected socialization outcomes, for which in today's mainstream scholarship there often is only one explanation: the attestation of socialization 'failure'. Addressing this difficulty, the concept of constitutive localization will be introduced, demonstrating how a focus on the local, pre-existing

normative framework may be utilized in order to reconstruct, understand, and, eventually evaluate the process of socialization from a different – local – perspective. The subsequent part, in turn, will elaborate on the ways as to how socialization effects can be effectively measured – even in the absence of 'appropriate' behaviour on the ground, that is, in the presence of effective localization. Finally, and in preparation for the case study of Kazakhstan's democratization pathway, a detailed overview of the research design and the methods employed in this regard will be provided.

Chapter III, then, will trace Kazakhstan's democratization and socialization pathway during the first decade of its independence, and establish this study's empirical and theoretic fundament: the original, 'China-free' (at least in institutional terms) pattern of democratization / socialization with the West (represented here through the CSCE / OSCE). In addition, it will use Kazakhstan's empirics to discuss the notion of socialization 'failure' and also provide a new, alternative conceptualization of the post-Soviet Republic's transformational outcome – that of localization under social influence. Subsequently, Chapter IV will again trace Kazakhstan's democratization and socialization pathway - this time, however, during the second decade of independence and following the institutionalization of relations with China. The main objective of this Chapter is to juxtapose the new patterns of localization with the old ones, and to look for variance between the first and the second decades. Employing the results of Chapter IV, in turn, Chapter V will implement the central objective of the study at hand: to investigate whether, and how, the Kazakh democratization and socialization pathways have been influenced by the institutionalisation of relations with the People's Republic of China through the SCO, and to develop a conceptualization of China's normative functioning in this regard. Finally, the conclusion will summarize the main findings and subsequently elaborate on the linkage between 'emerging power' China's local and global diversification ambitions, putting into perspective the ability of Beijing to influence other non-Westerners' local democratization pathways and, by extension, the liberal international order – and its limits.

[1] Cf. John Ikenberry, The Rise of China and the Future of the Liberal World Order, The C. Douglas Dillon Lecture, Chatham House, 2014.

[2] See e.g. John Ikenberry, The Future of the Liberal World Order, in: Foreign Affairs, 5/2011; Mats Berdal, 'International Security After the Cold War', in: Kurt R. Spillmann & Wenger, Andreas (eds.) 'Towards the 21st Century: Trends in Post-Cold War International Security Policy', Bern, 1999; Francis Fukuyama, 'The End of History and the Last Man', New York, 2012; Ian Manners, 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?', in: Journal of Common Market Studies, 2/2002, pp. 235 – 258.

[3] Cf. Pu Xiaoyu, Socialization as a Two-way Process: Emerging Powers and the Diffusion of International Norms, in: The Chinese Journal of International Politics, 5/2012, p. 343. See also: Amitav Acharya, The End of American World Order, Malden / 2014; Eberhard Sandschneider, Der erfolgreiche Abstieg Europas, München / 2011; National Intelligence Council, Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds, Washington D.C. / 2012; Maximilian Terhalle, 'Reciprocal Socialization: Rising Powers and the West', in: International Studies Review, 12/2011, pp.341-361; Deborah Welch Larson and Alexei Shevchenko, Status Seekers. Chinese and Russian Responses to US Primacy, in: International Security, 34/4; Xiaoming Zhang, A Rising China and the Normative Changes in International Society, East Asia, 28/2; John Ikenberry, op. cit. (note 2); Simon Tisdall, Can the Brics Create a New World Order?, The Guardian, March 29, 2012; BRICS, The 6th BRICS Summit: Fortaleza Declaration, July 15, 2014. < http://www.brics.utoronto.ca/docs/140715-leaders.html> (retrieved on 13.10.2016); BRICS, Sanya Declaration, April 14, 2011. < http://www.brics.utoronto.ca/docs/110414-leaders.html> (retrieved on 13.10.2016).

[4] Cf. Ikenberry, op. cit. (note 1).

[5] Cf. Shaun Breslin, 'The "China Model" and the Global Crisis: From Friedrich List to a Chinese Model of Governance?', in: International Affairs, 87/6.

[6] Ann Florini, 'Rising Asian Powers and Changing Global Governance', in: International Studies Review, 13/2011, pp. 23-33.

[7] Cf. Pu, op. cit. (note 3), p. 361.

[8] Cf. Gregory Chin and Ramesh Takur, 'Will China Change the Rules of Global Order?', in: Washington Quarterly, 33/4.

[9] Cf. Ikenberry, op. cit. (note 1).

[10] Cf. Pu, op. cit. (note 3), p. 361.

[11] Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2016, Washington, D.C. /2016, p. 1. https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2016 (accessed 10.11.2016). For research on the stabilisation of authoritarianism, see e.g.: Peter Burnell and Oliver Schlumberger, 'Promoting Democracy – Promoting Autocracy? International Politics and National Political Regimes', in: Contemporary Politics, 1/2010; Johannes Gerschewski, 'The Three Pillars of Stability. Legitimation, Repression, and Co-optation in Autocratic Regimes', in: Democratization, 1/2013.

[12] Cf. Larry Diamond, The Democratic Rollback. The Resurgence of the Predatory State, in: Foreign Affairs, March / 2008; Azar Gat, The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers, in: Foreign Affairs, July / 2007.

[13] Cf. Fareed Zakaria, 'The Rise of Illiberal Democracy', in: Foreign Affairs, November / December 1997; Thomas Carothers, The End of the Transition Paradigm, in: Journal of Democracy 13/1.

[14] For an elaboration on the relationship between the domestic and the international, see e.g. Ian Clark, Globalization and International Relations Theory, Oxford/1999, p. 5.

[15] See e.g. Carlo Masala, Der Aufstieg Chinas. Folgen für das Internationale System, in: Politische Studien, 64/451; Stefan Halper, The Beijing Consensus. How China's Authoritarian Model will Dominate the Twenty-First Century, Philadelphia / 2010; Joshua Kurlantzick, Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World, New Haven / 2007; Joshua Kurlantzik, China: Resilient, Sophisticated Authoritarianism. In: Freedom House Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty / Radio Free Asia (Eds.), Undermining Democracy. 21st Century Authoritarians, Washington, D.C. / 2009; Thomas Ambrosio, Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 60/8; Inna Melnykovska, Hedwig Plamper, Rainer Schweckert, Do Russia and China Promote Autocracy in Central Asia?, in: Asia Europe Journal, 10/1; Luba von Hauff, A Stabilizing Neighbour? The Impact of China's Engagement in Central Asia on Regional Security, DGAPAnalyse, 2013/3; Moises Naim, Rogue Aid, in: Foreign Policy, October 2009.

[16] Cf. Ian Bremmer and Cory Welt, 'The Trouble with Democracy in Kazakhstan', Central Asian Survey, 1996 / 2, p. 179.

[17] Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie Prezidenta RK N.A. Nazarbaeva na zasedanii Soveta Glav Gosudarvtv – chlenov SHOS* (Statement of President Nazarbaev at the Meeting of the Heads of State Council), Shanghai / 2006.

[18] Cf. Robert Legvold, 'Thinking Strategically. The Major Powers, Kazakhstan, and the Central Asian Nexus', Cambridge, 2003; Sally N. Cummings, 'Kazakhstan. Power and Elite', London, 2005. Martha Brill Olcott, 'Kazakhstan. Unfulfilled Promise', Washington, D.C., 2002.
[19]Permanent Mission of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 'History of Kazakhstan's Participation in the OSCE', Vienna. < http://www.kazakhstan-osce.org/content/kazakhstan-and-osce> (accessed on 30.05.2013).
[20] Ibid.
[21] Cf. Joshua Kucera, Why did Kazakhstan Give Up Its Nukes?, in: Eurasianet of 15.05.2013. <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/66967> (accessed 25.05.2013).
[22] Cf. Freedom House, op. cit. (note 4). On Kazakhstan's international engagement and rhetoric, see e.g.: Nursultan Nazarbaev, What Iran Can Learn From Kazakhstan, in: The New York Times, Opinion Pages, 25.03.2012. < http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/26/opinion/what-iran-can-learn-from-kazakhstan.html?_r=1&>; Nursultan Nazarbayev, 'Kazakhstan's Steady Progress Toward Democracy', The Washington Post, Opinions, 01.04.2011. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/kazakhstans-steady-progress-toward-democracy/2011/03/28/AF1XPKCC_story.html?utm_term=.fc9ed4da2eb7> (Retrieved on 14.05.2014).
[23] In 1995, the Institutionalised Authority Index on Kazakhstan fell for the first time from -3 to -4 and then again in 2002 from -4 to -6 (-10 equals an institutionalized autocracy, 10 equals an institutionalized democracy). Cf. The Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INCSR), Polity IV Annual Time-Series 1800 – 2015.< http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html> (accessed on 28.06.2016). In a similar vein, Freedom House has been ranking Kazakhstan as 'not free' only since 1994. Between the country's independence in 1991 and 1994, it was rated as 'partly free'. Cf. Freedom House, Freedom in the World, Individual Country Ratings and Status, FIW 1973 – 2016, Washington, D.C. https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (retrieved on 28.06.2016).

Chapter I

Political Systems and International Relations after the Cold War

During the course of the past century, democracy has become a sought-after political label. [1] Since 1945, and especially since the ostensibly 'history-terminating' end of the Cold War in 1991, the notion of democracy has come to represent 'all normatively desirable aspects of political life', and its achievement became not only a one-way, indeed only way, street of political development but also, as Fareed Zakaria put it, a 'part of the fashionable attire of modernity'.[2] However, the gradual transition to liberal democracy as promoted by Western states and institutions turned out to be uneven at best – even in those countries that seemed enthusiastic about embarking on democratization in the first place. Indeed, only a decade after the break out of the post-Cold War ideological euphoria, democracy, especially in its Western form, started to encounter increased resistance, in some cases even outright rejection. Today, then, the taken-for-granted movement toward Western-style democracy appears to have been reversed altogether – and with it, the West's position as the world's centre of normative gravitation.

Instead, as the new, and not quite as democratic 'emerging' powers have been gaining international clout, the notions of political 'neutrality' and national 'sovereignty' have come to the fore, establishing themselves as the normative beacons of the 21st century. In the West, this ideological relativeness – the 'diversification of the (international) normative order' - was met with resistance, yielding a new discourse on the re-autocratization of the formerly democratizing world, and also, importantly, inducing a search for the initiators of this trend. Against this background, the objectives of this chapter are twofold: firstly, the aim is to provide a definition of the notions of democracy, as well as to develop a distinct understanding about the various processes at work during the endeavour of democratization. The subsequent sections, in turn, will address the development of democracy in the aftermath of the Cold War, elaborating on the role and functioning of its main proponent - the 'West' - and also reflect on the more recent non-democratic responses in this regard. The final section, then, will introduce the international system's most significant 'emerging' power and the second (norm-making) protagonist of the analysis at hand, the People Republic of China, and put its normative functioning into the context of the above discussion. Finally, and in conclusion, the concrete thematic framework of the analysis at hand will be outlined.

1. Democracy

Democracy is a system of governance that specifies how – through which methods and what means –, and also to what end, political power can be accessed, distributed, and exercised in a state.[3] It is a system 'for organizing relations between the rulers and the ruled', and is standardly defined as 'government by and for the people.'[4] The establishment of such 'government', in turn, depends on the presence of distinct procedures and processes, institutions and norms, along which a state's political life can evolve. Despite the obligatoriness of certain institutions, however, there is no 'one way' en route to democracy, as there is no single model of democracy itself. Indeed, as will be demonstrated below, models of democracy may be influenced by diverse factors such as a country's socioeconomic conditions and its ethnic fabric – and still be held together by one unassailable normative and procedural fundament. [5] The remainder of this section will elaborate on these negotiable and non-negotiable aspects of democracy. In particular, it will deal with the procedures and institutions that are associated with democratic governance; with the conditions necessary for its functioning; and, not last, with those principles, that, despite the plurality of eventual models, are indispensable to democracy's establishment and consolidation.

The process of political competition, that is, the presence of public contestation between actors that promote conflicting political visions and interests, is the *sine qua non* of a democracy.[6] The presence of competition, however, is preceded by the process of cooperation: in order to compete, actors must be able as well as willing to cooperate and collectively deliberate in the polity's various institutions – 'to select candidates, articulate preferences, petition authorities, and influence policies.'[7] Throughout history, then, elections, as the symbiosis of political cooperation and competition, have been ascribed a pivotal, and defining, role in democratic governance. Schumpeter's famous definition, for instance, put forward that democracy is 'that institutional arrangement for arriving at political (i.e. administrative and legislative) decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote'. [8] In this view, a democratic polity is constituted of a) a cooperative element - the emergence of distinct political parties promoting distinct political alternatives; b) a competitive element - contested elections between these parties; and c) a controlling element - the subsequent 'production of government' on the part of the electorate.[9]

In contemporaneous democracies, then, these processes are at work outside the realm of political parties as well. Various other actors – interest and pressure groups, as well as

social movements among others – do also engage in competition and cooperation, and their interaction is just as indispensable to the functioning of today's (Western) democratic states.[10] These groups have distinct identities and are organized along different - social, local, ethnic – interests. What unites them, however, is the aspiration to safeguard the representation of their respective group vis-à-vis the government.[11] The activity of these groups is expected to increase the size and the voice of minorities in a state, enabling the 'ordinary citizens (to) exert a … degree of control over leaders' while remaining independent of the state themselves.[12] In addition to fostering the interaction between the state and society, such civil activity disposes of a structuring quality: it represents 'an intermediate layer of governance between the individual and the state that is capable of resolving conflicts and controlling the behaviour of members without public coercion.'[13]

These procedures – political cooperation and competition by way of elections and civil society activity - constitute significant elements of democratic governance. And yet, despite their significance, they are only necessary, but not sufficient conditions. For a democracy to function, indeed, these procedures need to be embedded into a certain normative framework. In this regard, Robert Dahl has formulated the probably most widely accepted set of rules: universal adult suffrage; secret balloting; free and fair elections; executive accountability; freedom of expression; associational freedom; access to alternative sources of information.[14] Adam Przeworski, moreover, specified the rules that govern democratic – that is, contested – elections: firstly, 'ex-ante uncertainty', which puts forward that before the elections, their eventual outcome should be uncertain; secondly, 'ex-post irreversibility', which stipulates that all participants should respect the electoral outcome; and finally, 'repeatability', which sets forth that 'whoever wins the current round of elections cannot use office to make it impossible for the competing political forces to win next time.'[15]

What a democratic system of governance thus does, by way of specifying certain procedures and putting forward relatively straightforward rules of conduct, is to bring about an element of certainty and stability to the political activity of a state. This is particularly important as democracy entails a significant portion of uncertainty as well - being a 'system, in which parties (unexpectedly) lose elections' and thus power.[16] Therefore, in addition to institutionalizing the element of *certainty* – epitomized in the above mentioned procedures and norms - a democratic system also institutionalizes the element of *uncertainty* – epitomized in the ex-ante indeterminacy of electoral outcomes. It is for this reason that democracy may be understood as a system of 'ruled open-endedness' – thus, as a system, in which actors 'know what is possible and likely (qua procedural and normative institutions)

but not what will happen.'[17] This uncertainty creates incentives for the participants to cooperate (that is, to organize in groups) and to compete (that is, to hold elections and seek power). As Przeworski points out: 'if outcomes were either predetermined or completely indeterminate (lacking, for instance, guiding procedures and rules), there would be no reasons for groups to organize as participants. It is the uncertainty that draws them into the democratic interplay.'[18]

In other words, it is the institutionalized uncertainty of outcomes that obliges a polity's participants to cooperate and to compete, and thus to commit ex ante to compliance with post-electoral outcomes – that is, to *subject their interests to the rules* governing the competition process(es). This, in turn, inevitably transfers political power 'from a group of people' to 'a system of rules and impersonal procedures' – that is, to a stable, routinized framework of law that governs the interaction of a polity's participants.[19] In this regard, the institutionalization of the rule of law is only a realistic endeavour if adherence to it is overseen by independent political institutions - usually, the legislature and the judiciary. Indeed, without an institutionalized system of separation of powers, that is, without checks and balances upon those exercising, or vying for, political power, the subjection of personal interests to impersonal rules is likely to be an inconsistent affair – as will, in turn, be, the quality of democratic governance.[20] Hence, while the rule of law has a central, stabilizing, position in a democracy, providing not only 'a great deal of structural reassurance' in the form of valid procedures, norms, and rules to both, the rulers and the ruled, but also limiting the power of the state (respectively of those vying for political power) and thus protecting individuals from arbitrary (personified) rule, its presence represents merely a function, or a consequence, of the degree to which the principles of competition and separation of powers are institutionalized.[21]

Furthermore, while adherence the rule of law is a necessary condition, it alone is not sufficient to a functioning democracy. This is because a democratic regime needs to be *legitimate* as well – that is, the legal framework needs to be socially accepted and respected.[22] Indeed, as Habermas pointed out, 'the less a legal order is legitimate, or is at least considered such, the more other factors, such as intimidation, the force of circumstances, custom, and sheer habit, must step in to reinforce it.'[23] Hence, it is legitimacy - the conviction, or trust, that a system's laws are justified and normatively valid – that distinguishes a coercive government from a democratic one, which is authorized 'by the people'. The notion of legitimacy, thus, addresses the question of 'social recognition' of a state's legal order and political organization, which, ideally 'all citizens should … find acceptable.'[24] This, then, implies that

democratic governance not only draws on an institutionalized framework of procedures and rules, but also on the condition that such a framework be collectively endorsed.[25]

Such agreement – Schmitter refers to it as 'contingent consensus', Dahl conceptualized it as a 'democratic bargain' - may take different forms across different types of democracies, depending on a state's pre-existing political culture, on a society's 'inequalities and cleavage patterns, as well as on such subjective factors as the degree of mutual trust between the government and the citizens, the standards of fairness, the willingness to compromise, and the legitimacy of different decision-making rules.'[26] The variety of possibilities notwithstanding, what is important is that such a consensus lays down a distinct regulatory framework according to which the regime in question will be organized, and, that this framework will be accepted by those exposed to it – the citizens. As Dahl explains:

> 'what we ordinarily describe as democratic 'politics' is merely the chaff. It is the surface manifestation, representing superficial conflict. Prior to politics, beneath it, enveloping it, conditioning it, is the underlying consensus on policy that usually exists in the society… Without such a consensus no democratic system would long survive … With such a consensus the disputes over policy alternatives are nearly always disputes over a set of alternatives that have already been winnowed down to those within a broad area of basic agreement'.[27]

Finally, the last unassailable piece of democratic governance and a direct consequence of the above conditions, is citizenship. For any democracy to function, the above procedures and norms, each in their peculiar shape, need to conform to the rights and obligations that are epitomized in this principle. Citizenship, as understood here, involves

> 'both the right to be treated by fellow human beings as equal with respect to the making of collective choices and the obligation of those implementing such choices to be equally accountable and accessible to all members of the polity. Inversely, this principle imposes obligations on the ruled, that is, to respect the legitimacy of choices made by deliberation among equals (or their representatives), and rights on rulers, that is, to act with authority (and, therefore, to apply coercion where necessary) to promote the effectiveness of such choices, and to protect the polity from threats to its persistence.'[28]

At their core, thus, the non-negotiable elements of democratic governance revolve around certain procedures (such as contested elections and interest group interaction), the appending procedural norms, and the overarching standard of citizenship. In this equation, the principles of competition and power separation take a central place. This is because, each in its own way, they are the supportive pillars on which the exercise, and functioning, of both, the rule of law and citizenship, including the therein-contained principles of government accountability and participatory equality, stands. In other words, these principles are not only

indispensable to the institutionalization of *uncertainty* (of political outcomes) but also, and consequently, to the institutionalization of *certainty* (by way of which power to a law-based regulatory framework is transferred) within a political system – and with it, for the legitimacy of a democratic polity.[29]

These non-negotiable features of democratic governance may manifest themselves in different ways in different political backgrounds, and hence create different models of democracy. For instance, once (democratic) elections have been held, there is significant leeway for individual, country-specific ways to distribute power: participants may choose between models that are unitary, federalist or con-federalist; majoritarian, consociational or consensual; presidential or parliamentary; liberal, statist or neocorporatist – and develop various interim stages or combinations of the above.[30] In other words, while there is no choice as to *whether* certain procedures and rules need be institutionalized in a democracy, there is choice as to *how* to do that. There are various ways of exercising power in a democratic fashion - to 'share, disperse, restrain and limit' it – and thus ensure government responsiveness in the most sensible way.[31]

The variability of models reiterates the conceptual plurality of democracy. Indeed, as pointed out above, there is neither a 'single set of institutions and rules' that defines (and according to which one may measure) political democracy, nor do the different components listed above represent a single normative continuum along which democratic performance can be improved. That means that a majoritarian model need not necessarily be less democratic than a consociational / consensual one, a federalist model not superior to a unitary one, a parliamentarian model not 'better' suited to the pursuit of democracy than a presidential one. Rather, all these points constitute parts of a 'matrix of potential combinations that are *differently* democratic' – as long as they are embedded within the non-negotiable framework outlined above.[32]

To recapitulate, then, it is the synergy of the non-negotiable and the negotiable elements that constitutes the essence of democracy. Democracy, as understood here, cannot exist without the triangular framework that comprises the obligatory procedural elements – contested elections and civil society interaction -, the obligatory normative elements – the centrality of the rule of law and its legitimacy – as well as the principles contained in the overarching standard of citizenship. How, that is, according to which models, these non-negotiable fundamentals are implemented in the various domestic backgrounds, can, or should, in turn, not be determined from the outside, but rather be applied according to the respective national sensitivities and needs. As Inogushi et al elucidate: 'democracy must stem

from, and serve, local conditions.'[33] What is important, however, is that the crucial equation remains in place: democratic governance revolves around the principles of competition and separation of power. It is through them that parties can lose elections and leaders power. It is through them that power is transferred from a group of people to a set of rules. It is, in consequence, through them that the citizens' participatory equality in a polity can be ensured, as well as the governments' accountability and legitimacy.[34] In the end, as pointed out above, democracy is a system that 'institutionalizes uncertainty in one subset of political roles and policy arenas, while institutionalizing certainty in others.'[35] And these subsets, crucially, are not to be inversed.

2. How Democratize?

What, against this background, does the notion of democratization stand for? At its core, it describes the transitional process from any form of non-democratic to a (usually) liberal democratic form of rule; that is, it describes a process whereby the above outlined obligatory principles, norms and institutions inherent to the overarching standard of citizenship are developed within a political system that was 'previously governed by other principles' and norms.[36] Democratization, however, entails more than just a change of the governance form. It also entails the building of concrete democratic institutions and organizations, and, importantly, the evolution of a new political culture. In other words, rather than a mere re-adjustment of rules and procedures within an already existing political framework, the process of democratization involves a comprehensive remake of the political system and its underlying fundamentals – that is, a remake of the political regime and its authorities, and also, importantly, of the political community. Without such a system-encompassing change, as Whitehead points out, it would be 'impossible to differentiate long-term open-ended processes of democratization from all other varieties of historical process.'[37] The next two sections will illustrate these processes in detail.

2.1 The Regime and Authorities

During democratization, the regime level may be considered the operative centre of the process. This is because a regime provides the parameters within which the political life of a system takes place, giving structure and regulating political interaction among its 'politically relevant actors.'[38] For the purposes of the analysis at hand, a regime is understood as

> 'a set of formal or operating constraints that are generally accepted, through quiescent indifference or positive consensus, by rulers and the ruled alike … that give … indications of what are or are not permissible goals, practices and structures in a system'

– or, in short, as 'a matrix of regularized expectations within the limits of which political actions are usually considered authoritative.'[39] The regime may be broken down into the following three sub-components: *values*, which underlie the political system and delineate its most fundamental goals, principles, and limits; *norms* – the codified and the customary - which specify the rules by which a system's goals are to be put into practice and its members are expected to behave; as well as, finally, *authority structures* or *roles* that designate how authority within a system is to be distributed and exercised.[40]

It is in these three sub-realms of a regime that a system's formal, 'technical' adjustment to the liberal rights and principles as well as to the democratic rules, procedures, and practices takes place. At first, such an adjustment begins with the process of political liberalization, that is, with a change of the system's underlying set of political values and principles. During this process, traditionally liberal principles such as

> 'habeas corpus; sanctity of private home and correspondence; the right to be defended in a fair trial according to pre-established laws; freedom of movement, speech and petition, …., freedom from punishment for expressions of collective dissent from government policy, freedom of censorship of the means of communication, and freedom to associate voluntarily with other citizens'

become enacted, laying the foundation for the subsequent process of democratization.[41] It continues in the legal-normative realm, where the new democratic rules are adopted. That means that the above mentioned institutional guarantees and the appertaining norms are entrenched in new constitutions and legal codes, rendering the 'government and the state administration … subject to a (new) network of laws, courts, review and control agencies, and civil society norms that not only check the state's illegal tendencies but also embed it in an interconnecting web of mechanisms requiring transparency and accountability.'[42]

Finally, regime transition involves the establishment of 'tangible' democratic political institutions such as for instance political parties, legislatures, and elections; an independent judicial branch that administers and safeguards the primacy of rule of law within the system; various channels that allow a 'free and lively' civil society to operate; and also a state bureaucracy that is 'usable by the new democratic government'.[43] In other words, the endeavour of democratization is not only ideational, but also highly tangible, in character – it entails the remodelling of a regime's established political norms and values as well as the

physical installation of new political 'authority roles' that epitomize, and serve to implement, the democratic principles, rules and procedures mentioned above.

The process of regime transition, then, is administered by those at a system's top level, the political authorities, who, by definition, are those actors that 'engage in the daily affairs of the … system … (and are) recognized by most members of the system as having the responsibility for these matters.' [44] Most often, this process is characterized by hesitancies, irregularities, and even reversions – and in any case, by significant uncertainty. This is not only because transition towards democracy involves the departure from one set of established procedures, values, and rules towards another set of yet undefined, and often contested, procedures, values and rules, but also, in addition, because it involves the occurrence, and intensification, of personal-political competition and even conflict on the authorities' level. Typically, indeed, democratization entails a trial of strength between a system's two political blocs: the non-democratic 'hard-liners' – those who 'believe that the perpetuation of authoritarian rule is possible *and* desirable' and who 'reject viscerally the "cancers" and "disorders" of democracy' - and the 'soft-liners' - those who admit the necessity of eventual regime legitimation by way of liberalization and democratization.[45]

Eventually, however, a 'victory' of democracy-oriented authorities is unassailable for the successful transition to, and consolidation of, a democratic system of governance. This is because during democratization, the authorities not only act as the face of the regime, but also as the face and signpost of systemic change, thus shouldering the challenge of securing the present and future cohesion of the system. [46] In this capacity, they not only precipitate the reformulation of a political system's norms, values and procedures but also, importantly, pave the way for a new relationship between those who govern and those who are governed, establishing new channels, patterns, and ultimately, a new culture of political interaction. In other words, those authorities under whose aegis democratization occurs operate on two rather than on just one level – in addition to their established field of day-to-day politics, they engage in the conscious remodelling of a political system's second and third level, namely that of the regime and also that of political community. Accordingly, their normative-ideological conviction, and indeed, their identification with the cause of democracy and corresponding input, are unassailable for the success of the transition. They are the key driving force.

To sum up, the development and institutionalization of new, democratic, patterns of political interaction is a fundamental part of the democratization process.[47] And yet, democratization has more to it than the mere installation of new values, rules, procedures, and

authorities (or the latter's change of mind). As O'Donnell and Schmitter point out, 'democracy itself may be a matter of principles, but democratization involves putting them into practice through specific and detailed rules and procedures, which quite often have effects far beyond their seemingly microscopic significance.'[48] This implies that, while the process of democratic transformation clearly depends on the manifestation of certain formal, technical and personnel givens in the upper echelons of a political system, they are only one part of the equation. Indeed, the other part, that is, the effective integration of these changes into a system's reality is something to be accomplished not only by the political elites but also requires the support of the system's political community as a whole. Democratization, in other words, entails a social dimension as well, and one that should not be underestimated.

2.2 The Political Community

The regulatory framework of a political system as well as its output, that is, the authorities' decisions in day-to-day politics, are deeply embedded in a system's political community - the third, and in terms of systemic significance, most fundamental level. A 'political community' is understood here as a group of persons, who, on the grounds of a system's distinct membership criteria such as, for instance, the presence of pre-existing territorial, national, social and cultural lines, are bound together to participate in a 'common (political) structure and set of processes.'[49] This 'structural connection' among the members of a system constitutes its collective 'division of political labour', as Easton calls it.[50] Moreover, because every society that shares a political structure 'tends to create minimal affective political bonds', the political community, is not only constituted by a system's structural level but also by its members' emotional affection, their 'sense' of community. Together, the structural division of political labour and the affective feeling towards the community make up the nation that is pertinent to a state.

During democratization, then, the political community plays a fundamental role, as it constitutes the social setting within which the new democratic institutions eventually come to operate. At this level, democratization involves the adjustment of the pre-existing division of political labour (and the appertaining sense of it) to democracy's overarching principle of citizenship, providing for a transformation of 'the ways in which political elites make decisions, their norms and attitudes, as well as the norms and attitudes of the ordinary citizen, his relation to government and to his fellow citizens.'[51] In other words, transition at this level

entails the development of a political culture that is consistent with the pursuit and practice of democratic governance.

In general, the political culture of a society may be understood as the 'political system as internalized in the cognitions, feelings, and evaluations of its population.'[52] A political culture that is conductive to democracy, in turn, may be described as a political environment in which acquiring political competence and getting involved in politics are internalized as the 'right thing to do' on the part of the citizens, and yet do not take a high priority among them. Put differently, a democratic culture is marked by the 'balance between citizen influence and citizen passivity', or more theoretically, by a 'gap between (the citizens') perceptions of their capacities … and obligations to act' on the one hand, and, their 'actual political behaviour' on the other.[53] This gap serves to absorb the inherent tension that is present at the level of the authorities - between the exercise of governmental power on the one hand, and the obligation of governmental responsiveness to the citizenry on the other.

These cultural attributes - involvement and voluntary passivity on the part of the citizens as well as power exercise and responsiveness on the part of the government – root, and are held together, by what Almond and Verba refer to as the 'democratic myth':

> 'The power of the elites must be kept in check. The citizen's opposite role, as an active and influential enforcer of the responsiveness of the elites, is maintained by his strong commitment to the norm of active citizenship, as well as by his perception that he can be an influential citizen. This may be part of a myth, for it involves a set of norms of participation and perception of ability to influence that are not quite matched by actual political behaviour. Yet the very fact that citizens hold to this myth – that they see themselves as influential and as obligated to take an active role – creates a potentiality of citizen influence and activity.'[54]

And this, in turn, not only limits the power of the authorities, who, as part of the same political culture as the non-elites acknowledge the legitimacy of citizen participation and demands, but also compels them to act responsively.

A further component of a political culture that is conductive to democracy is the presence of 'social capital.' [55] According to Putnam, social capital implies a readiness among the citizens to associate and cooperate for mutual benefit, be it in 'neighbourhood associations, choral societies, cooperatives, sports clubs, mass-based parties and the like' or any other civic networks of engagement.[56] It is also implies the presence of political equality – that is, the presence of horizontal, issue-centric and relatively depersonalized relations between citizens and their representatives.[57] All these features promote the one quality that distinguishes a civic, and with it, a democratic culture: the prevalence of deep social trust. Indeed, trust is a vital component of any democracy-governed community; it is a 'generalized

resource that keeps a democratic policy operating.'[58] Trust encourages cooperation and the establishment of thick networks among the citizens, it nurtures collaboration and collective interest aggregation. Moreover, where trust penetrates the political sphere, the citizens' ability to cooperate with each other in their relations with the government as well as 'to create ad hoc political structures for this purpose … (and, ultimately,) to enter political bargains' is strengthened.[59] Trust, in other words, not only facilitates the horizontal relationship between those governing and those governed, but also the working of civil society - and with it the stability and quality of one of democracy's substantial non-negotiable features.

The process of creating a democratic culture, then, is the least tangible, plannable, and implementable of the endeavours pertinent to democratization. This is because issues like social trust and confidence, solidarity and reciprocity, positive affection towards fellow citizens and the political system is nothing that can be simply reformulated or easily taught. Rather, it is something that needs to evolve over time and in consideration of the pre-existing political identity and culture – not supplementing the latter but blending with it.[60] In this regard, the role of the authorities is fundamental: by way of their exemplary function, it is their task to consciously adjust political behaviour to civic patterns. It is also their task to establish and institutionalize those political structures that will eventually become host to the civic culture and community – a breeding ground that can 'foster affective commitment to the (new) political system and a sense of political community' – among them, most importantly, the conception of the members' role as citizens.[61] And, finally, it is also their task to inspire and enthuse the population to follow them, to create affection and commitment for the new system, not only on the material but also on the ideational, symbolic level.[62] In other words, it is their task to regenerate the pre-existing political community, to create a first generation that adheres a democratic, civic, political culture and identifies with it, and to do all this in a way that allows the innovations to survive and become engrained in future generations. As Almond and Verba put it:

> '(T)he development of a stable and effective democratic government depends upon more than the structures of government and politics: it depends upon the orientations that people have to the political process – upon the political culture. Unless the political culture is able to support a democratic system, the chance for the success of that system are slim.'[63]

3. Why Democratize…?

Embarking upon democratization - un uncertainty-shaken process of departure from one established set of procedures and rules to a fundamentally different, and yet-to-ascertain set of

procedures and rules - is no naturally self-evident undertaking. Indeed, democratization requires a well-founded reason, a cause, and, in most cases, a plan. What, then, drives the leaders of non-democratic states to redefine and extend civil liberties, to modify well-established (authoritarian) rules and practices, to depart from the well known to the uncertain and indeterminate, and ultimately, to the most threatening to their own survival in the medium to long term? In most cases, the answer is: these leaders' apprehension about their survival in the short term. Indeed, transitions rarely occur during 'successful' times – that is, when the stability, the cohesiveness, and the ideological resilience of a political system are at a high. This is because few authoritarian governments will voluntarily embark upon changes that will introduce new structures, actors and uncertainties if it is not absolutely required by a crisis or challenges of some menacing sort.[64] A short excursion into systemic theory will illustrate why.

3.1 Systemic Stability and Support

The functioning, stability and cohesion of all three levels of a political system depend, to a significant extent, on the overall support exhibited by its general membership.[65] Such systemic support need not be overwhelmingly high at all times – it can be moderate, and at times even passive – but it must be present in order to 'weather the storms of economic and military crises, severe internal differences, or catastrophes of various sorts' that may come upon a political system in the course of time.[66] Support, then, may evolve on the basis of two distinct pillars: on the one hand, it may be generated and maintained through the continuous provision of specific tangibles on the part of the government, for instance through positive or negative rewards - that is, through the provision of material benefits or the enactment of unfavourable sanctions and coercion in the case of lack of endorsement, representing a 'quid pro quo for the fulfilment of demands.'[67]

On the other hand, support may be generated independently of the provision of any specific rewards or benefits. Such 'diffuse' support has a symbolic rather than a material base, and refers to the members' psychological attachment to the political system as a whole. It is not directly linked to short-term demand satisfaction on the part of the government and may hence be conceived as a repository of positive attitudes and political goodwill towards the system that can be resorted to in times of need. This kind of support is closely intertwined with the belief that authorities and regime are legitimate, depending on 'the conviction on the part of the (membership) that it is right and proper … to accept and obey the authorities and to

abide by the requirements of the regime'.[68] If present, a belief in the legitimacy of regime and authorities significantly contributes to members' compliance with government policies at a relatively low cost and, in consequence, stabilizes their mutual relationship.

In this regard, an ideology may be a highly effective means to strengthen the legitimacy of both the regime and the authorities, and with it, enhance systemic support as a whole - provided it succeeds in convincingly explaining and interpreting the past, existent, and even future challenges and opportunities of the 'real world.'[69] A further source of legitimacy may be the regime structure – that is, the institutions, norms and rules pertaining to a political system. Indeed, when a regime structure is consolidated and 'safe', it is likely that a system's members exhibit bonds with it even independently of the 'underlying moral principles to which they also subscribe.'[70] In such a case, the occupants of the authority roles, that is, the authorities, benefit from the legitimizing function of the regime structure, as long as they act in conformity with the requirements of that structure.[71]

Finally, authorities can also gain legitimacy on the basis of their personal appeal – if a system's members consider them 'personally, in their behaviour and symbolism, worthy of moral approval.'[72] In similar vein to the transferability of structural legitimacy upon the authorities, personal legitimacy can, in some cases, be transferred upon the structure. This is especially true for those occupants of authority roles that are regarded as 'personally trustworthy, concerned, or called to lead.'[73] In such cases, the belief in the legitimacy of the authorities will not exclusively depend upon their conformity with the regime's norms, procedures, and arrangements. Indeed, where such 'personal magnetism' is of particular strength, authorities may even ignore or violate the regime structure - or create a new one.[74]

A further source of diffuse support is the idea of, and the belief in, the presence of a common public interest or general good, and the conviction that this interest is pursued and promoted by the authorities. Such an interest may, for example, be a common purpose as regards the role of the state on the international level, as Easton points out:

> 'members may get satisfaction … from (such a common interest as) the promise of future greatness for their system and even some gratification from being made to feel an important part of a larger historic process that calls for present restraint on behalf of future benefits for the political system, an object with which they come to identify in and for itself.'[75]

Together, then, the belief in the legitimacy of regime and authorities as well as in the presence of a society-spanning collective denominator are fundamental sources of diffuse support vis-à-vis the political system. Where such beliefs are too weak or even lacking, a system, in times of stress, will find it difficult to remain stable and persist over time – at least if it endeavours

to secure its stability and persistence through public affection and general political goodwill rather than through coercion.

It is at this point that the authorities' rationale for political transition re-enters the picture. Indeed, the process of political transformation is best understood as a response to systemic stress and sustained discontent on the part of a system's membership - that is, political transformation represents an attempt to garner, and regenerate support by way of adjusting the political system to local demands instead of resorting to whatever form of coercion.[76] In this regard, structural responses – thus changes at the regime and authorities level – have proved to have the most stabilizing effect in the short term: on the one hand, they immediately contribute to a rise in specific support, while, on the other hand and in the longer term, building up a new repository of diffuse support, which derives from new feelings of legitimacy and modified common interests, and with it, from a new ideological outlook of the system as a whole.

To conclude, a political system depends on the support of its general membership, which can be generated in different, often overlapping ways. Support may be specific in nature and derive from the members' material expediency or their fear of government coercion. It may also be diffuse, basing on the members' belief that the regime and authorities are legitimate, and that, in their political actions, the latter pursue the collective good of the system as a whole. Systemic support, then, need not be continuously high – it can be moderate, and at times even passive, evolving from habit rather than opportunism or affection. And yet, for a system to remain stable and persist over time, it must be present – and circumstances inducing its decline on any level must be addressed, often by way of structural, and with it, ideational, change.

3.2 Democratization: National Origins – International Drivers?

As the last section has demonstrated, the functioning and persistence of a political system depends upon the support of its general membership. This is because support is directly related to the presence of a certain degree of ideational and organizational cohesiveness in the political system, in particular among its politically relevant members – the political elites. Where general support is fading, appeals for structural change are likely to flare up and destabilize the existing division of political labour – unless they are suppressed by coercion. This, in turn, is likely to trigger a split within the regime – and with it, the origin of, and main pre-condition for, political transformation of any kind.[77] This implies that the roots of political

transitions are inherently domestic – they derive from the decay of local support and regime cohesiveness, and the related rise of ideological insecurity on the part of those in power. When it comes to the drivers and directions of political transitions, however, the situation is different. These have often a much more international character.

This is not only so because any process of transformation requires an orientation point as well as an actual destination but also, because the stability, cohesiveness and performance of even the most authoritarian regimes are seldom an exclusively national matter.[78] Indeed, although a result of ideological divisions within a national political community, the decision to embark upon democratization is rarely motivated on purely domestic grounds. With particular regard to democracy, this has been true already before the end of the Cold War and the ensuing dissolution of the West's main ideological antagonist Soviet Union, and also, before the onset of the various large-scale globalization processes. And it has become even truer since the 1980s, when these factors came to work hand-in-hand and accelerated. During this time, the democratic system of governance established itself as the general point of reference and destination to transformation-seeking national authorities.[79]

In other words, the end of the Cold War and the physical and ideological breakdown of the Soviet Union have significantly contributed to enhancing the international acceptance of democracy (and the appending Western capitalist lifestyle), elevating it to the position of a norm and ideal – a 'universal right' in Kofi Annan's words – to be espoused across the world.[80] At that time, democracy became the new hallmark of what seemed to be the only internationally accepted, expected, and respected form of 'legitimate' governance – at least within the then growing radius of the Western-dominated late Cold War and early post-Cold War liberal internationalist community.[81] As Inoguchi et al. pointed out in 1998:

> 'Transparency, accountability, and performance more than ever before form the benchmark for authority, legitimacy, and "good governance," promoted by global media and communications. … Democracy increasingly is a concept that extends beyond the domestic polity, partly as a condition of the globalizing trends of ideas and interaction. The internationalization of human rights and ideas of 'good governance', in addition to the belief that the spread of democracy will underpin international peace and stability, have made democracy a legitimate issue of international relations.'[82]

In this regard, the process of globalization - the ever faster movements of goods and capital, the internationalization of information and communication technology and networks, the growing cultural and ideational interchange and the increased passage of people across borders, among other things – played a not insignificant role.[83] This is because it was during that time that transnational – especially regional and international – communication and social networks, as well as multilateral organizations strongly increased their influence upon the

nation states' domestic sphere, transforming and, indeed, weakening, the traditional understandings of sovereignty and national autonomy. This new interconnectedness significantly contributed to reducing the leeway, and authority, of national governments to 'act free of international and transnational constraints, and to achieve (national) goals once they have been set'.[84] Put differently, by enhancing the national exposure on the international level, the new interconnectedness also enhanced the governments' cost of using coercion to achieve national objectives – especially if those were out of tune with the new international etiquette.

On the societal level, moreover, the processes of globalization reinforced the demonstration effects that stemmed from the late- and post-Cold War democratization wave, and thus increased the demand to lead 'a way of life associated with the liberal capitalist democracies of the core regions' among the populations of non-democracies – something that, again, fundamentally undermined the 'social and institutional foundations of any regime perceived as incompatible with these aspirations,' and with it, domestic support for the regimes in question.[85] This internationalization – also referred to as 'penetration' or 'contagion' - of the domestic sphere, in turn, created a new source of pressure on the authoritarian regimes, altering their perception of stability and also their willingness to transform.[86] All in one, these developments had a significant impact on the cohesiveness of the non-democratic regimes and authorities, and, in consequence, on the stability of the non-democratic political systems as a whole. Hence, since the late 1980s, the number of regime changers (and especially, the ratio of domestic 'soft-liners') rose considerably across the world. What Huntington described as a 'global democratic revolution' was at its peak.[87]

This state of affairs was further consolidated by the rise in international democracy promotion attempts. Indeed, as the understanding of democracy as 'the only legitimate political regime' expanded across the globe during the late 1980s, the (Western) conviction that democracy's local entrenchment need be aided by additional external means grew as well. It is thus that the endeavour of international democracy promotion developed into a new multinational 'industry'.[88] Sponsored pre-eminently by Western state and non-state actors as well as by multilateral organizations - some of which were purportedly created to the very end of democracy promotion – the aim was to facilitate the liberalization of autocratic regimes, to help develop civic communities, and contribute to the entrenchment of liberal democratic regimes in those countries that exhibited a 'democratic opening'.[89] In particular, democracy promoters were charged with creating 'citizens' – thus sensitizing the population as to their political rights and obligations - as well as with transferring knowledge about liberal-

democratic norms, principles, and practices. A further task was to develop and strengthen the capacity of local civil society organizations and democracy-oriented political movements and parties. Finally, democracy assistance aimed at the reform of the old, and the building of new, democracy-compatible authority roles, that is, state institutions.[90]

In all these respects, conditionality acquired a fundamental role. Employed as a strategic instrument of 'soft' coercion, it served to link the democratizing nations' progress of transformation to international rewards or sanctions, such as the provision (or withholding) of material benefits including poverty reduction measures as well as membership positions in 'prestigious international clubs' of Western origin.[91] Unsurprisingly, the utilization of conditionality significantly stimulated the non-democratic authorities' demand for democratic change. This is because on the one hand, and in strategic terms, it contributed to the establishment of an implicit linkage between the process of democratization and the growth of domestic support by way of passing on specific, for instance economic and military, rewards on the part of the democracy promoting community to the domestic population.[92]

On the other hand, and important for the purposes at hand, conditionality held what could be described as the 'social promise of democratization' – a significant psychological incentive for all those who wanted to belong to, and be a genuine and respected part of, the then (ideationally and materially) flourishing Western world. In other words, democracy's new post-Cold War status as 'the only legitimate political regime' triggered a significant social aspect: the desire of inclusion to the 'prestigious' group of Western regional / international organizations. It is thus that the domestic process of democratization became more than just an internationally-informed utility-maximizing endeavour, acquiring an inherently social character: a way to become, and remain, part of Zakaria's 'fashionable attire of modernity' by earning membership in, and respect of, the Western-dominated international organizations.

To sum up this section, it has been demonstrated that usually, political transitions (in any direction) rarely occur during stable, successful times – that is, when the stability, cohesiveness and ideological resilience of a regime are at a high. Rather, transitions are attempts of systemic reinvigoration – and as such, symptomatic responses to fading support on the part of a system's membership. While this circumstance renders the origins of transitions overwhelmingly national in character, it also introduces a significant international role to the process of democratization – that of providing guidance and destination points for those that have embarked on the path. This is particularly observable in the case of those democratization attempts that took place in the immediate post-Cold War era: the West's then

'unipolar moment' and the ensuing significant increase of external democracy promotion created an international environment in which democracy was considered 'the only legitimate political regime' and normative alternatives were practically inconceivable – in strategic but also, importantly, in social terms.

This state of affairs began to change at the turn of the millennium – many transiting nations appeared to be 'stuck' in a 'grey zone' between autocracy and democracy, or even embarked upon outright re-autocratization.[93] What is more, during that time as well, the international system's unilateral normative orientation got increasingly under pressure due to the actual emergence of 'authoritarian great powers' that appeared to promote normative alternatives to the 'only' legitimate form of domestic government.[94] It is against this background that the next part will address the issue of international 'autocracy promotion' in general, and China's role in this endeavour in particular.

4. …And Why Not?

4.1 Non-Democratic Responses

Contrary to what the liberal internationalist community had expected at the onset of the 'end of history' in the very early 1990s, liberal democracy has failed to become a taken-for-granted, automatic, endpoint of political transition. It also failed to secure its status as the only internationally legitimate form of domestic government – at least outside the 'West'. To be sure, following the demise of liberal democracy's main ideological competitor, the Soviet Union, there has been a substantial movement away from dictatorship in many parts of the world – in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, and, not last, the post-Soviet space.[95] However, as became clear about ten years after international democracy promotion gained momentum, movement away from dictatorship did not necessarily imply movement towards liberal, Western-style democracy.[96] Indeed, the majority of those countries that were en route to democracy in the early 1990s was still in transit a decade later. This circumstance elicited the understanding that 'Western liberal democracy might prove to be not the final destination on the democratic road, but just one of many possible exits' - an understanding that brought to an end the seemingly unequivocal validity of the linear autocracy–democracy transition paradigm.[97]

In the scholarly community, this state of affairs led to a substantial increase in the use of adjectives to qualify and conceptualize the different forms of newly evolving

'democracies', whose main, and often only, similarity was their incomplete passage on the autocracy-democracy pathway.[98] It also led to the search for the factors behind this kind of democratization 'mutation' – that is, to the question as to why liberal democracy failed to materialize in some countries, while succeeding in others. In this regard, the realization that democracy could be perceived as a threat, rather than an unequivocal 'saviour of governance' was fundamental in shifting the research perspectives. As Whitehead points out, during the early post-Cold War period, the West's 'concerted democracy promotion efforts (were extensive to the degree that) they … displayed a potential to destabilize a variety of established (non-democratic) regime types.'[99] This circumstance - the fear of externally induced disruption of domestic stability - caused resistance, not only on the national non-democratic level, but also on the international level of authoritarian collaboration.

With regard to the former, then, research has found that the likelihood of domestically-induced democratic resistance may be linked to regime-specific factors such as the degree of cohesiveness of authoritarian coalitions,[100] the degree of co-optation of non-state actors by the state,[101] the distribution of political concessions,[102] the conduct of elections,[103] the strength of the ruling party,[104] the nature of institutional configuration or regime type,[105] the degree of regime legitimacy,[106] and also the authorities' willingness to recourse to repression.[107] What is more, non-regime factors such as a transforming nation's geography,[108] as well as givens like its economic, socio-political, cultural, ethnic, and religious fabrics, among other things, were also on the list of factors that may negatively influence democratic transition – or positively impact on authoritarian persistence in the face of transformation.[109]

The focus on the role of non-democratic powers in promoting democracy resistance abroad, in turn, has been a more recent phenomenon. Here, research has been predominantly guided by the question as to whether authoritarian resilience was externally induced, or at least externally supported. The focus on the international dimension of authoritarian regimes was closely linked to the perceived threat associated with the 'rise' of the authoritarian 'great powers' Russia and China, and their normative ambitions.[110] Indeed, the co-occurrence of democratization failure and the rise of economically powerful and internationally present autocracies suggested that some of the democracy-resilient authoritarian regimes may have been benefitting 'from the help of foreign friends of authoritarian or semi-authoritarian rule.'[111] Accordingly, much of research on this international dimension has taken place under the heading of 'autocracy promotion' – a concept that, originally, was designed to include all actions that reflected the efforts of authoritarian regimes to 'foster and advance' the (re)autocratization of a democratizing country – given the appropriate results.[112]

For the purposes of the research at hand, however, autocracy promotion shall be understood in line with the narrower definition provided by Tensey, as 'the intentional support of a state's autocratic elites by external actors, motivated by an ideological commitment to authoritarianism.'[113] Other external anti-democracy activity emanating from the bi- and multilateral relations of authoritarian powers on non-ideological grounds such as economic or political self-interest, most notably the promotion of 'policies designed to support autocratic regimes abroad as a means to avoid the negative externalities that come with transitions to democracy' shall be conceptualized as the promotion of democracy resistance.[114] Despite the significant differences in the motivational aspects of such action (ideological vs. self-interested), both definitions describe clear anti-democratic strategies of authoritarian collaboration – that is, strategies that 'involve sustained external policy initiatives intended to shelter or preserve allied regimes that appear to be at risk from international (Western) democracy promotion activities.'[115]

To date, the number of 'despatchers' of such strategies has been relatively low – in addition to the preponderant 'authoritarian great powers' Russia and China, only Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Venezuela have been identified as democracy preventing actors of significance.[116] At the same time, their ways, tools, and methods of influence have been found to be diverse and abundant – depending on the motivation of action (self-interested or ideological), the nature of action (intentional promotion or unintentional side effect of other policies),[117] the political context of action (democratic 'emergencies' triggering crisis responses or normal, routinized processes)[118], the preferred style of collaboration (unilateral or multilateral)[119], as well as, finally, the preferred realm of collaboration (the fostering of economic, political, or security ties – or a combination).[120] By and large, however, and in spite of the diversity as to the 'how', these approaches all join into one relatively inert fact addressing the 'when' and the 'why': 'illiberal regional powers are likely to respond to Western efforts at democracy promotion in third countries if they perceive challenges to their geostrategic interests in the region or to the survival of their regime.'[121] This underlines that democratization is no exclusively binary process between democracy promoter and democracy receiver, but instead entails a significant international dimension which may manifest itself in both, democracy-advancing as well as democracy-restraining terms - depending on its immediate impact upon relevant third countries.

4.2 China: An Anti-Democratic Missionary?

Since its emergence as a significant player on the international scene, the actor of relevance to the research at hand, the People's Republic of China, has been continuously expanding its bi- and multilateral relations with other non-democratic governments in the realms of economic and security cooperation. In response, China has been accused of undermining Western efforts of democracy promotion in the developing world, and particularly so in its neighbourhood.[122] This accusation roots in Beijing's distinct approach to foreign policy and international relations, which is guided by three core internal policy priorities: first, protecting its sovereign independence and territorial integrity; second, advancing national socio-economic development and maintain domestic stability; finally, reinstating its status as a respected regional and international power.[123]

Beijing is well aware that the success of these endeavours is intrinsically linked to, and depends on, the positive interaction with the international system. Accordingly, its foreign policy strategy highlights the need for a stable regional and international security environment – the protection of the Chinese periphery from cross-border challenges and other threats – as well as for the establishment of 'political relationships that will ensure continued access to ... critical inputs of economic growth.'[124] In this regard, advancing new (and consolidating existing) trade, investment, and technology partnerships is considered crucial, as is the diversification of suppliers and supply routes of natural resources, especially hydrocarbons.[125] Correspondingly, the main rationale of China's foreign policy is to reassure the international community about the overly benign security, political, economic, and cultural impact of its rise.[126]

At the core of its strategy of reassurance, then, is the emphasis on 'political neutrality' and 'restraint' - guidelines that are epitomized by its long-standing 'Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence': mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and finally, peaceful coexistence. In essence, these principles, of which 'non-interference' and 'sovereignty' (also referred to as 'sovereign equality') are the most fundamental, involve a detachment between the international relations of states and their respective internal affairs. This, in the words of President Ji Xinping, implies that

> 'all countries, regardless of their size, strength or level of development are equal members of the international community, and they are entitled to equal participation (and cooperation) in international affairs. The internal affairs of a country should be managed by its own people.'[127]

A further, more recent and refining addendum to the normative framework of China's international engagement is the principle of 'diversity', which gives a morally infused flavour to the above principles, accentuating the need to respect the 'diversity of civilizations', that is, the diverse political cultures, values, and developmental pathways of different countries. Thus, Xi continues,

> 'We should respect the right of a country to choose its own social system and model of development and oppose the attempt to oust the legitimate government of a country through illegal means to seek self-interests or to impose one's own (political) views. We should … not seek supremacy or denigrate other civilizations and nations.'

Together, these principles – above all 'sovereignty', 'non-interference', and 'diversity' - constitute the linchpin of China's 'political neutrality' in international affairs, serving as the normative guidelines of the Communist Party's international approaches – that is, as the normative fundament of its foreign relations.

In the economic realm, this kind of 'neutrality' translates into the provision of development aid – grants, loans, investment projects - that is largely free of political conditionality, at least in a Western, regime-transformation promoting, sense of the word.[128] That is, rather than tying material benefits to progress in political transformation and reform, Beijing simply provides the benefits. Furthermore, guided by the principle of 'non-interference', China only deals with a state's incumbent authorities in the pursuit of bi- and multilateral relations, which intentionally leaves the domestic opposition and non-state actors out of the process. [129] Both, the 'hands-off standards free'-approach to economic cooperation and the focus on political incumbents only, has been significantly nurturing the (Western) suspicion that Beijing endeavours to strengthen the democratic resistance of the illiberal developing countries by way of 'under-pricing' Western standards of good governance and human rights.[130]

While both aspects have been feared to promote, or at least actively contribute, to the maintenance of the non-democratic status quo in non-Western developing countries, this accusation has been partly refuted by recent research, which demonstrated that Chinese economic strategies neither attempt 'to influence the internal politics of other countries … (nor to) affect regime type (i.e. promote authoritarianism)' but, instead, are focused on securing access to economic resources, especially energy sources and minerals' by way of strengthening those regimes that are conductive to these aims.[131] Moreover, Chinese economic engagement and the ensuing developmental push have been shown to destabilize illiberal non-party-based regimes, and to even open a window of opportunity for democratization – by way of increasing the bottom-up demand for good governance and

control of corruption. [132] For the moment therefore, the question as to whether, to what extent, and how Chinese economic contributes to democracy resistance, remains open.

In the realm of security cooperation, on the other hand, the picture has been less mixed. Here, indeed, various research suggests that China's traditional 'neutrality' and 'restraint' have been actively facilitating, even promoting, the resistance of non-democratic governments towards Western democracy-promoting endeavours.[133]This assumption builds on China's own, distinct approach to security at home. Guided by the objective to create and maintain 'a harmonious and stable domestic environment,' China employs a broad range of 'stabilizing instruments' to address what it considers the domestic sources of instability - social, economic, environmental, as well as inter-ethnic and religious grievances -, including affirmative action, the implementation of socio-economic and environmental reforms, and, importantly, repression. [134]

The latter 'stabilizing instrument' is particularly reflected in the discursive realm, where China's policies of domestic security and stabilization are regularly subsumed, and justified, under the heading of Beijing's fight against the 'three evils' of terrorism, separatism, and extremism. [135] What is more, the Chinese notion of political stability is closely associated with the maintenance of social cohesion, the preservation of the Chinese system of government ('socialism with Chinese characteristics') and the rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) – implying that there is a strong ideological dimension to the Chinese understanding of 'stability'.[136]

It is at this point that the issue of democracy crosses the Chinese security discourse in the form of a 'threat' to the sovereignty, security, and development of the nation – and thus, to domestic stability. This understanding has been expressed in manifold, thinly veiled official statements (see e.g. Chapter V) and academic research papers,[137] as well as more recently in the *Communique of the State of the Ideological Sphere*, in which the promotion of 'Western constitutional democracy', of Western 'universal values', and 'civil society' were conceptualized as attempts on the part of 'Western anti-China forces' to undermine the current leadership and its system of governance, and with it, the Chinese sovereignty in general.[138] The CCP counteracts these 'threats' by using various tactics that include the strengthening of its domestic legitimacy by way of providing sound economic development, engaging a nationalist-informed counter-discourse at home and abroad, as well as, again, repression.[139]

As current research has demonstrated, the extent to which China appears to pass on its domestic ideological insecurity perceptions to non-democratic developing (democratizing)

nations, represents a function of CCP's own sense of insecurity in each respective case. Thus, Chen and Kinzelbach have shown that where the threat to domestic party survival is considered to be relatively low, Chinese engagement in promoting democratic resistance abroad is low as well.[140] However, if the negative externalities of democratization abroad are perceived as a threat to security and stability at home (be it due to economic, geostrategic, or ideological circumstances), the situation appears different. In such cases, according to the authors, the active promotion of democratic resistance abroad on the part of Beijing is likely to flare up.[141] In this regard, various observers have charged the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), a Beijing-inspired and -led institution, to promote deliberate, albeit somewhat veiled, anti-democratic assistance in non-democratic post-Soviet Central Asia under the banner of security cooperation.[142]

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that usually, political transitions (in any direction) rarely occur during stable, successful times – that is, when the stability, cohesiveness and ideological resilience of a regime are at a high. Rather, transitions are attempts of systemic reinvigoration – and as such, symptomatic responses to fading support on the part of a system's membership. This chapter has also shown, moreover, that while the origins of transitions may be overwhelmingly national in character, their drivers and brakes have a significant international dimension, providing guidance and destination points for those that have embarked on the path. The double-sided impact of the international dimension upon domestic transition is particularly observable in the case of post-Cold War democratization attempts: on the one hand, the West's then 'unipolar moment' and the ensuing significant increase of external democracy promotion created an international environment in which democracy was considered 'the only legitimate political regime' and normative alternatives were practically inconceivable – in strategic but also, importantly, in social terms. On the other hand, this trend towards normative universalism has generated international counter-responses on the part of those who sought to avoid the normative and physical destabilization of their own established (non-democratic or illiberal) regimes, and, in some cases, of their regional neighbours and international partners as well.

It is against this background that the analysis at hand not only endeavours to address the functioning of the social elements of democratization – to analyse how those socially motivating aspects that induce and maintain the process of transition to democracy may work

when encountering an inherently non-democratic but theoretically transformation-willing breeding ground, but also, how precisely the functioning of these social elements may be undermined by normatively alternative external interference. It is also against this background that the Western, democracy promoting OSCE and China's ostensibly democracy-inhibiting SCO enter the empirical stage of the research project at hand: both organizations represent the normative repositories of their respective initiators, both are aimed at the maintenance of 'their' wider region's security, and both, finally, attempt to promote their respective core members' ideological understandings and political frameworks abroad through socialization. Hence, in post-Soviet Central Asia, the region situated in between the West and China, both organization meet halfway and, in turn, potentially clash, engaging in what Lewis describes as a competition 'over ideas, beliefs, norms and practices related to international and internal security policies' – a realm that is closely tied to political development.[143]

Building upon this proposition, the research project at hand will trace, and juxtapose the normative functioning of these two (seemingly) diametrically opposed organizations in the newly independent state of post-Soviet, Central Asian Kazakhstan, elaborating on how both organizations have engaged in shaping Kazakhstan's democratization process, and put these findings into the wider geopolitical context relating to the normative configuration of the 21st century's international system. In preparation to this endeavour, the next chapter will introduce the theoretic framework of the analysis, as well as provide an outline of the methods to be used in this regard.

---

[1] As Macpherson wrote already in 1966: 'Democracy used to be a bad word. Everybody who was anybody knew that democracy, in its original sense of rule by the people or government in accordance with the will of the bulk of the people, would be a bad thing – fatal to individual freedom and all graces of civilized living. That was the position taken by pretty nearly all men of intelligence from the earliest historical times down to about a hundred years ago. Then, within fifty years, democracy became a good thing.' Cited in Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub & Fernando Limongi, Democracy and Development. Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950 – 1990. Cambridge / 2000, p. 14.
[2] Cf. Francis Fukuyama, 'The End of History and the Last Man', New York, 2012 Prezworski, op. cit. (note 1), p. 14; Fareed Zakaria, The Rise of Illiberal Democracy, in: Foreign Affairs, November / December 1997.
[3] Cf. Phillippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, What Democracy is… And Is Not, in: Journal of Democracy, 2 (3), p. 103.
[4] Cf. Arend Lijphart, Thinking About Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Practice, New York / 2007, p. 111.
[5] Cf. Phillippe C. Schmitter, Some Basic Assumptions About the Consolidation of Democracy, in: Takashi Inoguchi, Edward Newman & John Keane (Eds.): The Changing nature of Democracy, Tokyo / 1998, p. 33; Schmitter and Karl, op. cit. (note 3).
[6] Cf. Prezworski et al, op. cit. (note 1), p. 15f.
[7] Cf. Schmitter and Karl, op. cit. (note 3), p. 105.
[8] Cf. Joseph Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy, London/1976, p. 269.
[9] Ibid.; David Held, Models of Democracy, Stanford /2006, p. 146ff.

[10] Cf. Schumpeter, op. cit. (note 8); For a critique, see e.g. David Truman, The Governmental Process, New York / 1951. Robert A. Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory 1956, p. 132ff.; Held, op. cit. (note 9), p. 160 – 166.
[11] Cf. Schmitter and Karl, op. cit. (note 3), p.105.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Cf. Robert A. Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition, New Haven / 1971, p. 3.; Schmitter, op. cit. (note 5); Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino, The Quality of Democracy, in: Journal of Democracy 15/4.
[15] Cf. Przeworski, op. cit. (note 1), p. 18.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid, p. 12.
[18] Ibid., p. 13.
[19] Cf. Adam Przeworski, Democracy and the Market. Political and Economic reform in Eastern Europe and Latin America, Chicago/1991, p. 16.
[20] Cf. Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, Toward Consolidated Democracies, in: Takashi Inoguchi, Edward Newman & John Keane (Eds.): The Changing nature of Democracy, Tokyo / 1998.
[21] Cf. Schmitter, op. cit. (note 5), p. 24.
[22] Cf. Jürgen Habermas, Between Facts and Norms. Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy.Cambridge (Mass.) / 1998.
[23] Ibid., p. 30.
[24] Cf. William Rehg, Translator's Introduction, in: Jürgen Habermas, Between Facts and Norms. Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy.Cambridge (Mass.) / 1998, p. xxv.
[25] Cf. Guillermo O'Donnell and Phillippe C. Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies, Baltimore / 2013, p. 69; Dahl, op. cit. (note 10), p. 132.
[26] Cf. Schmitter, op. cit. (note 5), p. 24.
[27] Cf. Dahl, op. cit. (note 10), p. 132.
[28] Cf. O'Donnell et al., op. cit. (note 25), p. 7.
[29] Cf. Schmitter, op. cit. (note 5), p. 32.
[30] For a comprehensive overview of the distinct models of democracy, see e.g. Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, New Haven / 1998.
[31] Cf. O'Donnel and Schmitter, op. cit. (note 25), p. 69.
[32] Cf. Schmitter and Karl, op. cit. (note 3), p. 107.
[33] Cf. Takashi Inoguchi, Edward Newman, John Keane, Introduction. The Changing Nature of Democracy, in: Takashi Inoguchi, Edward Newman & John Keane (Eds.): The Changing nature of Democracy, Tokyo / 1998, p.9.
[34] Cf. Schmitter, op. cit. (note 5), p. 32.
[35] Ibid.
[36]Such principles may for example be coercive control, social tradition, expert judgement, among others. Cf. O'Donnel and Schmitter, op. cit. (note 25), p. 8.
[37] Cf. Lawrence Whitehead, The International Dimension of Democratization, Oxford / 2001, p. 452.
[38] Cf. David Easton, 1965, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, New York / 1965, p. 192ff.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., p. 205ff.
[41] Cf. Donnel and Schmitter, op. cit. (note 25), p. 6.
[42] Cf. Linz & Stepan, op. cit. (note 20), p. 54.
[43] Ibid., pp. 52- 54.
[44] Cf. Easton, op. cit. (note 38).
[45] Cf. O'Donnel and Schmitter, op. cit. (note 25), p.16.
[46] Cf. Easton, op. cit. (note 38), p. 304.
[47] Cf. Schmitter, op. cit. (note 5), p. 33.
[48] Cf. O'Donnel and Schmitter, op. cit. (note 25), p. 9.
[49] Cf. Easton, op. cit. (note 38), p. 177.
[50] Ibid.

[51] Cf. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, Princeton /1963, p. 5.
[52] Ibid., p. 14.
[53] Cf. Almond and Verba, op. cit. (note 51), p. 479.
[54] Ibid., p. 481.
[55] Cf. Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy, Princeton / 1993, p. 167.
[56] Ibid., p. 173.
[57] Ibid., p. 172.
[58] Cf. Almond and Verba, op. cit (note 51), p. 490.
[59] Cf. Almond and Verba, op. cit. (note 51), p. 494.
[60] Ibid., p. 502.
[61] Cf. Easton, op. cit. (note 38), p. 215.
[62] Cf. Almond and Verba, op. cit. (note 51), p. 503.
[63] Ibid., p. 498.
[64] Cf. O'Donnel and Schmitter, op. cit. (note 25), p. 17.
[65] Cf. Easton, op. cit. (note 38), p. 187.
[66] Ibid., p. 325.
[67] Ibid., p. 268.
[68] Cf. Easton, op. cit. (note 38), p. 278.
[69] Ibid., p. 295.
[70] Ibid., p. 300.
[71] Ibid., p. 301.
[72] Ibid., p. 302.
[73] Ibid., p. 303.
[74] Ibid., p. 303.
[75] Cf. Easton, op. cit. (note 38), p. 273.
[76] Ibid., p. 248.
[77] See e.g. O'Donnel and Schmitter, op. cit. (note 25); Barbara Geddes, What do we know about Democratization after twenty years? In: Annual Review of Political Science, 1999 / 2; Barbara Geddes, Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transition, in: Perspectives on Politics, 12 / 2.
[78] Cf. Peter Gourevitch, Second Image Reversed. The International Sources of Domestic Politics. In: International Organization, 32/4; Ian Clark, Globalization and International Relations, Oxford/1999.
[79] Cf. Philippe C. Schmitter and Imco Brouwer, Conceptualizing, Researching, and Evaluating Democracy Promotion and Protection, EUI Working Paper SPS No. 99/9; Held, op. cit., (note 9); Whitehead, op cit. (note 37).
[80] Cf. Amartya Sen, Democracy as a Universal Value, in: Journal of Democracy, 10/3; Samuel P. Huntington, The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late 20th Century, Oklahoma / 1993.
[81] Cf. Thomas Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad. The Learning Curve, Washington / 1999; Peter Burnell, Does International Democracy Promotion Work? DIE Discussion Paper, 17 / 2007.
[82] Cf. Inoguchi, et al., op. cit. (note 33), p. 1, p. 8.
[83] Ibid. Held, op. cit (note 9), p. 303f.
[84] Cf. Held, op. cit (note 9), p. 293.
[85] Cf. Whitehead, op. cit. (note 37), p. 21.
[86] For a definition of 'penetrated systems', cf. James N. Rosenau, Pre-Theories and Theories of International Policy', in: Barry Farrell (Ed.) Approaches to Comparative and International Politics, Evanston / 1964; on 'contagion' and the role of the media, cf. Whitehead, op, cit. (note 38). See also Geoffrey Pridham, The Dynamics of Democratization. A Comparative Approach, York / 2000.
[87] Cf. Huntington op. cit. (note 80); see e.g. Schmitter and Brouwer, op. cit (note 77), Burnell op. cit. (note 81); Carothers, op. cit. (note 81).
[88] Cf. Schmitter and Brouwer, op. cit. (note 77). The notion of 'democracy promotion industry' was taken from Peter Burnell and Oliver Schlumberger, 'Promoting democracy – promoting autocracy? International politics and national political regimes', in Contemporary Politics, 16/1, p. 9.

[89] For instance, the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and for Human Rights was established in 1991, as a democracy and human rights promoting multilateral body. Cf. ODIHR, Factsheet of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Vienna / 2009.
[90] In this regard, typical assistance activities would include the support of electoral management capability, election monitoring, legislative and constitutional strengthening, the training of judges, bureaucrats, politicians, civil society groups and individuals, among other things. See e.g. ODIHR, op. cit. (note 88).
[91] Cf. USAID, Democracy and Governance, Washington / 1991. Schmitter and Brouwer, op. cit (note 77). Joseph Wright, How Foreign Aid Can Foster Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes, in: American Journal of Political Science, 53/3.
[92] Cf. Diane Ethier. Is Democracy Promotion Effective? Comparing Conditionality and Incentives, in: Democratization 10/1.
[93] Cf. Thomas Carothers, The End of the Transition Paradigm, in: Journal of Democracy 13/1; Arch Puddington, Freedom in Retreat: Is the Tide Turning? Findings of Freedom in the World 2008. Washington / 2008. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2008/essay-freedom-retreat> (retrieved on 15.10.2014); Freedom House Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty / Radio Free Asia (Eds.): Undermining Democracy: 21st Century Authoritarians, Washington, D.C. / 2009. <https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/UnderminingDemocracy_Full.pdf> (retrieved on 15.10.2014)
[94] Cf. Azar Gat, The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers, in: Foreign Affairs, July / August 2007; Susan Shirk, China. Fragile Superpower. Oxford / 2007.
[95] Cf. Freedom House, Freedom in the World, Individual country ratings and status, FIW 1974 – 2016. <https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world> (retrieved on 19.02.2016)
[96] Cf. Geddes, 2014, op. cit. (note 77).
[97] Cf. Zakaria, op.cit. (note 2); see also: Carothers, op. cit. (note 92).
[98] Cf. Laurence Whitehead, Antidemocracy Promotion. Four Strategies in Search of a Framework, in: Taiwan Journal of Democracy, 10/2, p. 7; Carothers, op. cit. (note 94); Burnell, op. cit. (note 81).
[99] Cf. Whitehead, op. cit. (note 98), p. 7.
[100] Cf. O'Donnel and Schmitter, op. cit. (note 25); Carles Boix and Milan W. Svolik, The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships, in: The Journal of Politics, 75/2.
[101] Cf. Johannes Gerschewski, The Three Pillars of Stability: Legitimation, Repression, and Co-optation, in: Democratization, 20/1.
[102] Cf. Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski, Cooperation, co-optation and rebellion under dictatorships, in: Economics and Politics 18/1; Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski, Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats, in: Comparative Political Studies, 40 /11.
[103] Cf. Jennifer Gandhi and Ellen Lust-Okar, Elections under Authoritarianism, in: Annual Review of Political Science, 2009 /12; Marc Morje Howard and Philip G. Roessler, Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes, in: American Journal of Political Science, 50/2; Andreas Schedler, The Logic of Electoral Authoritarianism. In: Andreas Schedler (Ed.): Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition, Boulder / 2006.
[104] Cf. Benjamin Smith, Life of the Party. The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single Party Rule, in: World Politics, 2005/57; James Brownlee, Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization, Cambridge / 2007.
[105] Cf. Geddes, 1999 and 2014, op. cit. (note 77); Christian von Soest, Democracy Prevention: The International Collaboration of Authoritarian Regimes, in: European Journal of Political Research, 54/4, p. 3.
[106] Cf. Gerschweski, op. cit. (note 101).
[107] Cf. O'Donnell and Schmitter, op. cit. (note 25); Gerschewski, op. cit. (note 101).
[108] Cf. Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War, Cambridge / 2010; Tomila V. Lankina and Lullit Getachew, A Geographic Incremental Theory of Democratization: Territory, Aid, and Democracy in Postcommunist Regions, World Politics, 58/4.
[109] Cf. Burnell op. cit. (note 81).
[110] Cf. Gat, op. cit. (note 94).

[111] Cf. Peter Burnell, Is There a New Autocracy Promotion? Working paper 96. Madrid / 2010. <http://fride.org/descarga/WP96_Autocracy_ENG_mar10.pdf> (retrieved on 13.10 2014).
[112] Cf. Oisin Tansey, The Problem with Autocracy Promotion, in: Democratization, 23/1, p. 143.
[113] Ibid., p. 150
[114] Ibid.
[115] Cf. Whitehead, op. cit. (note 98), p. 8.
[116] Ibid.; Tansey, op. cit. (note 112). Democratic regimes, too, have been shown to promote autocracy abroad. See e.g. Brownlee, op. cit. (note 104).
[117] Cf. Tansey, op. cit. (note 112).
[118] Cf. Whitehead, op. cit. (note 98), p. 11.
[119] Cf. Tansey, op. cit. (note 112).
[120] Ibid.
[121] Cf. Thomas Risse and Nelli Babayan, Democracy Promotion and the Challenges of Illiberal Regional Powers: Introduction to the Special Issue, in: Democratization, 22/3.
[122] Cf. Stefan Halper, The Beijing Consensus. How China's Authoritarian Model will Dominate the Twenty-First Century, Philadelphia / 2010; Joshua Kurlantzick, Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World, New Haven / 2007; Joshua Kurlantzik, op. cit. (note 92); Thomas Ambrosio, Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 60/8; David Lewis, Who's Socializing Whom? Regional Organization and Contested Norms in Central Asia, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 64/7; Inna Melnykovska, Hedwig Plamper, Rainer Schweckert, Do Russia and China Promote Autocracy in Central Asia?, in: Asia Europe Journal, 10/1; Luba von Hauff, A Stabilizing Neighbour? The Impact of China's Engagement in Central Asia on Regional Security, DGAPAnalyse, 2013/3; Moises Naim, Rogue Aid, in: Foreign Policy, October 2009; Ian Taylor, China's Oil Diplomacy in Africa, in: International Affairs, 82/5.
[123] See e.g. Robert Sutter, Chinese Foreign Relations. Power and Policy Since the Cold War, Lanham 2007, pp. 17ff; Ultimately, these priorities serve the overarching, long-standing goal of legitimating and thus securing the continued rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).
[124] Cf. Evan S. Medeiros, China's International Behavior. Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification, Santa Monica / 2009.
[125] Cf. Sutter, op. cit. (note 123), p. 18ff.
[126] Cf. C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Nicholas R. Lardy, Derek J. Mitchell (Eds.). China's Rise. Challenges and Opportunities, Washington, D.C. / 2007, p. 212.
[127] Cf. Xi Jinping, Carry Forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to Build a Better World Through Win-Win Cooperation, Address at Meeting Marking the 60th Anniversary of the Initiation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence, June 28 2014. <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1170143.shtml> (retrieved on 22.10.2015)
[128] Cf. Julia Bader, Propping Up Dictators? Economic Cooperation from China and its Impact on Authoritarian Persistence in Party and Non-Party Regimes, in: European Journal of Political Research, 54/4, p. 657.
[129] Cf. Bader, op. cit. (note 128), p. 658; Alastair Smith, Political Groups, Leader Change and the Pattern of International Cooperation, in: Journal of Conflict Resolution, 53/6.
[130] Cf. Bergsten et al., op. cit. (note 126), p. 225.
[131] Cf. Rachel Vanderhill, Promoting Authoritarianism Abroad, Boulder / 2013, p. 6.
[132] Cf. Bader, op. cit. (note 128), p. 667.
[133] Cf. Ambrosio, op. cit. (note 122); Lewis, op. cit. (note 122); von Hauff, op. cit. (note 122).
[134] Cf. Xi Jinping, Speech at the Körber Foundation, March 28, 2014.<http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1148640.shtml> (retrieved on 10.01.2016); Francois Godement, Control at the Grassroots: China's New Toolbox, European Council on Foreign Relations, China Analysis / 2012.
[135] Cf. Bergsten et al., op. cit. (note 126).
[136] Cf. Dingding Chen and Katrin Kinzelbach, Democracy Promotion and China: Blocker or Bystander?, in: Democratization, 22/3, Shirk, op. cit. (note 93); Bergsten, op. cit. (note 126), Medeiros, op. cit. (note 124).

[137] For a short overview, cf. Pu Xiaoyu, Socialization as a Two-way Process: Emerging Powers and the Diffusion of International Norms, in: The Chinese Journal of International Politics, 2012/5, p. 342ff..
[138] China File, Document 9: A ChinaFile Translation: How Much Is a Hardline Party Directive Shaping China's Current Political Climate?, November 8, 2013. <http://www.chinafile.com/document-9-chinafile-translation> (retrieved 24.6.2016).
[139] Cf. Chen et al., op. cit. (note 137), p. 404.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Cf. Chen et al., op. cit. (note 137), p. 412.
[142] Another area where China has been charged with the promotion of anti-democratic sentiment is the South China Sea. Cf. Christopher Walker, The Hijacking of 'Soft Power', in: Journal of Democracy, 27/1; Chen et al. op. cit. (note 137).
[143] Cf. Lewis, op. cit. (note 122).

Chapter II

Localizing the International: On Similar Pathways and Variant Outcomes of Socialization in IR

1. Norms, Pro-norm Behaviour, and International Relations

For a long time, mainstream international relations scholarship has looked at a state's behaviour on the international scene through rationalist, microeconomic lenses. Both the realist as well as liberal schools of IR – the two predominant theoretic strands up until the end of the Cold War - tended to view states as 'generic entities, like firms, that respond rationally to costs in an international "market" defined by a distribution of resources among states.'[1] From a bottom up perspective, this implied that state behaviour was regarded as deriving primarily from the strategic, rational choice of domestic actors that seek to maximize their state's benefits by 'efficiently matching available means to their desired ends.'[2] The top-down view, on the other hand, pointed to the constraints deriving from international structure – material properties such as the distribution of military or economic capabilities - or, in short, 'power.'[3] Thus, when looking for the causes of behavioural convergence among states on the international level, both theoretic strands assumed rational, self-interested action on the part of agents, explaining pro-normative behaviour as a utilitarian response to material constraints and opportunities.

In this regard, neorealism, often understood as the most influential contemporary version of realism, stipulates that any behavioural conformity on the part of national states and their agents on the system level derives from the international structure - the anarchic international system - which may be considered a 'compensating device that works to produce a uniformity of outcomes despite the variety of inputs.'[4] The uniform outcome (and thus pro-normative behaviour) in this regard is the self-help balancing behaviour among rational, security-maximizing states, which is generated through the process of competition on the system level and sustained through the process of socialization at the unit level. [5]

Following Waltz, thus, it is through competition in the anarchic international system that (new) states are compelled to adapt the prevalent self-help, security-maximizing practices of the other states in order to survive. This system-level adaptation is presumed to follow up at the unit level, with state agents rationally and consciously emulating self-help balancing practices so as to ensure their homogeneity as a group, and in consequence, their state's success (that is, survival) on the international scene.[6] Although he explicitly conceptualizes it

as ‘socialization’, the kind of behavioural convergence that Waltz describes does neither refer to a change in a national actor’s preferences and interests, nor to a change in identity. Rather, socialization is understood as an exogenously, structure-induced process, a ‘sink or swim’ strategy of behavioural conditioning and homogenization that caters to the core national interest - survival – and is hence indispensable to state persistence in international anarchy.

The liberal school works with the same rationalist ontology as the realists, presuming a ‘logic of anticipated consequences’ when explaining actor behaviour. That means that agents are understood as unitary and rational actors that pursue pre-determined national interests and goals, aiming solely at the maximization of domestic utility when acting on the international scene. In this regard, pro-normative behaviour is regarded as merely a function of strategic calculation of costs and benefits – as a strategic response to exogenously given structural constraints of material character.[7]

Unlike realism, however, liberal theorizing is more inclusive in its understanding of national interests: it goes beyond the sole focus on state security and survival, and allows for a variety of national interests vis-à-vis the international sphere – provided they are of a utilitarian, economic, nature. Moreover, in outright contrast to realism, the liberal school allows international institutions to play a prominent role in IR.[8] Defined as sets of rules, norms, principles, and procedures that ‘prescribe behavioural roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations’, liberal institutionalism puts forward that interaction within an institutionalized framework is likely to alter actors’ cost-benefit calculations regarding their interests and respective capabilities, and thus, eventually, induce a change in behaviour.[9] As Keohane and Nye point out, institutions (to which they referred to as ‘regimes’)

> ‘may create a focal point around which expectations converge, reducing uncertainty and providing guidelines for bureaucrats about legitimate actions and for policymakers about feasible patterns of agreement. … Second, regimes may constrain state behaviour by prohibiting certain actions. (Failure to comply with such measures) may incur costs to (states’) reputations, and therefore to their ability to make future agreements.’[10]

While the focus on institutions points to a limited appreciation of the non-material aspects of structure and processes at the system level, the liberal school treats them exclusively as a means to reach utilitarian objectives in a more efficient manner - as facilitators of interaction between domestic actors at the international level, rather than independent identity- and interests-constituting structures.

In other words, while acknowledging that institutions may serve to enhance the respective national economic and other utilitarian, non-security, gains by helping state actors

to overcome problems of collective action such as high transaction costs and information asymmetries, liberal institutionalists ascribe the actual convergence effects to the material constraints and opportunities that are present in international forums, rather than to the sets of norms, rules and principles themselves.[11] Indeed, as Kowert and Legro point out, in these rationalist approaches, 'norms, where they matter at all, matter only at the discretion of (or in service to) the power structure.'[12] And, as Johnston adds, for rationalists, 'social interaction within institutions is assumed to have little or no effect on the identities or interests of actors. … That is, actors generally emerge from interaction inside institutions with the same attributes, traits, and characteristics with which they entered.'[13] The focus of both, realist and liberal, schools, in other words, is on explaining exogenously induced 'behaviour given identities and interests', rather than on explaining the preferences and identities themselves – and the ensuing behavioural consequences.[14]

This latter task has been left to the constructivist branch of international relations, which aims to explain why actors may choose to adhere to rules (thus to exhibit pro-norm behaviour) even in situations where these rules run counter to their own material interests.[15] Basing upon a different ontology – that of constitutiveness – social constructivism does not ascribe the conditioning effects to material structure(s) alone. Rather, it presumes that structure and agents mutually constitute each other through the continuous reproduction of inter-subjective norms, beliefs, and understandings that are epitomized in institutions.[16] In other words, the relationship is assumed to be mutual - both, structures and agents are expected to co-determine the respective character of each other. Constructivism, thus, attributes a social character to international institutions, presuming that is through the social interaction within them that the identities, interests, and behaviour of agents are produced – or 'constituted'.[17]

What is more, mutual constitution implies that domestic interests and identities are neither fixed and unalterable, nor solely exogenously induced, that is, by constraints and opportunities deriving from material structure. Instead, the assumption is that pre-existing preferences, norms, values, and possibly identities of domestic actors interacting in international institutions may change as a result of the very social interaction to become new social facts, and hence induce a corresponding change in state behaviour. As Wendt points out, national actor 'identities are in important part constructed by … social structures (on the international level), rather than given exogenously to the system by human nature or domestic politics.'[18]

It is thus that the socialising power of international institutions, and with it the concept of socialization, has established itself as a central theme of the constructivist school, exploring when and how international rules, norms and expectations may have an effect on the domestic ground, and why. Deriving originally from the interrelated field of psychology, sociology and anthropology, socialization may be understood as a 'process by which individuals acquire social competence by learning the norms, values, beliefs, attitudes, language characteristics, and roles appropriate to their social groups.'[19] It is, furthermore, a process that is experienced by newcomers of any kind, 'whether they be children, …, immigrants, or "new" states.'[20] In broad terms, then, socialization delineates

> 'how actors enter, …, and accommodate themselves to already established status positions and roles … (as well as) how requisite orientations and behaviours are transmitted to people who enter new roles as first-time incumbent.'[21]

Thus, socialization in the field of social psychology describes a process of human development during which the individual learns to conform to those expectation and norms that are part of his or her social group(s).[22]

In IR, then, socialization is most commonly conceptualized as 'a process of inducting actors into the norms and rules of a given community.' [23] It addresses domestic political actors' 'change of minds' which follow the interaction on the international scene, and focuses on processes of 'preference formation and change; national identity formation, the creation and diffusion of, and (domestic) compliance with, international norms,' among other things. Socialization, in other words, is about internalization, which is regarded as the outcome, the end point, of a successful socialization process. [24] Internalization implies that in the course of interaction within a social institution, actors – the 'novices' to be socialised – acquire a sense of 'oughtness' vis-à-vis the institution's normative structure.[25] This means that they not only come to endorse the institution's behavioural-normative prescriptions but also, at some point, accept the latter as the natural and 'right thing to do'.[26]

Socialized actors, to come back to the above picture, switch from a rationally informed 'logic of anticipated consequences', thus from behaviour that is characterized by strategic calculation and aimed at the maximization of benefits, to a 'logic of appropriateness'. The shift to such logic points to actors' intrinsic desire to conform to obligations that are 'encapsulated in a role, an identity, a membership in a political community or group, and the ethos, practices and expectations of its institutions'.[27] The pursuit of interests acquires a social quality: the new

> 'values, roles, and understandings take on a character of "taken-for-grantedness" such that they are not only hard to change but that the benefits of behaviour are calculated in abstract social terms rather than concrete consequentialist terms.[28]

From a constructivist perspective, thus, socialization implies that newcomers are induced to 'internalize the norms and value the orientations' of a given international institution by way of social interaction within it.[29] This process is expected to 'change (actor) identities, interests, and behaviour', motivating them to behave 'appropriately' out of social obligation, normative taken-for-grantedness, and, ultimately, habit rather than out of strategic manoeuvring.[30]

To conclude this section, then, the question as to why national actors' behaviour converges on the international scene, respectively as to why national actors choose to adhere to international prescriptions ('norms') has set into motion a distinctly dichotomous pathway of theorizing in IR. The rationalist branch has explained the occurrence of pro-normative behaviour in terms of changing exogenous constraints, referring to cost-benefit calculations when explaining actor behaviour. The constructivist school, on the other hand, has focused on the endogenous sources of change, explaining the occurrence of pro-normative behaviour with alterations in preferences, identities, and interests of the respective actors concerned, assuming that these alterations evolved from the foregone social interaction on the international scene. In this regard, the concept of socialization was largely 'appropriated' by the latter school, and, in consequence, acquired a distinctly anti-strategic aura, being predominantly employed to highlight the socially induced aspects of behavioural change.

The strict dichotomy as well as constructivist 'appropriation' of the concept, however, foreclosed a more holistic perspective on, and understanding of, socialization as a driver of normative and behavioural change. Indeed, socialization, like any other human behaviour in IR as elsewhere, is a function of strategic as well as of social considerations, and to exclude one in favour of the other would be artificial. It is against this background that the next sections endeavour to bridge the social and strategic aspects of pro-normative behaviour - to bring (back) strategy into the process of socialization.

1.1 Socialization: Purposes and Processes

In general, research on socialization in IR deals with the analysis as to why, when and how domestic actors are 'inducted into the norms and rules of a given (political) community'.[31] Albeit prominently used by the constructivist community in a manner that largely excludes rationalist explanations, this definition does not per se bar the inclusion of such approaches.

Quite the opposite, the above questions both point not only to the utility but also, indeed, to the necessity of an eclectic perspective. A subdivision of the socialization process into two distinct stages illustrates why. As Johnston points out, the first stage of the socialization process involves the act of 'teaching', which takes place in a 'social institution' situated at the international level - a process during which norm-makers display and communicate 'models of "appropriate behaviour" to agents at the unit-level' – the newcomers to the institution in question.[32] This stage is followed by the subsequent stage of 'learning' during which the latter agents – the 'norm-takers' – are expected to process, understand, and, eventually, implement the content of these 'lessons'.[33]

Especially at the first stage, then, socialization serves quite rationalist goals. Indeed, the question as to why norm-makers recourse to socialization (thus why they engage in teaching) may be answered in a relatively straightforward manner: in order to exercise power beyond national borders by promoting own norms and values abroad. As Ikenberry and Kupchan point out in the context of hegemonic control:

> 'power is … exercised through a process of socialization in which the norms and value orientations of leaders in secondary (i.e. norm-taking) states change and more closely reflect those of the dominant state. (In this regard), hegemonic control emerges when foreign elites buy into the hegemon's vision of international order and accept it as their own – that is when they internalize the norm and value orientations espoused by the hegemon and accept its normative claims about the nature of the international system.'[34]

Such normative projection can take place in various contexts, reflecting the realpolitik interests of a (would-be) hegemon, but also more limited objectives of regional blocs or specific issue-related multilateral groupings.

A 'structural' foreign policy of this kind may have a relatively broad spectrum, covering 'political, legal, economic, social, security, and other structures which can be situated at various relevant levels (individual, society, state, regional, global …) in a given space.'[35] In most cases, such a policy – in the words of Arnold Wolfers the pursuit of *milieu goals* - is pursued by dominant nations or regional blocs so as to 'improve' their 'near abroad' by making it more compatible with own norms, values, and interests.[36] The 'administration' of the first stage need, however, not be confined to the level of dominant (hegemonic) states or regional blocs. Indeed, the 'teaching' can also apply to norm entrepreneurs – specific nations, transnational interest groups, or even individuals – that engage in the macro-level endeavour of influencing the international normative structure according to own interests and views.[37]

What is important in this regard is that at the stage of teaching, the rationale, and function, of socialization is necessarily strategic, albeit not necessarily materialist, as, for instance, the manifold cases of humanitarian norm promotion on the international level demonstrate.[38] From this perspective, socialization may be considered a diplomatic instrument - a tool of a nation's foreign policy or an NGO's advocacy work - directed at changing the minds of others and inducing local policy change to the benefit of the projecting actor.[39] Against this background, the question as to 'why' socialization occurs provides information about the 'when' as well. Structural foreign policy of this kind is likely to be especially successful during periods of 'international turmoil and restructuring' – thus during periods of ideological insecurity on the international scene. This however, holds only, if the international norms projected correspond to the demand for normative change exhibited at the local level. In other words, for socialization to occur (and persist) international supply needs to meet local demand. Again, strategic considerations are vital in terms of the former: as Ikenberry and Kupchan point out, the norm-maker

> 'must be seeking to recast the international order in a way that is more compatible with its interests. As a part of its effort to shape the international system, the hegemon must actively attempt to alter the normative orientation of elites in secondary states and, in doing so, must articulate a clear set of normative claims about the international order.'[40]

They are, however, also vital in terms of the latter.

Indeed, the emergence of local demand - the local desire to 'refurbish' pre-existing norms – is, at least in part, a function of strategic considerations as well. This is because without challenges that look as if they cannot, or can only insufficiently, be met by the pre-existing, 'old', normative order, genuine normative change is unlikely to occur.[41] This may happen as a result of international security or economic developments, as well as follow major shifts in the distribution of power among states or in 'great power' interests. In Gourevitch's words, it is 'war and trade' that elicit domestic pressures or incentives for altering one nation's 'existing rules of the game.'[42] Moreover, national-level developments such as policy failure, legitimacy crises, fragmentation within the regime, regime change and the like may also stimulate the motor of transformation. Finally, the local demand for new norms may be a function of domestic agents' desire to promote self-serving interests, that is, to 'use the existence of an international rule to justify … own actions or call into question the legitimacy of others.'[43]

In short, there are many drivers behind a nation's normative 'refurbishment': they may be structural or agent-driven, and they may work within a wide range of spatiality – from the

international to the local level. What unites them, however, is that they incite a feeling of inadequacy or even inappropriateness of the existing local normative order among a nation's elite. It is this feeling that stimulates the demand and receptivity for ideational change – and hence the turn to new, apparently more suitable norms and rules. And it is this feeling that leaves the door open for strategic considerations.

The process of socialization, thus, entails significant rationalist elements: from the perspective of the norm-maker, socialization represents an essentially strategic undertaking that serves either as a mechanism to target specific issue-area-problems, or as an instrument to consolidate and even extend a nation's or region's (normative) power. From the perspective of the norm-taker, on the other hand, socialization is a mechanism of adjusting to, and embracing, new (international or national) realities - an undertaking that, too, has a thoroughly strategic share. The social aspects of the process, in turn, are brought to the fore by the question as to how socialization proceeds.

As pointed out above, socialization takes place through the process of 'teaching', during which the norm-makers articulate 'models of 'appropriate behaviour' to the norm-takers, and the subsequent process of 'learning', during which the norm-takers actually deal (process, understand, accept, reject) with the content of these 'lessons.'[44]During the former stage, which usually takes place within the framework of an international 'social institution', the norm-makers 'articulate and diffuse the new norms and principles.'[45] The latter stage, on the other hand, is situated at the domestic level but remains in interplay with the international one. The spectrum within which the 'learning' can take place, then, is broad: at a minimum, that is, at the strategic side of the spectrum, learning is 'simple', which means that the norm-taker merely learns to adjust discourse and behaviour to his new in-group's expectations.[46] On the other, social, side of the spectrum, learning becomes 'complex', a process that goes beyond behavioural adaptation and involves the formation of a new identity and interests.[47] In socialization, then, both parts of the spectrum are usually passed through: the stage of 'learning' involves that the new information be absorbed, processed, understood, and, potentially accepted or rejected via three non-mutually-exclusive causal micro-processes: mimicking, social influence and persuasion.[48] These mechanisms determine 'when and to what degree …[elite] actors change their behaviour in pro-normative or pro-social ways.'[49]

As for the first one, the mechanism of mimicking does not require immediate internalization, but merely the copying of prescriptive norms and behaviour – at least initially. It occurs 'under conditions of uncertainty, where the costs of not adapting are initially quite high (and where)… it is safe to simply copy what everyone else is doing'.[50] At this point, the

'reward' of following the behavioural norms of a group are not clear to the norm-taker, and yet, because 'all others seem to be acting in a more or less similar fashion', he may assume that that 'there has to be some reward at some point', and thus do what is necessary to survive in the novel environment. Through mimicking, a newcomer learns the 'modal procedures, models, norms, languages, and (perhaps) preferences' pertinent to the environment within which he intends to survive. The utilization of these, in turn generates the process of 'auto-communication', allowing the 'novice' to appear competent in his field of endeavour and thus enhance the felt self-valuation in the new environment.[51]

Over time, mimicking, too, is expected to entail internalization, and, indeed, it may induce it through three different lock-in mechanisms.[52] For one thing, the lock-in can occur through the development of formal national (bureaucratic) structures – organizations, institutions, agencies – which favour the commitment to the international institution out of motives of organizational self-interest. Furthermore, a lock-in may be induced through a norm-taker's adoption of the 'standard operating procedures' prevalent in the norm-making group, in order to exercise membership in a correct, 'appropriate', fashion. This, in turn, may lead to the displacement of pre-existing 'procedures, routines, and modes of operation', and thus eventually constrain behaviour that derives from the latter.[53] The discursive practices embraced by the 'in-group' may have a similar effect on the norm-taker in that they may constrain, or even exclude, pre-existing forms of rhetoric deliberation if they 'run counter to the ideology of the institution.'[54] A norm-taker may thus not only come to use the language of an institution, but, in consequence, also share – that is, internalize - the meanings inherent to its language, which, in turn, would constrain, delegitimize, and again, displace, pre-existing discursive practices (and, eventually, preferences).

These lock-in processes – the development of local procedural and discursive practices, and of organizations with an appending 'constituency, which has an institutional and/or ideological stake in participation' – may make it increasingly costly to back out or defect from the behavioural prescriptions inherent to the norm-making institution, especially if these processes are combined.[55] This 'costliness' has a psychological dimension as well: consistency theory suggests that people usually try to avoid appearing as inconsistent. That means, as Johnston points out, that they are 'more likely to continue to conform to certain norms and behaviours after taking an on-the-record action that reflects these particular norms, than if they were simply asked to conform.'[56] Accordingly, while neither lock-in process requires (or leads to) the immediate internalization of the norm-maker's values, they are likely

to induce a 'path-dependent development of policy toward the institution' – with corresponding implications on how the norm-taker 'talks and thinks.'[57]

The functioning of these lock-in processes is likely to be reinforced by status concerns – the fear of 'being viewed by others as out of fashion, behind the times, and … missing out on a status-enhancing experience' - which may additionally increase the cost on backing out or defecting. These concerns may be subsumed under the second micro-process of socialization, social influence, which demonstrates how a norm-taker's normative and behavioural compliance may be strengthened through social rewards or punishments bestowed upon him by the norm-maker in question. These 'social markers' may range from 'backpatting' and praise to social repudiation and opprobrium such as 'shaming, shunning, exclusion and demeaning.'[58] Identity – the self-categorization of the norm-taker as a member of the new group and the ensuing dynamic vis-à-vis the norm-maker – is at the centre of the social influence concept. Indeed, whether or not a norm-maker's status markers will elicit cooperative behaviour from the norm-taker is presumed to depend on the extent of his prior identification with the former: for social sanctions to be effective, the assumption goes, there 'must be an (a priori) inter-subjective normative consensus (between norm-maker and norm-taker) about what "good" behaviour looks like'.[59] Put differently, the norm-taker needs to develop a cognitive linkage between certain behavioural patterns and the provision of status / the withholding of opprobrium on the part of the norm-maker.

The presence of such a linkage implies that a norm-taker's self-categorization as an actual or hopeful-potential member of a norm making 'in-group' must be internalized to the extent that he actually comes to share the latter's understandings of appropriate behaviour and relates – links - these understandings to 'attitudes towards social standing, status and self-esteem.'[60] Only in the presence of such a cognitive linkage, indeed, can the desire to accumulate status and avoid opprobrium and shaming acquire a tangible, collectively shared meaning, and, subsequently, be turned into conformist behaviour on the part of the norm-taker. And, only in its presence can the norm-taker accept the norm-making group as a 'legitimate audience', and in turn, become sensitive and responsive to the provision of the appertaining status markers.

Social influence thus points to how identity – a newcomer's self-categorization as member of a certain group, and the ensuing sense of belonging to it - may elicit cooperative behaviour, given the norm-taker's desire to maximise the (non-material) status rewards bestowed by this specific group. In a normative sense, therefore, behaviour resulting from the process of social influence is not simply unconsciously 'appropriate' and taken-for-granted,

deriving from a transformed understanding of what is the 'right thing to do'. Rather, norm conformity through social influence is somewhat instrumental, yet in a sociological sense: it is driven by the norm-taker's conscious desire to optimize his social status, and to accumulate social markers through 'appropriate' behaviour within the one social group he identifies with – and thus become (or remain) its legitimate member.

The micro-process of persuasion, finally, involves the private acceptance of a norm, that is, it involves a change of 'minds, opinions, and attitudes about causality and affect (identity)' on the part of the norm-taker.[61] In contrast to social influence, persuasion is free from social optimization desires. Rather, it occurs through communicative action, which aims to convince a novice that 'particular norms, values, and causal understandings are correct.' [62] As such, persuasion therefore necessitates that a conscious process of 'cognition, reflection and argument about the content of new information' – the norm in question - takes place.[63] This includes the consideration of the norm within a wider and more 'complex network of causal connections and cognitive cues' where it can be linked to 'other attitudes and schema'.[64] In other words, a norm is likely to be (or become) more persuasive - and thus lead to attitudinal adjustment or change - if a norm-taker is allowed to contemplate it in light of other attitudes, interests and outcomes.

While persuasion is free from social pressure, it is still facilitated by the 'social or intellectual attractiveness of the persuader' because this is what heightens the latter's authoritativeness and hence the persuasiveness of his / her message'.[65] At the same time, the persuasiveness of a message also depends on the individual receptivity of the norm-taker - his social, cognitive and ideational characteristics -which may animate or constrain the persuasion process. In other words, while information stemming from sources that, within a certain environment, are recognized as authorities ('scientists, doctors, religious leaders' – or remaining 'superpowers' and the appertaining international organizations) is regarded as more convincing, persuasion is as much a function of the receiving end. For example, 'authoritativeness' is considered to be of particular appeal to newcomers who are in the process of finding their way through a certain environment and thus are 'highly cognitively motivated to analyse counter-attitudinal information.'[66] They, indeed, are those that are most likely to be persuaded. Eventually, persuasion may (and is expected to) lead to a closure of the initial divide between the casual understandings of norm-maker and norm-taker and thus to a homogenization of interests and the emergence of a 'common knowledge'. As such, it may therefore be regarded as the 'most durable and self-reinforcing' process of socialization.[67]

To conclude this section, the process of socialization of domestic agents in international social environments evolves in two phases: first comes the 'teaching', i.e. the process during which the institution's norms are transmitted to the newly arrived agents, and then, following that, the stage of 'learning', i.e. the process during which these agents process the taught information and translate it into domestic practices. Both stages are by no means devoid of strategy, although they have distinctly different points of departure and rationales: while the former stage is necessarily strategic, aiming at the projection of norms – be they of a materialist or non-materialist, idealistic nature - by way of social methods, the latter stage entails both strategic as well as social aspects.[68] That means that although pro-normative behaviour on the part of the norm-taker during (and even after) the learning process may indeed be rationally influenced, deriving, for instance, from an understanding of the need for domestic change as well as, later, from 'light' utilitarian concerns such as status or fear of exclusion, it nevertheless may be conceptualized as socialization – provided it entails a change of mind and identity, that is, the emergence of new substantive beliefs, ideational conceptions, and cognitive linkages.

The usual expectation with regard to socialization outcome, then, is the novice's 'sustained compliance' with the newly learned, and internalized, norm(s), driven by a new understanding of what is 'appropriate' ('the right thing to do') in the new social environment - and also at home.[69] It is this latter issue, the identification and evaluation of socialization effects at home that shall be the subject of the section to follow.

1.2 International Expectations…

As has been demonstrated, the concept of socialization comprises three micro-processes that illustrate how social motivations that originate within a social institution may stimulate a newcomer's change of mind (including preferences, interests, norms, and even certain parts of identity) and political behaviour. In terms of outcome, then, the concept sets forth the expectation that a newcomer seeking membership in a certain community will, in the course of time and process, accept its norms as 'the right thing to do', potentially even as taken-for-granted, and that this, in turn, will materialise in the form of 'appropriate' behaviour on the (domestic) ground. In other words, socialization is expected to induce the closure of the behavioural and, eventually, cognitive gap between norm-maker and norm-taker - that is, it is expected to induce a convergence with the international on the part of the local. Put yet differently, socialization is presumed to entail the rejection of (some parts of) the norm-

taker's pre-existing normative framework in favour of a new, in-group-compliant and – compatible identity, and, in consequence, generate corresponding 'appropriate' behaviour on the ground.

How, then, to establish such cognitive and behavioural convergence – that is, successful or complete socialization – or, at least, how to identify changes that (seem to) lead in that direction? Cortell and Davis propose to measure the domestic salience - the legitimacy or strength - of an international norm in order to find out about its domestic appeal and the ensuing quality of socialization.[70] Measuring salience, in turn, requires the examination of communicative, formal, and behavioural changes on the national level, thus the examination of the 'national discourse, the state's institutions, and state policies.'[71] As for the first, then, an international norm's domestic salience would be observed through its integration into the domestic political discourse. This may take the 'form of demands for a change in the policy agenda', or the regular invocation of the norm on the part of the state's elite.[72] In any case, a heightened frequency of reference and salience are considered to be inter-related – and may, in turn, stimulate a potential spill-over onto the institutional level.

In other words, a norm's inclusion into the domestic discourse may induce the same norm's inclusion into the formal political sphere. This sphere - a state's institutional realm - would then be the second indication of a norm's increasing domestic salience, entailing, for instance, the adoption of new corresponding domestic laws, institutions and other political procedures. The key to an increase in salience, then, would be, on the one hand, a curtailment of those domestic institutions that are in conflict with the norm in question, and, on the other hand, the support of national institutional 'mechanisms devoted to … (the international norm's) reproduction and reinforcement.'[73] Finally, in the third step, socialization effects – and consequently the degree of domestic salience – would become apparent in a state's political behaviour, thus, in the degree of felt obligation towards the transposition and implementation of the international norm into domestic policy.

These three public spheres serve as an indicator of an international norm's domestic salience, which may be high, moderate, low or non-existent.[74] The differentiation within this four-value scale rests basically on the extent of the three spheres' agglomeration: thus, salience of an international norm would be considered as high as long as the latter, through its presence in the national discourse and the state's institutional make-up serves as a 'guide to behaviour and policy choice.'[75] Domestic salience would be considered as moderate if a norm was present in all three indicative spheres, yet 'still (would) confront countervailing institutions, procedures, and normative claims' which, in turn, would be felt in the degree of

its implementation. It would be low if the inclusion of the norm in question were discernable merely on the discursive level. Finally, the domestic salience of an international norm would be non-existent if it was excluded from the general political discourse and only invoked in idiosyncratic fashion.[76]

While the concept of domestic salience highlights three different realms - the discursive, institutional and behavioural - that may signal domestic rapprochement with the prescriptions put forward by the international norm-maker, it is, in terms of impact, clearly the quality, or 'appropriateness' of domestic political behaviour that may be considered as 'kingmaker' in this regard. This means that for a norm to be regarded as domestically truly salient or legitimate, and thus, for a socialization process to be regarded as successful and complete, the outcome should involve behavioural convergence – that is, a norm-taker's policies would need to develop conformity with the norm-maker's expectations about what 'ought to be done' on the local level.[77] In other words, socialization research in IR presupposes that if internalization - the acceptance of the norm as 'the right thing to do' - can be demonstrated, the local actor's domestic behaviour automatically needs to become 'appropriate', that is, in line with the international in-group's precepts.

That internalization is set to proscribe divergence between international expectations and local behaviour is best illustrated by Schimmelfennig's conceptualization of socialization 'failure' as the 'rhetorical manipulation of international norms.'[78] Dealing with the socialization processes between Central and Eastern European countries and Western Regional Organisations he ascribes the failure of 'appropriate' behaviour to a generally failed, because ex ante strategically calculated and hence locally 'manipulated', socialization process. Thus, establishing a linkage between a commenced socialization process and (the lack of) 'appropriate' behaviour, he argues that

> 'states will "talk the talk" of international organizations or create new formal (Potemkin) institutions required by them in order to gain the rewards associated with international legitimacy while, at the same time, continuing their old behaviour and avoiding the costs of adaptation.'[79]

In other words, Schimmelfennig assumes that an eventual discrepancy between international expectations and domestic policies implies a failure, or at least significant incompleteness, of the entire socialization / internalization process.[80] It is thus that the transposition of international expectations into domestic policy becomes the hallmark of apparently successful socialization. And it is at is at this very point that a significant problem of socialization research emerges: the apriori assumption of a causal linkage between a socially induced motivation and the ensuing 'appropriateness' of a norm-taker's domestic behaviour.

Indeed, such a predetermination has a significant flaw: it fails to take into account the individual biographical factors as well as the respective circumstances of the norm-taker in question. In consequence, it overlooks the social and culturally informed dimension relevant to the process of domestic implementation, that is, it overlooks the individual, biographical factors contributing to the process of translating an internationally learned, understood, and internalized norm into the domestic context. This, however, forestalls the investigation of those socialization processes that, despite substantial internalization and present salience in the discursive and institutional realms, do not result in solely adaptive and (by the norm-maker's standards) 'appropriate' domestic behaviour. It is at this gap between international expectations as to what 'ought to be done' and the local realities of a socialized nation that the following section sets in.

1.3 … and Local Realities

Due to its social nature, each socialization may be considered as a highly distinct process that is informed by the individual and local - so-to-say 'mediating' - factors appertaining to the novice in question, which shape the eventual outcome of the process on the ground. Put differently, it is well-established that the 'social and cultural characteristics of the (local) population' significantly influence a norm-taker's individual receptivity to international norms, and hence determine the 'pattern and degree' of the process of socialization. The framework of 'cultural match' conceptualizes this culturally informed interaction between the local and the international levels. Defined as

> 'a situation where the prescriptions embodied in an international norm are convergent with domestic norms, as reflected in discourse, the legal system (constitutions, judicial codes, law), and bureaucratic agencies (organizational ethos and administrative procedures)',

it depicts a spectrum of distinct internal variables, which may condition the local receptivity of an international norm, and hence, constitute a constraining or facilitating factor in a socialization process.[81] The concept thus raises local culture to a significant position within the socialization process, showing how 'domestic norms and domestic structure … (become) variables that intervene between systemic norms and national-level outcomes.'[82]

While this concept certainly helps to explain why certain international norms succeed in blending with 'widely held domestic understandings, beliefs, and obligations' and why others do not, it fails to offer an explanation as to why certain international norms that have found acceptance on the local level are implemented in a way which fails to satisfy the norm-

maker's behavioural expectations. Thus, when confronted with the expectations-behaviour gap, the concept of cultural match is geared to explaining a norm's seeming internalization failure – that is, the failure to 'resonate with historically constructed domestic norms' from a cultural perspective - rather than dealing with the nature of the (presumably) internalized norm's implementation.[83] In other words, this concept, too, defies the possibility of internalization if 'appropriate' domestic policies do not evolve on the ground eventually. In this, and much in the same vein as Schimmelfennig's concept of 'rhetoric manipulation', cultural match departs from the predetermined (and retroactively established) assumption of a causal link between a norm-taker's domestic behaviour and the nature of its drivers.

Removing this assumption, however, would enhance the research focus: it would allow to not only ask about static factors – the receptivity ensuing from the established local political structure and the local political culture - that determine the pattern and degree (and thus success) of socialization, but to also look at how these local cultural-political conditions impact the implementation potentialities, and implementation modalities, of the newly socialized local actors in question. Put differently, removing the causal linkage between the 'appropriateness' of domestic behaviour and its drivers, thus to unbundle external outcome expectations from the process of internalization, would allow to integrate the local 'biography' into the socialization process and thus to understand how those local actors acting on behalf of a socializing nation translate, or reconstruct, foreign normative elements to 'fit … their local culture.'[84] The concept of 'constitutive localization' provides a methodological framework to this very end.

Defined as 'the active construction of foreign ideas by local actors, which results in the former developing significant congruence with local beliefs and practices', localization implies that international norms do not 'enter into a local normative vacuum', and depicts the process of 'reconstitution' of external norms within the existing local normative order.[85] In contrast to socialization's focus on the mechanisms, or social motivators, that induce norm internalization, the concept of localization primarily focuses on local-level processes, and notably on the role of the post-internalization implementation choices of local actors. In this regard, and again in contrast to socialization, the idea of localization builds on the assumption that the process of social interaction on the international level and the ensuing process of norm diffusion need not inevitably lead to the displacement of the local normative order, and that 'sustained compliance' need not necessarily materialize in the form of externally defined 'appropriate' behaviour on the ground.[86]

Rather, the concept of localization describes a process in which external ideas are adjusted to local sets of ideas, belief systems, norms and practices. These 'cognitive priors' make up the political 'biography' of a norm-taking nation - the domestic political context - and shape the extent and pattern of a norm-taker's eventual normative adjustment.[87] Such a political biography, then, may involve various determinants. According to Acharya, a nation's 'cognitive priors' may be engrained in its political culture – 'the shared, sanctioned, and integrated systems of beliefs and practices that characterize a cultural group' –, and reflect the individual characteristics pertinent to a society such as 'ethnicity, religion, group social belief systems, historical memory, and domestic political rhythms and peculiarities.'[88] At the same time, 'cognitive priors' may also be ideational in nature, and refer to the 'worldviews and the principled and causal beliefs of leaders and elite of … (a) state … in a given region,' especially to those of the nation's founding leaders.[89] In a nutshell, this implies that a nation's political 'cognitive priors' are to be found in the beforehand established organizational, procedural, and discursive patterns and practices pertinent to the regime and authorities – and reflect diverse criteria such as norms, rules and values, institutional design and logic, and even individual governance style (if consistent over time). For this reason, localization may be regarded as a 'long-term and evolutionary assimilation of foreign ideas' into a nation's given local order - along the pathway of its 'cognitive priors.'[90]

The trajectory of localization intersects with the growth of a norm's domestic salience: it starts in the discursive realm, where the new norm is 'pre-localized' or reinterpreted through rhetorical framing and grafting – that is, through the establishment of a linkage with existing local norms and practices.[91] This stage may be performed by outside, non-national norm entrepreneurs. If the international norm's local value is recognized, pre-localization is taken further by socialized authoritative local actors – 'insider proponents' – who then reconstruct – in part even modify - the international norm according to domestic requirements. This may entail the 'pruning (of) those elements that do not fit the pre-existing normative structure and keeping those that do.' It may also entail an extension, or amplification, of the new norm's meaning so as 'to demonstrate congruence with local interests and identities.'[92] On the institutional level, and, again in parallel with growing salience, localization may involve the (partial) modification of old – or the creation of new – institutions that are in line with the alterations on the discursive level. This can induce the establishment of 'new instruments and practices from the syncretic normative framework', which, however, further remain rooted in local realities.

Overall, the domestic salience of a localized norm is likely to reach high levels as the very process of domestic reconstruction enhances the chances of the international norm's genuine embeddedness within a state's national discourse and its institutional make-up, as well as, ultimately, in the realm of policy implementation.[93] This, however, does not imply that internationally expected pro-norm behaviour will inevitably materialize. Quite the opposite, a localized norm may become salient internally precisely because it has been adjusted and modified according to domestic sensitivities and needs, while failing to induce internationally expected behavioural convergence. Such salience, then, may be easier to discern from within the localizing nation rather than from outside, allowing, in consequence, for few, if any, inferences as to socialization 'success' or 'failure' in this regard.

In sum, localization rests on the presumption that local pre-existing ideas are not 'dysfunctional, but merely inadequate, (i.e. not geared to addressing the new challenges).'[94] The tendency to localize may thus be understood as 'a by-product of the desire of the idea-recipient to exploit a new idea for power, efficiency, and status without admitting to cultural … inferiority or compromising its existing identity.'[95] Accordingly, such a perspective sets forth that the original (cognitive and behavioural) gap between norm-maker and norm-taker may also be closed through the reconstruction of the international so as to suit the requirements and realities of the local, rather than vice versa.[96] Under these circumstances, localization may be regarded as the third stage of the socialization process in which internationally socialized local actors – local norm entrepreneurs or insider proponents – translate and implement foreign ideas into the local political context, according local biographical sensitivities and needs.

To conclude this section, as a part of the overarching concept of socialization, localization describes an on-going process, an 'evolutionary and everyday form of progressive norm diffusion' that does not necessarily have to lead to the wholesale displacement of the original local norm. Rather, it allows for the individual transposition of the international into the local - the entrenchment of a new idea within the pre-existing normative environment. Because it allows for external ideas to be accommodated to 'local sensitivities and needs', the concept of localization allows for an analytical departure from the predetermined linkage between process and outcome – that is, from the presumption that a norm-taker's norm internalization must be followed by externally defined 'appropriate' policies on the ground. This individually informed focus, in turn, changes the objective of research once a discrepancy between international expectations and local outcomes is established: rather than dealing with factors inducing socialization 'failure', localization enables to review the

socialization process from the perspective of its local 'executors' and their inherent 'cognitive priors.'[97]

1.4 'Successes' and 'Failures'

If the concept of constitutive localization allows for behavioural divergence as a socialization outcome, that is, for 'inappropriate' behaviour on the part of the norm-taker despite the presence of actual influence of social factors, how can the 'success' or 'failure' of the process be established? As the last section has demonstrated, solely measuring the domestic salience of a norm, and especially looking for behavioural convergence in this regard, is no particularly reliable way to establish, and measure, the actual degree of socialization.[98] This is because a nation's individual properties are likely to significantly influence the character of socialization, and also the character of implementation on the ground, and thus forestall any uniformity of outcomes – despite a high salience. For this reason, rather than focusing merely on behavioural outcomes, it is useful to keep in mind the fact that even more than behavioural convergence or even homogenization, the process of socialization entails a 'change of mind', and with it, the emergence of a new identity on the part of the norm-taker. This connotes that capturing the degree, and character, of identity change – tracing and measuring the development of the new identity so-to-say - may prove a useful way of capturing the degree, and character of the socialization process and outcome.

Identity, then, is a ubiquitous concept.[99] In its most basic form, Wendt points out, 'to have an identity is simply to have certain ideas about who one is in a given situation.'[100] It is, correspondingly, also about having ideas about whom one is *not* in a given situation. This implies that identity is always relational - 'the "self" is primarily, and necessarily, defined in relation (in differentiation or in assimilation) to the "other"'.[101] Put in social psychological terminology, then, the term 'identity' provides a definition of the 'self', which may be categorized at different levels, ranging from the (inter)personal to the (inter)group.[102] At the interpersonal level, the 'self' is defined through individuated, idiosyncratic attributes, emphasising those aspects of the 'self' that distinguish it from the 'other', defining 'the individual as a unique person in terms of their individual differences from other … persons.'[103] The intergroup level, on the other hand, implies that the 'self' is determined in terms of a person's 'shared similarities with members of certain social categories in contrast to other social categories.'[104] In this regard, the different levels of the 'self' do not have to function in exclusion to one another. Rather, they involve both, the personal and the social

aspects of the self simultaneously. As Turner points out, 'it can be assumed that in many situations there will be factors making for the salience of both the personal and the social categorical levels of self-definition.'[105] For the purposes of the research at hand it is the latter form of identity, the social identity, which is of concern.

Defined by Tajfel as 'that *part* of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership,' social identity entails two interrelated meanings.[106] On the one hand, it deals with the group-related aspects of the individual self. In this regard, as Brewer points out, the emphasis is on the content of identity, that is, on the individual's 'acquisition of psychological traits, expectations, customs, beliefs, and ideologies that are associated with belonging to a particular social group.'[107] On the other hand, social identity may be understood as a situation in which the individual self becomes 'depersonalized', to become 'experienced as identical, equivalent, similar to or interchangeable with a social class of people in contrast to some other class.'[108] In such a case, the self is defined in terms of others, most notably in terms of one's social group. These meanings, while representing two sides of one medal, reflect two essentially inverse perspectives on social identity: the former, rooting in social identity theory (SIT), emphasises 'the group within the self' while the latter, deriving from self-categorization theory, focuses on 'the self within the group.'[109] For the purposes of the analysis at hand it is the former branch that is of particular relevance.

Linking social identity to (individually) motivational aspects, SIT bases on the general proposition that firstly, people tend to compare themselves to others and use these social comparisons to feel better about themselves, and secondly, that the 'need to belong' to a distinct community or group is a fundamental feature of human nature, deducing from that that 'there is a psychological requirement inherent in social identification that relevant ingroups compare favourably with relevant outgroups.'[110] These out-groups, in turn, are often chosen in a way to allow for upward rather than downward mobility of one' own group. Thus, people tend to evaluate themselves and their group to 'similar or slightly higher reference groups.'[111] This is because, as social identity theory stipulates, people not only evaluate themselves in terms of, but also derive significant satisfaction and self-esteem from membership in their respective social group. Accordingly, they are motivated to enhance the relative positive distinctiveness of their in-group, that is, for instance, its relative status, in order to maintain a positive social identity – so as, again, to feel good about themselves in comparison to others. One implication of this is that people are not only loath to compare themselves to, but also to become associated with, a lower status group, as such a group

would fail to contribute to a positive social identity. Accordingly, in cases where membership in a lower status group is given, people are expected to try to dissociate from it and leave for one with a higher status.[112]

This, however, is only true in the absence of a close relationship between the 'self' and the group, that is, in the absence of strong group identification. Indeed, the urge for upward mobility, social psychologists have found out, is only prominent where the individual's identification with the group is low. That means that those members of a social group that identify highly with it are, in turn, more likely to stay where they are, even if the possibility for upward mobility is given. Even more, experiments have shown that in cases where upward mobility appears unnecessary due to the already high status of the group or in cases in which the low status of one's group was unknown, the degree of identification determined the individual's decision on staying in, or leaving, the group. As Ellemers et al. point out:

> 'when presented with objective opportunities for individual mobility, the importance of the group to a person's identity affects that person's psychological readiness to display individualistic behaviour and determines whether or not he or she will take advantage of these opportunities to improve his or her personal standing in the social structure.'[113]

In other words, where the degree of identification is low, people are ready to leave, or at least defect from their in-groups – even when these groups have a comparatively high status. Accordingly, more than anything else, it is the strength of an individual's social identity, that is, the degree of identification with a group that influences an individual's commitment and loyalty to it – and not primarily the group's status. This, in turn, implies that it is also the strength of the social identity that influences the individual's attachment to the content of this group's collective identity – that is, the appending customs, beliefs, expectations, and, not last, norms.[114]

Coming back to the issue as to how to effectively capture a norm-taker's socialization effects following interaction on the international level, then, this social psychological background highlights some relevant issues. Since socialization is about the development of a new social identity on the part of the norm-taker, it has also strong relational aspects – pointing, on the macro level, to the relationship between the various social groups, and on the micro level to the relationship between the 'self' and the group. From the latter perspective, then, the mechanisms of socialization could be depicted as the development of the new group within the old 'self', and the ensuing emergence of a new(er) 'self'. In this regard, the functioning of the socialization mechanisms is closely tied to the evolving relationship between the new-coming norm-taker (the 'self') and the group. Put differently, the degree to

which the socialization mechanisms (especially social influence and persuasion) succeed in diffusing the normative content of a given identity in a way that resonates with the norm-taker, is not only closely linked to the group's status or the objective persuasiveness of its normative content, but also, and especially, to the degree of identification on the part of the norm-taker with it.

This is because it is the degree of the norm-taker's identification with the group that confers the kind of legitimacy on the norm-maker that is required in order for him to be socially influential or persuasive. As Johnston points out, 'the more the audience or the reference group is legitimate, that is, the more it consists of actors whose opinion matter (to the norm-taker), the greater the effects of (social influence's) backpatting and opprobrium' as well as of persuasion.[115] The acquisition (or loss) of a group's legitimacy, in turn, is a function of the norm-taker's self-identification. This implies that the effective functioning of the socialization mechanisms depends on whether, and to what degree the norm-taker can, and wants, to identify with the norm-maker and to accept the latter's content of identity – to acquire the very 'expectations, customs, beliefs, and ideologies that are associated with belonging to a particular social group.'[116] In other words, and applied to the case at hand, the success of socialization depends on the relationship between the norm-taking state and the norm-making group, and the strength of the resultant identity.

One useful method to capture a norm-taking state's socialization-induced identity development is to study its evolving discourse on the norm-making group's issue-area in question. This is because states, as Epstein points out, 'talk'.[117] And 'this "talking" is central both to what they do and who they are – to the dynamics of identity.'[118] Accordingly, a state's discourse on a specific issue area reflects not only its attitude in relation to other states on this particular question but also on its relationship with the norm-making group. Its discourse, in other words, signals a norm-taking state's position on a certain subject, allowing it to assimilate or differentiate itself vis-à-vis the relevant norm-making group and the other participants in the international system. Engaging in discursive positioning of this kind is thus reflective not only of the general understanding of identity as formulated by Wendt, but also of the more specific social psychological perspective. Indeed, in a social group-context, a new member's discourse can serve to highlight his closeness to the own social group, while at the same time emphasising a distance to other group(s) – or fail to do so. In this regard, the strength and coherence of the respective discursive positioning may serve as an indicator as to the relative identification between the individual norm-taking member and the norm-making group.

How, then, can the strength of a state's discursive position (and thus the strength of identification) be measured? Dealing with the measurement of collective identities, Abdelal et al. propose to work along the lines of content and contestation. Here, in a slightly more comprehensive form than mentioned above, content is understood as the 'meaning of a collective identity', which 'may take the form of four mutually non-exclusive types': constitutive norms, social purposes, relational comparisons with other social categories and cognitive models. [119] In this regard, a given collective identity's constitutive norms refer to its normative content, that is, to the rules that specify which behaviour is considered as appropriate for this identity, and which, in turn, will 'lead others to recognize an actor as having a particular identity' and thus as belonging to a particular group.[120] Constitutive norms thus are understood to serve as guidelines, and determine the criteria for membership of a distinct social group.

The purposive content of a collective identity, in turn, is epitomized by its social purposes, which 'define group interests, goals, or preferences' and 'create obligations to engage in practices that make the group's achievement of a set of goals more likely'[121] The relational content of identity, furthermore, defines an identity in relation, and often in distinction to others. As pointed out above, identities in general and group identities in particular are social products – they are defined by an actor's (or a group's) relationship and interaction with other actors (or other groups). Finally, the cognitive content of a collective identity refers to the worldviews that are associated with this particular identity. It provides group members with a 'framework that allows … (them) to make sense of social, political, and economic conditions,' explaining not only how the world works according to their social group but also describing its social reality.[122]

The second dimension along which collective identity can be measured is contestation, which connotes the degree of agreement within a group over the normative, purposive, relational, or cognitive content of the identity in question.[123] This is because, as Abdelal et al. point out, 'much of identity discourse is the working out of the meaning of a particular collective identity through the contestation of its members. Individuals are continuously proposing and shaping the meaning of the groups to which they belong.'[124] This implies that there are various degrees of contestation: 'the content of an identity may be more or less contested.'[125] This degree, in turn, has implications on the coherence of identity – and with it, on the degree of identification within the group. Indeed, the more contested the content of identity, the more difficult it is for the members to find (and adhere to) one understanding about its normative obligations, social purposes and relations, as well cognitive models. In

consequence, the group is perceived as less homogenous and consensual, which, on the whole, makes it more difficult to strongly identify with it.

To be sure, this does not rule out debate on the meaning of identity as a healthy form of its reproduction and reconstitution. Such contestation may come in a public and then private form, most commonly materializing through 'political debates, party platforms, and speeches (which) are designed to evoke a sense of collective self' at first, and then spilling over into the private realm, into conversations or written communications among small numbers of people.[126] Nevertheless, that is, in spite of the usefulness of contestation for identity reproduction, Abdelal et al. make it clear that there is a direct, and inverse, correlation between the degree to which the content of an identity is contested and its taken-for-grantedness on the part of the group's membership: the less identity content is contested, the more its members take it for granted, 'consider it "natural"' – and thus identify with it more strongly.[127]

The 'content and contestation'-approach may be well transferred into the realm of social identity, as it refers to the same kind of content, only on an individual, and not a group, level (as pointed out above, social identity constitutes 'the group's collective identity within the self'). Indeed, looking at the degree of discursive contestation of identity content allows to capture the consistency and coherence of a norm-taker's discursive position, which, in turn, is a significant indicator of the extent of a his identification with the norm-making group in question. As Epstein points out,

> 'one remarkable feature of international politics is the relative consistency of state positionings in international fora. Notwithstanding the long succession of individuals in a country's diplomatic seat, its line tends to remain relatively consistent; that is, until it explicitly decides to change positions, which in turn translates into a change in discourses.'[128]

Hence, measuring a social identity – and with it a norm-taker's socialization degree - can be administered along the same lines of content and contestation of a relevant discourse, only with a particular focus on how the individual, norm-taking 'self', rather than the collective group, engages in the process of contestation over the content of the identity in question, and at which point of the identification spectre he posits himself in this regard. This combined approach allows to establish the relative consistency, and thus strength, of a national discourse vis-à-vis a specific issue area – and with it, in the case at hand, the degree of the norm-taker's identification with the norm-making group.

Conclusion

To conclude this part, the concept of international socialization explores how social interaction within international institutions influences the transfer of international norms, ideas, and practices into the national level, that is, how political actors – usually novices of any kind - are 'inducted into the norms and rules of a given community'. The current socialization research departs from the assumption of a two-stage socialization process, with the first stage describing the process of 'teaching' the international norms at the system level (i.e. within an international institution) and the second stage focusing on the subsequent process of learning the obtained lessons. In this regard, the process of internalization – a norm-taker's conscious realization and acceptance of the norm-maker's norm as 'the right thing to do' - is an inherent component of the second stage of socialization, and distinguishes it from other kinds of pro-norm behaviour. Analysing the process of socialization at this stage thus means to explore whether and how an institution's social context motivates change(s) in a newcomer's normative outlook and political behaviour. In this respect, the micro-processes of mimicking, social influence and persuasion may be regarded as the main mechanisms leading to internalization, and hence, assumingly, to full socialization. In terms of outcome, then, 'full' and thus successful socialization is understood as 'sustained compliance' with the new norm and is expected to take the form of internationally defined 'appropriate' behaviour on the local level. In other words, the outcome of 'successful' socialization is presumed to be convergence with the international on the part of the local.

Rather than making socialization 'success' dependent upon the local compliance with international expectations as to what 'ought to be done', however, the analysis at hand proposes to trace the process of local post-internalization implementation in an open-ended fashion. More concretely, this analysis proposes to disentangle the unidirectional linkage between a norm-taker's internalization and the behavioural outcome on the ground by developing a third stage of socialization which focuses on the post-internalization agency of the implementing actors, that is, on the agency of the local norm entrepreneurs or insider proponents. The herein presented argument is that convergence between the causal understandings of norm-maker and norm-taker, although induced through local internalization of the international norm, may result not only in the displacement of the local in favour of the international, but also in the localization of the latter into the pre-existing local political framework. Put differently, a divide between international expectations and domestic behaviour need not necessarily mean that international norms have failed to 'resonate with

historically constructed domestic norms' and the appending structures.[129] Rather, they may simply have resonated in a different manner – namely, in a manner that is out of line with international expectations, but instead in line with the particular local conditions present on the ground.

This 'appropriateness of inappropriate behaviour', however, compounds the evaluation of socialization effects on the ground: how can the effects of actual socialization be established if, due to individual local conditions, national behaviour fails to adhere to the norm-maker's expectations – in spite of some form of norm internalization? Addressing this problem, the research at hand proposes to shift the focus of analysis from the level of a norm-taker's behaviour to the level of the norm-taker's new social identity – the kind of identity that derives from the process of social interaction within new international social groups. In contrast to the behavioural option, the focus on social identity allows to trace the evolution of the relationship between the norm-taker and the norm-making group, and to capture, through the instruments of content and contestation, the degree of the new-comer's identification with the latter – that is, the strength of his new social identity. It is thus that identity development and socialization effects can be established – and measured – without losing sight of a new-coming norm-taker's individual, local, sensitivities and needs that condition the character of norm implementation on the ground.

2. Research Outline

2.1 Design and Methodology

As pointed out before, the research project at hand aims to shed light on the functioning of the social elements of democratization in order to understand how those socially motivating aspects that induce and maintain the process of transition to democracy may work when encountering an inherently non-democratic but theoretically transformation-willing breeding ground, and also, whether and how precisely the functioning of these social elements may be undermined through external interference by a third, nondemocratic, actor. In addition to addressing the empirical puzzle of local and external social factors of (the lack of) democratization, in other words, the research project at hand aims to address two distinct theoretical problems of socialization in IR: that of (alleged) socialization 'failure' – a norm-taker's lack of 'appropriate' behaviour on the domestic level following social interaction in international forums – as well as the impact of a newly arriving, external norm-maker on a

norm-taker's learning process (and progress) that is part of an already commenced socialization process (i.e. stage two). Despite a multitude of contributions to socialization in IR, these two issues remain under- (the former), respectively un-theorized (the latter).[130] Both processes and outcomes, however, reflect a very prominent state of affairs in the empirical world of current international affairs in general, and, as illustrated before, in the realm of democratization in particular.

Indeed, as pointed out in the introduction and in the previous chapter, there seems to be a plethora of democratic non-compliers worldwide – nations, that during the past two decades have been continuously ranked as autocratic by international watchdogs despite their more or less vivid participation in – and apparent socialization with - democracy-promoting Western international or regional organizations. [131] On the other hand, the 'rise' of China on the international scene and its influence on developing (and democratizing) nations, not only in material (e.g. economic) terms, but also, and especially, in a normative sense, has been worrying political practitioners and pundits alike, leading to the establishment of many new research agendas and institutions, as well as to the production of a multitude of academic publications.[132] In other words, China, the 'authoritarian great power', as Azar Gat put it already in 2007, appears to have established itself all over the place – only not in IR socialization research, where it, as an alternative normative power, would appear to belong in the first place.[133]

The rationale of the research at hand is to rectify this state of affairs by addressing the case of post-Soviet Kazakhstan's democratization pathway (1991-2012), which, in many ways, is of particular salience to the theoretical problems at hand. Like all newly independent post-Soviet states, Kazakhstan, in theory, represents a 'most likely' case for international socialization, given the fact that socialization is, in the first place, about the integration and teaching of novices, on whom it is also the most likely to have an effect. Accordingly, Kazakhstan, like the other newly independent post-Soviet states that arrived in Western-dominated and democracy-oriented international and regional organizations such as the CSCE after the end of Cold War, could be (and was) expected to process its early socialization experiences in a way that would set it on a straightforward path to successful democratization (as understood in the West) during the decades to come. This expectation, as is no secret, has failed to materialize. Even worse: according to data from the INCSR which measures institutionalised regime authority, Kazakhstan, during the process of socialization with the Western community, has become gradually more authoritarian, rather than less.[134]

This state of affairs prompts the first set of theory-building questions, to be addressed by eliciting Kazakhstan's democratization and socialization process during the first decade of independence (1991 – 2001): why do socialization processes, despite a norm-taker's internalization of a norm-maker's norm and the appending identity, sometimes fail to result in adaptive, by the norm-maker's standards 'appropriate' domestic behavioural outcomes? And, does the failure of behavioural adaptation – the lack of 'appropriate' behaviour on the domestic level – imply a socialization 'failure' at all? Secondly, and against this background, is it possible to identify the socialization effects of behaviourally 'failing' norm-taking states, and how? These theoretically informed research questions, then, yield the following empirical research objectives:

a) to provide a benchmark-based assessment of Kazakhstan's democratic credentials after one decade of democratization and socialization with the West
b) to identify socialization effects even in the absence of 'appropriate' behaviour on the ground
c) to test the proposition that a norm-taker's 'inappropriate' behaviour implies a socialization 'failure'
d) to develop the concept of 'localization under social influence', a multi-faceted and locally-informed conceptualization of socialization, which integrates the local pre-existing, 'biographical' factors into the socialization equation

In methodological terms, these objectives shall be reached using the techniques of process tracing and discourse analysis. The former method is particularly suited for capturing the causal processes that evolve over time, as it helps to 'identify the intervening causal process – the causal chain and the causal mechanism – between an independent variable (or variables) and the dependent variable.'[135] For the case in question, the method shall be used to illuminate the causal processes that have evolved during stages two and three of the socialization process between the norm-taking post-Soviet Kazakhstan and the norm-making, democracy-promoting CSCE/OSCE – that is, during the learning and processing stage as well as during the national implementation stage, at which Kazakhstan's potentially 'inappropriate' behaviour came to the fore.

This shall be done with particular regard to the development of the organizational, procedural, and discursive lock-ins that inhere to socialization's initial micro-process of mimicking. As for the former two, the working of the organizational lock-ins shall be analysed by way of the tracing the evolution of the post-Soviet country's legislature, and with

it, the evolution of the power separation principle in post-Soviet Kazakhstan, while the development of the national party system – the crucial pre-condition of political competition - is expected to provide information about the working of the procedural lock-in. The objective here is to discern, and depict, the causal and intervening force of post-Soviet Kazakhstan's 'cognitive priors' – those organizational and procedural patterns (norms, rules and values, institutional design and logic, governance style) in the spheres of power exercise and party system that were established during Soviet and pre-Soviet times.

Tracing the developments in both, the organizational and the procedural realms against the background of these 'cognitive priors', will not only allow to understand how and why the norm-taking nation has grappled with international socialization obligations and opportunities on the domestic level, but also help to establish the degree of actual behavioural 'appropriateness' on the part of post-Soviet democratizing Kazakhstan. Put differently, in the case at hand, process tracing will allow to understand how and why the already established domestic structures that were encountered along the way during the localization of the power separation and political competition principles created the circumstances and conditions that eventually led to the distinct national policy choices, which, in the end, resulted in the by Western standards 'inappropriate' socialization outcome in question. The sources employed for this analysis are largely primary, and include Kazakhstan's post-Soviet legal documents such as the nation's Constitutions of 1993 and 1995, the 1996 Law on Political Parties and the 1998 Law on National Security, as well as national and international press material. They are rounded up by relevant secondary academic literature.

The use of process tracing in these two realms is expected to help establish the degree of actual mismatch between Western expectations and local outcomes, and provide an explanation in this regard. However, process tracing will be less helpful in providing information as to the degree of actual socialization (understood as the 'change of mind' and development of a new, OSCE-compatible political identity on the part of Kazakhstan) that developed in the course of the process. This will be the subsequent task of the discourse analysis, which will serve the attainment of the second research objective - to identify and measure socialization effects independently of 'appropriate' behaviour on the ground by analysing the emerging national discourse that, as a consequence of socialization, has been revolving around the new institutional developments.[136]

This shall be done by way of firstly, establishing the content of the identity that appertains to the norm-making group – in this case the CSCE/OSCE - and secondly, by establishing the degree of local agreement over this content – that is, investigating the degree

of the content's contestation. The research project at hand will address the normative content in this regard, with a particular focus on the CSCE/OSCE's constitutive norm of democratic governance, and the ensuing principles of power separation and political competition. From here on, the analysis will take two distinct pathways. Firstly, the objective is to trace the discursive development (which paralleled the organizational and procedural one) with particular attention to the verbalization of the democracy norm and the adherent principles. In this regard, particular emphasis shall be laid on discerning the degree of local contestation of the constitutive norm and principles, and with it, on discerning the strength and coherence of Kazakhstan's democracy position – the main indicator of identification with the CSCE/OSCE. Secondly, the objective is to capture the degree of social influence on the part of the West, by looking for the emergence of a cognitive linkage in Kazakhstan's political discourse –which, in the case at hand, is expected to manifest itself in the association of democratization with status and prestigious group membership.

Both endeavours rest upon the textual analysis of the norm- and identity-related discourse, and involve the interpretation and contextualization of the above mentioned legal documents, official speeches and interviews. In concrete terms, the discourse analysis of the first decade of independence will focus primarily on what President Nazarbaev - Kazakhstan's main insider proponent, and the one who worked immensely on establishing a new, post-Soviet democratic identity in Kazakhstan - thought, wrote, and said. Thus, in addition to the process tracing material, the documents employed in this regard will include the president-authored core normative documents 'The Strategy of Formation and Development of Kazakhstan as a Sovereign State' of 1992 and the 'Ideological Consolidation of Society as a Condition of Kazakhstan's Progress' of 1993, in which he outlined the future political and normative development of the newly independent state, as well as the State of Nation Addresses of the years 1994 – 2001, which are fundamental to the extent as they provide annual snapshots of identity development that can be compared to the actual political developments on the ground. Finally, in order to achieve an even deeper contextualization of the above, additional discursive material, such as Nazarbaev's speeches to the members of the Supreme Soviet of the 13th convocation (1994), the National Assembly (1995, 1996), the then newly elected members of the Mazhilis (1996, 1998), and the UN (1995, 1996), as well as selected president-authored books of the first decade will be relied upon.

All these sources are expected to help capturing the strength of the new social identity that evolved as a consequence of the socialization process. This, as pointed out above, will not only allow to establish the socialization effects independently of behavioural outcomes, but

also help to determine the degree of social influence on the part of the norm-maker. It is on the basis of this methodological framework that Chapter III will test the proposition of socialization failure and, subsequently, develop the concept of 'localization under social influence'.

Building on these results, the subsequent analytical parts endeavour to investigate whether, and how precisely, an already on-going socialization process may be undermined by external interference on the part of a third, and normatively alternative, actor. To this end, a further observation that derives from Kazakhstan's democratization pathway will be employed: the entrance of a new, alternative normative power on the ground – in the case at hand, China. Indeed, in 2001, just about a decade after the entrance of the OSCE into the newly independent state, Kazakhstan institutionalized the relationship with its neighbour and important business partner China within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). This organization formalized the non-economic aspects of relations between Kazakhstan and China (as well as Russia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan), and provided a new, normatively alternative, ideational outlook on international affairs - the Shanghai Spirit, a normative repository of China's own political thinking, and some international norms like 'non-interference' and 'sovereignty'.[137] It thus that Kazakhstan became not only one of the first addressees of Beijing's norm-making endeavours, but also, since 2001, came to participate in two parallel, and, in normative terms, mutually exclusive, socialization processes – one with the West's OSCE and on with China through the SCO.

Accordingly, the Kazakh experience provides two 'most likely' cases of international socialization – one with the West and one with China – and as such allows for the treatment of both research problems. This is especially true, since the Kazakh case commends itself for a longitudinal and quasi-experimental 'before – after' research design as the post-Soviet country's democratization pathway (that is, its socialization process with Western-dominated international institutions) can be (relatively) neatly divided in two parts – one before, and one after the institutionalization of relations with China within the framework of the SCO. Such a design, in turn, allows to find out whether, and how, the causal mechanisms of the second socialization process influenced the first socialization process. Put differently, a subdivision of the socialization into a 'before'-China (1991 – 2001) and one 'after'-China (2002 – 2012) part, will allow to isolate the impact of China's normative functioning, and thus help to find out whether Beijing had an influence on the way Kazakh officials, and especially president Nursultan Nazarbaev, the 'chief' of the country's domestic and foreign policy, came to

experience the learning and implementation stages that derived from the socialization process with the OSCE – to the potential detriment of democratic development.

This, then, is the empirical background for the third theory-developing question: how and when can a commenced socialization process become vulnerable to specific normative influences from the outside? The ambition here is to develop an understanding of how simultaneous socialization processes may function in relation to one another, and, consequently, affect each other – as well as the norm-taking nation. More specifically, then, and in addition to providing a further benchmark-based assessment of Kazakhstan's democratic credentials after the second decade of democratization, the objective of the second analytical part is to find out whether there have been any

a) causal mechanisms
b) facilitating condition(s)

that have enabled the second, alternative norm-making group (and thus a second, alternative socialization process) to influence the outcome of the already on-going socialization process – and, in the case of a positive answer, identify them. [138] This shall be done by investigating the impact of the second socialization process on the norm-taker's new social identity, and, in consequence, on the degree of the original norm-maker's social influence on the ground.

The hypothesis put forward is that a norm-taker's localization pattern can be, and in the Kazakh case has been, influenced by a parallel, and normatively contrasting, socialization process, which, using the material at hand, will be conceptualized as 'strategic localization'. Put in empirical terms, the analysis will investigate whether the Sino-Central Asian security cooperation within the framework of the SCO has had a negative impact on the development of political pluralism in Kazakhstan. All this under the presumption that Beijing has been engaging in the opposite of what is understood as traditional *milieu goals* – in an act that aimed to 'spoil' (that is, to normatively contest) Kazakhstan's Western-oriented socialization (and thus democratization) process by strengthening Kazakhstan's pre-existing, local (and democratization-inhibiting) 'cognitive priors', in order to further own geopolitical advantages in the region as well as, ultimately on the international level.[139]

In the same vein as in Chapter III, the methods employed to this end shall be process tracing and discourse analysis. In this regard, the documents employed for process tracing will resemble the compilation of the first decade, including primary sources such as legal documents - notably the 2002 Law on Political Parties, the 2007 Constitutional Amendments, the 2009 Legal Provision to the Electoral Law -, political documents such as texts and

statements adopted by political parties, relevant national commissions and also the OSCE, as well as national and international press documents. Again, the primary sources will be rounded out by relevant secondary academic literature.

The discourse analysis, in turn, will be divided in two parts. In this regard, the first part (Chapter IV), will address the general state of Kazakhstan's newly evolved social identity in the second decade of independence, and, hence, resemble the first decade's discursive compilation. The particular focus will be laid on the President's State of Nation Addresses (2002 – 2012), his and the nation's Foreign Ministers' (Kassymjomart Tokayev, Marat Tazhin, Kanat Saudabayev) addresses to the OSCE during these years, as well as the relevant books and articles of Nazarbaev in the national and international press. The second part (Chapter V), on the other hand, will further contextualize the findings of Chapter IV, searching for Chinese (SCO) traces in the (from a Western perspective) retrograde evolution in Kazakhstan's democracy-oriented social identity. The primary sources employed to this end will include the SCO's main normative documents, notably its Charter, selected statements of the SCO Heads of State Council, as well as, again, President Nazarbaev's addresses to the OSCE and the SCO, his national and international articles, and books.

To conclude this section, the Kazakh case offers an ideal empirical base to address the above outlined theoretic problems - to provide a more realistic conceptualization of the socialization processes of seemingly democratizing non-democracies, and to investigate whether, and to what extent, this state of affairs may be attributed to local normative 'diversification' processes administered by the new and alternative normative power China. In this regard, the emphasis of the analysis at hand is on how the above outlined processes work – how does socialization with Western norms proceed from a local perspective? An, how could an alternative normative power use social interaction to compete for geopolitical influence in one particular norm-taking environment – if at all?

As pointed out above, the presumption that China - in addition to significant local factors such as Kazakhstan's patrimonial and Soviet-authoritarian political heritage – has decisively influenced the democratization pathway of post-Soviet Kazakhstan is a key driver of the research project at hand. Framed in the herein developed concept of 'strategic localization', the main endeavour of the project is, firstly, to understand Beijing's normative agency on the democratizing local level, and to thus investigate whether, and how, socialization may serve as a geopolitical instrument – as something that 'actors in world politics … try to do to each other' in order to carve out a competitive geopolitical advantage for themselves on the local or regional level.[140] In a second step, the objective is also to put

into perspective the potential of Chinese normative agency on the international level – to understand its evolving relationship with the West in general and the Western-promoted 'liberal word order' in particular, as well as this relationship's limits.

2.2 Why (Only) China?

As has been pointed out in the previous chapter, China is not the only power that has been that is suspected to engage in international anti-democracy promotion through authoritarian collaboration. For instance, Azar Gat's other 'authoritarian great power' Russia has a similar, at times even more aggressive reputation in this regard.[141] However, while generally, Moscow's impact on the political development of democratizing nations, especially those in its 'near abroad', may be of interest and its abundant presence in the relevant research programs seems justifiable, an investigation of Russia's potentially anti-democratic normative agency does not suit the particular case at hand.[142] This is because this research project puts particular emphasis on the social aspects of democratization, and more concretely, on how precisely the functioning of the social aspects of democratization may be undermined through the appearance of a normatively alternative process of social interaction that is orchestrated by a third, nondemocratic, actor – to the detriment of the democratization process per se.

In order to address this particular issue of external democratization 'spoiling', however, it is necessary to isolate the functioning of the normatively alternative actor so as to find out whether, and how, the causal mechanisms deriving from the latter ('spoiling') socialization process may have influenced the first (democracy-oriented) one. As has been pointed out above, such an isolation is best administered through a quasi-experimental 'before – after' research design, as it allows to identify the possible changes stemming from the intervention during the process. In this regard, only China suggests itself for such a research design – no other norm-making actor, including Russia (independently of the discussion as to whether it actually represents a norm-making actor or not), allows for such a (relatively) neat subdivision into a 'before'- and an 'after'-part, and with it, for a temporal juxtaposition of the respective socialization / democratization patterns.

In other words, with Russia, it would be difficult to single out one particular point in time, at which the beginning of the 'after' part of alternative normative intervention could be placed. This is because Russia, unlike China, has been institutionally present in the Central Asian region since its immediate independence – both Moscow-led regional organizations, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as well as the Collective Security Treaty

Organization (CSTO) have been established in the direct aftermath of the Soviet Union's disintegration. It is this institutional continuity on the part of Moscow that would render the core research design of the analysis at hand - the isolation of the normative intervention - impossible. Therefore, investigating the socio-normative impact of Russia's agency in the Central Asian region and its relationship with Kazakhstan's on-going, Western-oriented socialization process appears unrewarding for the particular purpose of this analysis, especially in theory-related terms. It is for this reason that the research at hand will stick to the People's Republic of China only, investigating both its normative potential in newly independent, democratizing Kazakhstan, as well as the ensuing impact on the international level.

---

[1] Cf. Paul Kowert and Jeffrey Legro, 'Norms, Identity and Their Limits: A Theoretical Reprise', in: Peter J. Katzenstein (Ed.), 'The Culture of National Security', New York / 1996, p. 456. See also Kenneth Waltz, Theory of International Politics. Reading, Mass./ 1979; Robert Gilpin, War and Change in the International System, Princeton / 1981.
[2] Cf. Kowert and Legro, op. cit. (note 1), p. 456.
[3] Cf. Waltz, op. cit. (note 1); Gilpin, op. cit. (note 1).
[4] Cf. Waltz, op.cit., p 73 (note 1). The classical realist school has been regarding norm-conforming behaviour on the international level merely as a side-effect of prevailing power relations or convergent interests among the power maximizing participants. Cf. Hans Morgenthau, The Struggle for Power and Peace. New York / 1978.
[5] For a critique on Waltz' conception of socialization in international relations, see e.g. Alexander Wendt, Social Theory of International Relations, Cambridge /1999 and Alistair Iain Johnston, Social States. China in International Institutions, Princeton / 2009.
[6] Cf. Waltz, op. cit. (note 1) pp. 73-77; pp.127-128.
[7] Cf. Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye, Power and Interdependence Revisited, in: International Organization, 41, p. 746. See also, Lisa L. Martin, the Rational Choice State of Multilateralism, in John Gerard Ruggie (Ed.), Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form, New York / 1993; Beth A. Simmons and Lisa L. Martin, International Organizations and Institutions, in: Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, Beth Simmons (Eds.), Handbook of International Relations, Los Angeles / 2002; James G. March and Johan P. Olson, 'The Logic of Appropriateness', ARENA, Centre for European Studies, Oslo / 2009, p. 3.
[8] Cf. Keohane and Nye, op. cit. (note 7), p. 745.
[9] The conceptual predecessor of the 'international institution' was the 'international regime.' The 'classical' definition by Ruggie conceptualizes regimes as 'sets of mutual expectations, generally agreed-to rules, regulations and plans, in accordance with which organizational energies and financial commitments are allocated.' Cf. John Gerard Ruggie, International Responses to Technology, International Organization, 29, p. 569. A further well-established definition defines institutions as rules, norms, principles and procedures that focus expectations regarding international behaviour', cf. Stephan Haggard and Beth A. Simmons, Theories of International Regimes, International Organization, 41/3, p. 491-518.
[10] Cf. Keohane and Nye, op.cit. (note 7), p. 742.
[11] Cf. Simmons and Martin, op. cit. (note 7), p. 195.
[12] Cf. Kowert and Legro, op. cit. (note 1), p. 460.
[13] Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 5), p. 6. A significant, and at that time pioneering, exception was the work of Keohane and Nye, which elaborated upon the necessity for new research agendas that encompass the questions of governmental learning within conditions of complex interdependence. Cf. Keohane and Nye, op. cit. (note 5), p. 752.
[14] Cf. Wendt, op. cit. (note 5), p. 324.
[15] Paraphrased from Kowert and Legro, op. cit. (note 1), p. 454.

[16] As Onuf put it already in 1989 in his ground-breaking work, the world we live in is of 'our making', highlighting that international structure(s) are not solely exogenously given and static, but rather a product of the interaction states on the international level. Cf. Nicholas Onuf, World of our making, Columbia / 1989. On the constructivist ontology of constitutiveness, see e.g.: Audie Klotz and Cecilia Lynch, Strategies for Research in Constructivist International Relations, Armonk / 2007, p. 7.
[17] Cf. Kowert and Legro, op. cit. (note 1), p. 453.
[18] Cf. Wendt, op. cit. (note 5), p. 385.
[19] Cf. Karen Lutfey and Jeylan T. Mortimer, 'Development and Socialization through the Adult Life Course', in: Delamater, J. (Ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, New York / 2003, p.183.
[20] Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 5), p. 21f.
[21] Cf. Lutfey et al., op. cit. (note 19), p. 184.
[22] Cf. William A. Corsaro and Laura Fingerson, in: Delamater, J. (Ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, New York / 2003, p.127.
[23] Cf. Jeffrey Checkel, International Institutions and Socialization in Europe, Introduction and Framework, International Organization, 3 / 2005, p. 804. See also e.g. Thomas Risse and Kathryn Sikkink, The Socialization of International Human Rights Norms into Domestic Practices: Introduction, in: Thomas Risse and Kathryn Sikkink, The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change, Cambridge / 1999.
[24]Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 5), p. 22.
[25] Cf. John G. Ikenberry and Charles Kupchan, Socialization and Hegemonic Power, International Organization, 44 / 2, p. 288.
[26] Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 5), p. 22.
[27] Cf. March and Olson, op. cit. (note 7), p.3; Ikenberry and Kupchan, op. cit. (note 25); Risse and Sikkink, op. cit. (note 23), p. 11.
[28] Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 5), p. 22.
[29]Cf. Risse and Sikkink, op. cit. (note 23), p.11.
[30] Ibid. On the logic of habit in constructivism, cf. Ted Hopf, The Logic of Habit in International Relations, European Journal of International Relations, 2010 / 4.
[31] Cf. Checkel, op. cit. (note 23).
[32] Cf. Johnston, op. cit (note 5), p. 17ff.
[33] Cf. Johnston, op. cit (note 5), p. 17.
[34] Cf. Ikenberry and Kupchan, op. cit. (note 25), p. 285.
[35] Cf. Raphael Metais and Chales Thépaut, Introduction: What Is Structural Foreign Policy? In: Raphael Metais, Chales Thépaut, & Stephan Keukeleire (Eds.), The European Union's Rule of Law Promotion in its Neighbourhood: A Structural Foreign Policy Approach, College of Europe, EU Diplomacy Paper 4/2013, p. 6. On a further elaboration of the concept of structural foreign policy, see also Stephan Keukeleire & Arnout Justaert, EU Foreign Policy and the Challenges of Structural Diplomacy, DSEU Policy Paper, 2012.
[36] Cf. Arnold Wolfers, Discord and Collaboration, Baltimore / 1962, pp. 73f.
[37] Ibid. See also e.g. Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, 'International Norm Dynamics and Political Change', in: International Organization 4/1998; Risse and Sikkink, op. cit. (note 23).
[38] See e.g.: Kathryn Sikkink, The Power of Principled Ideas: Human Rights Policies in the United States and Western Europe. In: Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane (Eds.), Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change, Ithaca / 1993; Richerd Price, A Genealogy of the Chemical Weapons Taboo, in: International Organization, 49/1; Audie Klotz, Norms in International Relations: The Struggle Against Apartheid, Ithaca / 1996; Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics, Ithaca / 1998.
[39] As Nadelmann pointed out rather bluntly: 'The compulsion to convert others to one's own beliefs and to remake the world in one's own image has long played an important role in international politics – witness the proselytizing efforts of states on behalf of religious faiths or secular faiths such as communism, fascism, capitalism, and democracy.' Cf. Ethan A. Nadelmann, 'Global Prohibition Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society, International Organization, 44 (4), p. 481.
[40] Cf. Ikenberry and Kupchan, op. cit. (note 25), p. 292.
[41] Cf. Amitav Acharya, 'Whose Ideas Matter? Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism', Ithaca /2009, p.16.

[42] Cf. Peter Gourevitch, 'The second image reversed: the international sources of domestic politics', International Organization, 1978 / 4, p. 883.
[43] Cf. Andrew P. Cortell and James W. Davis, 'How do International Institutions Matter? The Domestic Impact of International Rules and Norms, International Studies Quarterly, 4 / 1996, p. 453.
[44] Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 5), p. 17.
[45] Cf. Ikenberry and Kupchan, op. cit (note 25), p. 289; on the teaching properties of transnational agents cf. also Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations, International Organization, 53/4, p. 707ff.
[46] Cf. Joseph S. Nye, Nuclear Learning and U.S.-Soviet Security Regimes, International Organization, 41/3.
[47] Cf. Wendt, op. cit. (note 5), p. 326ff. Checkel (2005) conceptualizes the learning spectrum as 'Type I' and 'Type II' internalization. Cf. Checkel, op. cit. (note 23).
[48] Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 5), p. 17.
[49] Ibid., p. 23.
[50] Ibid., p. 45.
[51] Cf. Alastair Iain Johnston, Conclusions and Extensions: Toward Mid-Range Theorizing and Beyond Europe, International Organization 3/ 2005, p. 1025.
[52] Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 5), p. 47ff.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., p. 49.
[55] Ibid., p. 51.
[56] Ibid, p. 81.
[57] Ibid., p. 52.
[58] Ibid., p. 24f.
[59] Ibid., p. 88.
[60] Ibid., p. 25. Checkel conceptualizes this phenomenon also as 'complex (social) learning', whereby 'international norms … provide national agents with new understandings of interests'. Cf. Jeffrey T. Checkel, 'Norms, Institutions, and National Identity in Contemporary Europe', International Studies Quarterly, 1 / 1999, p. 90.
[61]Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 5), p. 155.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid., p. 156.
[64] Ibid, p. 156.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., p. 26.
[68] Ibid., p. 198.
[69] Checkel, op. cit. (note 23), p. 804.
[70] Cf. Andrew P. Cortell and James W. Davis, 'Understanding the Domestic Impact of International Norms: A research Agenda', International Studies Review, 2000/1, pp. 65 – 87.
[71] Ibid., p. 70.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., p. 71.
[74] Ibid., p.72.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Cf. Gregory A. Raymond, ‚Problems and Prospects in the Study of International Norms', Mershon International Studies Review, 2 / 1997, p. 218. Checkel refers to this endpoint as compliance. Cf. Jeffrey Checkel, Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change, International Organization, 55/3.
[78] Cf. Frank Schimmelfennig, 'Introduction: The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and Eastern European States – Conceptual and Theoretical Issues', in. Linden, R. (Ed.), Norms and Nannies, The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and Eastern European States, Lanham / 2002, p. 18.
[79] Ibid, p. 13.

[80] Cf. Frank Schimmelfennig, 'Strategic Calculation and International Socialization: Membership Incentives, Party Constellations, and Sustained Compliance in Central and Eastern Europe', in: International Institutions and Socialization in Europe; International Organization, 3 / 2005.
[81]Cf. Checkel, op. cit. (note 23), p. 87.
[82]Cf. Cortell et. al., op. cit. (note 43), p. 73.
[83] Indeed, while Checkel admits that 'researchers need to pay greater attention to the adopter's "experience, norms, values and intentions"', he still contends that 'specific features of adopters crucially affect the likelihood of successful diffusion'. Cf. Checkel, op. cit. (note 77), p.87.
[84]Cf. Acharya, op. cit. (note 41), p. 19. On the usefullness to incorporate a norm-taker's individual biography and prior life experiences, see: Lutfey et. al., op. cit. (note 19), p. 190ff.
[85] Cf. Acharya, op. cit. (note 41), p. 5, p.15.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Cf. Acharya, op. cit. (note 41), p. 21.
[88] Ibid., p. 22.
[89] Ibid., p. 23.
[90] Ibid., p. 5.
[91] Ibid., p. 13.
[92] Ibid., p. 18.
[93] Cf. Cortell et al, op. cit. (note 70), p. 72.
[94] Ibid., p. 17.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid., p. 19.
[97] Cf. Acharya, op. cit. (note 41), p. 21.
[98] Although it is certainly an important aspect.
[99] For a critique on the use of 'identity' in IR and political science, see e.g. Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, Beyond "Identity", in: Theory and Society 29/1; James Fearon, What is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)? Draft (1999). <https://www.stanford.edu/group/fearon-research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/What-is-Identity-as-we-now-use-the-word-.pdf.> (Retrieved on 17.10.2015).
[100] Cf. Wendt, op. cit. (note 5), p. 170.
[101] Cf. Laura L. Adams, Techniques for Measuring Identity in Ethnographic Research, in: Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston & Rose McDermott (Eds.), Measuring Identity, Cambridge (Mass.) / 2009, p. 316.
[102] Cf. John C. Turner, Some Current Issues in Research on Social Identity and Self-Categorization Theories, in: Naomi Ellemers, Russell Spears, and Bertjan Doosje (Eds.), Social Identity, Oxford / 1999.
[103] Ibid., p. 12.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., p. 11.
[106] Cf. Henri Tajfel, Social Identity and Intergroup Relations, Cambridge / 1981, p. 255 (emphasis in original).
[107] Cf. Marilynn B. Brewer and Miles Hewstone, Self and Social Identity, Malden / 2004, p. xi.
[108] Cf. Turner, op. cit (note 102), p. 12.
[109] Cf. Brewer, op. cit. (note 107), p. xi.
[110] Cf. Turner, op. cit. (note 102), p. 8.
[111]Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams, Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes, London / 1988.
[112] Cf. Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner, An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict, in: William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel (Eds.): The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations, Monterey, Calif. / 1979, p. 33 – 47; Deborah Welch Larson and Alexei Shevchenko, Shortcut to Greatness: The New Thinking and the Revolution in Soviet Foreign Policy, International Organization, 57/1; Rose McDermott, Psychological Approaches to Identity: Experimentation and Application, in: Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston & Rose McDermott (Eds.), Measuring Identity, Cambridge (Mass.) / 2009.

[113] Cf. Naomi Ellemers, Russel Spears, and Beertjan Doosje, Sticking Together or Falling Apart: In-Group Identification as a Psychological Determinant of Group Commitment Versus Individual Mobility, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72/3, p. 618. For a similar study on social identity and loyalty, see e.g. Mark van Vugt and Claire M. Hart, Social identity as Social Glue: The Origins of Group Loyalty, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 86/4.
[114] Collective identity may be defined as 'an interactive and shared definition produced by a number of individuals … concerning the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action is to take place.' Cf. Timothy Owens, Self and Identity, in: Delamater, J. (Ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, New York / 2003, p. 226.
[115] Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 5), p. 84.
[116] Cf. Brewer, op. cit. (note 107).
[117] Cf. Charlotte Epstein, Who speaks? Discourse, the subject and the study of identity in international politics, European Journal of International relations, 2010 / 2. Cf. also Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, & Rose McDermott, Identity as a Variable, in: Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston & Rose McDermott (Eds.), Measuring Identity, Cambridge (Mass.) / 2009.
[118] Cf. Epstein, op. cit. (note 117), p. 341.
[119] Cf. Abdelal et al., op cit. (note 117), p. 17.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid., p. 21.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid. p. 22.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid., p. 23.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Epstein, op. cit. (note 117), p. 341f.
[129] Cf. Checkel, op. cit. (note 77), p. 87.
[130] A significant exception in regard of socialization failure is the localization approach developed by Amitav Acharya (note 41). However, while he specifies the local processes of norm adaptation and subsequent implementation, he does not quite address the issue of interaction between local adaptation and international motivation processes.
[131] Cf. Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2015, Washington, D.C., p. 1. <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2015> (Retrieved on 15.06.2015). For research on the authoritarian tendencies in democratizing countries, see e.g.: Peter Burnell and Oliver Schlumberger, 'Promoting Democracy – Promoting Autocracy? International Politics and National Political Regimes', in: Contemporary Politics, 2010/1, pp. 1 – 15.
[132] Cf. Pu Xiaoyu, 'Socialization as a Two-way Process: Emerging Powers and the Diffusion of International Norms', in: The Chinese Journal of International Politics, 2012/5, pp. 341 – 367; David Lewis, Who's Socializing Whom? Regional Organization and Contested Norms in Central Asia, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 64/7; Ann Florini, 'Rising Asian Powers and Changing Global Governance', in: Internatinal Studies Review, 2011/13, pp. 23-33; Maximilian Terhalle, 'Reciprocal Socialization: Rising Powers and the West', in: International Studies Review, 2011/12, pp. 341-361.
[133] Cf. Azar Gat, The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers, in: Foreign Affairs, July/August 2007. Exceptions in this regard, among others, are Pu, op. cit. (note 128); Terhalle, op. cit. (note 128); Xiaoming Zhang, A Rising China and the Normative Changes in International Society, East Asia, 28/2.
[134] In 1994, the institutionalised authority index on Kazakhstan fell for the first time from -4 to -5 (-10 would equal an institutionalized autocracy) and then again in 2002 from -5 to -6. Cf. The Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INCSR), 'Polity IV Annual Time-Series 1800 – 2012'.<http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/inscr.htm> (accessed on 28.06.2013).
[135] Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, Case Studies and Theory Development in the Political Sciences, Cambridge (Mass.) / 2005, p. 206.

[136] Cf. Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilton, A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis, Amsterdam / 2005; Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (Eds.), Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis, London / 2009.
[137] Cf. Luba von Hauff, A Stablizing Neighbour? The Impact of China's Engagement in Central Asia on Regional Security, DGAPAnalyse 2013/3; Thomas Ambrosio, Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 60/8; Lewis, op. cit. (note 128).
[138] For the purposes of the research at hand, a causal mechanism shall be understood as 'ultimately unobservable physical, social, or psychological processes through which agents with causal capacities operate, but only in specific contexts or conditions, to transfer energy, information, or matter to other entities'. Such a definition implies that if an entity's characteristics change after the intervention of a causal mechanism, 'in temporal or spatial isolation from other mechanisms', then the causal mechanism may be said to have generated the observed change in this entity.' Cf. George et al., op. cit. (note 135), p. 137.
[139] The notion of 'socialization as geopolitics' comes from James Davis, Wildbad-Kreuth, 25 March, 2014.
[140] Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 5), p. 20.
[141] Cf. Gat, op. cit. (note 133).
[142] On a discussion of Russia's potential anti-democracy promotion, see e.g. Rachel Vanderhill, Promoting Authoritarianism Abroad, Boulder / 2013; Jakob Tolstrup, Black Knights and Elections in Authoritarian regimes: Why and How Russia Supports Authoritarian Incumbents in Post-Soviet States, in: European Journal of Political Research, 54/1; Melnykovska, op. cit. (note 133); Lucan A. Way, The Limits of Autocracy Promotion: The Case of Russia in the 'Near Abroad', in: European Journal of Political research, 54/1.

Chapter III

Post-Soviet Kazakhstan's Democratization Pathway (1991 – 2001): 'Failed' Socialization or 'Successful' Localisation? How Newly Independent Kazakhstan Became a 'Democracy with Soviet Characteristics'

Since he took up the office as the highest representative of the then still Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic – first as the General Secretary of the local Communist Party, and later as the Republic's President - Nursultan Nazarbaev played a central role in the country's democratization pathway. Already before independence, he declared: 'I see Kazakhstan as a democratic, presidential republic, with a professional parliament, elected on a multiparty basis.'[1] When the newly independent Kazakhstan eventually joined the CSCE in 1992, Nazarbaev was actually bound to implement his vision, as democratic governance represented not only a constitutive norm of the Western institution, but also an unassailable condition of membership. In this regard, the development of a 'form of government that is representative in character, in which the executive is accountable to the elected legislature' was among the most significant concrete measures to be taken along the way from a totalitarian one-party system to a democracy.[2] As has been demonstrated in Chapter I, then, the creation of such a form of government involves the institutionalization of the principles of separation of power and political competition. That is, it involves the creation of independent legislative and judicial institutions that are able to check and balance the power of the executive, as well as the development of an effective – competitive - pluralist system.

Against this background, the objective of this chapter is to trace the process of Kazakhstan's democratization pathway during its first decade of independence, with particular regard to the local implementation of the principles of separation of power and political competition, and to establish whether, and to what degree, actual socialization processes have been at work during that time. In preparation for this analysis, however, the first part will devote some time to the consideration of the newly independent state's point of political departure after the dissolution of the Soviet Union - in terms of international obligations and in terms of domestic possibilities. Thus, the next section will elaborate on the principles and norms as promoted by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), at that time the prime international organization engaged in Kazakhstan's immediate post-Soviet political development. Subsequently, and in juxtaposition to the CSCE's normative content, Kazakhstan's political biography will be briefly reviewed, paying particular regard to its political 'cognitive priors' - those organizational and procedural

patterns that evolved and consolidated during the country's Soviet and pre-Soviet history, and became the fundamental pillars of the local political identity in 1991. The second part of this chapter, then, will use this point of political departure to trace the subsequent development of the principles of separation of power and political competition (that is, the development of new organizational and procedural lock-in mechanisms) between 1992 and 2001. The following part will juxtapose the discerned patterns with the discursive development, and elaborate on whether, and to what extent, the authorities, notably the President of newly independent Kazakhstan have started to identify with their new social group and its normative content. Based on the findings, finally, part four will address the subject of Kazakhstan's alleged socialization 'failure', and provide an alternative conceptualization of the processes at work. A conclusion will summarize the findings.

1. The Political Point of Departure

1.1 Western Benchmarks after the End of the Cold War: The CSCE/OSCE

After the Cold War, a major Western objective in the post-communist world was to dismantle the Soviet-style concentration and abuse of political power, and to ensure the newly independent societies' ability to exercise their newly acquired citizenship rights by way of transforming all three levels of the political system – the authorities, the regime, as well as the political community.[3] In this regard, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, then the only Western-led international forum that was explicitly geared at the institutional and normative transformation of the post-Soviet space, emerged as a central actor. Indeed, if prior to the break-down of the Soviet Union, the CSCE has been serving as an international communicative venue dedicated to East-West rapprochement through dialogue and mutual exchange in the realm of security, it did manage to 're-invent' itself afterwards to become an essential, and active, point of (normative) political reference for those newly independent post-communist states that were searching their place in the international community.

Put differently, until the late 1980s, the main aim of the CSCE was to '*negotiate* norms which should govern the behaviour of the participating States, in particular in the areas of political and security cooperation, human rights and economic cooperation.'[4] After the Cold War, the formerly 'debating' institution has allocated to itself a more active role, developing distinct sub-institutions and 'mechanisms' in order to promote and facilitate the local implementation of these norms.[5] Hence, while remaining dedicated to the promotion of

international security by way of dialogue and cooperation, and with a particular focus on post-conflict rehabilitation, the CSCE also took on an additional new role as a democracy promoting institution, endeavouring, in its own words, to act as 'the continent's provider of state-of-the-art services … in democratization.' [6]

The CSCE's post-Cold War bridging of security mediation with democracy promotion has been facilitated by its comprehensive security understanding, which linked domestic and international security considerations, as well as domestic governance and international political behaviour. Thus, already the institution's founding document, the Helsinki Final Act (1975) acknowledged the significance of 'respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief' by making it one of its ten guiding principles.[7] Close to the end of the Cold War, then, the Charter of Paris, the first document epitomizing the CSCE's comprehensive security conception explicitly manifested that 'in order to strengthen peace and security among our States, the advancement of democracy, and respect for and effective exercise of human rights, are indispensable.'[8] The linkage between the domestic and the international has been additionally reinforced by the Moscow Document of 1991, which emphasized that

> 'issues relating to human rights, fundamental freedoms, democracy and the rule of law are of international concern, as respects for these rights and freedoms constitutes one of the foundations of the international order. They (the participating states) categorically and irrevocably declare that the commitments undertaken in the field of the human dimension of the CSCE are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating States and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the State concerned. They express their determination to fulfil all of their human dimension commitments.'[9]

The Helsinki Document of 1992, finally, drew a direct line between democratization and the CSCE's security concept, stating that the 'protection and promotion of the human rights and fundamental freedoms and the strengthening of democratic institutions continue to be a vital basis for our comprehensive security.'[10]

This normative framework has been substantiated by the post-Cold War inauguration of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the institutional arm of the CSCE / OSCE Human Dimension. Established in 1991, its mandate obliges the ODIHR to assist OSCE participating States to 'ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to abide by the rule of law, (and) to promote principles of democracy.'[11] In this regard, the 'Programme of Coordinated Support for Participating States Admitted to the CSCE since 1991' specifically referred to the necessity of building, strengthening and, eventually, protecting of democratic institutions in the post-communist space – 'assisting

(local) governments in meeting their (international) commitments.'[12] Put differently, what the ODIHR was set to accomplish after the Cold War was to dismantle the Soviet-style concentration and abuse of political power, and to foster the newly independent societies' ability to exercise their newly acquired citizenship rights by way of transforming all three levels of the post-communist political system – the authorities, the regime, as well as the political community.[13]

At that time, ODIHR work on the post-Soviet space encompassed the promotion of competitive, free and fair elections, the training of parliaments' legislative, representative, and oversight functions, the institutionalization of the judiciary's independence and the rule of law, as well as, finally, the development of genuinely nongovernmental organizations and private media outlets.[14] To this end, the organization has developed the capacity to send out international election observation missions 'to assess compliance with (nation-states') election-related commitments'; it established local field operations and offices; it got engaged in reviewing national legislation as to its conformity with CSCE/OSCE commitments; and, finally, to help drafting programmes that assisted the 'participating States to improve laws, institutions and democratic processes, with a focus on strengthening parliaments and ensuring a pluralist party system.'[15] In other words, since its inception, the ODHIR has been engaged in the structural – physical as well as ideational - 'reprogramming' of the post-communist space, attempting to institutionalize the certain and uncertain aspects pertaining to a democratic system by way of ingraining the principles of separation of power and political competition on the local level.

Most of this engagement, then, has been taking place through interpersonal exchange: the institution provided channels for dialogue and communication, in which 'diplomatic, academic, legal and administrative expertise and advice on CSCE matters', often in the form of seminars and meetings, could be transferred.[16] The addressees of such engagement were the 'politically relevant actors', that is, the authorities and the elites of the new participant states – thus, all those carrying the responsibilities appertaining to a national system's political transformation.[17] This implies that the institutions of the ODIHR as well as the CSCE / OSCE in general have been serving as social environments, where newly independent states could come into contact with those norms, values and practices that were epitomized by the liberal democratic community, at that time, commonly designated as 'the West.'

In other words, since the end of the Cold War, the CSCE has become a site of socialization, where recently admitted participants could, and, indeed, were expected, to learn

the established liberal democratic norms, values and practices. The Charter of Paris for a New Europe reflected this expectation in a most unsubtle form, putting forward that

> 'democratic government is based on the will of people, expressed regularly through free and fair elections. Democracy has as its foundation respect for the human person and the rule of law. … Democracy, with its representative and pluralist character, entails accountability to the electorate, the obligation of public authorities to comply with the law and justice administered impartially. (It) … is an essential safeguard against an over-mighty state. … (The participating States) undertake to build, consolidate and strengthen democracy as the only system of government of our nations.'[18]

The government of post-Soviet Kazakhstan, independent since 16 December 1991, opened its doors to the CSCE's democratizing efforts in February 1992, acceding to the Charter of Paris and all other CSCE documents, and accepting the appending principles.

1.2 The Local 'Cognitive Priors': The Legacy of Patrimonial Traditions and Soviet Socialization

Before they were colonized by the Russian, and later Soviet empires, the Kazakhs lived as pastoral nomads and organized themselves along a tripartite system of clan agglomerations, also known as *zhuz* (hordes), which evolved along distinct geographic lines.[19] Designated as the Elder (*ulu*), the Middle (*orta*), and the Younger (*kishi*), these *zhuz* divided the Eurasian steppe among themselves, with the Elder *zhuz* controlling the southern and eastern regions, the Middle *zhuz* inhabiting its northern and central parts, and the Younger *zhuz* spanning over the Western territory - from the Caspian area, south of the Ural Mountains, to the Aral Sea. During the nomadic period, the Kazakhs had few, if any, ethnically or politically informed sense of their community. As Olcott points out, 'until the mid-19th century, Kazakh epic and folklore showed no evidence of political consciousness, or even sub-national loyalties. It was very parochial, dealing only with families.'[20]

After the Bolsheviks gained power in 1917, their traditional way of life - the prevalent patrimonial authority structures and modes of social and economic organization, the focus on segmentary lineage, and especially the nomadic identity and culture of the people – was brushed aside by the Soviet system. Moscow made substantial 'modernization and development' efforts to become entrenched in, and sovietise the region, using both extensive coercion as well as socialization as instruments to this end. In this regard, the Stalinist period – the forced collectivization and subsequent purges – stood out in particular. It brought about a massive death toll and, consequently, severe intimidation among the population,

precipitating substantial structural transformation in the Kazakh steppe, which was administered by way of different means.[21]

For one thing, the Sovietization of the newly established Kazakh Soviet Socialist republic was implemented through the settlement of non-Kazakh ethnicities on site. In fact, the establishment of Russian (and other Slavic) settler towns on Kazakh soil was pronounced to the extent that Kazakhstan became known as 'the microcosm of a hundred nationalities' - and notably the Russian one.[22] This process turned the republic into a notable 'internationalist' colony of all-Soviet settlers and diffused any overtly strong ethnic concentration – and with it the potentiality of alternative (non-communist and non-Moscow-led) centres of power. This 'internationalization' - de facto Russification - of the Kazakh Republic went hand in hand with the Soviet culture of 'bilingualism', which made Russian the first language of communication across the USSR, to be used in all domains of public life. A prominent tool of Sovietization, this new 'lingua franca' stood for the full integration into the Soviet system and thus for the pursuit of a new, modern way of life, which entailed the possibility for upward social mobility. As Davé points out, 'Russian denoted being "cultured"', and mastering the language offered a way to overcome the dislocation caused by forced collectivization - to seize the unprecedented possibilities for education, material well-being, and the advancement of social status within the new Soviet system.[23]

A further instrument advancing the Sovietization of Kazakhstan was the provision of affirmative action (*l'goty*) on the individual level. These *l'goty* were distributed along 'national' lines, granting the titular nationality facilitated access to higher educational institutions both in the republic itself and across the Soviet Union, as well as helping to enter higher political, administrative, economic and scientific positions. They were aimed at the convergence (*vyravnivanie*) between the different Soviet titular ethnicities, that is, at a closure of the socio-economic and also cultural gap between the centre and the periphery, and with it, at the creation of a truly 'Soviet person' (*sovetskii chelovek)*.[24] Over time, the integration into the Soviet system, the Sovietization of the self so-to-say, came to be associated with social mobility and empowerment, and, in the end, with personal success.[25] And it is thus that the Soviet system succeeded in producing a 'substantial number of obedient, docile, and loyal servants who ran the mammoth centralized bureaucracies' – who accepted the benefits of formalization and systematization of politics, learning, and later implementing, the 'right thing to do' to get along in Soviet politics. [26]

What, then, was the 'right thing to do' to get along in Soviet politics? Fundamentally, the Soviet system of governance was organized along the lines of a centralized, bureaucratic,

and highly authoritarian state apparatus, which was subordinated to the Communist Party, and in which – in direct inversion of a democratic system – political outcomes were always certain, while the appending rules and procedures were not. This system was one of 'command and control', devoid of power separation and political competition, and instead geared primarily at enforcing Moscow's one-party rule all over the Soviet Union.[27]To this end, it subordinated not only the administrative and judicial, but also, and importantly, the societal realms to the dictate of Communist Party. The objective pursued in this regard was the minimization of political risk through the elimination of all political alternatives and the co-optation of society. This state of affairs – the control of all state institutions and society, that is, the concentration of power at the top and the suppression of any social capital and trust among those who were governed - was understood as 'order' and 'stability'. Its maintenance, in turn, was the main prerogative of the Soviet security apparatus, including the criminal courts, the military, and the intelligence services.[28]

In the course of time, the Kazakh elites came to accept the Soviet logic of maintaining 'order' and 'stability' through the formalization of state-society relations and the concomitant institutionalization of societal submission to the state's dictate. They embraced the Soviet political culture - the norms, values, principles, attitudes, and language appertaining to the system -, changing not only their self-conception but also their attitude vis-à-vis the society at large. [29] It was thus that the 'pervasive (state) intrusion into every corner of society', as promoted by the central leadership in Moscow and subsequently accepted by the Kazakh elites, came to shape the development of a local political culture, which was henceforth, in a typically Soviet manner, characterized by repression and the ensuing relationship of distrust between those governed and those governing.[30]

During the Soviet rule, Moscow, in other words, successfully eradicated significant aspects of the Kazakh primordial structures – the pastoral nomadic life-style, the native language, the prior ethnic constellation. Despite substantial Sovietization of the local political sphere and identity, however, distinct non-visible – 'cognitive' – priors remained, notably the patrimonial, genealogy-based pattern of social and economic organization, which slipped into the informal sphere of the Soviet system. Indeed, the pronounced degree of Kazakh adaptation and adherence to Soviet structures, the seemingly ideal state of socialization – Gleason referred to it as 'truer than true' - does not imply that the local primordial practices were abandoned during the Soviet period - they never were. Rather, they continued to thrive on the informal level, creating invisible but salient, and alternative, authority structures that existed within the new formalized Soviet framework. [31]

This state of affairs was especially marked during the administration of Leonid Brezhnev, who, after the Stalinist horrors, was credited with bringing about a period of 'unprecedented tranquillity' to the region, and who, knowing the region himself, readily facilitated a semi-formal institutionalization of the primordial.[32] Accordingly, what evolved under his aegis would become generally known as the 'golden era of 'native first secretaries' in the then Soviet Middle Asia – a period during which locally legitimate leaders were allowed to revert to their pre-existing, trusted patrimonial (segmentary) networks, to wield relatively free rein and a maintain a long tenure within 'their' republics as long as they satisfied Moscow's expectations towards the region: production, growth, and social control.[33] It was then that Dinmukhamed Kunaev, Soviet Kazakhstan's most formative local leader (1960 – 1986), established a form of a Kazakh-Soviet patrimonial authority, in which he

> 'put … (his) personal stamp on the republican machinery as in a fiefdom, appointing … (his) followers to senior posts at republican, oblast (province) and raion (district) levels. … In turn, the protégés of … (this) top republican leader became entrenched in their sub-fiefdoms, creating their own entourages.'[34]

With the at least semi-official consent on the part of Moscow, thus, Kunaev institutionalised the Kazakh patrimonial traditions, giving clear preference to 'informal kin (and other) networks over party discipline' while, at the same time, working with the formal and informal instruments of the mandatory Communist framework.

To conclude, in the course of the Soviet rule, the Kazakhs have learned to adapt to the prevailing political system in a locally advantageous way. The local elites embraced the uses of Moscow-promoted formalization and institutionalization of state authority, while maintaining their primordial practices as well - informally. This blending of Soviet and traditionally Kazakh authority structures, of the formal and the informal, the authoritarian and the patrimonial, resulted in the emergence of a new, authoritarian-patrimonial model of socio-political organization. It also, and importantly, resulted in the formation of a new political culture - and thus new 'cognitive priors' - in which the rationale of state institutions became the reduction of political risk, the elimination of all political alternatives, and the enforcement of the regime's rule upon society – and all this against the still salient background of kinship- or other personal ties-induced informality of political relations.

What came, in other words, to be engrained in Kazakhstan's political biography as 'cognitive priors' was the opposite of the West's liberal, civic heritage: it was the absence of a competitive, and thus transparent, depersonalized, and rule-based political realm, the lack of trust between those governed and governing, and, with it, a certain contempt for the liberal understanding of the norm of citizenship. It was, in short, a system of governance that was

'programmed' in a diametrically opposite way to the liberal democratic system, institutionalizing the certainty of outcomes while maintaining uncertainty in the realms of procedures and rules.

This was the model of patrimonial authoritarianism, of 'order and stability' through government repression, societal co-optation and the use of informal relations, that Kazakhstan exhibited at the eve of its independence. And, as the following will illustrate, this model has served as the decisive 'cognitive prior' through which the newly arriving normative information from the CSCE would be filtered by the Kazakh elites, and most notably by the republic's communist party's last secretary-general and the newly independent country's first, and as yet only, president: Nursultan Nazarbayev, leading the country since 1989.

2. Separation of Power and Political Competition: The Evolution of the Presidential Vertical

2.1 The Failure to Separate Power

'The member states solemnly declare that among those elements of justice which are essential to the full expression of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all human beings (is) … a form of government that is representative in character, in which the executive is accountable to the elected legislature or the electorate.' (CSCE, 1991)[35]

Already during its late years, the political system of the Soviet Union was changing. In the second half of the 1980s, Mikhail Gorbachev introduced the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, which set into motion the gradual decentralization and opening-up of the polity, and, in turn, led to the emergence of an unprecedented economic and political activity on the part of Soviet citizens. This late Soviet period was characterized by emergent processes of liberalization and democratization, and by an atmosphere in which public opinion and political legitimacy began to matter, as did the principles of political representation, accountability and competition.

At the same time, however, this period was also marked by growing domestic and regional insecurity. This is because Gorbachev's various reforms unleashed a myriad of centrifugal forces in the political and economic realms - among them an increasingly accelerated and severe economic crisis; the decay of the unifying Communist ideology; as well as the emergence of nationalist aspirations and ensuing tensions between ethnic Russians and the Soviet Republics' other titular nationalities on the entire 'internationalist' Soviet space. Kazakhstan was exposed to all developments, and particularly to the latter, having to

deal with ethnic Russian voices from within and without the country calling 'for a re-examination of Russia's borders and for the annexation of Kazakhstan's oblasts with a Russian majority.'[36] Moreover, in Kazakhstan, the reform process coincided with the outbreak of the 'December riots' in Alma Ata in 1986, in which the Kazakh youth was protesting against the Kremlin's dictate of local politics as well as against the local socio-economic conditions and the related lack of perspectives. The uprising in Alma Ata was the first mass national demonstration in the Soviet Union und it was harshly repressed by the Soviet regime - a circumstance that significantly discarded the already weakening legitimacy of the Soviet communist ideology among the populace. [37]

It is in this context of Soviet dissolution on all fronts - ideological, political, social, and economic – that Nursultan Nazarbaev assumed power in the Kazakh SSR, becoming the General Secretary of the Republic's Communist Party (KPK) in May 1989, and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet in September of the same year.[38] At that time, according to Furman, Nazarbaev knowingly took a 'seat in a chair that was about to break apart.'[39] And, when the Soviet Union broke apart two years later eventually, Nazarbaev embarked on the endeavour of gradually constructing a 'new chair' for himself - that of an independent, sovereign and, in terms of ideology, decidedly non-Soviet and non-communist Kazakh state.[40]Despite his roots in the Soviet communist nomenclature, Nazarbaev, at first, readily got onto the bandwagon of Gorbachev's project of political transformation, and endorsed the concepts of democracy and liberalization, although his previous socialization rendered him naturally cautious about losing the control over the republic's political development. Nevertheless, it was under his aegis that 'probably the freest and most honest (parliamentary) elections' in the history of the whole Soviet Union took place – elections that produced the Twelfth Convocation of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet, also known as the first 'democratically' elected parliament of Soviet Kazakhstan, which, as will be shown below, was to have a pronounced ramification on the political development of post-Soviet Kazakhstan.[41]

This is because this election had a profound 'impact on the psychology of the deputies, most of whom had won a fierce battle with competitors and felt not only to be "chosen by the people" but also 'as having a political mandate that was independent of the (new) president and his government.'[42] Accordingly, as Serikbolsyn Abdil'din, the chairman of the Twelfth Convocation, pointed out, this parliament was 'radically different from the traditional role it played during the Soviet period, … it was now the original creator of laws'. [43] And in fact, during its legislative period, the Supreme Soviet under Abdil'din was utterly active: it formally introduced and confirmed the post of the president (April 1990); passed the

Declaration on State Sovereignty (October 1990); adopted the Law on Public Associations of the Kazakh SSR (June 1991); and, significantly, also the Constitutional Law on State Independence (16 December 1991), which established Kazakhstan as a sovereign, post-Soviet nation state. Motivated by their new role and responsibility, the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Twelfth Convocation became the epitome of the late Soviet and early post-Soviet period of 'democratic upsurge'.[44]

While 'progressive' in the political sense, however, the Supreme Soviet constituted a remnant from the Soviet era in terms of economic ideology, being largely composed of representatives of communist organizations, state institutions and enterprises.[45] Indeed, the parliament did not only fiercely oppose the president- and IMF-backed stabilization programmes out of principle, but also, as Olcott points out, served 'as a magnate for growing popular disenchantment with the failing economy'.[46] In other words, the representatives of the newly invigorated legislature were intentionally blocking internationally prescribed and presidentially approved reforms on the ground – which means, they were actively and deliberately inhibiting the president's agenda and action, turning the Soviet rationale of state institutions as serving the enforcement of the regime's (in this case, the president's) rule upon society upside down. This is how the parliament, spurred by the general democratizing atmosphere and led by chairman Abdil'din, a former 'high-ranking party functionary in the (Soviet) nomenklatura elite … and (since independence) a constant, indefatigable adversary of Nazarbayev', established itself as an effective counterweight to presidential power, becoming the 'chief opponent of the president's economic reform' policy.[47]

Tellingly, then, the parliament under Abil'din managed to force a compromise upon the president in a most substantial question: the adoption of post-Soviet Kazakhstan's first constitution in 1993, which designated the new Kazakh system of government as presidential-parliamentary, rather than as exclusively presidential - although, as Cummings points out, Nazarbaev 'was explicit that a republic with substantial presidential powers was his intention.'[48] In addition, the new document established the republic as a 'democratic, secular and unitary state', it provided for a new multiparty electoral system, limited the presidential office to two terms, and codified the principle of power separation, which, in fact, was to some degree already at work in the form of the Supreme Soviet.[49] Thus, putting practice into rules, the 1993 constitution designated the legislature as the highest representative organ and endowed it with 'real budgetary and law-making powers.' [50] The parliament gained the exclusive right to initiate legislation, to adopt referendums, and to appoint (and eventually

release) all members of the constitutional, the supreme and the arbitrary courts as well as the personnel of the prosecutor's office, and to nominate the chairman of the national bank.

The constitution also invested the legislature with the right to approve the budget and to draft and amend the constitution.[51] Moreover, it introduced a new unicameral 177-seat parliament, the Supreme Kenges, which based on a 'majoritarian system with 135 seats founded on constitutional constituencies with the remaining 42 selected from a state list (the president's list).'[52] Finally, it also stipulated that only the legislature could declare a state of emergency, and that the president could not dissolve parliament.[53] In short, this constitution was indicative of significant parliamentary efforts to establish a system of governance that based on mutual checks and balances and endeavoured to create a breeding ground for democratic, constitutional development – and also of the president's temporary acquiescence in this regard. In fact, at that time, Nazarbaev justified his compromising stance with the argument that he 'could not risk an intensified confrontation with the Supreme Soviet (as) … Kazakhstan's domestic and international state of affairs was too complicated.'[54]

In any case, the new constitution was indicative of substantial progress in the legal-normative realm of regime adjustment toward democracy. It was a testimony to the emergence of a new organizational entity – the legislature - that not only favoured the commitment to democracy's principle of separation of power out of motives of organizational self-interest, but also, importantly, managed to effectively codify the relevant measures needed to uphold this principle. In short, the 1993 constitution induced the working of a fundamental organizational lock-in mechanism en route to further socialization with CSCE norms – that of an independent-minded and –functioning legislature.

It was at this point that the parliament became increasingly 'ungovernable' to the Soviet-socialized president, as it effectively forced the executive into a state of accountability – undermining the traditional, pre-existing 'cognitive priors' of the Soviet political system. [55] The newspaper *Sovety Kazakhstana* described this newly emerging dynamic between parliament and president (impersonated by Abdil'din and Nazarbaev) as 'two peaks of one single mountain.[56] And, although President Nazarbaev openly embraced the idea of a 'professional parliament' at first, this eventual political constellation represented a state of affairs that, in this poignancy, was neither expected nor accepted by the president.[57]

In fact, this outcome highlighted the extent to which Nazarbaev has underestimated the implications of democratization on 'order and stability' in the Soviet sense, forcing him to take various – formal and informal - measures to 'unlock' this new organizational lock-in in order to maintain what he perceived as his ability to act. His first response in this regard was

of a semi-formal nature, that is, he addressed the parliamentarians with a formal request and accentuated it with some informal incentives: insinuating that 'independent Kazakhstan had not yet held democratic elections' and thus questioning the parliament's democratic legitimacy, he 'invited' the Supreme Soviet to dissolve itself in December 1993, which, despite severe opposition from Abdil'din, it did - apparently after the deputies concluded back-door deals with the president as regards their future status and remuneration.[58] Then, the outgoing Twelfth Convocation conferred, in violation of the constitution, significant legislative powers to the president – among them the right to adopt referendums, to rule by decree, and to declare a national state of emergency 'without recourse to parliament until the first session of the newly elected parliament.'[59]

However, despite the fact that roughly a quarter of the new parliament was determined through the presidential state list – thus by Nazarbaev himself -, the 13th Convocation, elected in April 1994, proved to be not more submissive, or better 'governable' to the president. Instead, the organizational lock-in mechanism provided by the constitution proved to be still at work: coming to grips with the idea of parliamentary responsibility within a democratizing state, the legislature, as Olcott points out, 'was beginning to develop some of the fundamental characteristics of an institution capable of providing the checks and balances essential to the functioning of a pluralistic society.'[60] Among other things, the then speaker of the Supreme Kenges, Abish Kekilbayev, put significant efforts to professionalize the legislature by encouraging exchanges with other parliaments, pushing for the deputies' observation of their official duties such as legislation initiation, and working on parliamentary structures such as standing committees and commissions.[61]

The parliament was dissolved again in early spring of 1995, this time by the Constitutional Court, which declared the 1994 parliamentary elections to be void. The background of the decision was the complaint of Tatyana Kvyatkovskaya, a journalist from Almaty (and later member of parliament for the presidential party Otan), who had lost the election in her district. The responsible judges declared the elections in that particular case to be void, not, however, on the grounds of local misapplication of the electoral rules, but instead because they found the applied rules to be in violation of the constitution, which, in turn, voided the parliamentary elections as a whole.[62] In this case, as Olcott points out, Kairbek Suleimanov, a Deputy Minister of the Interior is said to have played a fundamental intermediary role between Nazarbaev and the responsible judges of the Constiutional Court, to whom he was reportedly close. After the closure of the case, Suleimanov was promoted to the post of Minister of Internal Affairs. [63] The president himself, however, remained behind

the scenes and only declared that he was '"forced to bow before the force of law"'.[64] The dissolution of parliament reinstated Nazarbaev's plenipotentiary powers until the next parliamentary election, which was to take place in late 1995.[65]

During the intermediate period, Nazarbaev resorted to the Assembly of Peoples of Kazakhstan (ANK) for political-parliamentary support, an institution that he established shortly before the dissolution of the Supreme Kenges in 1995.[66] The ANK was intended as an institution that would 'democratically represent all peoples and ethnicities in the country', yet because its members were chosen directly by Nazarbaev, its democratic credentials were rather questionable.[67] Nevertheless, the Assembly played a crucial role in the immediate aftermath of the second parliamentary dissolution, being in charge of the two fundamental referendums of the year 1995: the extension of the president's term of office until December 2000 (which allowed him to circumvent the 1996 presidential election), and the adoption of a new, 'more contemporary' constitution that would 'correspond to the spirit of the time' and significantly expand presidential powers.[68] Thus, in the absence of a functioning legislature, the ANK was attributed the role of an intermediate between the authorities and the people, with the main function of bolstering support for the president – and his agenda.

According to official results, both referendums were endorsed by a wide majority – more than 90 per cent of the population voted in favour of the extension of presidential rule and the new constitution. In this regard, the latter preserved the notional cornerstones of democratization inherent to the first constitution – the designation of the country as a democracy and the various provisions referring to the fundamental freedoms and human rights, including the provision that international laws should have priority over domestic laws.[69] And yet, the character of the new constitution represented a substantial step away from democratization, in that it effectively provided for measures to unlock the thus far functioning organizational lock-in mechanism and thus to turn back the progress on the technical-adjustment-scale.

Thus, the new constitution curtailed the powers of the institution most conductive to the reproduction of the separation of power principle – the legislature – and expanded the president's power at its expense instead. Indeed, while the parliament's status as the 'highest representative body of the Republic' was maintained, the new constitution provided for a significant restructuration of the previous legislative system, that is, for a de facto reversion of the compromise taken in 1993. Tellingly, the new document renounced the 'parliamentary' for an exclusively 'presidential' form of government. [70] Moreover, it established a new, bicameral legislature, which was divided into the *Mazhilis* (the lower chamber) and the Senate

(the upper chamber). In total, the seats available to the parliament fell from 177 to 114, with the *Mazhilis* being assigned 67 and the senate 47 seats. More important than mere quantity, however, was the fact that the seats available through electoral competition fell from previously 135 to now 67 – one deputy per constituency (*okrug*) for the lower chamber. The compilation of the senate's remaining 47 seats, in turn, was left to the regional legislatures (the *maslikhates*), who (often in collaboration with the president-appointed regional leader, the *akim*) were to select 40 members (two per *oblast*). The president, in turn, was allowed to 'directly appoint, at his own discretion, seven seats (or 15 % of the deputies) in the Senate without restrictions as to territory, party affiliation, or occupation'.[71]

Such a composition of the parliament as well as the new requirement of a two-third majority in both chambers to overrule a presidential veto made it virtually impossible to further effectively exercise checks and balances on presidential power.[72] Other modifications in favour of the presidential office included the parliament's loss of the right to initiate legislation, to propose constitutional changes, as well as the president's newly codified discretion to lead, and, if 'necessary', to intervene in the remaining post-initiation legislating process.[73] His new, official position above the 'regular' branches of power was codified in Article 40 (3): 'The President of the Republic shall ensure by his arbitration concerted functioning of all branches of state power and responsibility of the institutions of power before the people.'[74]

By any account, thus, the president emerged as the undisputed winner of the 1995 'reform' process – the organizational lock-in mechanism that evolved in the first years of independence was largely unlocked and the legislature was allocated its traditional role as the guarantor of the regime's (and with it, the president's) interests – in line with the Soviet 'cognitive priors' and against the principle of power separation.[75] To achieve this result, president Nazarbaev used a toolset that combined formal and informal means. Thus, he prepared and administered the disbandment of the 1993- and 1994-elected legislatures by way of largely informal patron-client relationships, using economic and administrative rewards for political loyalty. In 1993, backroom deals and economic co-option were the method of preference to 'convince' the deputies to dissolve the parliament. The 1995 dissolution, on the other hand, was managed through informal power exercise between the government branches and the provision of administrative rewards to Kvyatkovskaya and Suleimanov. After this 'preparation', the actual act of legislature marginalization, then, was implemented through the formal instrument of constitutional change.

This development effectively undermined the further implementation, and development potentiality, of the principle of separation of power as understood and promoted by the CSCE. To be sure, in 1998, Nazarbaev opted to enhance the powers of the parliament during that year's constitutional reform, introducing the following changes: the filing fees for Mazhilis candidates were lowered by 50 per cent, while the requirement of a minimum voter turnout was lifted, so as 'to make it easier for people to run for office.'[76] Also, the Mazhilis deputies' term of office was raised from four to five years, and the deputies' number re-extended from 67 to 77. The additional deputies were to be elected from party lists through the newly introduced system of proportional representation. Moreover, the constitutional amendments addressed the order of legal succession to the president in the case of death or impeachment, conferring new powers onto the Chairman of the Senate (first in the row) and Chairman of the Mazhilis (second in the row). Finally, the prime minister was officially obliged to regularly appear before the parliament in order to heighten government accountability. [77]

Nevertheless, and despite their democratic appeal, these changes did neither repeal the fundamental circumcision of power encountered by the legislature in the 1995 constitution, nor did they re-introduce the previous path of 'technical' adjustment to democracy. The formerly present organizational lock-in mechanism that aimed at the effective implementation and consolidation of the principle of power separation remained 'unlocked' - in line with the Soviet 'cognitive priors' of 'order and stability', and thus in line with the understanding that state institutions served the enforcement of regime rule upon society and the maintenance of certainty in the realm of political outcomes, rather than the provision of accountability, checks, and balances. Hence, it was at this point - already in 1995 - that one non-negotiable criterion of democracy, the institutionalization of the principle of separation of powers, was effectively re-abandoned in officially democratizing Kazakhstan – and with it, one of the two pillars underpinning democracy's core standards of rule of law and citizenship. With this in mind, the next section will examine the other non-negotiable element of democratization: the institutionalization of political competition.

2.2 Post-Soviet Political Competition…

'To ensure that the will of the people serves as the basis of the authority of government, the participating States will respect the right of individuals and groups to establish, in full freedom, their own political parties or other political organizations and provide such political parties and organizations with the necessary legal guarantees to enable them to compete with

each other on a basis of equal treatment before the law and by the authorities.' (CSCE, 1991)[78]

As mentioned above, since early 1987, various independent, civic, and mostly anti-communist grass-root movements have been sprouting up around socio-economic, environmental, historic commemoration and national language issues in the Kazakh SSR. The presence of these non-state-controlled political and social organizations led to an increased number of local political players, and, towards the very end of the Soviet Union in 1991, facilitated the incremental emergence of political pluralism.[79] This process was significantly propelled by the measures that the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR (the Twelfth Convocation) took during the following years.

In March 1990, the former decided to annul Article 6 of the 1977 Soviet Constitution, which codified the position of the Communist Party as the only political party in the Soviet Union.[80] In October of the same year, it passed the Law on Public Associations which stated the right of political organizations and parties to participate in political and public activities. On the local level, this law was endorsed by the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Kazakh SSR, passed on 25 October 1990, which 'guaranteed all public and political organizations and mass movements equal legal opportunities to take part in state and public activities.'[81] Finally, the Law on Public Associations of the Kazakh SSR, adopted in June 1991, codified the rules according to which such organizations could be set up and work in the Republic. These legal changes officially introduced the beginning of a new multi-party era in the late Soviet republic of Kazakhstan, and thus the development of further 'tangible' democratic institutions.

President Nazarbaev did not openly obstruct the emergence of these political movements and organizations, and at times even offered direct support to the groups, for instance to the Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement.[82] This general attitude of tolerating (within certain limits) relatively autonomous political processes entailed a far-reaching consequence: it enabled the development and consolidation of a procedural lock-in mechanism - that of political cooperation and political party formation. At the same time, however, Nazarbaev, true to his Soviet heritage, was keen to retain the control over the republic's political development during a time when the political, economic, and social ramifications of Soviet disintegration revolved on the national and regional levels. Therefore, already before formal independence, the president endeavoured to manage the actual process of party formation from the top – that is, he engaged in building the new (multi-)party system from above, rather than waiting for the 'correct' political development to materialize from below. In this regard,

the development of his management style is well illustrated by the contrasting cases of the Communist Party (KPK), the People's Congress Party (NKK), and the Union of People's Unity Party (SNEK).

The Communist Party, whose legitimacy was severely damaged by the failed August coup in 1991, was the first in a row of cases to fall prey to the new top-down management of the Kazakh party system: during the last Extraordinary XVIII Communist Party Congress in September 1991, the president himself came to argue in favour of the dissolution of the KPK, calling for the establishment of what he considered a more 'contemporary' party - the Socialist Party of Kazakhstan (SPK). In consequence, the 'old' KPK split into two large leftist parties: the SPK, who developed a program directed at the promotion of the 'interests of the working people irrespective of their social status, origin, nationality, or confession' and the remnant (new) Communist Party (KPK), who stayed committed to 'the scientific and ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism.'[83] The latter eventually not only failed to receive registration, (although its membership of 48000 persons was slightly larger than that the newly transformed SPK, which had 47000 members), but was also 'stripped of … (its) assets,' which effectively rendered the president-initiated SPK the largest party in the republic.[84] It is thus that the evolution of the new, pluralism-oriented party system began with the prohibition and harassment of what the president considered ideologically 'old', 'outdated', or simply 'unsuitable'. This laid the groundwork for subsequent top-down political engineering.[85]

The case of the KPK illustrated a formal, direct, and top-down approach to the management of political parties that were considered 'unsuitable'. Another case exemplifying the president's methods of steering the country's party development was the People's Congress Party (NKK). Like the Socialist Party, the NKK was also created in autumn 1991. However, unlike the SPK, the NKK evolved from the bottom up, out of a handful of political movements, among them the above mentioned Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement.[86] The NKK was the first party of an outright democratic orientation and CSCE-inspired rhetoric; it stipulated its objective to 'contribute to shaping a humane democratic society and an independent and unitary state ruled by law – a Republic of Kazakhstan which will consider its people, their life, freedoms, and inalienable rights its highest value.'[87] The party was led by Olzhas Suleimanov and Makhtar Shakanov, two well-known Kazakh writers, both of whom, initially, aimed to work in 'constructive cooperation' with the authorities, and (also initially) enjoyed their support.[88]

After a split in leadership in 1993, the party, henceforth led by Suleimanov alone, transformed itself to become a 'constructive opposition', that is, a party that was 'willing to provide a moderate form of opposition to the government, but is less willing to critique the presidential executive.'[89] Despite his 'constructive' stance vis-à-vis the president, Suleimanov was soon perceived as a potential political rival to Nazarbaev. And indeed, perception turned reality when he emerged as the leader of the Kazakh opposition during the parliamentary elections in 1994, and managed to obtain a substantial share of the vote (despite the fact that the election was considered to be manipulated in favour of the president).[90] Before Suleimanov went on to challenge Nazarbaev in the upcoming 1996 presidential election, however, he accepted the latter's informal offer to become Kazakhstan's first ambassador to Italy.[91] After the departure of Suleimanov, the NKK lost its former popularity, and in consequence, its political significance. It is thus that the original 'level playing field' that gave a significant advantage to the incumbent president was restored - through the informal co-option of the main rival, und the ensuing political neutralization of an oppositionist party. For the years to come, the NKK would oscillate on the 'constructive opposition' – 'constructive cooperation' continuum, without further substantial impact on the political scene.[92]

Finally, the development of the Union of People's Unity of Kazakhstan (SNEK) demonstrates a third, and, arguably, most popular approach to political party engeneering on the part of Nazarbaev: the creation of pro-presidential parties of various ('suitable') political orientations to meet local demand. The establishment of SNEK derived from the SPK's relative ideological independence, and the ensuing failure to effectively rally popular political support behind president Nazarbaev by promoting his presidential agenda. And, it also derived from the popularity of the not quite pro-presidential NKK. In other words, the formation of SNEK represented a top-down response to the failures of the Socialist Party, and also, somewhat more indirectly, to the success of the at that time rather oppositionist NKK - the political program of SNEK was remarkably close to that of the People's Congress.[93]

In a similar vein to the SPK, the SNEK, established in early 1993, was directly linked to the president, who opened the party's constituent congress with a speech.[94] Unlike the SPK (that provided many of the 'recalcitrant' communist deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Convocation), however, SNEK not only actively supported Nazarbaev's economic liberalization agenda, but also his drive for a strong presidential republic.[95] In fact, SNEK appeared to support everything that was related to the president, as the statement of deputy chairman Sergey D'iachenko illustrates: 'We support all the policies of the president. We do not disagree with any of them.'[96] Hence, in 1994, Kuanish Sultanov,

chairman of the party's political council, summarized SNEK's rationale as follows: 'There is a real opportunity to form a republican political party with a massive membership and constructive ideas. This party will probably be a presidential one.'[97] It is thus that the Union of People's Unity (since 1996 the Party of People's Unity, PNEK) of Kazakhstan became the first 'presidential' party of Kazakhstan, serving as the conceptual prototype for future pro-presidential parties.

The task of such parties was to present an institutional intermediary between the president and the people, with the main function of bolstering support for the former – and his agenda. This approach established itself as the main trait of top-down political party development in the first ten years after the Soviet Union fell apart, catering to the different situational needs of the president. For instance, in the period of run-up to both 1995 referendums and the same year's parliamentary elections, new pro-presidential parties (and other products of the president's top-down political engineering such as the previously mentioned Assembly of Peoples of Kazakhstan) sprouted up. For instance, the Party of Revival of Kazakhstan (PVK) was established to address the needs 'working' population – those engaged in agriculture, cooperatives, manufacturing and services. Together with PNEK and (by then again pro-presidential) NKK, it engaged in raising public support for the prolongation of the president's term – the subject at stake in the first referendum in 1995. [98]

The Democratic Party of Kazakhstan (DPK), on the other hand, developed after the first referendum and shortly before the second one, actively addressing that moment's relevant issue at stake – the 'necessity' of a new constitution that would 'centralize power in the presidency' in its political program.[99] It was led by Tulegen Zhukeev and Altynbek Sarsenbaev - at that time, two staunch supporters of the president.[100] Together, then, the pro-presidential quartet of PNEK, PVK, NKK and DPK engaged in a campaign for the second referendum, which turned into a well-publicized undertaking in the mass media. Both referendums were overtly successful, and, as Isaacs points out, 'these political parties and (their) elite figures receive(d) their rewards for supporting the president' – most notably through the subsequent allocation of seats in the parliament. [101]

The method of top-down development of political pluralism was retained for the rest of the first decade of independence. Thus, by the end of the 1990s, new parties directed at meeting local political demands while promoting Nazarbaev's economic liberalization and political verticalization agenda, have come into being, established by the president's still loyal associates. A notable example of growing pro-presidential consolidation through seemingly pluralist structures was the party Liberal Movement of Kazakhstan, which appeared in 1997

and was led by Asylbek Bisembaev, Nazarbaev's press secretary of that time.[102] In 1998, together with 17 other political associations the Liberal Movement created the 'Popular Union in Support of the Reforms', a president-loyal 'round table' of distinct political organizations that sought to address the president's agenda form various perspectives. A further president-affiliated party was the Civil Party of Kazakhstan (GPK), which came into being in 1998, and whose constituent congress, in a similar vein to the PNEK, has been attended by President Nazarbaev - the party's 'ideological leader'.[103] This party was said to have received substantial financial support from Aleksandr Mashkevich, one of the owners of that time's Kazakh Mineral Resources Corporation Group (KMRC), and member of Nazarbaev's inner circle.[104] A further pro-presidential party of significance, also financed by Mashkevich, was the newly established Agrarian Party (APK), which endeavoured to represent the interests of the agricultural sector.[105]

By far the most important political creation from above, however, was the party Otan (Homeland). Otan was a derivative of the public association 'Republican Staff in Support of the Presidential Candidate N. Nazarbaev' which was created as a pro-presidential platform in the run-up to the 1999 early presidential elections. It was headed by former prime minister Sergey Tereshenko, who, in spite of his removal from the position in 1994 remained a close associate of Nazarbaev. Here, again, the president spoke at the party's constitutive congress, and was even elected the party's chairman – a position he could not assume due to a constitutional provision prohibiting that the president be a member of a political party. Hence, Tereshenko remained the chair, presiding over a rapidly growing political conglomerate. On the day of its constituent congress, Otan admitted several pro-presidential parties and associations into its structure: PNEK, the Democratic Party of Kazakhstan, the Liberal Movement of Kazakhstan, as well as the newly created Party of Justice and the movement 'For Kazakhstan 2030.[106]

It is due to this close affiliation to the local authorities at all levels that Otan became known as the party of the bureaucracy, or, as some noted, the party of the 'nomenklatura'.[107] The ideological orientation of the party was largely centrist – 'social-democratic' -, and in rhetoric accordance with the President's new reform agenda 'Strategy 2030'. Keeping continuity with its previous rationale, moreover, Otan's main goal was to further provide support for the President and his agenda – within the legislature as well as outside it. As Isaacs points out, 'in Otan the president had the vehicle he desired since independence, a party that was his personal political vehicle to ensure the legislature would be a compliant body.'[108] Even after the establishment of the main pro-presidential party Otan, further parties

of this kind continued to sprout up. Notable cases were the Peasant Social-Democratic Party Ayul ('village') of former Mazhilis deputy Gani Kaliev, who regarded himself as a 'loyal oppositionist' to Nazarbaev, pledging support to the president during elections and in general, as well as the Patriot Party of Kazakhstan, founded by former Mazhilis deputy Gani Kasymov, who, too, used the party as platform to provide backing for the president (and promote his own career).[109]

Thus, in order to retain control over the design and composition of the party system and avert the entrance of risk and uncertainty into Kazakhstan's political life, Nazarbaev (and those close to him) utilized formal and informal tools when designing a framework for the development and application of the competition principle – that of prohibition and criminalization as in the case of the KPK, that of informal co-optation, as in the case of the NKK, and, most notably, that of developing various president-loyal parties to address the society's distinct political sentiments while remaining compliant to the president's general agenda. This informal manipulation of political competition was similar to the informal aspects utilised in the realm of legislature 'management'. In contrast to the latter, however, the informal sphere of the political competition realm was not complemented by any lock-in averting formal action. Rather, the authorities attempted to strengthen the president's position by merely narrowing the political and ideological space available to the opposition through the creation of various pro-presidential parties, most notably Otan. As the next section will illustrate, this 'inattentiveness' to the formal legal-normative sphere proved detrimental to the preponderance of the 'cognitive priors' and the maintenance of the presidential vertical during the years to come.

2.3 … and the Emergence of Political Opposition

Despite interference from the top, the presence of substantial clientilism, as well as the harassment of the opposition, post-Soviet Kazakhstan's political framework allowed for (respectively failed to effectively obstruct) the relatively autonomous development of political movements and parties. In fact, the present framework created the conditions necessary for the procedural lock-in mechanism of routinization of political party formation to entrench itself and develop, and thus – in spite of contraindicated 'cognitive priors' - established a pre-requisite for the unfolding of further political competition. In this regard, the 'Law on Political Parties' of 1996, replacing the Soviet-era legislation, provided a new, post-Soviet 'legal basis for the establishment of political parties, their rights and obligations, (and) guarantees of activity'.[110] In contrast to the separation of power principle and counterintuitive

if viewed from the perspective of the 'cognitive priors', this law – an official act on the part of the authorities – did not at all inhibit the functioning of the procedural lock-in mechanism. Quite the opposite, it actually contributed to stimulating its development from below, and was thus well in line with the legal-normative adjustment pathway, as well as Kazakhstan's CSCE commitments.

The law per se codified the new liberally informed understanding that political parties served the objective of helping citizens to 'articulate and express their political will' (Article 1), and that the rationale of political parties was their effective 'participation in the political life of the society' (Article 5, paragraph 1). It prohibited the formation of parties that were 'directed at, or worked toward the use of force to change the constitutional order, violate the integrity of the Republic of Kazakhstan, undermine its security, or incite social, ethnic, national, religious, class or segmentary strife' (Article 5 paragraph 7), and also the parties' 'interference into government affairs' or un-constitutional action (Article 4 paragraph 2). At the same time, however, the law made the act of party formation accessible to a regular citizen: according to its provisions, a political party could be established on the initiative of as few as ten Kazakhstani citizens (Article 6). In order to be registered by the Ministry of Justice as such, a party would have to gain a minimum of 3000 members, representing more than the half of the oblasts of the state (Article 10 paragraphs 1 and 4). In other words, this law placed relatively few (and relatively feasible) restrictions on political party formation. In this, it created 'a base for the development of political pluralism', which, as the pro-presidential press regretted some years later, could be 'easily abused by offended former government officials that turned oppositionist.'[111]

A notable beneficiary of this framework was the Azamat ('citizen') movement, which was openly critical of the incumbent power structures and campaigned for the country's democratization to be pursued 'in opposition to the regime of presidential power', and the authorities' 'arbitrary rule'.[112] It was established in the first actively anti-presidential, oppositionist move of the post-Soviet era by a trio of well-known politicians, Petr Svoik (member of the Twelfth convocation of the Supreme Soviet and former chairman of Kazakhstan's anti-monopoly committee), Galym Abilseitov (former deputy prime minister and minister of science), and Murat Auezov (first post-independence ambassador to China), who did not hide their ambition to challenge President Nazarbaev's approach to 'managing' democratization.

In 1998, Azamat created the opposition bloc Popular Front of Kazakhstan, drawing on the support of Kazakhstan's other non-presidential political parties, notably the Socialist Party

SPK (of which Svoik was the chairman as well), the by then re-registered Communist Party (led by Serikbolsyn Abil'din), the People's Congress (at that time again part of the 'constructive opposition'), as well as civil (ethnicity-based) movements that were formed during the late Soviet Union, such as Azat (Kazakh) and Lad (Slavic).[113] In 1999, Azamat was registered as an official party and, despite lack of electoral successes, the absence of significant financial backing, as well as the presence of top-down harassment, it remained active (if not particularly successful) until the early 2000s.[114] The presence of Azamat during the late1990s actively contributed to the routinization of political party formation from below, and to the further development of oppositionist movements and parties – consolidating post-Soviet political competition in Kazakhstan.

In addition to the relatively permissive legal framework governing local political competition, the president's new, post-Soviet and Western-oriented cadre policy was also of considerable impact. This policy reflected his 'efforts to place qualified, well-educated and motivated technocrats in key (governmental) posts' – producing a new generation of civil servants, businessmen and politicians, who not only sympathized with the West (having received significant parts of their education abroad), but who also had few, or at least less, first-hand experience of Soviet politics.[115] Most importantly, however, the advancement of oppositionist functioning received substantial impetus from Kazakhstan's (also Nazarbaev-administered) rapid economic transformation and privatization, and the ensuing emergence of a new social stratum: an entrepreneurial class that, in economic terms, was relatively independent of the hitherto monolithic, president-centred Kazakh elite.

The members of this new elite have benefitted significantly from Kazakhstan's liberalizing policies and therein involved privatization process in the mid-1990s, either overseeing it or engaging directly in the acquisition of the relevant state assets. Thus, individuals like Akezhan Kazhegeldin - the country's economically well-versed prime minister between 1994 and 1997, who successfully administered a significant part of Kazakhstan's economic liberalization and privatization processes - as well as Mukhtar Ablyazov, Galymzhan Zhakiyanov, Bulat Abilov, Nurzhan Subkhanberdin – the pioneering entrepreneurs of the early privatization era - stood for substantial entanglements between the government and business spheres within the Kazakh system. For instance, Zhakiyanov, a protégé of that time's prime minister and future opposition leader, was drawn from business to become the Akim of Semipalatisk and later of the Pavlodar oblasts between 1994 and 2001, whereas his future political associate Ablyazov left his business temporarily to serve as Kazakhstan's Minister of Energy, Industry, and Trade in 1998 – 1999.[116] Abilov, in turn, as

one of that time wealthiest industrialists of the country, strengthened his ties with the president by supporting Sara Nazarbaeva's (the president's wife) Children's Fund, and also by becoming a deputy of the later established pre-presidential party Otan. Finally, prime minister Kazhegeldin himself is said to have benefitted immensely from the privatization process he administered, which not only endowed him with considerable resources but also with a considerable power base.[117]

In other words, by the end of the first decade of independence, Kazakhstan exhibited a dichotomous (and somewhat conflicting) pattern of political development: on the one hand, the post-Soviet institutional landscape allowed for general (if cautious) liberalization and democratization to continue, endeavouring to create pluralist state structures and, correspondingly, a democratic political community. On the other hand, the 'cognitive priors' remained strong: the general rationale of state institutions as guardians of Soviet-style 'order' and 'stability' was retained. This dichotomy, epitomized by the president himself, induced the crunching co-existence of two political cultures: one the one side, post-Soviet Kazakhstan was increasingly informed by a changing political community, whose members slowly but steadily learned to cooperate and engage in genuine political (oppositionist) functioning. On the other side, however, was the 'old' political community, whose members attempted to re-consolidate and verticalize presidential power through the creation of pro-presidential parties from the top. After some time, this pull in opposite ideological directions started to tear the regime apart.

In this regard, the formation of the Republican People's Party (RNPK), an oppositionist party set up by Akezhan Kazhegeldin after his dismissal as prime minister represented the first, and pioneering, manifestation of this development. During his tenure as prime minister, Kazhegeldin managed to establish an own national and international power base, which, according to Olcott, is why he was removed:

> 'Kazhegeldin was a potential rival to Nazarbaev and more popular with Western business people, since … (he) seemed knowledgeable about economics and was perceived to be less corrupt than were the president and his entourage.'[118]

In other words, Kazhegeldin's departure was closely related to the fact that he appeared to be dangerous to the persistence of Nazarbaev's vertical - he was competent enough for the president's job, a multimillionaire and, in contrast to other members of Kazakhstan's polity, he exhibited no 'servile loyalty' towards the president.[119] Moreover, he disposed of close ties to the KGB in Russia, as well as of stable relationships with Western investors and politicians. In the words of a Russian journalist,

> 'the objective … counterweight to unlimited presidential power in recent years has not been the parliament (the third and therefore quite loyal) but – however strange it might be – the prime minister, whose economic policy has been quite independent.'[120]

In short, in the upper echelons of Kazakhstan's power, his rise was interpreted as potentially paving the way towards power diffusion, and thus as a threat to Nazarbaev's presidential strength.

And indeed, after his dismissal from the office of prime minister, Kazhegeldin did not spare with criticism vis-à-vis the authorities, designating the regime as a 'dictatorship' in the local press, and as 'an authoritarian and anti-democratic regime' abroad.[121] He also stated openly his ambitions to run for president, about three months before the early presidential elections of January 1999. The goal of challenging Nazarbaev in the early presidential elections, however, was thwarted by unsuccessful registration, which based upon government-strewn allegations of money laundering, tax evasion, and general abuse of office - after he turned oppositionist.[122] The campaign against Kazhegeldin was administered by the president's son-in-law, Rakhat Aliev, who, as the deputy chairman of the Kazakh Security service KNB, was in charge of the anti-corruption and tax evasion branch, and hence entrusted with the 'investigation' of Kazhegeldin's doings.

After his exclusion from the presidential elections, Kazhegeldin established the oppositionist RNPK in 1998. The party's political memorandum subsumed its rationale as follows: 'The party was set up as an alliance of representatives of the democratic republic of the Republic of Kazakhstan in response to the country's rapid retreat from its initial democratic course and concentration of political power in the hands of one man.'[123] Kazhegeldin also established the Forum of Democratic Forces (FDS), which, for some time, served as an umbrella organization for oppositional parties and movements – among them, the (then currently oppositionist) NKK and the Azamat Democratic Party.[124]

The main objective of the RNPK and also the FDS was to participate in the 1999 parliamentary elections so as to challenge the political system established by Nazarbaev and promote further democratization. Due to the overwhelming victory of Otan and other pro-presidential parties, as well as due to renewed harassment of Kazhegeldin in his function as chairman of the RNPK and the party's subsequent withdrawal from the party list, this goal was not accomplished. To be sure, the oppositionist Communist Party was able to win three seats (two form the party list and one from the single mandate constituency) in the election and four seats went to independent ('unknown') candidates.[125] However, the remaining 69 (out of 77 in total) seats of the 1999 legislature were secured by the pro-presidential parties, with Otan leading the way (24 seats), having become big enough to establish an own faction

within the parliament and thus retain the strength of the presidential vertical. Therefore, and following further harassment from above, Kazhegeldin fled the country and filed for political asylum in Europe. His physical absence, as well as continued harassment (although on a much lower scale) further weakened the already weak oppositional forces of the post-electoral RNPK and the FDS, that, from then on, came to lead to a 'live in (Kazakhstan's political) shadow', as Schmitz points out.[126]

It was in the context of Nazarbaev's post-1999 consolidation of 'maximum power' that the country's hitherto most important opposition movement, the Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan (DVK), came into being.[127] Indeed, as the next chapter will illustrate in detail, it was the incompatibility between Nazarbaev's pro-presidential verticalization on the one hand, and the simultaneous democratic adjustments in the legal-normative as well as the political community realms on the other hand, that effectively prepared (and ultimately triggered) the eventual exercise of strong political opposition. This, in turn, implies that the institutionalization of the other non-negotiable aspect of democratization under investigation here - political competition – was well underway, even if in constant conflict with the entrenched 'cognitive priors' and hence continuously disturbed from above.

The procedural lock-in, in other words, was functioning – during the first decade of independence, President Nazarbaev allowed the procedure of political party formation to evolve, and, at least outwardly and formally, tolerated its outcomes. Against this background, a definite assessment of Kazakhstan's democratic credentials cannot be made – neither in negative nor in positive terms. Rather, the result is mixed: the institutionalization of power separation most certainly failed – since the new Constitution in 1995, President Nazarbaev has been encountering few, if any, institutional constraints on his power. At the same time, however, the procedural lock-in of political party formation continued to function, spurring the institutionalization of political competition, and with it, further driving the democratic transformation of Kazakhstan's political system, at least in part.[128]

3. Post-Soviet Discourse and Democratization

What do these organizational and procedural developments say about Kazakhstan's ostensible socialization 'failure'? Do they unequivocally imply that Kazakhstan's socialization process did actually fail, or even, if one was to follow Schimmelfenning, that it actually never occurred? Put differently, does the above illustrated pattern of organizational and procedural transformation, indeed the post-Soviet state of relatively 'static transformation' - especially

that of the legislature - imply that the democracy norm has failed to resonate with Kazakhstan's post-Soviet elites, and, first and foremost, with the country's Secretary General-turned-(democratizing)-President Nursultan Nazarbaev?

As pointed out in Chapter II, in order to verify whether the international norm and the appending principles have resonated at all – that is, in order to find out whether local changes were effectively motivated by social considerations and the long-term transformation of cognitive understandings – an investigation of the norm-taker's discourse is inevitable. This is because it is the norm-taker's newly emerging discourse, and the degree of contestation over the norm-maker's normative content, that reveals the extent to which the norm-taker identifies with the norm-maker, and thus, the extent to which the former may be considered as socialized – even if the socialization outcome eventually turns out to be different than expected, for instance, locally informed. This is because it is the presence of identification that provides information about the presence of socialization. Hence, the next section will address the newly independent nation's emergent discourse on the principles of separation of power and political competition, as well as the democracy norm in general. The objective is to trace and capture the degree of Kazakhstan's post-Soviet 'change of mind' – that is, to trace the new social identity (the 'new' group within the 'old' self) that emerged as a result of interaction with the international community, embodied in the CSCE / OSCE.

3.1 Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: The Content of a New Social Identity

After gaining independence, the new state of Kazakhstan, like all other post-Soviet states, joined the CSCE and became a signatory to its normative documents. In socio-psychological terminology, thus, Kazakhstan, a novice on the international scene, became a member of an established, (especially then) prestigious social group, and its government pledged to acquire the appending content of this group's identity – the 'traits, expectations, customs, beliefs, and ideologies.'[129] These were the CSCE's (and by extension the then liberal-democratic international community's) constitutive norms of democratic governance, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as the rule of law, among other things.[130] As mentioned before, already since his inauguration as Secretary General of the Kazakh SSR, Nursultan Nazarbaev has been voicing his commitment to the norm of democracy. However, it was only after gaining formal independence on 16. December 1991 that the president verbalized the concrete rationale for rapprochement with the democracy-promoting West: the linkage between Kazakhstan's democratization, its admission to the liberal-democratically

informed international community, and the maintenance of its national sovereignty and independence.

This linkage – a 'cognitive triangle' between the notions of sovereignty, international legitimacy and prestige, as well as democratization – was carefully elaborated by the president in the first normative document that addressed the question of Kazakhstan's political, economic, security, and normative development as an independent country: 'The Strategy of Formation and Development of Kazakhstan as a Sovereign State', written in 1992. The Strategy was of a pragmatic and quite theoretic character, and served as a conceptual blueprint for President Nazarbaev's vision of Kazakhstan's development as a 'democratic, peaceful state'.[131] He envisioned the country as a

> 'strong presidential republic, which guarantees human rights as well as liberties, political and ideological pluralism, a stability-promoting civil society and interethnic accord, a reliable military system and national security, (and which) occupies a decent and equitable place in the international community.'[132]

Conversely, he also explicitly established the linkage between the consolidation of Kazakh sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and security on the one hand, and a fundamental rejection of the past ideology:

> 'The development of democracy, the reformation of private property and the movement towards a fully-fledged market are considered to be an unassailable ('bezal'ternativnoe') means to overcome the economic crisis and build a new nation state'.[133]

Thus, in general normative terms, President Nazarbaev made clear that he regards democratization as the 'irrevocable path to civilization', and, even more importantly, as the key to post-Soviet Kazakhstan's membership in the then liberal democratically-informed international community. Only through a thorough modernization on the political (and economic) levels, and the related admission to the highly valued in-group of the 'West', the conviction was, could Kazakhstan maintain national statehood and sovereignty, and thus decrease its potential vulnerability vis-à-vis its neighbours Russia and China. In short, democratization and ensuing integration with the then Western-dominated international community was perceived as the only pathway to securing national independence.[134] This cognitive linkage provided a defining guideline for the development of Kazakhstan's domestic and international politics.

The cognitive linkage was substantiated by a good general understanding of the democracy concept, and the president's recurring search for its appropriate 'translation' into the Kazakh post-Soviet political framework. Thus, since independence, Nazarbaev has been

singling out the importance of a 'professional parliament', which, in his view, should represent a 'compact and competent body, which would provide for the harmonious arrangement of republican and regional interests, and a high quality of legislative work.'[135] The president reiterated this point in the 1998 constitutional reform, in which the future role of the legislature, following its circumcision of power in the mid-90s, was addressed. In this context Nazarbaev pledged to not only again enhance the number of parliamentarians and introduce the system of proportional representation but also to make the prime minister and his cabinet accountable to the parliament, providing for regular appearances of the former before the latter.[136]

What is more, Nazarbaev also actively addressed the necessity, and indeed, desirability, of a functioning multiparty system, arguing that pluralism

> 'encourages (societal) processes of opposing the power structures, and thus enables the latter to take into account the actual breadth of interests and social expectations on the part of the different social strata and groups, (which) creates a realistic counterweight to totalitarian tendencies …, providing for the civilized resolution of differences of opinion.'[137]

Moreover, in 1998, he emphasized:

> 'Political parties are the basic building blocks of democracy, and we should do everything possible, by statute and by statement, to help them grow and advance. … That will help to give voters better choices, give citizens new ways to participate in the political process, and bring political party structures and leadership into the Mazhilis.'[138]

Over the years, thus, the concept of democracy began to develop an actual local discursive base, which prepared its discursive entrance into the local political culture, and with it, into the political community. This facilitated the evolution of the 'cognitive triangle' from a strategic rationale into a new belief as to what is the 'natural' and 'right thing to do' domestically in order to be accepted internationally. To be sure, the linkage between democracy, international prestige and national security was maintained and still reinforced during the rest of the first decade of independence – that is, even after the question of national sovereignty lost its acute post-independence urgency, and also after Kazakhstan's membership in the 'prestigious clubs' of the West seemed secure.[139] Indeed, still in 1999 Nazarbaev felt that

> 'Kazakhstan cannot go in opposition to global tendencies. It is impossible to build an open society without democracy. There may be short stops along the way, but there will no movement towards the past. … (in this regard), the enhancement of US political and economic presence in Kazakhstan, and the multilateral cooperation with

> long-standing, developed democracies is … a significant question of national security.'[140]

And yet, the 'cognitive triangle' became more than the rationally inspired sum of its three parts. It became an implicit part of Kazakhstan's new international identity – a social and cognitive motivator of rapprochement with the West.

It was in this spirit of persuasion that fully-fledged members of the international community are necessarily democratic that Nazarbaev reiterated Kazakhstan's 'path of democratic development' and his desire to 'serve the cause of democracy' towards the Western audience. And it was in this spirit that Nazarbaev has been highlighting the normative impossibility of a democratic reversal for Kazakhstan's future development, that is, the lack of normative alternatives in this regard. Thus, addressing the legislature as early as in 1994, Nazarbaev stated:

> 'Everybody understands that there is no way back to the past. … We have consciously and consensually chosen the pathway to market economy and democratic society. This path has been determined by the development of all human civilization, and we need to go this path consciously as well. This is our future.'[141]

In 1998, the year of constitutional amendments and the passing of new political reforms, he reiterated: 'The choice before us is clear: reform or regress, streamline or stagnate, democratize or decay. We must continue to build a modern Kazakhstan or we slide into chaos.'[142]

Thus, since the beginning of the first post-Soviet decade, President Nazarbaev has been highlighting the significance of the legislature, of an effective multiparty system, and of political competition to the process of democratization. In other words, the president did not simply refer to the 'abstract' concept of democracy, but laid out a distinctly worded, and specified, program which sought to underline his democratic commitment, and, with it, his acceptance of the content as promoted by the liberal democratic in-group. In the last speech of the first decade of independence, and after almost ten years of sovereignty, independence, and integration with the West, he concluded:

> 'The main political lesson of the end of XX century consists in universality of democratization formula. All talks about special type of democracy are attempts to deviate from democratic principles. Therefore, we should clearly understand that deviation from democratization processes is a withdrawal from world tendency, it is the way to nothing.'[143]

3.2 Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: The Contestation of the New Social Identity

Despite the strength of democratic positioning, and Nazarbaev's apparent acceptance of democracy's normative imperative on the international stage, the OSCE's normative content did not go uncontested. Indeed, only one year after the publication of the theory-informed, and democracy- as well as opposition-friendly 'Strategy of Formation and Development' the content of the Kazakh democracy discourse was somewhat refined and qualified. The 1993 document, termed the 'Ideological Consolidation of Society as a Condition of Kazakhstan's Progress', provided detailed information about how President Nazarbaev endeavoured to develop a model of democracy that was in accord local traditions, sensitivities, and needs. Already then, the president stipulated his objective for gradual political development – the 'evolution' of democracy -, alluding to the long process undergone by the West in this regard, as well as, importantly, to the differences in political culture between 'the civilized nations' and 'the Republic':

> 'it is impossible to immediately change (Kazakhstan's) culture and ideals. Rather, it is imperative to improve the type of political culture by gradual, civilized means, through the recourse to real reforms' and 'the quest for an own pathway in the development of an ideological platform.'[144]

It is against this background that Nazarbaev introduced the notion of 'stability' – a notion that was already present, and salient, in the Soviet political discourse, denoting, as pointed out in the first part of this chapter, the absence of political pluralism and alternatives, the minimization of political risk, and thus the certainty of political outcomes as a core characteristic of governance. In his post-Soviet normative work, Nazarbaev, too, dealt with the notion of 'stability' – defining it as a pre-condition for national political and socio-economic development, and thus as a further significant vector that, in addition to democratization, was unassailable for the maintenance of national sovereignty, security and independence.[145]

Indeed, according to Nazarbaev, the attainment of international prestige and legitimacy required not only a democratic system but also the presence of a 'strong presidency' – one that would 'hold all those levers of power that are necessary to effective governance', and one, that would take the 'decisions as to the functioning of the executive power and government cadres, as well as determine the responsibilities of cabinet members.'[146] In this regard, Nazarbaev understood the president's function as that of a stabilizing anchor of development, arguing that this position, despite the official necessity to separate power, needed to 'retain the possibility for corrective action, guaranteeing the

functioning of the constitution, state laws, as well as the rights and liberties of Kazakhstani citizens' – a provision that was even included in the new Constitution.[147] It was thus that Nazarbaev introduced his vision of the presidential vertical as the driving force of Kazakhstan's democratization.

Thus, to President Nazarbaev, 'political stability' implied the presence of a superordinate presidency, a 'professionalized' (non-communist) parliament (at that time referring to the still 'ungovernable' communist Supreme Soviet), and the presence of 'disciplined' political parties and public associations that followed the president's modernizing agenda.[148] In this, he build a bridge to the Soviet understanding of the term: 'stability', in Nazarbaev's discourse, became the quintessence of president-promoted ideological 'unity' and 'coherence' – and thus, in the very Soviet sense, the epitome of the certainty of president-desired outcomes.

In this context, the notions of 'constructive criticism' as well as of 'constructive opposition' obtained a special role. Being politically 'constructive' denoted the legislature's (and opposition's) task of 'helping' the president to develop 'alternative strategies and solutions' to Kazakhstan's problems and situate these in the predefined framework that was approved by the presidential vertical.[149] Nazarbaev also utilized the notion of 'constructive criticism' with reference to the ever faster emerging pluralist political system. He stated that

> 'all in all, opposition is a normal and even healthy phenomenon. However, it is important that parties and movements function in a constructive spirit, engaging in criticism and not in slating. We need ideas, variants of different programs, which are capable to serve the common good, rather than discussions and fights.'[150]

Accordingly, the president urged that if political organizations wanted to obtain governmental support (that is, registration and no harassment), they were to retain a 'centrist' and 'constructive' position.[151] Furthermore, he contended, parties and movements could differ, but were expected to resolve their differences in a 'constructive way', which could take, for instance, the form of a 'round table discussion'. The ultimate goal of such 'constructive' multi-partyism would be not only the creation of new – according to Nazarbaev 'democratic' - political traditions and culture, but also the maintenance of president-decreed 'stability'.[152]

In other words, Nazarbaev built a bridge between a) the 'local traditions', b) the presence of 'professional', 'disciplined', 'self-restrained' and hence 'constructive' parliament and opposition, and c) the maintenance of 'stability', framing them all within the context of the presidential vertical. The notion of 'political stability' thus came to denote political 'coherence' in the domestic sphere – that is, bipartisan, 'constructive' collaboration in support of the president's predetermined modernization pathway. Accordingly, in the political realm,

the term ‘stability’ came to connote a behavioural prescription (rather than simply a state of affairs), demarcating the border between acceptable and inacceptable political behaviour (on the part of ordinary citizens as well as political actors alike).[153] To underline the fundamental prescriptive functioning of the term, Nazarbaev juxtaposed ‘stability’ (acceptable, government-endorsed behaviour) with the notions of ‘extremism’ and ‘anti-constitutionalism’ (inacceptable, government-dismissed behaviour), which, in turn, was promised sanctioning.[154]

In this regard, it was the notion of ‘political extremism’ that became the ideational antagonist of ‘political stability’ and ‘constructiveness’. Thus, already in 1993, Nazarbaev declared: ‘We will actively support those structures that contribute to the maintenance of political stability, and at the same time, we will inhibit anti-constitutional, illegal activities, which base upon extremist ideas.’[155] In 1998, then, political ‘extremism’ received an official definition in the Law on National Security (Article 5.6), which conceptualized the term as the ‘ignition of social, ethnic, national, religious, class and genealogical enmity and strive, among other things.’[156] President Nazarbaev explicitly linked the latter to the process of democratization for the first time in 2000, stating that when ‘liberalizing the political system we continuously need to consider the factor of growing … extremism in the region’, implying the necessity to take a slower pace in democratization, one that is more in accordance with local sensitivities, needs, and, ‘cultural specifics’, and preserves Kazakhstan’s ‘political stability’ and the president’s line, and thus pre-empts the possible entrenchment of ‘extremism’ which may exploit the uncertainties of hastened transformation.[157]

To conclude this section, the notion of ‘political stability’ was developed in parallel with the democracy discourse. Nazarbaev even linked ‘stability’ to democratization, attempting to justify the locally informed way of democratization with the very ‘need for local stability’ – a position that was reiterated many times and on different occasions.[158] The following is an excerpt from a speech held before the Assembly of Peoples (ANK), an avid institutional supporter of Nazarbaev’s pre-eminent position above the entrenched power branches and honoured by the president as ‘one of the main factors of political and ethnic stability within the society.’[159] In this speech, Nazarbaev elaborated on the interaction between democracy and ‘stability’:

> ‘I am in favour of political pluralism in Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan practically exhibits the whole spectrum of political associations. But the various religious, ethnic, clannist-oriented … parties, which are prohibited by the Constitution and the Kazakh law will not cede. … (Therefore), it would be most sensible if the various (legal) political organizations concluded an agreement on stability between themselves and with the power structures’.[160]

It is against this background that the notion of 'stability' should be understood as a normative and discursive contestation of the liberal understanding of the democracy norm and the appending principles of power separation and political competition. This is because the notion of 'political stability', that is, the behavioural prescription of political 'constructiveness' and its antidote of 'extremism' were constructed in a way that potentially undermined and limited the exercise of democratic governance and with it, the principles of separation of powers and political competition – at least in the liberal, Western sense of the concepts. Indeed, the principle of separation of power requires the legislature to check and balance the executive – the government and the president -, and thus inhibit or even prevent the implementation of certain points of the latter's agenda. In a similar vein, the principle of political competition implies ideational pluralism, and thus the development of strategies outside vertically predefined presidential frameworks that constituted the basis of Nazarbaev's constructive political togetherness. In other words, both principles would have been likely to disturb the president's principles of 'constructiveness' and 'political stability' – a circumstance that has been vividly demonstrated by the Twelfth and Thirteenth Convocations of the Supreme Soviet, as well as by the oppositionist parties that (re-)emerged in the second half of 1990s.

Therefore, while Nazarbaev's political discourse served to position Kazakhstan as a democratizing state (to the domestic as well as the international audience), it simultaneously qualified, and thus contested, the normative content of the CSCE through the notion of 'stability'. In other words, the post-Soviet discursive development mirrored much of its development in the organizational and procedural realms – it progressed along democratizing lines, and yet, was held back by distinct Soviet 'cognitive priors'. Nevertheless, a lock-in occurred in the discursive realm as well: although not uncontested by the balancing notions of political 'stability', 'constructiveness' and 'extremism', the 'cognitive triangle' of democratization, international membership and security grew in discursive salience. Even more, by the end of the first post-Soviet decade, a strong binary connection of democratization and international legitimacy (and status) has evolved, that existed relatively independent of security and sovereignty considerations.

Over the course of the first decade of independence, Kazakhstan, to paraphrase Johnston, developed a self-categorization as an internationally well-respected, responsible and hence democratic power, it undertook efforts to fit in with what the Kazakh president perceived a world historical trend in political governance, and established relationships with highly legitimate Western actors. All this meant that status interest increasingly became

linked to governance interests.[161] Overall thus, during the first decade, a new social identity and self-categorization did emerge: Kazakhstan's President Nazarbaev came to see his country (and himself) as a legitimate member of the Western-dominated international community, and hence accepted democracy as the 'only legitimate governance form' on the international stage – as, at that time, it seemed the only form leading to international status. In short, despite the presence of a certain contestation of the identity content of the CSCE that derived from Soviet 'cognitive priors', the identification with the new social group was present, as was, accordingly, a certain receptivity for its normative content.

4. National Legacies and International Disappointments: Localization under Social Influence

If some identification between Kazakhstan and the OSCE emerged in the course of the first decade, one pressing question imposes itself: why did this new identification - that is, the emergence of a new understanding as to what is the 'appropriate' and 'right' thing to do in domestic politics in order to become a fully-fledged member on the then Western-dominated international community - not lead to a corresponding 'appropriate' political behaviour on the ground? Why, in other words, did Kazakhstan's socialization process with the OSCE, in spite of identification, did not result in an adaptive - 'appropriate' – democratization pathway, that is, in the effective implementation of the principles of power separation and political competition as prescribed by the new social group? And, how can this state of affairs of present social influence and yet – by norm-maker's standards – deficient, 'inappropriate' outcomes be conceptualized?

As pointed out in the second chapter, although socialization, that is, the convergence between the causal understandings of norm-maker and norm-taker, is induced through the local internalization of the international norm, it may result not only in the displacement of the local in favour of the international, but also in the localization of the latter into the pre-existing local political framework. Put differently, a divide between international expectations and domestic behaviour need not necessarily imply that the international norm has failed to 'resonate with historically constructed domestic norms' and the appending structures. Rather, it may imply that it has resonated in a different manner – namely, in a manner that is out of line with international expectations, but instead in line with (and 'appropriate' for) the particular local conditions ('cognitive priors') that are present on the ground. The following sections will portray, and explicate, the democratization of Kazakhstan from such a local

perspective, delineating both the strategic factors and the social mechanisms inherent to the process.

4.1 Mimicking: Responses to Systemic Stress

When the Soviet Union disintegrated, the newly independent republic of Kazakhstan faced the new and unfamiliar task of self-determined, sovereign policy action at the system level. Hence, the Kazakh government, impersonated in Nazarbayev, decided to copy what everyone else (on both sides of the former iron curtain) seemed to be doing - committing to liberal-democratic norms, values and institutions, and acquiring corresponding behavioural routines. Thus, without having realistically evaluated the threats, opportunities, and underlying objectives of this process, the Kazakh authorities embarked upon democratization – that is, upon the mimicking of democratic governance-, allowing for the development of organizational structures, procedural routines, and discursive practices.

In the organizational realm, President Nazarbaev, in the first years of Kazakh independence, actively facilitated the establishment of an effective legislature by way of mimicking, and with it, the development of an entity that favoured the commitment to democracy's principle of separation of power out of self-interest. In particular, the mimicking manifested itself in the president's yielding to a compromise with the then already relatively independent-minded legislature (the Twelfth Convocation of the Supreme Soviet). Against his actual persuasion and intention, Nazarbaev accepted a presidential-parliamentary form of government in Kazakhstan's 1993 Constitution rather than an exclusively presidential one, which, in turn, endowed the parliament to wield substantial budgetary and law-making powers. As pointed out before, Nazarbaev justified his compromising stance with uncertainties and insecurities that the new state of independence entailed. In other words, and as also demonstrated by the discourse, it were the adverse domestic and international conditions forced the president into a state of mimicking. This, in turn, created an effective organizational lock-in mechanism.

In a similar vein, Nazarbaev exhibited a relatively tolerant approach to political movements in the late Soviet and early post-Soviet years, which, in turn, allowed the principle political competition to put down its roots as well. This tolerance effectively contributed to the psychological readiness among distinct segments of Kazakh society (ethnic minorities, spiritual groups, women, environmentalists, lawyers, businessmen, as well as Nazarbaev-supporters and -opponents) to engage in political cooperation in order to promote their

political interests. Ultimately, this psychological readiness and the permissive environment led to the emergence and routinization of the procedural lock-in of political party formation. Finally, on the level of discourse too, new routines consolidated and soon affected how the Kazakh government, and especially president Nazarbayev, talked and (apparently) thought – at least with regard to his (and Kazakhstan's) role within the new post-Cold War 'liberal order'. This established the discursive lock-in.

The act of mimicking, epitomized in the development of the organizational, procedural, and discursive lock-in mechanisms, was a reaction to that time's prevalent atmosphere of 'democratic upsurge' - an atmosphere in which public opinion and political legitimacy began to matter, as did the principles of political representation, accountability and competition. And, the act of mimicking was closely tied to Nazarbaev's fear of Russia's post-Soviet ambitions and the potential loss of Kazakhstan's sovereignty, which is why he felt that Kazakhstan depended on the support of the then Western-dominated international community – in terms of security as well as development. In other words, the lock-ins developed out of necessity, not out of persuasion - in the early post-Soviet period, Nazarbaev felt that he (in his domestic politics) simply could not afford to antagonize the new liberal democratic social in-group of CSCE / OSCE by not striking compromises with the legislature or overtly suppressing domestic political activity – he had no viable choice but to mimic democratic governance. And, what the process of mimicking did is to actively, if not quite purportedly, empower the legislative branch and routinize the principle of political party formation.

However, the establishment of an independent-minded, not 'constructive' legislature soon began to threaten the fundament of Nazarbayev's rule – the locally entrenched political culture of patrimonial authoritarianism. Indeed, the empowerment of the legislature was working against the prevalent and still legitimate political culture of state institutions as serving the top-down enforcement of regime rule upon society and also against the certainty of Nazarbaev-desired outcomes – in short, against 'order', 'stability', and the power of the presidential vertical. This is why the president came to regard the dissolution of the organizational lock-in mechanism as less costly than carrying on, as this kind of democratizing constituency was openly undermining the fundamental organizational parts of the domestic sphere – and his power position. It is thus that the process of localization - the reconstruction of the foreign idea of democratic governance to fit local (and presidential) 'sensitivities and needs' - set in.

What Nazarbaev, the by all measures most authoritative political actor of post-Soviet Kazakhstan and accordingly the country's central insider proponent or local norm

entrepreneur, thus did in the organizational realm of power separation, was to develop an own, distinct congruence between the internationally promoted principles of power separation on the one hand, and the local beliefs and practices on the other: he pruned those elements that severely endangered the pre-existing political structures – the independent-minded legislature that sought a position at eye level with the president - and kept those that appeared to be less threatening – notably the rhetoric commitment to this principle.

Accordingly, the 1995 Constitution maintained the reference to the principle of power separation, however, it weakened the effective power position of the legislature, while elevating the president's role above the three 'regular' power branches, and granting this authority role special powers to oversee the interaction between the branches, and, if necessary, 'correct' local developments as well. Put differently, the Western understanding of the principle of power separation was rejected. Instead, it was reconstructed and adjusted to the local 'cognitive priors': power was to be separated among the 'regular' three branches, of which the president ceased to be a part. Instead, the 'presidential vertical' was re-consolidated, and endowed with the responsibility to manage the interaction of these 'regular' branches, according to the (president's) respective sensitivities and needs.

In contrast to the principle of separation of power, the local implementation of the principle of political competition did not suffer a formal, legal 'attack': the procedural lock-in of political party formation was not formally impeded. Here, as shown above, the 'rejecting forces' of localization were substantially weaker: the objective was to control the routinization of party development through the formal and informal 'management' of political parties from above, not through the formal 'unlocking' of the procedural lock-in mechanism. In other words, the principle of political competition (and the appertaining procedure of political party formation) was translated into the pre-existing political culture of 'no alternatives' - the presidential vertical was enforced through the promotion of pro-presidential parties as well as through the informal harassment of the opposition. Put differently, the principle of political competition was localized to become more 'suitable' and 'constructive', while the formal legal-normative framework, and with it, the procedural mechanism of party formation, was retained.

The micro-process of mimicking provides a useful 'first entrance' into understanding some fundamental nuances of post-Soviet Kazakhstan's early political development, and yet, alone, it is not adequate in this regard. This is because mimicking alone fails to explain the 'democratic' framing of Nazarbaev's mid-1990s' reversal of democratization, but also the seemingly inconsistent (from the perspective of the 'cognitive priors'), because relatively

liberal, 1996 Law on Political Parties and the general retention (and continued routinization) of the procedural lock-in of party formation. Put differently, the focus on mimicking and localization alone fails to capture the desire of Nazarbaev's regime to appear as generally pro-democratic in its treatment of the legislature and oppositionist political parties once the acute security questions of sovereignty and territorial integrity were resolved. It is at this point that the subject of new social identity, and the ensuing motivating mechanism of social influence, enters the stage.

4.2 Social Influence: The Social Promise of Democratization

The processes of mimicking and localization went hand in hand, and eventually facilitated, the development of a new social identity and the ensuing rise of social influence on the part of the West. Through mimicking, Nazarbayev acquired a good understanding of Western expectations as to what kind of 'appropriate' behaviour was to materialize in the new post-Soviet states, and came to feel increasingly competent, comfortable and welcome in the Western-dominated international environment.[162] This, in turn, contributed to his new self-categorization as the leader of a legitimate member state of the post-Cold War liberal international community, and paved the way for the micro-process of social influence. The new self-categorization roughly went as follows: to be regarded (and accepted) as a 'responsible and well- respected global citizen' and thus as a legitimate member (and not simply another post-Soviet laggard) of the liberal community, Kazakhstan would have to be democratically oriented and governed.[163]

In other words, the path to international respect, at that time, seemed without alternative to Western-style democratization. To reiterate: Kazakhstan's self-categorization as an internationally well-respected, responsible and hence democratic power, its efforts to fit in with what the Kazakh president perceived a world historical trend in political governance, and to establish relationships with highly legitimate Western actors, all meant that status interest increasingly became linked to governance interests.[164] This linkage was reinforced by the Western community's 'free' provision of the most important social marker: the immediate admission of the post-Soviet Republic into the sought-after CSCE (and also NATO) formats in 1992.

Thus, while Kazakhstan's felt uncertainty in a novel normative environment has been a decisive trigger for late Soviet and early post-Soviet democratization, the country's further development along the (localized) lines of power separation and political competition became

increasingly driven by the social promise of democratization: the post-Soviet government's (that is, Nazarbaev's) desire of a good international standing - that is, the desire to become (and remain) a fully-fledged, and internationally accepted, member of the liberal-democratic community. The president did not hide that he was strongly motivated by international status concerns - he was deeply afraid of Kazakhstan's isolation on the international scene, and hence sought actively the 'support of the world powers and authoritative international organizations' to become an internationally recognized and respected power. [165] It was at this point of emergent new self-categorization and identity as a respected member of the international community that the mechanism of social influence began to take root, overtaking the process of mimicking. This mechanism was spurred by the desire to accumulate further status markers of the above kind, and, most importantly, by the desire to avoid social opprobrium – to retain the company of the Western community.

In one way or another, the social influence manifested itself in all three realms under consideration. In the organizational realm of power separation – the realm that, as shown above, has suffered most from the salience of the Soviet 'cognitive priors' - social influence still manifested itself in three distinct ways. Indeed, in spite of the pruning, normative 're-programming', and in fact, rejection of the liberal understanding of the principles, conceptualizing the process as a socialization 'failure' is unjustified. To the contrary, the way in which the 1994 - 1995 'Soviet turn' in Kazakhstan's post-Soviet democratization process was administered – namely by making explicit reference to democratic norms, values, and processes - underlines the importance ascribed to those very social markers, which the institutionalized channels between Kazakhstan and the West provided. It is due to these markers that Nazarbaev made the steps back in a highly cautious manner, trying hard to vest democratic legitimacy into his essentially anti-democratic rollback.

Thus, firstly, the president framed his desire for the 12th parliament's dissolution into a – from a Western perspective essentially reasonable - democratic rationale of new, post-Soviet parliamentary elections, even if the question of genuine parliamentary legitimacy was not his main, or actual driver at this point. Secondly, the following parliamentary disbandment was contended in a similar fashion, this time with the help of the constitutional court, which declared the parliamentary election unconstitutional based on irregularities in a single constituency.[166] Finally, appealing directly to the politically unexperienced post-Soviet populace, president Nazarbayev, already ruling by decree in 1995, utilised a further democratic instrument, the national referendum, to extend his rule and consolidate his power base through a new constitution.[167]

What is more, the presence of social influence contributed significantly to the 1998 political reform package and the related constitutional amendments. Indeed, against the background of legislative circumcision through the 1995 Constitution, the 1998 provision for a renewed increase in the number of deputies and the (partial) introduction of proportional representation to elections – thus the strengthening of the legislature, even if rather notional - appears both counterintuitive and inconsistent. However, factoring in social influence – the desire to maximize, or at least not lose, status, and stick to the new self-categorization as a respected, fully-fledged member of the liberally-informed international community – helps to put into perspective the apparent inconsistency, rendering this pro-democratic turn comprehensible.

In the procedural realm, then, the impact of social influence may be discerned as well. Indeed, the Law on Political Parties, adopted in 1996, appears counterintuitive and inconsistent if measured against the benchmark of the mid-90s' strategy of establishing a presidential vertical, and the top-down management of the KPK, the SPK, Olzhas Suleimanov's NKK and Azamat parties. This is because instead of limiting political activity, this law's guidelines acted as facilitators of party formation – they were 'appropriate', even by Western standards.[168] In other words, although striving to control the lock-in of political party development, and thus mitigate the degree of political competition, Nazarbaev still felt compelled to pass a law which promoted political competition, rather stifling it – a condition that, again, may be well captured by social influence and the president's desire to cater to his personal new identity as the leader of a country that is a legitimate member of the Western-dominated international community.

Thus, it seems safe to say that while Nazarbaev was not persuaded about democratic governance, power separation, and the appertaining assumption of state institutions as serving the interests of the citizens as the natural and 'right thing to do', he was well persuaded that it were exactly those principles that were key to membership in the international community. In other words, during the first decade of independence, a change of mind on the part of the post-Soviet Kazakh authorities has indeed taken place - president Nazarbayev has internalized his new self-ascribed role as the leader of an internationally well-respected country and understood the ensuing necessity of the appertaining behavioural – organizational, procedural, and discursive – prescriptions. To be sure, this represented not quite the degree of identification as democratization theory sets forward: there was no normative-ideological conviction about the concept per se, but rather about its uses on a different level. And yet, even this 'second-order' type of socialization heightened the inhibition threshold to counteract

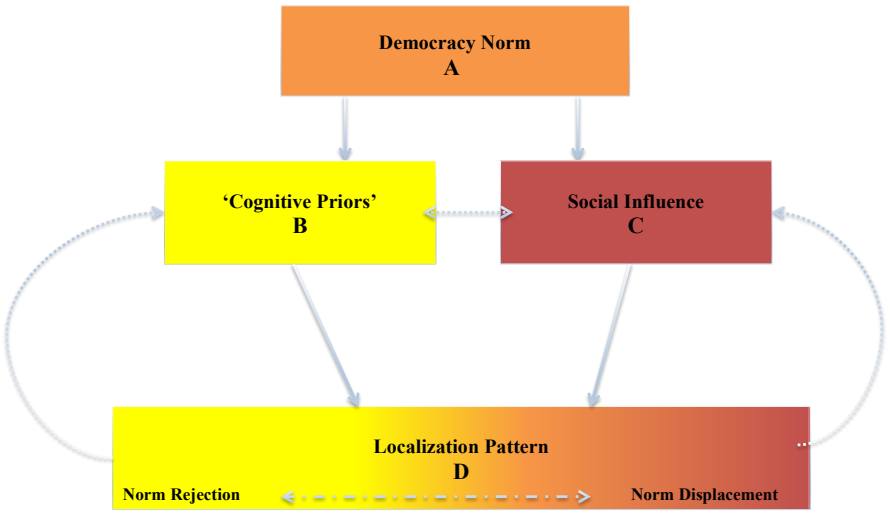
the lock-ins that evolved out of democratization in a too offensive manner. Hence, it seems not surprising that the authorities' attempts to un-lock the different new lock-ins, whether by formal or informal means, were not quite effective in pre-empting the routinized functioning of political cooperation and party establishment. Ultimately, they failed to inhibit the emergence of the first decade's overtly anti-presidential RNPK as well as the second decade's formation of the Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan, an oppositional movement that, in its poignancy and impact potential (to be discussed below), was 'unparalleled' in the entire post-Soviet space.[169]

Hence, while the president engaged in a Soviet-style readjustment of the principles of separation of power and, to a more limited degree political competition, he (and his government) simultaneously took other, domestically less costly measures to minimize the potential isolation on the liberal international scene, so as to avoid international opprobrium and retain (what he considered) Kazakhstan's well-respected position on the international scene.[170] From this perspective, the fact that President Nazarbayev actually applied the essentially Western discursive prescriptions of democratic governance to initiate and justify the autocratic turn in Kazakh politics reinforces the strength of social influence argument, rather than subverting it. The same may be said about the promotion of democracy-conductive, rather than 'stability'-maintaining structures – most notably the 1996 Law on Political Parties, and the general failure to obstruct the consolidation of the procedural lock-in mechanism. In the absence of social influence, such behaviour would have been neither reasonable nor necessary. This implies that, rather than a socialization 'failure', the Kazakh case may be more suitably characterized as a localization process under the effect of social influence – and thus, more neutrally, as a socialization 'result', even if not quite in the internationally desired sense.

Translated into variables, the process of 'localization under social influence' can be illustrated as follows: the norm (in this case: liberal democracy with its principal underpinnings) promoted by the norm-making group (in this case: the CSCE / OSCE) is the independent variable A. The 'cognitive priors' of the norm-taker (in this case: Kazakhstan) are epitomized by the first intervening variable B. The second intervening variable C stands for the norm-taker's new social identity, and with it for the degree of social influence on the part of the norm-making group. Finally, the dependent variable D represents the localization pattern of the original norm A. That means that the socialization outcome D will be composed of ABC, or, put in process-tracing terms, that in order to get from A to D, one will have to

pass the steps B and C respectively, whereby any change in B or C will have consequences for D (See Figure 1).

Figure 1. Localization under Social Influence



To conclude this section, the pathway of post-Soviet Kazakhstan's socialization during the first decade of independence has been most certainly accompanied by the continuity of the country's still prevalent Soviet-inherited patrimonial-authoritarian 'cognitive priors'- the desire to minimize political risk, and maintain the certainty of political outcomes, thus 'order and stability'. This circumstance in itself often serves as a rationale for international (Western) disappointment as regards Kazakhstan's democratization and socialization process, because 'success' is defined in terms of unidirectional development according to requirements set forth by the norm-maker, rather than the norm-taker. However, apart from being inaccurate as to the actual democratization assessment – the institutionalization of political competition through the maintenance of the procedural lock-in mechanism remained relatively on track – such expectations are also flawed in one substantial theoretical respect: they derive from a childhood socialization analogy and therefore fail to take into account post-Soviet Kazakhstan's weighty biographical factors.

Put differently, expectations of total ('appropriate') convergence with the international overlook the local 'cognitive priors' - the framework within which the translation of the democracy norm and the appending separation of power and political competition principles took place. In this, they disguise the actually substantial domestic impact that was induced through Western social markers – respectively through the fear of Western opprobrium and isolation –and thus negate the actual merits of post-Soviet Kazakhstan's socialization, notably in the realms of political competition and discourse.

Conclusion

Addressing the democratization pathway of post-Soviet Kazakhstan during its first decade of independence, the analysis at hand has dealt with the issue of socialization 'failure'. The objective in this regard was to investigate why socialization processes, despite the presence of internalization, may not result in solely adaptive, by the norm-maker's standards 'appropriate' domestic behaviour, and whether these, due to their failure to meet the norm-maker's expectations, should indeed be conceptualized as actual socialization 'failures'. In its discussion of both points - the divide between the norm-maker's expectations and the norm-taker's local behaviour as well as the eventual establishment of socialization 'failure' on the part of the norm-maker – the analysis has argued in favour of stepping beyond the established practice of evaluating socialization outcomes in a binary 'either (behavioural conformity) / or (failure)' way, encouraging to integrate the local pre-existing, 'biographical' factors into the socialization equation. To this end, the concept of 'constitutive localization' was included into the research framework, highlighting why and how foreign normative elements were reconstructed or 'translated' in such a way as to fit post-Soviet Kazakhstan's local sensitivities and needs.

Accordingly, and despite the disclosure of substantial organizational and, to a lesser degree, procedural, stumbling blocks during the process, the findings of this analysis refute the assumption of Kazakhstan's socialization 'failure'. This is because Kazakhstan came to effectively identify itself with the new social group of the OSCE; it developed a corresponding social identity, and adopted the OSCE's normative content. At the same time, however, local biographical factors - that is, Kazakhstan's Soviet 'cognitive priors' - have been at work as well, at times curbing and even inhibiting the newly developed democratization lock-ins, at other times calling for a reconstruction of the international so as to make it fit into the local political environment. All in all, this implies that rather than a

simple 'failure', the socialization outcome of post-Soviet Kazakhstan has been more nuanced and would be better captured by the concept of 'localization under the effect of social influence'. This concept helps to explain why and how Kazakhstan came to establish a 'democracy with Soviet characteristics' – a system of governance in which the CSCE's / OSCE's principles of separation of power and political competition were either rejected or reconstructed, so as to suit the local political understandings, sensitivities and needs.

To conclude, the analysis at hand puts forward that a divide between international expectations and domestic behaviour need not necessarily imply that the norm-maker's norms have failed to 'resonate with historically constructed domestic norms.'[171] Rather, the argument goes, the norms may simply have resonated in a different manner. And indeed, this has been the case in Kazakhstan: the principles of separation of power and political competition have resonated - but they did so in a different, Soviet, manner, which was more in line with the newly independent state's local conditions and understandings on the ground. Therefore, and despite the dissonance with Western expectations as to 'what ought to be done', this process may be evaluated in a positive, or at least in a neutral manner: the interaction with the West in general and with the CSCE / OSCE in particular has brought about a post-Soviet president, who internalized his role as the leader of a Western-oriented, democratizing and hence 'legitimate' power, sought (and would bend to) international recognition and respect, feared international opprobrium, and who, therefore, adjusted Kazakhstan's democratization course (and roll-back) correspondingly. In other words, following the 'social promise of democratization', President Nazarbaev, by the end of the first decade of independence, has installed some, and not insignificant, democratic features in the newly independent polity – most notably in the realm of political party formation. Departing from this outcome and in preparation for the entrance of alternative norm-maker China (Chapter V), the following chapter will address the further political development of this young 'democracy with Soviet characteristics', looking for any noticeable variance in the original localization pattern, as well as in its newly found social identity.

---

[1] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, cited by Sally N. Cummings, Power and the Elite, New York / 2005, p. 24.
[2] Cf. Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Declaration of Copenhagen Article 5, Copenhagen / 1990, p. 3.
[3] Cf. The Office For Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, 'Democratization', Warsaw. <http://www.osce.org/odihr/demgov> (retrieved on 14.07.2014).
[4] Cf. Arie Bloed, The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Analysis and Basic Documents, 1972 – 1993, Dordrecht / 1993, p. 1f., Italics added.
[5] Ibid.

[6] Cf. Frank Evers, Martin Kahl, Wolfgang Zellner, The Culture of Dialogue. The OSCE *Aquis* 30 Years After Helsinki, Hamburg / 2005, p. 12.
[7] Cf. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Helsinki Final Act, Helsinki / 1975.
[8] Cf. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Charter of Paris for a New Europe, Paris / 1990, p. 5.
[9] Cf. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Document of the Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, Moscow / 1991, p. 2.
[10] Cf. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Helsinki Document 1992: The Challenges of Change, Helsinki / 1992, p. 2 (8).
[11] Ibid.
[12] Cf. The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, ODIHR and Democratic Governance, Warsaw / 2013. <http://www.osce.org/odihr/104416?download=true.> (Retrieved on 15.07.2014).
[13] Cf. The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, 'Democratization'. <http://www.osce.org/odihr/demgov> (Retrieved on 14.07.2014).
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Cf. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Helsinki Document 1992: The Challenges of Change. Programme of Co-ordinated Support For Recently Admitted States to the CSCE, p. 1.
[17]Cf. David Easton, 1965, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, New York / 1965, p. 192ff.
[18] Cf. Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, op. cit. (note 8), p. 3.
[19] For an overview of Kazakhstan's history, see e.g.: Marta Brill Olcott, The Kazakhs, Stanford / 2007; Bhavna Davé, Kazakhstan: Ethnicity, Language and Power, London / 2007; Kathleen Collins, 'Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia', Cambridge / 2009; Edward Schatz, 'Modern Clan Politics. The Power of 'Blood' and Beyond', Washington / 2004; Pauline Jones Luong, Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia, Cambridge /2002.
[20] Cf. Martha Brill Olcott, Socio-Economic Change and Modernization of Soviet Central Asia, PhD Dissertation, Chicago / 1978, p. 41.
[21] Cf. Davé, op. cit. (note 19), p. 55.
[22] Ibid., p. 78.
[23] Ibid., p. 52.
[24] In this regard, some strategic positions, often that of a deputy, were reserved to persons of Russian or Slavic nationality. Cf. Michael Rywkin, Moscow's Muslim Challenge, Armonk / 1990, p. 151; Davé, op. cit. (note 19) p. 81ff.
[25] Cf. Davé, op. cit. (note 19), p. 94.
[26] Cf. Nazif Sharani, 'Central Asia and the Challenge of Soviet Legacy', in: Bhavna Dave (ed.), 'Politics of Modern Central Asia, Volume I', New York / 2010, p. 464.
[27] Cf. Leo Cooper, Power and Politics of the Soviet Union: The Crumbling of an Empire, London / 1992; Jerry F. Hough, Political Participation in the Soviet Union, in: Soviet Studies, 28/1; Frederick C Barghoorn, Politics in the USSR, Boston / 1972; Leonard Bertram Schapiro, The Government and the Politics of the Soviet Union, New York / 1977.
[28] Cf. Richard Rose, 'Post-Communism and the Problem of Trust', Journal of Democracy, 1994 / 3, p. 19.
[29] Cf. Ranajit Guha, cited in Davé, op. cit. (note 19), p. 97.
[30] Cf. Davé op. cit. (note 19).
[31] Cf. Gregory Gleason, Fealty and Loyalty: Informal Authority Structures in Soviet Asia, Soviet Studies, 43/4.
[32] Brezhnev held a brief tenure as the General Secretary of the Kazkah SSR from 1955 to 1956. Cf. James Critchlow, Corruption, nationalism, and the native elites in Soviet Central Asia, in: Bhavna Dave (Ed.), Politics of Modern Central Asia, Volume I, New York / 2010, p. 419.
[33] Ibid. See also e.g. Frederick Starr, Clans, Authoritarian Rulers, and Parliaments in Central Asia, in: Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, Silk Road Paper, Washington, D.C. / 2006, p. 6 ff.
[34] Cf. Critchlow, op. cit. (note 32), p. 420.
[35] Cf. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Copenhagen Document, Copenhagen / 1991, p. 3, Article I (5.2).

[36] Cf. Dmitrii Furman, The Regime in Kazakhstan, in: Boris Rumer (ed.), 'Central Asia at the End of Transition', Armonk / 2005, p. 199.
[37] Cf. Marta Brill Olcott, Kazakhstan, Unfulfilled Promise? Washington, D.C. / 2010; Vladimir Babak, Kazakhstan: How its Multiparty System Came Into Being, Central Asia and the Caucasus, 32/2; Vitalii Ponomarev, Obshchestvennye Organizatsii v Kazakhstane i Kyrgyzstane – 1987-1991, Alma-Ata / 1991.
[38] Cf. Cummings, op. cit. (note 1).
[39] Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36), p. 198.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Cf. Serikbol'syn Abdil'din, *Kazakhstan: Ot Demokratii k Avtoritarii*, Almaty / 2003; Cf. Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan, History of the Parliamentarian Development in Kazakhstan. http://www.parlam.kz/en/history (retrieved 15.03.2015).
[42] Cf. Furman., op. cit. (note 29), p. 206; Olcott, op. cit. (note 37), p. 92.
[43] Cf. Rico Isaacs, Informal Politics and the Uncertain Context of Transition: Revisiting Early Stage Non-democratic Development, Democratization, 2010 / 1, p. 11.
[44]Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36), p. 206.
[45]Cf. Gregory Gleason, The Central Asian States: Discovering Independence, Boulder / 1997.
[46]Cf. Olcott, op. cit. (note 37), p. 101.
[47]Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36), p. 207.
[48]Cf. Cummings, op. cit. (note 1), p. 24; Nursultan Nazarbaev, An der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert, Nürnberg / 1997, p. 54.
[49] Cf. Testent.ru, *Evolutsiya Konstitutsii Respubliki Kazakhstan (*Evolution of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan). < testent.ru/_ld/21/2185_evol_const.doc > (retrieved on 15.01.2015). See also Marie-Carin von Gumppenberg, Staats- und Nationsbildung in Kasachstan, Opladen. 2002, p. 135f.; John Anderson, 'Constitutional Development in Central Asia', Central Asian Survey, 1997 / 3
[50] Cf. *Konstitutsiia Respubliki Kazakhstan* (Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan), Almaty /1993, Article 64.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Cf. Rico Isaacs, 'Party System Formation in Kazakhstan', New York / 2011, p. 87.
[53] Conversely, the parliament had no right to impeach the president. Cf. *Konstituciia,* op. cit. (note 46).
[54] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 48), p. 167.
[55] Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36), p. 209.
[56] Ibid. See also Cummings, op. cit. (note 1), p. 25.
[57] Cf. Cummings, op. cit. (note 1), p. 24.
[58] Cf. Cummings, op. cit. (note 1), p. 25. This step was supported by a majority of the elite who feared the parliament's stance towards economic liberalization, arguing that dissolution was necessary 'for the sake of accelerating (economic) reform.' Cf. Gregory Gleason, Markets and Politics in Central Asia. Structural Reform and Political Change, London / 2003.
[59] Cf. Cummings, op. cit. (note 1), p. 25.
[60] Cf. Olcott, op. cit. (note 37), p. 109.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Cf. Olcott, op. cit. (note 37), p. 110; Furman, op. cit. (note 36); Isaacs, op. cit. (note 52).
[63] Cf. Olcott, op. cit. (note 37), p. 110-111.
[64] Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36), p. 214.
[65] It was then that Kazakhstan's political rating was downgraded by both, the INSCR Polity IV Institutionalized Authority Index as well as Freedom House (see Introduction, note 23). Cf. The Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INCSR), Polity IV Annual Time-Series 1800 – 2015.<http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/inscr.htm> (accessed on 28.06.2016); Cf. Freedom House, Freedom in the World. https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (retrieved on 28.06.2016).
[66] Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36)., p. 214.
[67] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie Na II Sessii Assamblei Narodov Kazakhstana* (Address at the Second Session of the Assembly of Peoples of Kazakhstan), Almaty, June 30, 1995.
[68] Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36), p. 214.
[69] Cf. *Konstitutsiia Respubliki Kazakhstan*, August 30, 1995, Almaty / 1995.
[70] Ibid., Article 2.

[71] Cf. Isaacs, op. cit. (note 52), p. 87; See also Jones Luong, op. cit. (note 19), p. 246.
[72] Cf. Olcott, 'Unfulfilled Promise?', op. cit. (note 37), p. 112.
[73] Cf. von Gumppenberg, op. cit. (note 49), p. 135f.
[74] Cf. *Konstitutsiia* 1995, op. cit. (note 69), Article 40(3).
[75] The change of dynamic was also mirrored in the compilation of the post-1995 presidential administration whose personnel were almost exclusively associated with issues of domestic security and economic reform but not, anymore, with political liberalization. Unsurprisingly, then, the new dynamic also reached other post-Soviet constituencies interested in democratization - restricting the manoeuvring space of political opposition groups, the media, and civil society, which, in consequence, either 'voluntarily' dropped out of the political game (notably former poet, activist, and opposition leader Olzhas Suleimanov), or were actively brought under government control. Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36), p. 214.
[76] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Sentiabr' 1998 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the People, September 30, 1998), Astana / 1998.
[77] Cf. *Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan, O Vnesenii izmenenij I dopolnenij v Konstitutsiiu Respubliki Kazakhstan* (Law of the republic of Kazakhstan, On the Introduction of Amendments and Complements in the Constitution), October 7, 1998.
[78] Cf. CSCE, Copenhagen Document Article 7.6, op. cit. (note 2).
[79] In 1990, there were over 100 registered and unregistered public organizations. Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note, 30), p. 80.
[80]Ibid.; See also Maria Zaslavskaya, *Politicheskii Partii i Obshchestvennye Ob'edineniia Kazakhstana Na Sovremennom Etape Razvitiia* (The Political Parties and Public Groups of Kazakhstan in the Contemporary Stage of Development), Almaty / 1994.
[81] Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note 30), p. 80.
[82] Cf. Ponomarev, op. cit. (note 30); Babak, op. cit. (note 37); Jonathan Aitken, Nazarbayev and the Making of Kazakhstan, London / 2009, p. 134.
[83] Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note 37), p. 83; Byrkytbay Ayaganov, *Politicheskii Partii i Obshchestvennye Dvizheniia Sovremennogo Kazakhstana* (The Political Parties and Public Movements of Contemporary Kazakhstan), Almaty / 1994.
[84] Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note 37); Isaacs, op. cit. (note 52), p. 57.
[85]In 1994, the KPK received registration. Cf. Isaacs, op. cit. (note 52).
[86] Further movements were the International Public Committee Aral-Asia-Kazakhstan, the Union of Women, the Independent Trade Union Birlesu, the Kazakh-Tili society, the Association of Young Builders of the Republic, and several other national-cultural centres. Cf. Sergey D'iachenko, Ludmila Karmazina & Sergey Seydumanov, *Politicheskii Partii Kazakhstana, 2000 God* (The political Parties of Kazakhstan, Year 2000), Almaty / 2000, p. 289.
[87] Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note 37), p. 83.
[88] Cf. International Business Publications, Kazakhstan Country Study Guide, Volume 1, Strategic Information and Developments, New York / 2013, p. 181.
[89] Cf. Isaacs, op. cit. (note 52), p. 58.
[90] Cf. Vladimir Babak, Kazakhstan. In: Vladimir Babak, Demian Vaisman & Aryeh Wasserman (Eds.): Political Organization in Central Asia and Azerbaijan, London / 2004, p. 146f.
[91] Cf. Olcott, op. cit. (note 37), p. 91; Isaacs, op. cit. (note 48), p. 58.
[92] Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36).
[93] Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note 37), p. 83.
[94]Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note 37), p. 83.
[95]Cf. Isaacs, op. cit. (note 52), p. 57.
[96] Cf. Sergey D'iachenko, cited by Ian Bremmer and Cory Welt, The Trouble with Democracy in Kazakhstan, Central Asian Survey, 15/2, p. 185.
[97]Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note 37), p. 83.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Cf. D'iachenko et al., op. cit. (note 86), 311f.
[100] This attitude changed in the course of the years, see Chapter IV.
[101] Cf. Isaacs, op. cit. (note 52), p. 63.

[102] Cf. Nikolai Petrov and Mehman Gafarly, The Course Towards Political Stability, in: Alexei Vassiliev (Ed.), Central Asia. Political and Economic Challenges in the Post-Soviet Era, London / 2001.
[103] Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note 37).
[104] The corporation holds substantial assets in Kazakhstan's chrome and aluminium industry, notably the mining and metallurgy sectors.
[105] Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note 37).
[106] Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note 37), p. 85.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Cf. Isaacs, op. cit. (note 52), p. 72.
[109] Ibid., p. 178.
[110] Cf. *Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 2 Iiulia 1996, O Politicheskikh Partiiakh,* (Law on Political Parties of July 2 1996), Almaty / 1996.
[111] Cf. Vadim Mahin, *Zakony Rabotaiut na Stabil'nost'* (The Laws are Working for Stability), Kazakhstanskaia Pravda of 01.06.2001.
[112] Cf. Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller, Political Handbook of the World, Binghamton /1998, p. 491.
[113] Cf. Babak, op. cit. (note 37), p. 84.
[114] Cf. Barbara Junisbai and Azamat Junisbai, The Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan: A Case Study in Economic Liberalization, Intraelite Cleavage, and Political Opposition, Demokratizatsiya, 13/3, p. 379; Olcott, op. cit. (note 37), p. 120.
[115] Cf. Junisbai et al., op. cit. (note 114), p. 377.
[116] Cf. Jonathan Murphy, Illusory Transition? Elite Reconstitution in Kazakhstan, 1989 – 2002, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 58/4.
[117] Cf. Olcott, op. cit. (note 37), p. 115; Furman, op. cit. (note 36), p. 224ff.
[118] Kazhegeldin also received the 'reformer of the year'-price by the Adam Smith institute. Cf. Olcott, op. cit. (note 37), p. 115.
[119] Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36), p. 224.
[120] Cf. Vladimir Ardaev, *Nursultan Nazarbaev Odnim Resheniem Dostig Dvukh Tselei* (Nursultan Nazarbaev Reached Two Goals through One Decision), *Izvestiia*, 11 October 1997.
[121] Cf. Akezhan Kazhegeldin, Shattered Image, in: Harvard International Review, 22/1; Akezhan Kazhegeldin, *Moi Reiting Rastet Kak Arbuz* (My Rating is Growing like a Watermelon), *Kommersant* of October 15, 1998. http://kommersant.ru/doc/206964 (retrieved 18.02.2016).
[122] Cf. Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Republic of Kazakhstan Parliamentary Elections 10 and 24 October 1999, Warsaw / 2000, p. 11; Furman, op. cit. (note 36) 228.
[123] Cf. Akezhan Kazhegeldin, cited by Babak, op. cit. (note 37), p. 84.
[124] Cf. Anthony Clive Bowyer, Parliament and Political Parties in Kazakhstan, Silk Road Paper, Washington, D.C. / 2008, p. 30; Junisbai et al., op. cit. (note 114), p. 378.
[125] Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36), p. 235.
[126] Cf. Andrea Schmitz, Elitenwandel und Politische Dynamik in Kasachstan, SWP-Studie, Berlin / 2003, p. 19.
[127] Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 36), p. 230.
[128] In contrast to the unequivocal assessment on the part of Freedom House, which, by the end of the first decade of independence gave Kazakhstan a robust 'not free' rating, the assessment of the INCSR institutionalized authority index appears more sensible. This is because it takes into account Kazakhstan's mixed political development: the downgrading from -3 to -4 is certainly justifiable, however, it is limited if measured against the range of the scale (up to -10), reflecting the still present procedure of political party formation, and with it, the presence (and preparation) of competitive political participation. Cf. note 68.
[129] Cf. Marilynn B. Brewer and Miles Hewstone, Self and Social Identity, Malden / 2004, p. xi.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Strategiia Stanovleniia i Razvitiia Kazakhstana Kak Suverennogo Gosudarvstva* (Strategy of Establishment and Development of Kazakhstan as an Independent State), Alma-Ata / 1992, pp. 33 – 49 (translation by author).
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid., p. 33.

[134] Ibid., p. 34.
[135] Ibid., p. 38
[136] Cf. *Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan,* op. cit. (note 77).
[137] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 131), p. 40.
[138] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 76).
[139] By then, the admission and acceptance on the part of the liberal democratic international community has been not only granted long ago, but also consolidated - Kazakhstan has signed partnership agreements with most Western nations and regional blocs, and engaged actively in Western-led international organizations, first and foremost the CSCE/OSCE. Cf. Neill MacFarlane, European Strategy Towards Kazakhstan, in: Robert Legvold (Ed.), Thinking Strategically. The Major Powers, Kazakhstan, and the Central Asian Nexus, Cambridge / 2003; Robert Legvold, US Policy Towards Kazakhstan, in: Robert Legvold (Ed.), Thinking Strategically. The Major Powers, Kazakhstan, and the Central Asian Nexus, Cambridge / 2003.
[140] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Sentiabr' 1999 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the People, September 16, 1999), Astana / 1999.
[141] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *K Obnovlennomu Kazakhstanu – Cherez Uglublenie Reform i Obshchenatsional'noe Soglasie* (Towards a New Kazakhstan – Through the Deepening of Reforms and All-National Consensus), Speech at the I Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kazakhstan of the 13th Convocation, 9 June 1994, Almaty.
[142] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 131).
[143] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Oktaiabr' 2000 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, October 2000), Astana / 2000.
[144] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Ideinaia Konsolidatsiia Obshchestva – Kak Uslovie Progressa Kazakhstana* (Ideational Consolidation of Society – the Condition of Kazakhstan's Development), Almaty / 1993, p. 12.
[145] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 131), p. 33.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 144), p. 14.
[149] Ibid., p. 16f.
[150] Ibid, p. 28.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Cf. *Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 26 Ijunia 1998 goda No 223-I, O Natsional'noi Bezopastosti Respubliki Kazakhstan* (Law on National Security), Astana / 1998.
[157] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie na XXVIII Sessii General'noi Konferentsii UNESCO poSluchaiu 50-letnego Iubileja Organizatsii* (Address at the XXVIII Session of the General Conference of UNESCO), Paris / 1995.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie na III Sessii Assemblei Narodov Kazakhstana* (Address at the Third Session of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan), Almaty / 1996.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Cf. Alistair Iain Johnston, Social States. China in International Institutions, Princeton / 2009, p. 146.
[162] See e.g.: George Bush, 'Joint Declaration with President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan', May 19, 1992, in: Gerhard Peters and John T. Wooley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=20984 (15.12.2014); William J. Clinton, 'The President's News Conference with president Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan', February 14, 1994, in: Gerhard Peters and John T. Wooley, The American Presidency Project, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=49652 (15.12.2014).

[163] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbayev, 'Foreword', in: Aktoty Aitzhanova, Shigeo Katsu, Johannes F. Linn, Vladislav Yezhov, Kazakhstan 2050. Toward a Modern Society for All', New Dehli / 2014, p. xviii.
[164] Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (note 149), p. 146.
[165] Cf. Permanent Mission of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 'History of Kazakhstan's Participation in the OSCE'. < http://www.kazakhstan-osce.org/content/kazakhstan-and-osce> (retrieved on 30.05.2013); Aitken, op. cit. (note 74), p. 140 f.
[166] There were many more anti-constitutional irregularities, but they were all declined by the Constitutional Court. Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 29), p. 214.
[167] Ibid., p. 215
[168] Cf. Olcott, op. cit. (note 37); Isaacs, op. cit. (note 52).
[169] Cf. Junisbai et al., op. cit. (note 114), p. 12.
[170] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 163), p. xviii.
[171]Cf. Jeffrey Checkel, Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change, International Organization, 55/3, p. 87.

Chapter IV
Kazakhstan's Continued Democratization Pathway (2002 – 2012): From 'Soviet Characteristics' to the 'Kazakh Way'

As the last chapter has illustrated, during the first decade of independence, the authorities of post-Soviet Kazakhstan, and notably the country's president, have embarked upon the pathway of democratization. To a substantial degree, they did so out of social deliberation, being guided by the desire to belong to the then Western-dominated international community - to be seen as its legitimate, respected and fully-fledged member. While the process of democratization per se may have been deficient or 'inappropriate' by Western standards – Freedom House has been ranking Kazakhstan as 'not free' since 1994 and the INSCR has (slightly) downgraded Kazakhstan's institutionalized authority index during the first decade as well – some democratic transformation has occurred nevertheless, notably in the realm of political competition.[1] Indeed, despite the presence of strong 'cognitive priors', which were epitomized by the president's strive for vertically imposed 'order and stability', the procedure of political party formation has managed to survive the first decade of independence, making room for the evolution of a different political culture, in which the procedures of competitive participation and cooperation, and, with them, the 'democratic myth' began to take shape.

To be sure, the adjustment of this principle to suit the presidential vertical was implemented through the use of informal means, most notably through the creation of stringently president-loyal parties as well as through personnel co-optation. However, the emergence of various 'hard' oppositionist parties around the turn of the century demonstrated that the clientilistic, top-down approach to control the procedural lock-in of party formation was neither especially successful in maintaining a president-loyal 'constructiveness' among the country's elite, nor, and consequently, in preventing a threat to the presidential vertical. Hence, at the outset of the second decade of independence, President Nazarbaev faced a substantial dilemma between the desire to maintain the democratizing semblance for the sake of the newly developed Western-oriented identity and international status on the one hand, and the weight of the pre-existing 'cognitive priors' and the related strive for political 'stability' on the other hand.

It is against this background that the chapter at hand will take up the aforementioned dynamic of political de-verticalization of late 2001, and, from there on, trace the further developments on post-Soviet Kazakhstan's political party landscape during the decade to come. The first part of this chapter will trace Kazakhstan's continued localization of the

competition principle during the second decade of independence, and look for any noticeable variance with regard to the localization pattern established during the first one. Part Two, in turn, will trace the development of discourse, and thus, of the new social identity, juxtaposing both outcomes subsequently.

1. Political Competition and the Presidential Vertical

1.1 The New Point of Departure: 'Democracy with Soviet Characteristics'

It has been shown before that both principles of democratic governance, separation of power and political competition, have been significantly out of line with Kazakhstan's pre-existing 'cognitive priors' of institutionalized, Soviet-style 'order and stability'. Nevertheless, it was only the organizational lock-in appertaining to the principle of separation of power – the strong, 'president-equal' legislature – that did not survive the first decade, being unlocked during the first decade of independence. This is because a formal, overt elimination of both lock-ins, the organizational and the procedural, might have effectively put into question Kazakhstan's actual status as a democratizing state – and with it, the president's newly acquired self-categorization as the leader of a respected and responsible international power.

Put differently, a localization pattern that eliminated both lock-ins would have been incompatible with already obtained identity. Therefore, although both principles were effectively unsuitable to Nazarbaev's understanding of domestic politics, representing an actual challenge to the presidential vertical, it was only one – power separation - that was tackled accordingly, being basically rejected in its original sense. The other lock-in was retained, and (partly) adjusted to fit the local (the president's) sensitivities and needs: the promotion of the 'executive' vertical in the political realm continued through patrimonial, informal means - that is, through firstly, the establishment of president-loyal parties and other institutions (such as the ANK) from above, as well as, secondly, through the distribution of political posts, economic resources and media outlets in the hands of various elite factions, which were arranged hierarchically around the president. Thus, in short, by the end of the first decade of independence, Kazakhstan's localized version of political competition came to exhibit an ideological dichotomy of formal competition-facilitating legal normative structures (notably the permissive Law on Political Parties) on the one hand, and an informally institutionalized system of authoritarian patrimonialism, which served the stabilization of the presidential vertical on the other hand.

This later system was largely borne by two concentric circles around President Nazarbaev. The first, 'inner circle' consisted of his actual relatives, long-serving companions with whom he shared ties since his years in the Soviet Union's Communist Party apparatus, as well as, in only a few cases, new post-independence 'business-friends'. The 'second-tier' was reserved for more distant confidants, notably members of Kazakhstan's newly emerged entrepreneurial class.[2] At that time, the probably most prominent member of the 'inner circle' was Rakhat Aliev, the president's son-in-law and his 'right hand', who, until late 2001, acted as deputy chairman of the Kazakh Security Service KNB, and in this post was responsible for the oversight of corruption and tax evasion crimes – a position which, as pointed out in the last chapter, he used (semi-formally) for the enforcement of the presidential vertical.[3] Together with his wife, Nazarbaev's oldest daughter Dariga Nazarbaeva, he controlled significant parts of Kazakhstan's lucrative energy sector and also the country's sugar industry.[4] They also held substantial parts of Kazakhstan's 'privatized' media, owning three TV-stations (*Khabar*, *NTK*, *KTK*, *ORT-Kazakhstan*), three newspapers (*Novoe Pokolenie*, *Panorama*, and *Karavan*), as well as various radio stations and media production firms.[5] In 2003, moreover, Dariga Nazarbaeva created the president-affiliated Asar party.

In contrast to Aliev, Nazarbaev's second son-in-law, Timur Kulibaev was less involved in politics, and instead focused more on the promotion of presidential interests in the economic realm, especially in the banking and energy sectors. At that time, he is reported to have held a major stake in the Kazkommertsbank, the largest bank of Kazakhstan (and internationally best-rated in the entire CIS space), as well as in the state's largest savings bank Halyk, whose untransparent privatization ultimately triggered the emergence of the opposition movement DVK (to be elaborated below). Moreover, Kulibaev enjoyed 'exclusive oversight of all Kazakhstan's oil and gas reserves', presiding, at that time, over the country's various oil-extractive, - processing, and –transporting companies, such as KazTransOil, TransNefteGas, as well as Mangystaumunaigaz.[6]

Notable non-related confidants of the 'inner circle' included Nurtay Abykaev (Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and later Head of the Presidential Administration, also known as Nazarbaev's 'old guard'); Marat Tazhin (Secretary of Security Committee, later Deputy Head of Presidential Administration and Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as the chief ideologue of the Nazarbaev regime); Bulat Utemuratov (advisor on foreign policy and economic matters in the Presidential Administration, later Head of Security Committee); Kassym-Jomart Tokaev (Prime Minister, later Minister of Foreign Affairs); as well as the Kyrgyz-born Aleksandr Mashkevich, the reported 'banker' of the Nazarbaev family at that time: together

with his business associates Phatokh Shodiev and Alidzhan Ibragimov, he presided over the Eurasian Bank - a financial institute that has financed a substantial share of the inner circle's privatization activities in Kazakhstan since 1995 - and also of the Kazakh Mineral Resources Corporation Group (later Eurasian Natural Resources Corporation), which controlled Kazakhstan's metals and mining industries. In addition to his industrial and banking activities, Mashkevich was the patron of the afore-mentioned Civil and Agrarian Parties (GPK and APK), and owner of the Kazakh newspaper Express-K. [7]

The members of the second tier largely belonged to the post-Soviet, privatization-spawned '*biznes-lobbi*' – the new entrepreneurial caste of post-Soviet Kazakhstan.[8] At that time, notable individuals of this group were Nurzhan Subkhanberdin, who headed Kazkommertsbank, as well as, (with Mukhtar Ablyazov) co-financed the newspaper liberal *Vremya Po*; Bulat Abilov, president and owner of Butya Capital, the 'by far largest', as Olcott points out, 'single actor in the second stage of (Kazakhstan's) privatization' process during the mid-1990s, and later one of Kazakhstan's largest trading companies; and, finally, Mukhtar Ablyazov, former Minister of Energy, Industry and Trade, chairman of various state companies (Kazakhstan Airlines and Kazakhstan Electricity Grid Operating Company), and owner and head of Astana Holding, which held, among other things, the Turan Alem Bank and the Temirbank. In addition, Ablyazov disposed over a substantial media portfolio, holding the TAN television station as well as some regional channels, and financing the *Vremya Po* and *Respublika* newspapers.[9]

These latter entrepreneurs, also known as the 'young Turks', were not allowed to compete for resources with those in Nazarbaev's 'inner circle' – Kazakhstan's most lucrative, extractive, sectors remained largely off limits to this group, as especially Abilov and Ablyazov, the future drivers of the opposition, were bound to find out. Abilov, for instance, was not allowed to participate in the privatization of Karmet, an 'enormous metallurgical complex in Karaganda' (where Nazarbaev worked prior to his career in the Communist Party), which led him to address the president directly, and confront the latter with the new elites' emerging perspective on the verticalization of Kazakhstan's business sphere:

> 'The family-clan driven economy, built with your participation and supervision hinders not only the development of business but the entire Kazakhstani society. … It is because of your policies that our nation's wealth, its best industrial enterprises, were unfairly transferred to so called "investors" with shadowy biographies! Your model of economy brought prosperity not to all Kazakhstan's citizens but rather to a handful of people in your inner circle.'[10]

It was, however, not Abilov but Ablyazov, who came to feel the whole penetrating power of Nazarbaev's 'model of economy': when his sugar company found itself in

competition with Rakhat Aliev's sugar business, its 'finances of were scrutinized, and taxes with penalties were assessed.'[11] In addition, the president's son-in-law reportedly used his position as the deputy chief of KNB to take over some of Ablyazov most profitable and prestigious holdings, notably the Turan Alem Bank, as well as parts of his media portfolio.[12] It was then, in late 2001, that the fear of Aliev as the new representative of the presidential vertical, and hence Nazarbaev's potential successor, began to spread among those outside the 'inner circle'.

Thus, at the end of the first decade of independence, the presidential vertical - the institutionalization of certainty of political and economic outcomes and thus the maintenance of Soviet-style 'order' and 'stability' - was promoted through largely informal means: through the top-down, patrimonial control of political parties, financial-economic resources, and the media. Importantly, however, this vertical functioned within a political framework that, at least in the realm of political competition, remained 'presentable' to the West – Kazakhstan still exhibited a multiparty (if pro-presidential) parliament and a relatively permissive legal framework for political cooperation and party formation. In other words, the localization pattern that emerged after the first decade exhibited a mixture of formal and informal institutions, as well as of different political cultures: one was reactionary, aimed to reconfigure the newly emerging cooperation and competition patterns in line with the presidential vertical, and driven by Kazakhstan's pre-existing sensitivities and needs - the 'cognitive priors' of 'order' and 'stability'. The other was transformation-oriented, aimed at the facilitation of political cooperation and competition, and driven by newly emerged, and Western-informed social considerations.

1.2 A New Pattern? The Case of the DVK

The DVK, an oppositionist movement that represented the 'most significant political challenge' to Nazarbaev since independence, evolved out of a power struggle between Nazarbaev's son-in-law Rakhat Aliev and Kazakhstan's new business elite around the entrepreneur and former Minister of Energy and Transportation Mukhtar Ablyazov.[13]
Its formation was preceded by a significant intra-elite split that has been in the making since the Aliev-administered anti-Kazhegeldin campaign, in which the former prime minister was charged with money laundering, tax evasion, and general abuse of office after he turned oppositionist. This is because Aliev did not restrict his 'investigations' to the case of Kazhegeldin alone. Indeed, according to Furman, he 'accumulated compromising materials

on the entire elite of Kazakhstan', and used this information to extract businesses from the new entrepreneurial class.[14]

Initially, thus, the roots of the conflict were of factional and purely economic nature – a fight between the president's 'inner circle' and the 'second tier'. And yet, through Aliev, the struggle quickly developed into a fight against what the 'new elite' (and also parts of the 'old elite') perceived as a lawless and arbitrary regime, which unfairly advantaged the economic interests of president's family members and confidants, side-lining not only the young, post-Soviet entrepreneurial elite but also endangering the functioning of the system as a whole.[15] Indeed, complaints were not only voiced on the part of the businessmen: in September 2001, Galymzhan Zhakianov, the *Akim* of the metal-rich Pavlodar Oblast, gave an interview to Ablyazov's TV Station TAN, in which he accused Aliev of economic repression and extortion.[16] In October of the same year, then, Mazhilis deputy Tolen Toktasynov, in a parliamentary address to the president, denounced Aliev's action on the political as well as economic realms, charging him with 'abuse of office to extort businesses' as well as with massive 'media manipulation'.[17] In the same month, as Ablyazov recalls in his inofficial memoirs, Kazakhstan's 'leading' businessmen and media representatives, too, have 'addressed the president to halt the lawlessness of the security structures' – thinly veiling their concern about the seemingly limitless scope for action of Aliev's media-cum-security-services conglomerate.[18]

The activities of Aliev put the president into a fundamental dilemma between the young entrepreneurial class, whom he considered to be Kazakhstan's new 'hope, pride and support' and his own family – a circumstance that threatened to derail the control over the various factions, and with it, destabilize his presidential vertical.[19] Hence, under pressure from almost all sides – even Marat Tazhin, the head of the Security Services and a close Nazarbaev-confidant was no friend of the son-in-law - Aliev was forced to resign from the KNB, and became the deputy head of Nazarbaev's personal guard. However, his economic interests continued to prevail - to the detriment of the 'young Turks'.[20] Ultimately, the events of 17th November of 2001 proved a critical demonstration of the extent of factional infighting, inducing post-Soviet Kazakhstan's furthest reaching intra-elite split to date. On that day, Nazarbaev, accompanied by Aliev, held a televised address in which he acquitted Aliev from the charges made by the entrepreneurs around Ablyazov, giving him, so-to-say, a carte blanche to continue his economic activity, and insinuating that members of his family, too, 'enjoy the same rights as others. They can run businesses; they can head state services.'[21]

What is more, addressing the anti-Aliev publishing activity in entrepreneur-held newspapers such as *Vremya Po* and *Respublika*, he also issued a relatively straightforward threat to the business community, stipulating that 'I have always supported business and continue to do so. … However, this does not mean that businesses can write (their complaints) to newspapers and evade taxes while they breach tax legislation and other Kazakh laws.'[22] This threat was taken up by Aliev who, despite the fact that he was already removed from the KNB, warned: 'the head of state, President Nazarbaev, instructed us to combat all the scum which prevents healthy forces in society from working and breathing freely.'[23]

Later that same day, an auction to sell a stake in the state's largest savings bank Halyk, provided the final straw to the conflict. Despite the presence of long-standing (and well-voiced) interests on the part of Subkhanberdin's Kazkommertzbank and Ablyazov's Astana Holding, it was the late-coming Mangistaumunaigaz company, close to both Aliev and Kulibaev (and thus the president hismelf) that won the stake.[24] This circumstance incited a fundamental rift as regards the role of Nazarbaev in Kazakhstan's future political-ideological development, and became a catalyst for the newly emerged elites' political undertaking. Only one day after Nazarbaev's and Aliev's addresses and the subsequent auction, on 18 November 2001, the *Akim* Zhakianov and the businessman Ablyazov, together with Deputy Prime Minister Oraz Zhandosov, Deputy Defence Minister Zhannat Ertlesova, Labour and Social Protection Minister Alikzhan Baimenov and Mazhilis Deputy Toktasynov, declared the establishment of the Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan (DVK) in a press-conference in Almaty.[25]

The signatories of the movement's founding document went well beyond Kazakhstan's rather narrow, if powerful, entrepreneurial caste to include prominent members of the national government and the regional *akimats*, as well as highly qualified and respected (in part Western-educated) technocrats, journalists, and even artists (see table 1). In this regard, those coming from the government – among them Zhakianov, Zhandosov, Baimenov, Ertlesova as well as Deputy Finance Minister Kairat Kelimbetov - were not concerned with protecting or expanding their economic interests but rather were driven by the desire to effectively further the economic and political reform process in Kazakhstan, something that they assumed was impossible under the current system. In the words of Junisbai et al, the young reformers 'were hopeful that the new movement would be able to formulate a reform platform that would … find resonance among the population at large.'[26]

Accordingly, the DVK's founding declaration voiced concern about the de-democratization of the political climate, stating that 'recent events demonstrated the dangers of concentrating in the same hands the control of the security forces and the information resources of the country', calling for the decentralization of state power, as well as for the establishment of a functioning, depersonalized legal political and judicial system.[27] To this end, the signatories proposed a five-step reform: the expansion of rights and powers of the legislative branch; the introduction of elections to the regional-level executive branch (*Akimat*); the restoration of the Constitutional Council (abolished in the course of the 1995 constitutional reform) and the reformation of the judicial system in general; the decoupling of the Central Election Commission from the executive; as well as, finally, the de-monopolization of mass media (implicitly addressing Aliev's stronghold on Kazakhstan's media landscape).[28]

Table 1: Founding Members of the DVK, 18 November 2001

Galymzhan Zhakianov	Akim of Pavlodar Oblast, Former Akim of Semipalatinsk Oblast
Mukhtar Ablyazov	Head of Astana Holding, Former Minister of Energy
Oraz Zhandosov	Deputy Prime Minister
Alikhan Baimenov	Minister of Labour and Social Protection
Zhannat Ertlesova	Deputy Minister of Devence
Kairat Kelimbetov	Deputy Minister of Finance
Berik Imashev	Chairman of Anti-Monopoly Agency
Nurzhan Subkhanberdin	Chairman of Kazkommertsbank
Bulat Abilov	Mazhilis Deputy, Member of Political Council of Otan, Head of Butya Corporation
Tolen Toktasynov	Mazhilis Deputy
Serik Konakbaev	Mazhilis Deputy
Zauresh Battalova	Senate Deputy
Abylkhan Mashani	Senate Deputy
Sagyndyk Esimkhanov	Senate Deputy
Gosman Amrin	Deputy Secretary of the Security Council
Tlek Al'zhanov	Chairman of the Investment Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Nurlan Smagulov	Head of 'Food Contract Corporation' and confidant of Ablyazov
Erzhan Tatishev	Head of Bank TuranAlem
Igor Meltser	Editor-in-chief of *Vremya* Newspaper
Asanali Ashimov	Director and Actor

The immediate response on the part of the government was harsh: on the 20 November and in an again televised address, this time on the Aliev-Nazarbaeva-owned TV channel

Khabar, Prime Minister Tokaev called the president to immediately dismiss those members of government from their posts that participated in the movement – Zhandosov, Baimenov, Zhakianov, Ertlesova and Abilov in particular - stating that

> 'some of our citizens, representing the business elite, and even civil servants, who have become rich people over the 10 years of independence, have decided to wage an information war against their own government, insulting and blackmailing the government and the parliament.'[29]

Although the president quickly followed Tokaev's 'recommendation', he expressed regret about this decision and also voiced the hope that those dismissed would still find back into his 'team'.[30]

Despite government crackdown, the DVK managed to hold its constitutive congress in the Circus of Almaty on 20 January 2002.[31] The congress was preceded by the meeting of the Democratic Society that met in the same place one day earlier, aimed at uniting all opposition-minded forces in the country, and preparing them for the next day's constitutive congress. In addition to the DVK's representatives, this meeting was attended by members of the Communist Party, by members of the Kazhegeldin-affiliated FDS (which, by then, was renamed the United Democratic Party (ODP), but still comprised the coalition of the NKK (Gulzhan Ergalieva), RNPK (Amirzhan Kosanov), and Azamat (Petr Svoik) political parties), as well as by the members of the political movements *Pokolenie* (Generation) and LAD.[32] Its chair was Serikbolsyn Abil'din, former chairman of the Twelfth Convocation and now leader of the Communist Party – and still a staunch opponent of Nazarbaev's post-1995 presidential vertical. In other words, the meeting of the Democratic Society came to attract not only members of the new oppositionist movement but of 'all political parties and movements that, in one way or another, were unsatisfied by the personalized regime of Nursultan Nazarbaev.'[33] The next day's constitutive congress of the DVK was characterized by the same spirit of presidential rejection. The congress was exceptionally well-visited - government sources cited 2000 participants, while Zhandosov estimated as many as 5000, and Svoik as many as 8000 – and broadcast life by the TAN TV Station.[34]

It was thus that, as of late autumn 2001 and through winter 2002, president Nazarbaev came to be confronted with the fact that a highly efficient and personally qualified oppositional movement has evolved from within the government and regime-loyal business community, that is, from within the branches of his own presidential vertical, aiming to substantially transform its configuration. He also was confronted with the fact that the political community as such has changed, having evolved significantly over the past decade – in 2001, a critical stance towards the president's vertical was not an isolated occurrence

anymore, but on its way to develop into political mainstream. As Nazarbaev himself confessed later to Serikbolsyn Abil'din, at that time, he feared that the DVK movement, emanating beyond its narrow political base into the society at large, had the potential to 'overthrow' him.[35] It was for this reason that Nazarbaev and the new government under Imanghali Tasmaganbetov (Tokaev had to vacate the position of prime minister after the DVK's constitutive congress, allegedly due to his overextension with, and hence mismanagement of, the opposition's development) embarked upon the endeavour of re-consolidating the presidential vertical and 're-stabilizing' political competition. To this end, the authorities followed a tripartite approach of repression and co-optation, legal restructuration (the reversal of the permissive legal-normative sphere), and ideational reorientation (the eradication of the established democratic 'tangibles'). In the course of the next years, these actions came to fundamentally transform the character of the previously established localization pattern.

1.3 Asserting the Presidential Vertical

Repression and Cooptation

In addition to immediately removing those civil servants associated with the DVK from their official posts, Nazarbaev instructed the Department of Public Prosecution as well as the Ministry of the Interior to investigate the possibilities of opening criminal cases against the movement's most prominent members, as well as against their deputies and bureau staff, and even relatives.[36] This undertaking proved fruitful: in the course of the first months of 2002, the main faces of the DVK, Mukhtar Ablyazov as well as Galyumzhan Zhakianov were charged with various, old and new criminal offences, among them notably the misappropriation of public financial means and abuse of office.[37]

In the case of Ablyazov, an already closed investigation (dating back to 1999) has been reopened, and he was accused of illegal participation in economic activity while in government office (Article 310, Section 1 of the Criminal Code), as well as, and consequently, its abuse (Article 307, Section 3 of the Criminal Code).[38] Ablyazov was arrested on 27 March 2002 – on the same day as the Special Economic Court in Almaty closed his newspapers *Respublika* and *Vremya PO*, and also on the same day as the transmitting cable of his TV channel TAN was cut, temporarily halting its broadcasting activity (two days later the entire transmitting feeder of TAN was shot by 'unknown

assailants', thus preventing the channel from broadcasting in the long term).[39] The criminal case against Ablyazov was directly referred to the Supreme Court, which ex ante rendered the possibility of any future appeal void. In Summer 2002, Ablyazov was sentenced to six years imprisonment for abuse of power and illegal entrepreneurial activities, in a trial that the West – NGOs such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, governmental entities such as the European Parliament and the US Department of State, as well as, not last, the OSCE - judged unfair and politically motivated.[40] In June 2003, Ablyazov filed an appeal for amnesty, which was granted – on the condition that he ceases political activity, to which he officially agreed.[41]

The case of Galymzhan Zhakianov ran a somewhat different course. The police attempted to arrest him shortly after Ablyazov was detained, on 29 March 2002. However, Zhakianov took refuge in a complex of buildings that was occupied by the French, the UK, and the German embassies. After five days of negotiations between the Kazakh Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the one hand and the embassies' respective representatives on the other hand, a memorandum was adopted, which provided for Zhakianov to be held under house arrest in his apartment in Almaty rather than in prison until the investigations were closed, and also for him to 'have the opportunity to exercise his right to defence with the use of all legitimate methods and means, including the right to legal assistance.'[42]

Some days after Zhakianov voluntarily left the embassies' building, the Kazakh side breached the agreement. Zhakianov was forcibly relocated to the Pavlodar region, where he was detained in a private firm under armed guard, with only very limited contact to the outside world. Six weeks later he suffered a heart attack, which, as is reported, followed two days of continuous interrogation. In August 2002, then, Zhakianov was found guilty of abuse of authority and abuse of office and sentenced to seven years in prison. In a similar vein to that of Ablyazov, Western observers regarded this trial as politically motivated, and 'marred by numerous serious irregularities' – for instance the use of 'torture against witnesses in order to extract incriminating evidence.'[43] Zhakianov was released in January 2006, on the condition that he too, renounces all government activity for the following three years.[44]

The repressive attitude vis-à-vis the opposition was felt on a lower (regional) level as well. Thus, immediately after Zhakianov's dismissal as *akim* of the Pavlodarsk Oblast, his predecessor Danial Akhmetov, who was affiliated with Mashkevich's Eurasian network and known as 'the iron Danial', was reinstated.[45] His prime task was to bring the region firmly back under the president's control and suppress all oppositionist activity. To this end, he ordered all media outlets that offered a platform to DVK members or sympathizers to be shut

down and dismissed high-ranking, and Zhakianov-affiliated employees of the *akimat*, who, in a similar manner to the former *akim* himself, were subjected to criminal prosecution.[46] For instance, Sergey Gorbenko and Aleksandr Ryumkin, who served as deputies to Zhakianov were charged with the abuse of office even before Zhakianov himself.[47] What is more, activists from the region were hindered to travel to the national constitutive congress of the DVK, their requests to organize public rallies were rejected, and Karlygash Zhakianova's (the former *Akim's* wife) attempt to compete in region's parliamentary election was sabotaged.[48]

At the same time, in early spring 2002, many of those who were not imprisoned or penalized otherwise, were 'brought to reason' through co-optation. For instance, Kairat Kelimbetov was not only allowed to return to government but was actually promoted to the post of Minister of the Economy and Budgetary Planning, after he renounced his opposition activity. Some others (notably those coming from government) split away from the DVK after the constitutive congress, and established the more moderate, 'constructive' opposition party *Ak Zhol* ('the bright path') which endeavoured to work on Kazakhstan's political transformation from within the structures, and in cooperation with the president.[49] Notable personalities in this regard were the prominent Zhandosov (who, after his exit from DVK, and in a similar manner to Kelimbetov, was readmitted to the presidential administration and, in addition, became the President of the Board of Financial Associations), Baimenov, as well as Abilov - the latter three came to chair the political board of the new party. By and large, Ak Zhol took over the political platform of the DVK – the issues of strengthening the legislature, decentralizing the executive, and reforming the judiciary, among other things, remained on the agenda. The only significant difference was that Ak Zhol had a positive stance vis-à-vis the presidential vertical, that is, the question as to Nazarbaev's leadership position was put off the table – a circumstance that rendered the party fit(ter) for the future.[50]

A further instrument of co-optation was the 2004-established National Commission on Questions of Democracy and Civil Society, which was established in order to 'elaborate the measures that aimed to significantly improve the political system, and determine the first-order tasks regarding the democratization of (Kazakhstan's) civil society.'[51] The commission reflected the regime's thirst for new political ideas and strategies (a circumstance well-documented by the early reinstatement of Kelimbetov and Zhandosov close to the president). Accordingly, the personnel composition of the commission was inclusive to the extent that it allowed for the chairpersons of all registered political parties (in addition to the president's representatives) to be involved in the process of 'elaboration'.[52]

In terms of human resources, the DVK was certainly weakened by the government's strategy of repression and cooptation, which entailed not only the imprisonment of its leaders, but also the turning away of some of its most prominent and politically influential members. And yet, it did not collapse. Instead, it established itself as the 'radical' opposition, further evolving its domestic base and also strengthening its international visibility. The imprisoned Ablyazov and Zhakianov remained DVK members – the latter acted not only the party's main figurehead but also a member of its political Council until November 2003 – as did the deputies Toktasynov and Battalova (who were able to retain their mandates). They were also joined by the members of the 'old' oppositionist intelligentsia - those who have participated in January's democratic society meeting, most notably the ODP. Thus, the DVK's ranks came to include Petr Svoik of Azamat, Gulzhan Ergalieva of NKK and civil activist Asylbek Kozhakhmetov, history professor Nurbulat Masanov, public figure and opposition journalist Rozlana Taukina, and leader of the *Pokolenie* movement Irina Savostina. Serikbolsyn Abil'din, the chairman of the Communist Party and a widely respected political figure in Kazakhstan, came to provide substantial 'moral support' to the movement.[53]

Throughout the following years, then, the movement not only continued to work on the domestic level towards the establishment of a fully-fledged political party, it also succeeded in attracting considerable attention on the part of the (Western) international community. Significantly, this attention pertained not only to what were considered political show-trials of Ablyazov and Zhakianov, but also, increasingly to the opposition's democracy-related work in general. Notable examples in regard of the former were the a harsh-worded resolution of the US Congress in 2002, which condemned the Kazakh government's treatment of the opposition in general and of the DVK members in particular, and called on President Bush to

> 'make a more concerted and stronger effort to raise with President Nazarbaev at every opportunity the concern about serious violations of human rights, including noncompliance with Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) commitments on human rights, democracy, and the rule of law.'[54]

Similarly, the European Parliament criticized the government's domestic behaviour, especially its failure to adhere to agreed OSCE norms and standards. In its resolution of 2003 the EP warned that 'respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law is a fundamental element of the EU-Kazakhstan PCA, upon which the development of future relations will be based', stressing that it regards the sentencing of 'Mukhtar Ablyazov and Galymzhan Zhakianov, opposition leaders of the Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan … as politically

motivated', and urging the Kazakh authorities to 'bring its legal framework … into conformity with international standards.'[55]

As for the movement's international visibility, numerous DVK, or DVK-sympathizing, activists such as Karlygash Zhakianova, Evgenij Zhovtis, the director of the Kazakh International Bureau on Human Rights and the Rule of Law, Akezhan Kazhegeldin (by then living in Europe), and the party's other prominent activists mentioned above have been promoting the movement's (and its imprisoned leaders') cause abroad - notably through letters to the OSCE as well as to Western NGOs and governments, articles in Western journals and newspapers, participation in international round-table discussions and conferences, as well as testimonies before Western parliaments.[56] A notable example in this regard was the testimony of Rashid Nugmanov, a France-based Kazakh film director, editor-in-chief of opposition internet newspaper kub.kz and DVK political council member before the European Parliament, which had a direct impact on the adoption of the EP's resolution of 2003.[57]

One consequence of the DVK's international campaigning was that the democracy promoting community sensed a window of opportunity – substantial elite fragmentation - to increase its engagement in Kazakhstan's seemingly democratizing and pluralizing political environment. Thus, democracy promoters began to engage more forcefully in supporting the non-presidential political forces on the ground, providing various trainings, such as 'political party campaign training' or instructions for NGOs and media to 'conduct voter education and to campaign for transparent elections' among other things, with the aim to establish a level playing field between government and opposition.[58]

Counterintuitively, therefore, from the perspective of the president, the instrument of repression and cooptation was only partly successful: certainly, it helped to split the opposition movement, to 'clean up' the opposition-minded regional *akimats*, and to get rid of the most dangerous, because charismatic, politicians. And yet, in contrast to the RNPK and other former oppositionist endeavours, the 'old school' repression and cooptation proved unsuitable to fundamentally stabilize the presidential vertical in this case, let alone to un-lock the procedural lock-in of political cooperation and party formation: the movement DVK was weaker but still intact; and, it was growing, attracting international attention and undermining Nazarbaev's international status (and his felt self-categorization), aiming to become a political party, despite significant harassment. It is for this reason that a further measure, the reversal of the legal-normative realm, was embarked upon.

The 2002 Law on Political Parties

In many ways, the DVK's snowball effect was significantly aided by Kazakhstan's then relatively permissive legal framework that facilitated political cooperation and party formation, and with it, political competition to take place. Thus, under the 1996 Law, a political party could be established on the initiative of as few as ten Kazakhstani citizens (Article 6). In order to be registered by the Ministry of Justice as such, furthermore, a party had to gain a minimum of 3000 members, representing more than the half of the oblasts of the state (Article 10 paragraphs 1 and 4).[59] These requirements were relatively feasible for the newly democratizing state of 15 million inhabitants, and also in line with the CSCE's Copenhagen Declaration provision for states 'to respect the right of individuals and groups to establish in full freedom their own political parties or other political organizations.'[60]

In early 2002, in the midst of DVK-induced political turmoil, the deputies of the presidential party Otan, supported by the pro-presidential GPK and APK, proposed to change this law. According to Isaacs, the proposal, as well as the actual process of drafting the new law have enjoyed substantial 'input and support from the presidential administration.'[61] The law was adopted in the summer of 2002, and the therein contained changes had a profound impact on the exercise of political activity, notably with regard to political cooperation, party formation and party maintenance. Thus, the number of people required in order to establish a party was substantially increased: instead of 10, a party's founding conference now had to assemble 1000 citizens, and these would have to represent at least two thirds of the regions of the country (Article 6). What is more, in order to be registered as a political party, the organization would have to have at least 50000 members (instead of formerly 3000 members) who would have to represent all Oblasts as well as the cities Almaty and Astana. Moreover, each of the 14 Oblasts would have to have no less than 700 party members (Article 10). Finally, new paragraphs were added to specify the conditions that would allow to prohibit a party's activity and induce its liquidation. As for the former, a party would have to halt its operation if its leaders publicly appealed to the implementation of extremist ideas (Article 13 Paragraph 4). As for the latter, a political party would lose its registration and thus political status if it failed to participate twice in parliamentary elections or received less that 3 per cent of the votes (Article 14 Paragraph 5).[62]

The impact of the new law was felt immediately.[63] Only eleven of the previously registered nineteen parties applied for re-registration. Of these eleven, in turn, only seven parties were effectively re-registered: the Otan Republican Political Party, the APK, the GPK,

the Party of Patriots, Auyl Social-Democratic Party, Ak Zhol, as well as Abil'din's Communist Party. Only one of these, the KPK, was openly and 'unconstructively' (that is, anti-presidentially) oppositionist - and it needed three arduous attempts to successfully re-register.[64] After the adoption of the law, two more pro-presidential parties came into being and were registered: Rukhaniat (Spirituality), led by Altynshash Zhaganova, the chairman of Kazakhstan's Agency for Migration and Demography, as well as Dariga Nazarbaeva's Asar (All Together) Party. Thus, since summer 2002, Kazakhstan's pro-presidential political landscape was consolidating - to the detriment of most opposition parties, that, by and large, failed to meet the requirements stipulated by the new law.

Unsurprisingly, the Law was criticized nationally as well as in the West. In a press release, the political council of the RNPK stated that this law represents an 'administrative-judicial mechanism to take reprisals with oppositionist parties and other inacceptable political organizations by way of closing them', describing the law as an attempt 'to remove (the opposition) from (the country's) political life.'[65] Similar remarks were made by other oppositionist parties, and even those close to the president criticized the increased numbers on the quiet.[66] On the international level, the assessment on the part of the OSCE was unambiguous as well:

> 'the stringent requirements established … will have a chilling effect on the development of political pluralism in Kazakhstan since this provision clearly renders the formation of political parties more difficult. It may also seriously limit the choice of the electorate in future elections in preventing existing parties to re-register. … These requirements on the formation on political parties are contrary to the commitment of OSCE participating States to "respect the right of individuals and groups to establish in full freedom their own political parties or other political organizations' [67]

This position was also taken over by the OSCE's 'patrons', the US and the European Union, with the latter openly addressing the modified version of the law in its 2003 Resolution – however, without notable success.[68]

It was thus that the reversal of the legal-normative aspects began to take shape, inducing a substantial change in the hitherto established localization pattern – blurring not only the original content of the competition principle, but also exacerbating its implementation. Nevertheless, the procedural lock-in of political cooperation and party formation proved still not yet fully abrogated. Indeed, after failing to achieve a regular registration as a public association (between January 2002 and January 2003, the DVK disposed of a temporary registration permit), and after numerous episodes of government-induced registration harassment, the political council of the DVK, led by its remaining

members Mazhilis Deputy Toktasynov, political activist Kozhakhmetov, Senate Deputy Battalova, opposition journalists Taukina and Ergalieva as well as by new members Bakhyt Tumenova and Vladimir Kozlov, decided to transform the movement into a fully-fledged political party in December 2003.[69] Counterintuitively, the DVK not only managed to fulfil the requirements of the new law – according to its sources, the party numbered as many as 91000 members at that time – but also to effectively obtain actual registration with the Ministry of Justice.[70]

The party's constitutive congress was held in February 2004 in Almaty, being attended by a substantial part of Kazakhstan's political establishment. The guest list included: the leader of the KPK Abil'din; the chairing troika of Ak Zhol Abilov, Baimenov and (by then) Nazarbaev's confidant-turned-opposition-activist Asylbek Sarsenbaev; RNPK's chairman Kosanov; the leader of the pro-presidential PPK Gani Kasymov; the president's closest political counsellor Ermukhamet Ertysbaev; deputies of the Mazhilis Tokhtasynov, Serkbay Abilaev, Valentin Makalkin; deputies of the Senate Battalova and Ualikhan Kaisarov; political activists and analysts Zhovtis, Taukina, Andrey Cherbotaev, Dosym Satpaev; representatives of the Western international community Bjorn Halvarsson (OSCE mission in Almaty), Alessandro Liamini (political counsellor to the European Commission), Tomas Bridle of the US National Democratic Institute, Sean Roberts of USAID, Elvira Pak of the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and representatives of the German, French, Italian Greek, Hungarian, Romanian, Canadian and US embassies, as well as of the UN mission to Kazakhstan.[71] After the congress, the DVK was registered as a political party in May 2004, a circumstance that the party's leadership hopefully described as a 'confirmation of the regime's (evolving) constructive attitude and readiness for political dialogue.'[72]

It was thus that the DVK, together with the Communists, became the second party of Kazakhstan's political landscape that officially sought to challenge to the presidential vertical. In July 2004, in preparation for the parliamentary elections in September of that year, both parties announced their decision to form a political bloc named 'Opposition block of Abil'din and Zhakianov (Union of the Communists and the DVK)', an undertaking that, in ideational terms, was held together by the parties' overt stance against Nazarbaev, and the related demand for 'justice'.[73] Thus, as DVK chairman Kozhakhmetov pointed out, the rationale of the block was to make sure that in the future socio-political development of Kazakhstan, 'the gains of distinct social groups or citizens will not be achieved at the expense of others'.[74] Despite the hopeful stance, the block's parties fared poorly in the elections – achieving only 3,18 per cent of the vote, thus remaining outside parliament.[75] Although the OSCE noted

some improvements in the electoral framework, it described this election as falling 'short of (Kazakhstan's) OSCE commitments and other international standards for democratic elections.'[76]

The essence of this is that, despite being exemplary of the reversal in the 'technical' realm and the ensuing change in the localization pattern, the 2002 Law on Political Parties, did neither succeed in effectively halting ('stabilizing') political competition nor in asserting the presidential vertical: even after the election, the 'tangible' democratic opposition to president Nazarbaev's vertical remained still intact, and, in terms of membership, strong. In other words, by the end of 2004, the DVK has weathered not only repression and its members' co-optation, but also a substantial restructuration of the country's legal-normative framework. It was at this point that the government pulled its last, and previously unapplied, vertical-consolidating instrument: the offense of political extremism.

Political Extremism

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the notion of extremism has accompanied president Nazarbaev's political discourse since the very independence of the Kazakh state. In this regard, political extremism was understood in behaviourally prescriptive terms - as inacceptable, government-dismissed political behaviour, and thus as the ideational antagonist of political 'constructiveness' and 'stability'. As such, therefore, it seemed not only ideally applicable to the opposition's, most notably the DVK's, endeavour of undermining the presidential vertical (which 'endangered' the country's 'political stability'), but also well-suited to finally unlock the procedural lock-in which kept the political life of Kazakhstan on its toes. In legal terms, the application of 'extremism' to the country's politics was in preparation since the 1998 Law on Security, and it gained new impetus through 2002 Law on Political Parties' provision on extremism (Article 13).

In October 2004, then, the Mazhilis adopted the draft law 'On Counteractive Measures Against Extremist Activities', which was signed by the president on 18 February 2005. This law provided an extended understanding of extremism, and came to include actions that in the 1998 were conceptualized as merely threats to domestic security. The new provision defined 'extremism' as

> 'forced change of the constitutional order, the violation of the sovereignty of the republic of Kazakhstan, its territorial integrity, the infraction of its security and its defensive capacity, the forcible seizure of power or the forcible hold on power, … as well as acts of inciting social and genealogical hatred'.[77]

This law was formulated in a way that facilitated its application on the functioning of political parties. Thus, Article 1 Paragraph 5 specified that the 'Extremism Law' applied to individuals, groups of individuals, and 'all judicial persons that aim to create the conditions for the realization of extremist goals.'[78] As such and in the case of established 'extremism', hence, it provided for the 'prohibition or dissolution of political parties' - a circumstance that the OSCE, in its Comments on the Law, characterized as 'a particularly far-reaching measure, which should be used with utmost restraint.'[79] Moreover, the organization urged, 'the Draft as it stands (and was ultimately signed by the president) does not offer sufficient safeguards in this regard.'[80]

After having lost in September's parliamentary elections, the DVK held its second congress on 11 December 2004, which was after the Extremism Law was adopted in the Mazhilis and two months before it came into force. During this meeting, the DVK's political council, now chaired by Kozhakhmetov alone, cemented its anti-presidential stance. In addition to adopting largely symbolic measures - the then still imprisoned presidential rival Galymzhan Zhakianov was nominated as the party's president, the work of the democratic (anti-presidential) opposition in Ukraine was endorsed, and an appeal was made to the immediate release of Zhakianov - the assembly also approved a harsh-worded declaration, which specified the DVK's political outlook on the future. At its core, the declaration condemned the Nazarbaev regime as undemocratic and, due to the rigged parliamentary election, politically illegitimate. As for the opposition's future strategy, it established that

> 'there is no sense in playing electoral games with political cheaters. The National Party "Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan" is firmly convinced that the regime's attempts to bloc already adopted programmes of democratic reform will further exacerbate the already difficult situation of the Republic of Kazakhstan.'[81]

Based on this, it was stated that any further political activity of the DVK will not base on the 'decisions that are made by thieving *akims* and pocket courts, but on the ways, in which human rights and freedoms are understood in free countries.'[82] In other words, the declaration underscored the members' rejection of Kazakhstan's post-electoral political and legal framework. And, importantly, it encouraged Kazakhstan's citizens to do the same:

> 'We call on all healthy societal forces to embark upon decisive action, including action of civil disobedience. Only through combined efforts, we will be able to get rid of (Nazarbaev's) family clan, that has usurped power.' [83]

It was this statement that led to the eventual downfall of the DVK. Indeed, premised on this wording and only two weeks after the assembly took place, on 27 December 2004, the Department of Public Prosecution, represented by senior persecutor Almas Ramzanov,

accused the party's leadership of having acted in violation with the Kazakh constitution and its legal acts, referring in particular to the criminal offense of 'disrupting the functioning of state organs and lowering the authorities' level of governability' (Article 5 Paragraph 5 of the 1998 Law on Security), and plead for the DVK's liquidation based on Article 14 of the Law on Political Parties, submitting a corresponding motion to the Specialized Economic Court of Almaty.[84]

Only ten days later, on 6 January 2005, this motion was sustained. In court, Ramzanov explained that a specific 'philological' analysis has been conducted, which revealed that the 'declaration of the DVK carried a negative attitude towards the existing system of power, and, inciting social hatred among the population, invited citizens to acts of civil disobedience.'[85] Thus, he continued, the DVK's declaration 'created a threat to the national security of Kazakhstan by way of lowering the authorities' level of governability. These (discursive) acts represented acts of political extremism.'[86] Based on this explanation, the court took the decision to liquidate the DVK within 15 days. The court's ruling was harshly criticized by democratic governments in the West as well as by the opposition at home, and was brought to appeal by the latter.[87] It was, however, upheld by the Almaty City Court on 9 February 2005.[88] It is thus that a precedent was created even before the actual law came into force, clearing the way for its future application. And it is thus that the ever growing and consolidating opposition 'snowball' of the DVK was finally disassembled. This practical application of 'extremism' further modified the previously established localization pattern, creating an additional formal impediment to political cooperation, party formation, and competition in Kazakhstan's political realm.

All in all, the synergy of the instruments of repression and co-optation, legal restructuration, and application of the offence of 'extremism' proved capable of asserting the presidential vertical, and established itself as a template for future 'hard' oppositionist cases. And yet, despite the eventual 'success' in the particular case of the DVK, and despite inducing a fundamental change of the general localization pattern in the realm of political competition, the strategy failed to decisively and irrevocably unlock the already existing procedural lock-in of routinized political cooperation and party formation. This is because it failed to reverse the changes in the ideational, cultural realm: over the past decade (1996 – 2005), the political community (at least some of its members) got in fact accustomed to engaging in the acts of political cooperation and party formation, embracing political competition and also the 'democratic myth' as more natural phenomena than has been the case in the immediate post-Soviet environment. Hence, what remains to be said is that while

Kazakhstan's model of political competition has certainly 'stabilized' as a result of the government's 'fight' against the DVK - the Soviet 'cognitive priors' re-gained the upper hand, the presidential vertical was asserted –, the procedural lock-in, albeit weakened, remained in place, at least for the time being.

1.4 The New Pattern of 'Stable' Political Competition

As the previous sections have demonstrated, the endeavour of 're-stabilizing' political competition was pursued through a tripartite strategy of repression and co-optation, the change of the legal-normative framework, as well as the introduction of the hitherto rather abstract criminal offence of 'political extremism' to actual judicial practice. This tripartite strategy brought about a significant change in the localization pattern that evolved during the first decade, not only transforming the previously competition-friendly formal structures into competition-stifling ones, but also eliminating the most 'tangible' institution of newly democratizing Kazakhstan - the oppositionist, democracy-oriented political party DVK. And yet, while the approach proved successful in ultimately halting the functioning of this party, the maintenance of 'stability' in Kazakh political competition was still no automatism in 2005, as a substantial feature of a new political culture remained in place (albeit weakened): the routinization of political cooperation and party formation. Hence, in order to retain the vertical character of politics, the regime continued to pursue the by then well-established practice of pro-presidential consolidation and opposition marginalization, reproducing the new localization pattern, while, at the same time, trying to maintain an aura of democratization.

In this regard, the establishment of the super-presidential Nur Otan party proved instrumental. Established in late 2006, Nur Otan was the outcome of a merger between the presidential party Otan, as well as the pro-presidential Asar of Dariga Nazarbaeva, and the GPK and APK parties of Aleksandr Mashkevich. In a similar vein to the first decade's presidential party Otan, it was created as an institutional intermediary to bolster support for the president – and his vertical – in all (or most) societal and political realms.[89] This time, however, the intermediary was established to connect both, the president and the people, as well as the president and the (defection-inclined) state employees. To this end, a special constitutional amendment was made in 2007, removing the restriction against senior state officials taking part in political party activities. It is thus that President Nazarbaev became the

official chairman of Nur Otan, and the state officials from all levels of government its members, rendering it a state party in the very sense of the word.[90] As Isaacs points out,

> '(Since its inception), Nur Otan has become a prevalent force within the state apparatus. While it does not resemble the complete fusion between party and state that existed during the Soviet period, it appears as a gradual and more moderate reformulation of Soviet party – state relations.'[91]

Thus, Nur Otan came to represent an important vehicle of formalizing the president's informal power relations and bind elites even closer to the president – it is no coincidence that not only the country's political elite at large (from *Akims* and senior state officials to regular civil servants) but also members of his inner circle – Mashkevich, Abykaev, Tokayev, and even Dariga Nazarbaeva - rushed to join the ranks of the party, formalizing their loyalty, once the corresponding law has been adopted. As such, therefore, Nur Otan came to represent a fundamental instrument of systemic reproduction – and with it, the formal and informal political epitome of the presidential vertical, dominating the state apparatus as well as the political party landscape, and with it, consolidating the country's political 'stability' at large.[92]

The verticalization-aimed establishment of Nur Otan is closely related to the president's then endeavour of re-embarking on the democratization project. That is, in addition to enhance elite control, Nur Otan was also created in the context of Kazakhstan's 2007 political and constitutional reform, which entailed the expansion of the powers of parliament and political parties, providing for an increase in the number of Mazhilis deputies (from 77 to 107) and in the number of senators (from 39 to 47, the additional eight o be appointed by the president himself), thus raising the overall number of deputies in parliament to 154. In addition, the electoral system of proportional party list representation was extended, to be applied for 98 of the 107 Mazhilis deputies (instead of previously 10) – the other nine remained to be appointed by the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan.[93] The president sought to substantiate these reforms by establishing a successor to the National Commission on Questions of Democracy and Civil Society - the State Commission on the Elaboration and Concretization of Democratic Reform. Established in March 2006, it was intended to further 'develop the all-national dialogue on the modernization of Kazakhstan's political system and a deepening of democratic improvements in the country.'[94] In a similar vein to the National Commission, the State Commission was 'inclusive' to the extent that it provided a platform for the leaders of all registered parties, not only those that were represented in the parliament.

These reforms were aimed at bolstering Kazakhstan's image at home and in the West, demonstrating the government's still present commitment to democratization after the elimination of the DVK - loosening up the new, more rejecting localization pattern so-to-say -

and thus recommending itself for the OSCE chairmanship in 2009.[95] In this regard, Nur Otan was bestowed the role of a safeguard: by establishing the organization as the main party political player, the top made sure that the results emanating from structural transformation would not curtail the power and interests of the presidential vertical and undermine 'stability'. Put in more theoretical terms, while the legal-normative realm was again somewhat re-adjusted to the project of democratization, the new institution of Nur Otan made sure, that the democratic re-adjustment took place along the lines of the 'cognitive priors'. The extent of 'stabilization' that Nur Otan offered to Kazakhstan's political life was well-demonstrated in the 2007 parliamentary elections, in which, despite the participation of seven political parties, it 'won' 88,4 per cent of the votes, and thus all the seats that were awarded through party lists.[96]

To the government, the new 'stability' of Kazakhstan's post-DVK political environment seemed secure to the extent that it firstly, eased the room for political cooperation, allowing some new 'non-constructive', that is, anti-presidential, opposition parties to function: one was the party the Nagyz Ak Zhol, the other one the All National Social Democratic Party (OSDP). The former was the result of a further split within the DVK-originating Ak Zhol, which based upon the leadership's conflict regarding the party's degree of political 'constructiveness' in its future work. Barely one month after the DVK's closure, Abilov, Zhandosov, Tulegen Zhukeev, and Altynbek Sarsenbaev, who was murdered in 2006, founded the new Nagyz Ak Zhol (the real Ak Zhol) party to pursue a still liberal, but outright anti-presidential, agenda, while Baimenov remained the chairman of the increasingly president-affiliated Ak Zhol. Although the registration process of Nagyz Ak Zhol endured an entire year - a circumstance that barred its members from nominating a candidate in the upcoming presidential election of 2005 - it was successful nevertheless.[97] In 2008, Nagyz Ak Zhol was renamed as Azat, to be led alone by chairman Bulat Abilov.

The OSDP, on the other hand, was created by former Otan speaker and deputy leader of the Mazhilis Zhamarkhan Tuyakbay, who resigned from the party and the official assignement out of protest against the conduct of the 2004 parliamentary elections. At first, Tuyakbay established the platform 'For a Just Kazakhstan', an umbrella organization for post-DVK opposition activists, under whose banner he (unsuccessfully) sought to challenge Nazarbaev in the 2005 presidential elections. In 2006, Tuyakbay founded the OSDP, a social-democratic version of more entrepreneur-minded Nagyz Ak Zhol, which, too, sought to challenge the presidential vertical. Both parties established a bloc prior to the 2007 early parliamentary elections, gaining more than four per cent of the votes, and thus becoming the

second strongest party after Nur Otan. However, due to the overarching dominance of the Nur Otan party and the high threshold, the OSDP-Nagyz Ak Zhol (like all other parties) failed to obtain representation in the Mazhilis.[98] In 2009, OSDP merged with Abilov's Azat becoming OSDP Azat, a collaboration project that held until early 2013.

In 2008, the government's enhanced self-confidence regarding national 'order and stability' pattern, and also its desire for OSCE chairmanship have led to further democratic adjustments, although only on a small scale. In 2009, a provision ruling out a one-party parliament was incorporated into the electoral law, providing for the party with the second-highest vote count to join parliament irrespective of the 7 per cent threshold.[99] In addition, the Law on Political Parties was slightly revised, lowering the total number of members required to apply for registration from 50 000 to 40 000, and the number of regional members from 1000 to 600.[100]

Despite the enhanced presence of opposition and new pro-democratic adjustments, not all anti-presidential parties were allowed to participate in the country's political life, however. In this regard, the DVK's political successor Alga! ('Forward!'), a blatant and active anti-presidential opposition party, was the most notable case in point. Immediately after the DVK's liquidation, the party's former members decided to set up a new party, Alga!, which was envisaged to carry on the work of the DVK.[101] The constitutive congress of Alga! was held in July 2005, and in September of the same year, its political council, at that time led by DVK's former chairman Kozhakhmetov, was able to submit as many as 63000 member registration forms to the Ministry of Justice. Nevertheless, the party failed to obtain registration on the grounds of 'inaccuracies' that were detected by the Ministry.[102]

Alga's second attempt to register in 2007 under new chairman Vladimir Kozlov failed as well. This time, the MoJ at first delayed the registration process 'in order to carry out further investigations', and then failed to resume it again.[103] After seven years of pending registration results, Alga! was finally declared to be an 'extremist' organization by an Almaty court in November 2012. This decision followed its leader's involvement into an oil worker strike in the city of Zhanaozen, which, in late 2011, ended in the outbreak of unrest and was violently suppressed by the government. The prohibition of Alga! (and also of Halyk Maidany, another organization involved in the strike) on 'extremist' grounds went hand in hand with a seven and a half years prison sentence for Vladimir Kozlov, who was also charged with the incitement of social hatred and the attempt to overthrow the government.[104] It is thus that the DVK-exercised template of 'political extremism' found application for the

second time, proving its function as a reliable, and relatively unassailable, instrument of political 'stabilization'.

Since 2012, Kazakhstan's system of political competition has become truly 'stable'. The 2012 parliamentary elections produced a 'constructive' three-party legislature, with seats distributed among Nur Otan (83 mandates), as well as the president-affiliated Ak Zhol (8 mandates) and KNPK (7 mandates).[105] These elections proved the final blow to the previously existent spirit of political cooperation and party formation - at least from the perspective of genuinely (anti-presidential) oppositionist members of the political community. In early 2013 and following an internal spat about the leadership position between the co-chairman Tuiakbai and Abilov, Azat disentangled itself from the OSDP. Still in the same year, Bulat Abilov decided to leave politics altogether, rendering Tuiakbai's OSDP the last opposition party in Kazakhstan's post-Soviet re-verticalized political landscape.[106]

It was thus since 2012 (and despite the rather nominal reforms of 2007 and 2009) that the other non-negotiable element of democratization – the institutionalization of the principle of political competition – finally, and conclusively, gave way to the pre-existing, Soviet-hailing 'cognitive priors' of 'order and stability' – and with it to the institutionalization of certainty of political outcomes, at the expense of the rule of law and the standard of citizenship. Accordingly, it was then that the procedural lock-in of political cooperation and party formation was effectively unlocked and the new, vertically-informed localization pattern finally consolidated, closing the space for the 'democratic myth' and reversing the previous adjustment in the political community realm. In short, it was at this point that the process of post-Soviet Kazakhstan's democratization effectively ended at all levels of governance.

2. Discourse and Democratization: The New 'Kazakh Way'

What does the changed localization pattern say about the development of Kazakhstan's newly evolved international identity and with it, about the degree of Western social influence on the ground? In Chapter II, it has been pointed out that it is the strength of the social identity (that is, the degree of identification of the norm-taking 'self' with the norm-making social group) that influences the individual's attachment to the content of this group's identity – to its customs, beliefs, expectations, and norms. This, in turn, leads to the assumption that the localization pattern – that is, the norm-taker's adoption and implementation of the norm-maker's normative content - is closely related to the norm-taker's new social identity. This

would imply that a change in the norm-taker's localization pattern was preceded by a change in his social identity, and thus by a change in the norm-maker's social influence on the local ground. Translated into the empirical case at hand, the variance in Kazakhstan's new localization pattern would have to be the result of both, a decline in its Western-oriented social identity, as well as in the OSCE's social influence on the ground. The objective of the second part of this chapter is to test this very assumption.

2.1 The Content and Contestation of Kazakhstan's Social Identity: Second Decade

As outlined before, the degree of a norm-taker's identification with his or her social group, and thus the strength of the newly emerged social identity is well-captured by the norm-taker's evolving discourse on the group's particular issue-area. To recapitulate Epstein, the '"talking" (of states) is central both to what they do and who they are – and with it, to the dynamics of (their) identity.' [107] Discourse, thus, reflects not only the emerged attitude in relation to other states in a particular issue-area, but also the nature of relationship with the norm-making group. During the first decade of independence, then, the 'talking' of Kazakhstan has demonstrated that its government came to identify itself with the new social group CSCE / OSCE and its normative content (despite contestation) – something that manifested itself in a new cognitive linkage and a new self-categorization. To reiterate a statement of president Nazarbaev, made in 2000:

> 'The main political lesson of the end of XX century consists in universality of democratization formula. All talks about special type of democracy are attempts to deviate from democratic principles. Therefore, we should clearly understand that deviation from democratization processes is a withdrawal from world tendency, it is the way to nothing.'[108]

Thus, by the end of the first decade, Kazakhstan's new social identity came to reflect an almost taken-for-granted (discursive) commitment to democratic norms and principles, as well as an acceptance of the West's leadership position in the normative realm, endowing the latter with a substantial degree of social influence vis-à-vis the norm-taker.

Importantly, however, Kazakhstan's commitment to democracy did not necessarily reflect an actual persuasion that democratic governance, power separation, and the appertaining assumption of state institutions as serving the interests of the citizens were the natural and 'right thing to do'. Rather, it reflected a persuasion that it were exactly those principles to which the successful, 'civilized' nations of the international community adhered. During the decade to come, the cognitive linkage between international belonging and

democratization / democracy largely remained. However, the content ascribed to the notions underwent a significant transformation.

To be sure, in 2002, President Nazarbaev reiterated his original position on Kazakhstan's further normative direction, stating that 'democracy is our consciously taken path of development which I proposed to you and which you accepted.'[109] In a rhetoric sense, he even closed ranks with the DVK in 2002- 2003 by taking over their agenda of political decentralization and local self-government, electoral reform (into which he explicitly promised to include the recommendations of previous and up-coming OSCE roundtables), the strengthening of civil society institutions and political parties, the broadening of parliament's scope of action (within the limits of the present Constitution), the discussion of local media freedom, and 'most importantly', the issue of judicial reform.[110] In this regard, the issues of civil society development, decentralization, and the formation of 'stable pluralist political party system' emerged as points of rhetoric emphasis during the years 2002 - 2004.[111] In other words, despite the DVK-induced tension in Kazakhstan's procedural realm, the verbalization of, and further rhetoric adherence to, the OSCE's general democratic content remained present further on.

However, this presence was accompanied by a strongly enhanced, at times almost aggressive, contestation and qualification of the Western organization's content. Thus, in his 2002 State of Nation Address, Nazarbaev stated:

> 'We all have to work on deepening the (democratic) process, and (while doing so), lean on the wisdom of the people, and consider the historic, economic, political, and ethno-social factors as well as the public opinion, which all favour stability. We will move step by step, and preserve the values of our culture, on the basis of which lie mutual aid, patience, collectivism, mutual respect between different ethnicities. Alien recipes may hurt us.'[112]

It was here, through the reference to local 'culture, traditions, and the stability-mindedness' of the Kazakh people on the one hand, and the juxtaposition with the supposed 'alien-ness' of the Western content, that the presidential vertical re-entered the discourse. The president substantiated the vertical in the same address by making special reference to the issue of political party development, and, implicitly addressed the functioning of the DVK, urging that 'the time is ripe to tackle questions such as the introduction of legal norms which do not permit political extremism in party work.'[113] Accordingly, Nazarbaev promised to endorse the parliament-proposed change of the Law on Political Parties – a law that included a new provision on political extremism, and was used correspondingly in 2005.

The 2003 address reflected an even stronger resistance towards a one-to-one transposition of the OSCE's normative content into the local environment – highlighting the

extent to which the procedural lock-in (that is, the principle of political competition) had developed a momentum of its own at that time, becoming dangerous to the regime. Nazarbaev not only reconfirmed his 'step-by-step' – approach to democratization but also made clear that Kazakhstan will 'preserve the values of our culture, unity, inter-religious and inter-ethnic accord, (as well as) political stability.'[114] Furthermore, he addressed the country's – by that time manifold – international critics, by stating in defence of Kazakhstan's policies that

> 'there is no country that has perfected the functioning of its political and governance system … . Even the developed and civilized countries may … resort to a decisive strengthening of the state and centralization: all depends on the concrete historical conditions.'[115]

At the same time, in an article in the state-affiliated newspaper Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, he also, and for the first time, made clear that the 'Western Way' of political development need not necessarily be the only pattern of political transformation:

> 'As for Kazakhstan, we don't set the task to turn it into a democracy of the Western type. We are interested in the experience of different systems. Standards of democracy are universal but in different countries, they have their own flavour.'[116]

And, finally, employing an image from medicine, he reiterated the dangers of 'copying of alien experiences', warning that such practices, in a similar fashion to 'the surgical transplantation of (alien) organs (into a body), may induce the strongest reactions of rejection.'[117]

If in substance, these statements roughly reflected the general content and contestation pattern as developed by Nazarbaev in the first decade of independence – the emphasis was put on the necessity to develop a 'stable', locally informed, democracy –, the defensive-aggressive tone of the new contestation went far beyond the previous rhetorical borders within which the careful, status-seeking, and Western-oriented post-Soviet president sought to position himself during the first decade of independence. Instead, the poignancy of the contestation reflected the Kazakh elite's growing awareness about the normative incompatibility between the still unequivocal self-categorization as a legitimate and respected member of the international community and the ensuing pro-democratic, and pro-Western positioning on the one hand, and the desire to protect the Kazakh 'cognitive priors' – and most notably the presidential vertical – from the challenges that were brought about by the very process of democratization on the other hand. In short, the new discourse mirrored a growing resentment about the linkage of international status to the requirement of a Western-informed political transformation. This resentment vis-à-vis the 'Western Way' spilled over into a direct confrontation between Kazakhstan and OSCE.

Thus, in September 2003, the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the OSCE, in collaboration with the respective missions of Russia, Belarus and Kyrgyzstan, prepared a memorandum titled 'On the Issue of Reform of OSCE Field Activities', which criticized the OSCE, and the ODIHR in particular, in a threefold way: firstly, the organization was accused of the 'geographic asymmetry' inherent to its field missions, that is, of the disproportionally large presence of OSCE missions in the CIS-space; secondly, the institution's 'excessive emphasis' on the democracy- and human rights- centred human dimension was queried; finally, Kazakhstan and its co-authors condemned the 'intrusive character' of the field missions, which, in their actions (and in diametrical opposition to the commitments pledged in the 1991 Moscow Document) were accused of disregarding the principles of sovereignty and non-interference into internal affairs vis-a-vis the participating states.[118]

The content of this memorandum was taken up by a joint CIS, and Moscow-led, statement that was made at a session of the OSCE Permanent Council in July 2004, which not only reprimanded the OSCE's failure 'to adapt in the current conditions to the requirements of the changing world', but also its 'frequent' lack to comply with its own 'fundamental Helsinki principles, such as non-intervention in internal affairs and respect for sovereignty of nations.'[119] Particular criticism was voiced towards the work of the ODIHR, whose (monitoring and election assessing) work was described as 'often politicized and … not tak(ing) into account the specifics of individual nations' – leading to a biased assessment of electoral processes.[120] The OSCE's field missions, in turn, were not only described as 'ineffective' in promoting the organization's broad range of activities, notably in the realm of security, but also, again, as prejudiced vis-à-vis the former Soviet states: 'There are cases of unjustified criticism by the leadership of "field missions" towards the domestic policy of the receiving countries' governments,' the statement read.[121] These criticisms were further developed in the 'Astana Appeal' of 15 September 2004 (which was published only four days before the OSCE-monitored parliamentary elections). While being more nuanced in its tone, the document defended the line of the Moscow statement, describing the evaluation criteria of the OSCE and ODIHR monitoring missions as unobjective, and the 'practice of limiting OSCE field activities to the monitoring of the political situation' as redundant.[122]

Counterintuitively, then, in 2005, the tension of the previous years softened sustainably. Indeed, that year's address provided not only a summary of what the president understood as Kazakhstan's post-Soviet democratic 'achievements' – including the installation of 'political pluralism and a multiparty system and (the implementation of) the

principle of power separation', but also elaborated on the concrete measures of the future National Program of Political Reforms, which was aimed at highlighting Kazakhstan's 'comprehensive efforts … to further modernize our political system and enhance democracy.'[123] These included issues like political decentralization; the strengthening of the authority of the legislature; the improvement of the judicial and the electoral systems; as well as the development of civil society.[124] The 2005 discursive turnabout was not due to a resolution of Kazakhstan's internal incompatibilities, however. Rather, it derived from a concrete political de-escalation at home as well as, more importantly, from a change in its attitude vis-à-vis the West and the OSCE in general, and, its normative content in particular.

Thus, on the one hand, the 'satisfactory' parliamentary elections of 2004 and, most importantly, the successful demolition of the DVK created the safe – 'stable' – political environment that allowed Nazarbaev to take a more conciliatory (albeit still openly contesting) stance towards the OSCE's 'interfering' normative content. On the other hand, the president used the address in order to clarify that Kazakhstan was in the process of generally reconsidering the exclusively Western-informed content of its newly developed social identity, outlining a new pathway of local political transformation:

> 'Kazakhstan's model of political development, (which) is close to that of Western democracies and other so-called "new" Asian democracies, whose social progress and political pluralism are recognized around the world.'[125]

In other words, what Nazarbaev did in this address was to enlarge the original OSCE content with two additional concepts: the 'Kazakhstan model of development' as well as 'new Asian democracies'.[126] As for the latter, this addendum of a second point of normative orientation served to widen, in a geographical and ideational sense, the composition of the social group in question - if previously, post-Soviet Kazakhstan's preferred social group was epitomized by the post-Cold War 'West' and the norms of the geographically limited, and non-Asian, CSCE/OSCE, the 2005 rhetoric twist came to include also non-Western, Asian, democracies that 'were recognized around the world' into what Kazakhstan considered a legitimate (and thus status-providing) group of reference.

Put differently, by bringing in the 'Asianness' of democracy, Kazakhstan expanded the original social group, and thus established a broader audience to which it ascribed legitimacy and status. The rationale in this regard was to balance the normative incompatibility between the Western 'prototype' of democracy and the locally-informed pattern of its implementation by adding a second normative centre of gravitation – Asia. This, indeed, set a new direction on Kazakhstan's normative and social orientation: the notions of democracy and democratization were decoupled from the original, norm-making

and status-providing social group - the OSCE and the Western-dominated international community - and instead linked to a general, geographically wider-spanning, and normatively somewhat diffuse 'democratic group'. This modification served to relativize the 'Western-ness' inherent to the existent normative content of the OSCE and the cognitive linkage in general.

The widening of the social group heralded the beginning of a new ideational era – one, in which the West's exclusive status- and legitimacy providing position lost in taken-for-grantedness, and its evaluation of 'appropriateness' came to be objectively contested. To be sure, the relationship with the West and the OSCE 'remained important', as Nazarbaev put it – a circumstance that was also demonstrated by a continued focus on (however small) democratic adjustment in the following years.[127] And yet, in terms of providing status, legitimacy and feelings of international belonging, the 2005 address demonstrated that Kazakhstan's relations with the OSCE and the West in general were perceived as neither exclusive nor unavoidable anymore. In this sense, this rhetoric twist seemed a logical derivative of the hitherto not particularly successful practice of 'discursive localization' and the related criticism on the part of the original norm-making group: the introduction of Asia pruned the basis of the OSCE's social repudiation and opprobrium mechanisms (which, on a rhetoric level, Astana has been experiencing en masse during the past years). In this, it facilitated the further reconstruction of the original normative content into the local environment, allowing the government to develop a more self-conscious and independent conceptualization of a locally informed - 'Kazakh' - way of political transformation.

What, them, were the core characteristics of this 'Kazakh Way'? What did the new content look like? According to the President, the 'Kazakh Way' was designed to serve as a bridge between 'the traditions and principles of Western democracies, the experience of the leading South-East Asian nations, and … the traditions of our ethnically and religiously diverse people.'[128] More concretely, Nazarbaev pointed out, the distinct Kazakh evolutionary path was set to epitomize a

> 'successfully chosen political-economic model of transformation: strong presidential power in addition to fast and energetic economic reforms. Our model comprises radical, but no 'shock', economic reform, and pursues the goal of building a fundament for market economy and democratization to take root, albeit without the weakening of state power.'[129]

The pursuit of this model, Nazarbaev continued, helped to reconcile the 'universal principles of democracy' with the 'national-cultural specifics in the implementation of these principles.'[130]

These 'specifics', in turn, ensued from the country's 'multi-ethnic and multi-religious population; its priority of economic and social modernization, as well as, not last, its population's desire for order and stability.'[131] In short, thus, the 'Kazakh Way' finally offered a concept for what Nazarbaev has been envisaging since the early period of independence: the establishment of a status-enhancing 'democratic' system of governance within the national specific framework of the (authoritarian-minded) presidential vertical – carefully distanced from the West.

Put differently, the distinct 'way' of status-seeking Kazakhstan implied making the maintenance of 'stability' and reliable predictability of president-desired outcomes compatible with the legitimacy- and status-enhancing, process of democratization. In a practical-political sense, the, this endeavour – in former Minister of Foreign Affairs Kassymjomart Tokaev's words the 'convergence of political systems, cultures, and moral-ethic values' between Asia and Europe - represented an attempt to square the circle.[132] And yet, rhetorically, such a combination was certainly comprehensible: the changed content of the 'Kazakh Way' presented a normatively charged shield against Western criticism, helping to legitimise the local, alternative 'flavour of democracy' and thus protect the political *status quo* – while still remaining on the status-enhancing path. In this, the 'Kazakh Way' represented a subtle, yet quite outright contestation, even rejection, of the OSCE's original normative content – despite the formal, 'technical' implementation of further reforms on the ground.

In this regard, the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan (ANK), a continuously growing parliamentary supplement institution whose members were handpicked by the president himself, illustrated well Nazarbaev's understanding of 'democracy'. To him, the ANK constituted the institutional prototype of the 'Kazakh Way', being 'a unique (democratic) institution … that combine(s) Western values with Eastern traditions.'[133] Against this background, it seems no coincidence that since 2008, the notion of 'democratization' – describing a national transformational process - has largely disappeared from Kazakhstan's political discourse (notably from the state of nation addresses), to be largely replaced by the then consolidated term 'Kazakhstan Democracy', which described a state of affairs instead.[134] This explains why since the 2007-2009 reform package the principles of power separation and competition, apart from gracing the list of Nazarbaev's post-Soviet political 'achievements' have not been mentioned anymore.

It was thus that an unsurmountable confrontation between content and contestation turned to the emergence of a new, modified, and internally coherent normative content –

which, in its ideational constellation, was substantially different from the original, and hence represented a qualitatively new level of contestation in itself. This new, self-assertive, line towards the West's normative content was mirrored in Kazakhstan's new attitude vis-à-vis the OSCE, which was characterized by the idea to complement (or even substitute) the institution's original normative content with the 'Kazakh Way'. Indeed, the 'Kazakh Way' served to position the post-Soviet as an additional internationally active norm-maker, rather than merely a newly independent, orientation- and guidance-seeking norm-taker. Thus, Kazakhstan remained dedicated to the organization, explaining that 'our engagement with the OSCE remains important for us along the entire range of its activities.'[135] However, President Nazarbaev also continued to criticize the organization's normative content – the emphasis on the human dimension's governance aspects – as 'anachronistic', and out of line with the institution's new Eurasian character.[136] From Kazakhstan's perspective, the OSCE's was stuck in an institutional 'crisis', which could be resolved through the consideration of its 'Asian vector' – that is, through a reconsideration of the interests appertaining to its post-Soviet (partly) Asian membership.[137]

As pointed out before, such interests entailed a strengthened re-focus on the organization's rather technical, depoliticized politico-military as well as economic-environmental dimensions as well as a re-interpretation of the human dimension, and thus a mitigation of its strict emphasis on Western-defined democratization benchmarks. In concrete terms, President Nazarbaev explained the Kazakh perspective as follows:

> 'The OSCE has acquired great experience in the human dimension: the development of democratic institutions, independent media and the observance of human rights and freedoms. These are extremely important conditions for our development. At the same time, there would appear to be a need to make substantive and structural changes in the development of the OSCE in order to respond adequately to modern threats and challenges.'[138]

It was thus that the notion of insecurity - the presence of 'modern threats and challenges' - became Nazarbaev's second instrument – right after the centrality of domestic 'specifics' - to thrust aside the core normative content of the OSCE in general and its human dimension in particular. Eventually, both notions came to be combined.

Indeed, since 2003, the Kazakh president as well as foreign ministers and high-ranking civil servants have been urging the OSCE to pay more attention to issues such as 'regional terrorism and extremism, as well as weapon, narcotics, and human trafficking'.[139] For instance, during the application process for OSCE chairmanship, foreign minister Marat Tazhin stated that the provision of 'stability and security' was Kazakhstan's preferred area of

focus, promising that, in case of successful application, particular emphasis would be paid 'to the fight against international terrorism and religious extremism' - especially against the background of the situation in Afghanistan, but also with an eye on general 'national and international threats.'[140] These proposals and demands signalled the attempt to induce a shift in the organization's security understanding – away from the OSCE emphasis on human security, and towards a more narrow definition. In fact, the security understanding as promoted by the Kazakh government was decoupled from any particular form of governance, and instead linked to the suppression of threats that were considered to endanger the security of the incumbent regimes - such as 'terrorism, (political) extremism, and inter-ethnic discord'.

President Nazarbaev elaborated on the linkage (and the 'appropriateness') between the 'Kazakh Way' and security, addressing the OSCE's human dimension in 2006:

> 'it is traditionally recognized that the OSCE is strong in the realm of the human dimension. However, it is no secret that this dimension mostly deals with the OSCE's work on promoting democracy and human rights. At the same time, questions of inter-confessional and inter-ethnic accord constitute a cornerstone of overall security, stability, and the evolutionary economic and political development of states. The experience of Kazakhstan is particularly representative in this regard. This is why Kazakhstan, as an active participant of the OSCE, endeavours to contribute to, and enhance, the knowledge base of the organization in this regard.'[141]

It was thus through the re-interpretation of the OSCE's original security understanding that the newcomer and norm-taker Kazakhstan turned the contestation of the social group's content into an own norm-making effort – promoting a new, securitized perspective on the human dimension, which highlighted both, the importance to tackle the threats of 'terrorism and extremism' in the region as well as the necessity to focus on the establishment of 'all-national accord and stability' in the organization's work, while brushing aside the urgency of democratization. This role and, importantly, identity change was substantially reinforced by Kazakhstan's eventual attainment of the OSCE chairmanship in 2010.[142]

Conclusion

The objective of this Chapter was firstly, to trace the development of Kazakhstan's political competition during the second decade of the post-Soviet country's independence, and to establish as to whether there has been any noticeable localization variance in comparison with the first decade. The second objective, then, was to look for corresponding changes on the level of local social identity, as well as to establish any potential ramification with regard to the West's social influence on the ground. The results are unambiguous: changes have been

present on all three level – and all to the disadvantage of the West / the OSCE. Indeed, during the second decade of independence, the incompatibility between the normative content of the OSCE and Kazakhstan's 'cognitive priors' became unsurmountable on the practical political level. This induced a shift in the previously exclusive Western orientation of Kazakhstan's post-Soviet identity, and with it, in the degree of Western social influence on the ground.

One major symptom of this development was Kazakhstan's unilateral introduction of 'Asia' into a hitherto exclusively Western-oriented democracy discourse, and the ensuing normative and geographic widening of the social group. Another simultaneous symptom was the toughening of the contestation of the OSCE's original normative content – to the point of (attempted) reversal of the positions of norm-taker and norm-maker through the new security- and stability-oriented discourse of 'Kazakh Way'. The introduction of this concept constituted an actual attempt to re-program and re-define the OSCE's democracy-oriented normative content towards a seemingly more 'tolerant' and 'modern' stance – and one that focused more on enhancing the security of the incumbent regimes rather than on political transformation.

All these developments, in turn, are reflective of a weakening of identification between the norm-making group OSCE and the norm-taking Kazakh 'self'. Indeed, instead of further adopting, and socializing with, the OSCE's normative content, Kazakhstan turned away from it, developing an own, locally informed version of the original normative content, which it, in turn, endeavoured to promote as a norm-maker. This demonstrates to what extent the social influence, and thus impact potentiality, on the part of the OSCE, and the Western-oriented part of the international community have slumped during the second decade. Moreover, this finding supports the initial assumption that the localization pattern – that is, the norm-taker's adoption and implementation of the norm-maker's normative content - is closely related to the degree of the norm-taker's new social identity. This, in turn, implies that the variance in Kazakhstan's new localization pattern ensued from both, a decline in its Western-oriented social identity, and with it, from a decline of Western (OSCE) social influence on the ground.

If, then, Kazakhstan's new 'self' came to disassociate itself from the its original social group during the second decade of independence, the question is: where did it turn to? While the variety of possible answers is large, the particular case at hand endeavours to single out China's role for investigation in this regard. The objective is to understand whether and how Beijing's normative presence in Kazakhstan, notably through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, has been responsible for the drop in Kazakhstan's Western-oriented social identity and with it, for the variance of the post-Soviet country's localization and social

identity pattern during the second decade of independence. Put differently, the objective is to understand whether and to what extent the SCO has impacted the already ongoing socialization process between Kazakhstan and the West in an adverse way, inducing not only a drop in Kazakhstan's Western-orientated identity but also, in consequence, contributing to a decline of its democratization progress. This shall be the task of the next, and last research chapter.

---

[1] Cf. Freedom House, Freedom in the World, Individual Country Ratings and Status, FIW 1973 – 2016, Washington, D.C.< https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world> (retrieved on 28.06.2016); The Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INCSR), Polity IV Annual Time-Series 1800 – 2015.< http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html> (Retrieved on 28.06.2016).
[2] Cf. Jonathan Murphy, Illusory Transition? Elite Reconstitution in Kazakhstan, 1989 – 2002, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 58/4.
[3] During the first ten years of independence, Aliev's most notable 'victim' was Akezhan Kazhegeldin. Cf. Dmitrii Furman, The Regime in Kazakhstan, in: Boris Rumer (ed.), 'Central Asia at the End of Transition', Armonk / 2005, p. 224ff.
[4] Cf. Rico Isaacs, 'Party System Formation in Kazakhstan', New York / 2011, p. 66.
[5] Cf. Barbara Junisbai, A Tale of Two Kazakhstans: Sources of Political Cleavage and Conflict in the Post-Soviet Period, Europe-Asia Studies, 62/2, p. 249.
[6] Ibid., p. 244; Murphy, op. cit. (note 2), p. 539; Marta Brill Olcott, Kazakhstan, Unfulfilled Promise? Washington, D.C. / 2010, p. 228f.
[7] Cf. Olcott, op. cit. (note 6), p. 163. In 2006, the corporation was transformed into the Eurasian Natural Resources Company, a '$5 billion business', according to Sean Roberts. Since 2013, ENRC has become the Luxembourg-based Eurasian Resources Group. Cf. Sean Roberts, Under one Bid Tent (Yurt) in Kazakhstan. Will the Civic and Agrarian Parties Join the New 'Otan' Megaparty? In: The Roberts Report, October 25, 2006. < http://roberts-report.blogspot.de/2006/10/under-one-big-tent-yurt-in-kazakhstan.html> (retrieved 10.10.2015).
[8] Cf. Sally N. Cummings, Power and the Elite, New York / 2005, p. 53; Tolganai Umbetalieva, *Economicheskaia Elita Kazakhstana Na Sovremennom Etape* (The Economic Elite of Kazakhstan of Contemporary Times), Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies, Almaty / 2002. http://kisi.kz/ru/categories/politicheskaya-modernizaciya/posts/ekonomicheskaya-elita-kazahstana-na-sovremennom-etape (retrieved 15.08.2015).
[9] Cf. Junisbai, op. cit. (note 5), p. 244f.
[10] Cf. Barbara Junisbai and Azamat Junisbai, The Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan: A Case Study in Economic Liberalization, Intraelite Cleavage, and Political Opposition, Demokratizatsiya, 13/3, p. 382.
[11] Cf. Olcott, op. cit. (note 6), p. 116.
[12] Cf. Junisbai et al., op. cit. (note 10), p. 381.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 3), p. 230 – 232.
[15] Cf. Elimai.kz, *Politicheskij Krizis Noiabria 2001 Goda* (The Political Crisis of November 2001).< http://www.elimai.kz/politicheskij-krizis-noyabrya-2001-goda.html> (Retrieved 20.07.2015).
[16] Cf. Vox Populi, History 2001 *god*. http://www.voxpopuli.kz/history/520-2001-god.html (retrieved on13.08.2015).
[17] Cf. KUB, *Velikolepnaia Semerka ili Deputaty Kamikadze? Tekst Pis'ma Nazarbaevu* (The Great Seven or Parliamentarian Suicide? The Text of the Letter to Nazarbaev). http://www.kub.info/print.php?sid=129. (retrieved on 13.08.2015).
[18] Cf. Saken Taubaev, Dva Protivnika Prezidenta Kazakhstana: Dve Pravdy (Two Adversaries of the Kazakh President: Two Truths), in Nomad of 20.07.2009. http://www.nomad.su/?a=3-200907200109 (retrieved 14.05.2016).

[19] The notion of 'hope, pride, and support' is by Yermukhamet Ertysbaev. Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 3), p. 263.
[20] The new entrepreneurial-technocratic class around Zhakianov and Ablyazov were known as *Mladoturki* – the 'young Turks'. Cf. Sergey Kozlov, Mladoturki Rvutsia k Vlasti (The Young Turks Strive for Power), in: Nezavisimaka Gazeta, December 21, 2001.
[21] Cf. Junisbai et al. op. cit. (note 10), p. 381.
[22] Ibid., p. 9.
[23] Ibid. See also Furman, op. cit. (note 3), p.232ff.; Isaacs, op. cit. (note 4), p. 69.
[24] Cf. Junisbai et al., op. cit. (note 10); Murphy, op. cit. (note 2); Elimai.kz, op. cit. (note 15).
[25] Cf. Andrey Chebotarev, *Politicheskij Krizis Oseni 2001 Goda i Ego Posledstviia: 5 Let Spustia* (The Political Crisis of Autumn 2001 and the Consequences: 5 Years After), kub.info of November 7, 2006. < http://www.kub.info/print.php?sid=15070> (Retrieved on 15.07.2015).
[26] Cf. Junisbai et al., op. cit. (note 10), p. 384.
[27] Cf. Isaacs, op. cit. (note 4), p. 70; See also: Aldar Kusainov, Kazakhstan's Critical Choice, in: Eurasianet.org of January 12, 2003. <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/rights/articles/eav011303.shtml> (Retrieved on 13.04.2015); S. G. Sheretov, *Noveishaia Istoriia Kazakhstana: 1985 – 2002 gg.* (The Newest History of Kazakhstan: 1985 – 2002), Almaty / 2003; Elimai.kz, op. cit. (note 15).
[28] Cf. Elimai.kz, op. cit. (note 15).
[29] Cf. Kassymzhomart Tokaev, *Zaevlenie Premier-Ministra Respubliki Kazakhstan, 20 Noiabria 2001g.* (Statement of the Prime Minister Kassymzhomart Tokaev). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iS8dc4f39xc (Retrieved on 16.08.2015); Lidia Karmazina, Institutionalization of the Party System in the Republic of Kazakhstan: Past and Present, in: Central Asia and the Caucasus, 53/5; Vox Populi, op. cit. (note 16).
[30] Cf. Karmazina, op. cit. (note 29), p. 7; Andrea Schmitz, Elitenwandel und Politische Dynamik in Kasachstan, SWP-Studie, Berlin / 2003.
[31] The authorities did not provide permission for the original venue, a theatre. Cf. Bolat Ryskozha, *Biznes-Tekhnologiia Liderov DVK ne Opravdala Sebia v Oppozitsionnoi Srede* (The Business Skills of the DVK Leaders did not Help in their Opposition Endeavours), Radio Azattyq January 18, 2009. <http://rus.azattyq.org/a/DVK_kazakhstan_leaders_ablyazov_zhakyanov/1371159.html> (Retrieved on 16.08.2015).
[32] Cf. Karmazina, op. cit. (note 29); Lidia Karmazina, Opposition in Kazakhstan: Nagging Problems, in: Central Asia and the Caucasus, 58/4.
[33] Cf. Ryskozha, op. cit. (note 31).
[34] Cf. Gulzhan Ergalieva and Petr Svoik, *Proshloe ne Otkazyvaetsia ot Nas. Tsikl Besed Glavnogo Redaktora Gazety 'Svoboda Slova', Zhurnalistki Gul'zhan Ergalievoi I Politika Petra Svoika ob Istorii Dvizheniia 'Demokraticheskij Vybor Kazakhstana'* (The Past does not Reject Us. Conversations Between Editor-in-Chief of Newspaper 'Freedom of the Word' Gul'zhan Ergalieva and the Politician Petr Svoik about the History of the DVK Movement), in: Internet-Gazeta Zona.kz April 23, 2009. < https://zonakz.net/articles/25061> (retrieved on 17.07.2016); Open Dialogue, The Story of 'The Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan' Opposition Movement. Warsaw / 2012.
[35] Cf. Serikbolsyn Abdil'din, in: Sultan Han Akkuli, *Poiavlenie i Raspad DVK Posluzhili Urokom Ne Tol'ko Dlia Vlasti* (The Emergence and Downfall of the DVK Served as a Lesson not only for Those in Power), Radio Azattyq, November 20, 2009. http://rus.azattyq.org/a/Kazakhstan_dvk_round_table/1882932.html (retrieved on 12.06.2016).
[36] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, cited in: Open Dialogue, op. cit. (note 34), p. 3.
[37] Cf. Schmitz, op. cit. (note 30); Human Rights Watch, Political Freedoms in Kazakhstan, 16 /3 (D).
[38] Cf. Caspian News Agency, *Ugolovnoe Dela Protiv Eks-Ministra Energetiki Abiazova Napravleno v Verhovnyj Sud* (Criminal Case Against Former Minister of Energy Referred Directly to the Supreme Court), Karavan News of June 3, 2002. < http://www.caravan.kz/news/ugolovnoe-delo-protiv-ehksministra-ehnergetiki-ablyazova-napravleno-v-verkhovnyjj-sud-174553/> (Retrieved on 18.08.2015); Open Dialogue, op. cit. (note 34), p. 4.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Cf. Amnesty International, Concerns in Europe and Central Asia: July to December 2002, London / 2003; Human Rights Watch, op. cit. (note 38); Stephan M. Minikes, Kazakhstan: Freedom of the Media, Statement to the OSCE Permanent Council of February 18, 2003, Vienna. < https://2001-

2009.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/2003/19829.htm> (Retrieved on 13.07.2015); European Parliament, Human Rights in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, February 13, 2003, P5_TA(2003)0064; Freedom House, Nations in Transit: Kazakhstan, Washington, D.C. / 2005 <https://freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2005/kazakhstan> (retrieved on 13.06.2015).

[41] However, Ablyazov only officially renounced his political engagement with the DVK, and continued to support the DVK from abroad - financially as well as ideationally. Cf. Furman, op. cit. (note 29), p. 237; Gulzhan Ergalieva and Petr Svoik, op. cit. (note 34).

[42] Cf. Memorandum between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Embassies of the French Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the federal Republic of Germany to the Republic of Kazakhstan, April 3, 2002, in: Open Dialogue, op. cit. (note 34).

[43] Cf. Open Dialogue, op. cit. (note 34), p. 6.

[44] Cf. Fergana News Agency, Galymzhan Zhakianov Vyshel na Svobodu i Torzhestvenno Vozvratilsia v Almu-Atu, January 16, 2006. http://www.fergananews.com/articles/4183 (Retrieved on 15.07.2015).

[45] Cf. Schmitz, op. cit. (note 30), p. 25.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Cf. Open Dialogue, op. cit. (note 34).

[48] Cf. Human Rights Watch, op. cit. (note 40), p. 16; Schmitz, op. cit. (note 30), p. 25.

[49] Cf. Bulat Abilov, in: Sultan Han Akkuli, *Poiavlenie i Raspad DVK Posluzhili Urokom Ne Tol'ko Dlia Vlasti* (The Emergence and Downfall of the DVK Served as a Lesson not only for Those in Power), Radio Azattyq, November 20, 2009. http://rus.azattyq.org/a/Kazakhstan_dvk_round_table/1882932.html (retrieved on 12.06.2016).

[50] Cf. Ak Zhol Demokratichekaia Partia Kazakhstana, *Novoia Programma Partii* (New Party Program). http://akzhol.kz/ru/listarticle/index/22/151 (Retrieved on 12.06.2015); Sergey Konovalov, Parties' Pre-Election Platforms: Experience of Implementation of Discursive Analysis Technique, in: Analytic, 2007/4; Andrei Zaretskiy, *Politicheskie Partii Kazakhstana – Istoria i Sovremennost'* (Political Parties in Kazakhstan – History and Present), in: Sovremennaia Nauka: Aktual'mye Problemy Teorii i Praktiki, 2015/11-12. < http://www.nauteh-journal.ru/index.php/ru/---ep15-11/1654-a> (Retrieved on 10.02.2016).

[51] Cf. The President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *Ukaz ot 2 Noiabria 2004 Goda N 1467, O Natsional'noi Komisii po Voprosam Demokratii i Grazhdanskogo Obshchestva pri Prezidente Respubliki Kazakhstan* (Decree on the Establishment of the National Commission on Questions of Democracy and Civil Society under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan). https://egov.kz/cms/ru/law/list/U040001467_ (Retrieved on 15.02.2016).

[52] Ibid.

[53] Cf. Ergalieva and Svoik, op. cit. (note 34).

[54] Cf. Congress of the United States of America, Resolution by Senator Smith of New Jersey, Washington, D.C. / 2002. ftp://ftp.loc.gov/pub/openthomas/107/107HC00422.xml (Retrieved on 15.02.2016); European Parliament, op. cit. (note 40); Human Rights Watch, op. cit. (note 40).

[55] Cf. European Parliament, op. cit. (note 40).

[56] Cf. Ergalieva and Svoik, op. cit. (note 34).

[57] Cf. Andrey Sviridov, Kazakh Establishment vs. European Parliament, Kazakhstan Monitor of March 31, 2003. http://kub.info/print.php?sid=3450 (Retrieved on 13.12.2015).

[58] Cf. Sean Roberts, Doing the Democracy Dance in Kazakhstan: Democracy Development as Cultural Encounter, in Slavic review, 2012/2.

[59] Cf. *Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 2 Iiulia 1996, O Politicheskikh Partiiakh,* (Law on Political Parties of July 2 1996), Almaty / 1996.

[60] Cf. Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Declaration of Copenhagen Article 7.6, 1990, p. 3.

[61] Cf. Isaacs, op. cit. (note 4), p. 98.

[62] Cf. *Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 15.07.2002, O Politicheskikh Partiiakh,* (Law on Political Parties of July 2 1996), Astana / 1996.

[63] In addition to the repressive tactics that evolved as a response to the DVK, this law substantially contributed to a further downgrading on the part of the INSCR institutionalized authority index, this time from -4 to -6, paying tribute to the sharp restriction that the 2002 Law entailed. Cf. The

Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INCSR), Polity IV Annual Time-Series 1800 – 2015.<http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/inscr.htm> (accessed on 28.06.2016).
[64] Cf. No author, *Kommunistam 'vykruchivaut' ruki'* (Unscrewing the Communists' Hands), Pravda Kazakhstana, 11/79, March 19-25, 2003. http://www.navi.kz/Articles/4print.php?artid=3125 (Retrieved on 14.04.2015).
[65] Cf. Press Release RNPK, *Budet Takoi Zakon o Partiiakh*, May 29, 2002. http://www.kub.info/print.php?sid=1252 (Retrieved on 15.02.2016).
[66] A case in point is Azat Peruashev, the leader of the Civil Party. Cf. Deutsche Welle, *Hronika Tsentral'noi Azii, Vypusk za 13.12.02* (Chronicle of Central Asia of 13.12.2002), <http://www.dw.com/ru/выпуск-за-131202/a-712697> (Retrieved 15.02.2015); Isaacs, op. cit. (note 4), p. 96.
[67] Cf. Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Republic of Kazakhstan. The Law on Political Parties Adopted on 15 July, Warsaw / 2002. http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/kazakhstan/201966?download=true (Retrieved on 18.02.2015).
[68] Cf. European Parliament, op. cit. (note 40).
[69] For an overview of the various forms of harassment during the DVK's registration attempts, see e.g. Human Rights Watch, op. cit. (note 40).
[70] Cf. Vladimir Kozlov, *Narodnuyu partiyu 'Demokraticheskiy vybor Kazakhstana' (NP DVK) – zaregistrirovali!* (The Peoples' Party 'Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan' has been registered!), Internet Newspaper ZonaKZ of May 5, 2004.< https://zonakz.net/articles/6172> (Retrieved on 13.04.2015).
[71] Cf. News Service DVK, Uchreditel'nyj S'ezd Narodnoi Partii 'Demokraticheskii Vybor Kazakhstana' (*The Constitutive Congress of the Peoples' Party 'Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan'*), Internet Newspaper ZonaKZ of February 25, 2004. https://zonakz.net/articles/5626 (Retrieved on 13.06.2015).
[72] Cf. Kozlov, op. cit. (note 70).
[73] Cf. News Service DVK, Itogi Pervogo S'ezda Narodnoi Partii 'Demokraticheskii Vybor Kazakhstana', Internet Newspaper ZonaKZ of July 28, 2004. < https://zonakz.net/articles/6666> (Retrieved on 15.06.2015).
[74] Ibid.
[75] Of the total 77 seats, more than half (42) went to members of the presidential Otan Party, 11 went to AIST Bloc (GPK and APK), Dariga Nazarbaeva's Asar gained 4 seats, the newly established pro-presidential Democratic Party of Kazakhstan gained one seat, as did Ak Zhol. Eighteen seats were won by independent contestants of a largely pro-presidential attitude. Cf. Isaacs, op. cit. (note 4), p. 73; OSCE/ODIHR, OSCE PA, CEPA International Election Observation Mission, Republic of Kazakhstan Parliamentary Elections 19 September 2004, Warsaw / 2004.
[76] Cf. OSCE / ODIHR, op. cit. (note75).
[77] Cf. *Zakon O Protivodeistivii Ekstremizmu ot 18 Fevralia 2005* (Law on Counteractive Measures Against Extremist Activities of 18.02.2005), Astana / 2005.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Cf. OSCE / ODIHR, Comments on the Draft Laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan 'On Counteractive Measures against Extremist Activities' and 'On Amendments to Several Legislative Acts with regard to Counteractive Measures Against Extremist Activities', Warsaw / 2005.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Cf. News Service NP DVK, *Materialy II S'ezda NPDVK* (Materials of the Second Congress of the DVK), Internet Newspaper ZonaKZ of December 13, 2004. http://www.zonakz.net/articles/7670 (Retrieved on 15.06.2015).
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Cf. Sergey Shipulin, *I Nikakoi Politiki…* (And No Politics at All…), Kazinform, January 7, 2005. < http://www.kub.info/print.php?sid=7946> (Retrieved on 20.03.2016).
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Cf. European Union Permanent Council, EU Statement on the Passing of Legislation on Extremism and the Court Ruling to Dissolve the DCK Political Party in Kazakhstan, 17 February 2005; ZonaKZ, Freedom House: *Ogranichenie Demokratii v Kazakhstane* (Limitation of Democracy in Kazakhstan),

Internet Newspaper ZonaKZ, https://zonakz.net/articles/?artid=7881 (Retrieved on 15.03.2015); Gennadi Sysoev, *Vlasti Kazakhstana Otmeniaiut 'Demokraticheskii Vybor* (The Power of Kazakhstan logs off the 'Democratic Choice'), Kommersant of January 11, 2005. <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/537630> (Retrieved on 12.06.2015)

[88] Ibid.

[89] Cf. Isaacs, op. cit. (note 4).

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid., p. 89.

[92] Further new pro-presidential parties included an alternative Communist Party, Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan (KNPK) led by Nazarbaev-close Vladislav Kosarev and the Rukhaniat (Spirituality) Party, the successor of the Party of Revival, which failed to obtain registration under the new law. Cf. Anthony Clive Bowyer, Parliament and Political Parties in Kazakhstan, Silk Road Paper, Washington, D.C. / 2008.

[93] Cf. *Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 21 Maia 2007 Goda No 254-III 'O Vnesenii Izmenenii i Dopolnenii v Konstitutsiiu Respubliki Kazakhstan'* (Law on Introducing Amendments and Supplements into the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan), Astana / 2007; Marat A. Sarembayev, Parliamentary Reform in the Republic of Kazakhstan, Institut für Froedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik Hamburg (ISFH) (Ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2007, Baden-Baden / 2007.

[94] Cf. No Author, *Sozdana Goskomissiia po Demokratizatsii* (The State Commission on Democratization has been Established), in: Kazakhstan Today of March 23, 2006. < http://www.kub.info/print.php?sid=12444> /Retrieved on 28.10.2016).

[95] Cf. Caspian News Agency, *Goskomissiia po Demokratizatsii Prizyvaet Ob'edinit' Usiliia Dlia Podderzhki Zaiavki Kazakhstana Na Predsedatel'stvovanie v OBSE* (The State Commission on Democratization Appeals to Reinforce the Efforts to Support Kazakhstan's Bid for the OSCE), in: Caravan.kz of September 04, 2006. < http://www.caravan.kz/news/goskomissiya-po-demokratizacii-prizyvaet-obedinit-usiliya-dlya-podderzhki-zayavki-kazakhstana-na-predsedatelstvovanie-v-obse-215666/> (Retrieved on 13.10.2015); No Author, Kazakhstan: Astana Seeks OSCE Rotating Chairmanship in 2009, in: Eurasianet.org of Novmber 4, 2005. < http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/pp110505.shtml> (Retrieved on 25.10.2015).

[96] Cf. OSCE/ODIHR, OSCE PA, CEPA International Election Observation Mission, Republic of Kazakhstan Parliamentary Elections 18 August 2007, Warsaw / 2007.

[97] Cf. Serik Kozhkenov, *DPK 'Nastoiashchii Ak Zhol' Proshel Registratsiiu* (DPK 'The Real Ak Zhol' Passed Government registration), in: Kazinform News Agency of March 22, 2006. <http://www.nomad.su/?a=3-200603220610> (Retrieved on 20.08.2015).

[98] Cf. OSCE / ODIHR, op. cit. (note 96).

[99] Cf. Joanna Lillis, Kazakhstan: Astana's Proposed Reforms Draw Criticism, in: Eurasiante.org of December 16, 2008. http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/eav121708.shtml (Retrieved on 13.04.2015).

[100] Ibid. Cf. also Isaacs, op. cit. (note 4), p. 99.

[101] Cf. Asylbek Kozhakhmetov, *'Alga, DVK!' Zaevlenie of Sozdanii Narodnoj Partii 'Alga, DVK!'* ('Forward, DVK!' Statement on the Establishment of the People's Party 'Alga, DVK!'), in: FREEAS Svobodnaia Aziia of March 29, 2005. < http://www.webcitation.org/mainframe.php > (Retrieved on 13.04.2015); Anna Kalashnikova, *Vpered! Narodnaia Partiia!* (Forward! Peoples' Party!), in: ZonaKZ of July 26, 2005. https://zonakz.net/articles/9347 (Retrieved on 15.10.2015); Andriy Osavoliyk, The 'Alga!' Party: A Ban on Its Activities and Oppression of Activists, Open Dialogue Foundation, Warsaw / 2013. http://en.odfoundation.eu/a/1054,the-alga-party-a-ban-on-its-activities-and-oppression-of-activists (Retrieved on 18.10.2015); News Service of NP Alga (DVK), *7 Iiulia Sostaialos' Pervoe Zasedanie Koordinatsionnogo Komiteta Nezaregestrirovannoj Narodnoj Partii 'Alga!' (DVK)* (On July 7, the First Meeting of the Unregistered People's Party 'Alga!' (DVK) has taken place), in: ZonaKZ of July 10, 2007. < https://zonakz.net/articles/18437> (Retrieved on 15.10.2015).

[102] Cf. Osavoliyk, op. cit. (note 101); Isaacs, op. cit. (note 4).

[103] Cf. Otwarty Dialogue, *Kratkij Obzor Po Dosrochnym Parlamentskim Vyboram v Kazakhstane I Spisok Politicheskij Partij* (Brief Overview over the early Parliamentary Elections and a List of Political Parties), Otwarty Dialogue, Warsaw / 2012; News service NP 'Alga' (DVK*), Predsedatel' Prezidiuma Politsoveta Narodnoj Partii 'Alga!' (DVK) Asylbek Kozhakhmetov Podal v Otstavku* (The

Chairman of the People's Party DVK has Stepped Down), in: qwas.ru of July 4, 2007. < http://www.qwas.ru/kazakhstan/npdvk/id_63255/> (Retrieved on 19.09.2015); Isaacs, op. cit. (note 4).
[104] Cf. Dossym Satpaev and Tolganay Umbetaliyeva, The Protests in Zhanaozen and the Kazakh Oil Sector: Conflicting Interests in a Rentier State, in: Journal of Eurasian Studies, 6/2; Human Rights Watch, Kazakhstan: Opposition Leader Jailed, October 9, 2012. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2012/10/09/kazakhstan-opposition-leader-jailed> (Retrieved on 10.02.2015); Joanna Lillis, Kazakhstan: Opposition Leader Jailed Over Zhanaozen Unrest, in: Eurasianet.org of October 8, 2012. < http://www.eurasianet.org/node/66021> (retrieved on 13.02.2015).
[105] Cf. OSCE/ODIHR, OSCE PA, CEPA International Election Observation Mission, Republic of Kazakhstan Parliamentary Elections 19 September 2004, Warsaw / 2012; Kazis Toguzbaev, *Vybory Parlamenta: Oppositsiia Reshila Splotitsia Eshche Raz* (Parliamentary Elections: The Opposition Decided to Unite One More Time), in: Radio Azattyk of November 21, 2011. http://rus.azattyq.org/a/parliament_election_kazakh_opposition/24397571.html (Retrieved on 25.02.2015).
[106] However, the degree of Tuyakbay's actual anti-presidentialism has been questioned the past years. Cf. Asylhan Mamashuly, *Zharmahan Tuiakbai. Lider 'Edinstvennoi Oppozitsionnoj Partii'* (Zharmakhan Tuiakbai. Leader of 'the Only Opposition Party'), in: Radio Azattyq of February 22, 2016. < http://rus.azattyq.org/a/zharmakan-tuyakbay-osdp/27561918.html> (Retrieved on 13.06.2016).
[107] Cf. Charlotte Epstein, Who speaks? Discourse, the subject and the study of identity in international politics, European Journal of International relations, 2010 / 2, p. 341.
[108] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Oktaiabr' 2000 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, October 2000), Astana / 2000.
[109] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Aprel 2002 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, April 2002), Astana / 2002.
[110] Ibid. For an elaborated version, cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Oktaiabr' Aprel' 2003 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, April 2003), Astana / 2003.
[111] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (notes 108, 109); Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Mart' 2004 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, March 2004), Astana / 2004.
[112] Cf. Nazzarbaev, op. cit. (note 108).
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 109).
[116] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbayev, *Demokratiu Nelzia Ob'iavit, Yie Mozhno Lish' Vystradat* (Democracy Cannot be Decreed, It Has to Evolve), in: Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, February 1, 2003.
[117] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 108).
[118] Cf. Delegations of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia, On the Issue of Reform of the OSCE Field Activities ('Food-for-Thought'-Paper), Moscow, PC.DEL/986/03 of September 4, 2003.
[119] Cf. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Information and Press Department, Statement by CIS Member Countries on the State of Affairs in the OSCE, Moscow, PC.DEL/630 of July 8, 2004.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Cf. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Information and Press Department, Appeal of the CIS Member States to the OSCE Partners 'Astana Appeal', Astana, SEC.DEL/225 of September 16, 2004.
[123] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Fevral' 2005 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, February 2005), Astana / 2005.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., italics added.

[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, The Kazakhstan Way, London / 2008, p.5.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Fevral' 2008 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, February 2008), Astana / 2008.
[132] Cf. Kassymzhomart Tokaev, *Vystuplenie na Mezhdunarodnoi Nauchno-Prakticheskoi Konferentsii 'Sovremennyi Kazakhstan i "Put' v Evropu"'* (Address at the International Academic-Practical Conference 'Contemporary Kazakhstan and the Pathway to Europe', Astana / 2009; Kanat Saudabaev, *Vystuplenie Gossekretaria RK K.B. Saudabaev na Spetsial'noi Press-Konferentsii po Povodu Predsedatel'stva Kazakhstana v OBSE v 2010 godu* (Address at a Special Press Conference regarding Kazakhstan's Chairmanship of the OSCE in 2010), Astana / 2007.
[133] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, Statement by his Excellency Nursultan Nazarbayev, President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, at the 2010 OSCE Summit, Astana / 2010.
[134] One notable exception in this regard is the 2012 Strategy 'Kazakhstan 2050'. There, however, the term is referred to as an abstract future goal: 'We should follow the civilized path, together with the whole world and take a course towards further democratization of the society'. Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, Address by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Leader of the Nation, N. Nazarbayev 'Strategy Kazakhstan-2050': New Political Course of the Established State of December 14, 2012, Astana / 2012.
[135] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 133).
[136] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie Prezidenta RK N.A. Nazarbaeva na Soveshchanii OBSE po Mezhkul'turnoi, Mezhreligioznoi, Mezhetnitichskoi Terpimosti* (Address by N.A. Nazarbaev on an OSCE Meeting on Intercultural, Interreligious, and Interethnic Patience), June 12, 2006, Almaty / 2006; Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 122); Kassymjomart Tokaev, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del RK K.K. Tokaeva na 13-oi Sessii Soveta Ministrov OBSE* (Address by Foreign Minister K.K. Tokaev at the 13th Session of the OSCE Ministerial Council), December 6, 2005, Ljubljana / 2005.
[137] The notion of 'crisis' has been taken from Tokaev, op. cit. (note 123); Cf. also Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie Prezidenta Respubliki N.A. Nazarbaeva na Pervom Forume Parlamentskoi Assamblei OBSE* (Address at the First Forum of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly), Almaty / 2003; Kanat Saudabaev, *Vystuplenie Gossekretaria RK K.B. Saudabaev na Konferentsii "Sovremennyi Kazakhstan" i "Put' v Evropu"* (Address of State Secretary Saudabaev at the Conference "Contemporary Kazakhstan" and "The Path to Europe"), May 21, 2009, Astana / 2009; Marat Tazhin, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del RK M.M. Tazhina na Spezsial'nom Zasedanii Postoiannogo Soveta OBSE* (Address of Foreign Minister Tazhin at a Special Session of the Permanent Council of the OSCE), April 30, 2007, Vienna / 2007.
[138] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 136).
[139] Cf. Tokaev, op. cit. (note 132); Kassymzhomart Tokaev, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del Kassymzhomarta Tokaeva na 14-m Zasedanii SMID OBSE* (Address of Foreign Minister Kassymzhomart Takoaev on the 14th Session of the OSCE Ministerial Council), December 4, 2006, Brussels / 2006; Tazhin, op. cit. (note 137; Marat Tazhin, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del M.M. Tazhina na 16-om Soveshchanii Ministrov Inostranykh Del Gosudarstv-Uchastnikov OBSE v Helsinki* (Address of Foreign Minister Tazhin at the 16th Session of the OSCE Ministerial Counci), December 4, 2008, Helsinki / 2008; Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 136).
[140] Cf. Tazhin, op. cit. (note 137).
[141] Cf. Marat Tazhin, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del RK M.M. Tazhina na 15 Seveshchanie MInistrov Inostrannykh Del Gosudarvst-Uchastnikov OBSE* (Address of Foreign Minister Taazhin at the 15th OSCE Ministerial Council), November 30, 2007, Madrid / 2007; Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 136).
[142] On reflections as to how this alternative approach to security has been shaping the OSCE, cf. David Lewis, Who's Socializing Whom? Regional Organization and Contested Norms in Central Asia, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 64/7.

Chapter V
The 'Kazakh Way': A Chinese Construct?

During the first decade of independence, the OSCE pursued its socializing mission in post-Soviet Kazakhstan in an 'exclusive' way – it was the only multilateral organization on-site that was dedicated to the promotion of the West's political norm and values. This state of affairs ended in 2001, with the inception of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, a Beijing-inspired and –led regional organization to which Kazakhstan was a founding member. Like the OSCE, the SCO has been serving as a site of socialization as well. There, Kazakhstan got acquainted with the norms, values, and security understandings pertinent to its Eastern neighbour. As will be shown below, this second process set free two mechanisms in Kazakhstan – that of securitization of political competition and that of ideational neutralization – , both of which have had a profound impact on the post-Soviet country's relationship with the OSCE and the 'West' in general. Before delving into the effects of the normative operation of the SCO, however, the next section will introduce the organization, and elaborate on China's role in it.

1. The Ascendance of 'Asian' Values in Central Asia

1.1 The Shanghai Cooperation Organization

Beijing's involvement in Central Asia dates back to 1989, when it entered into negotiations on the delineation and demilitarisation of the then heavily fortified Sino-Soviet frontier which encompassed the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Tajik Republics. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, these talks continued on a bilateral basis - between Beijing and the respective governments of the newly independent states.[1] The formation of a sound bilateral basis, however, was tainted by the outbreak of unrest in Xinjiang, a province on China's North-Western frontier and home to a large Uighur minority that shares ethnic, religious, and cultural ties with the Central Asian peoples.[2] The collapse of the Soviet Union and the ensuing independence of the former titular republics substantially encouraged existent separatist tendencies in the Chinese province, leading to the outbreak of a series of riots during the early 1990s. This circumstance dramatically raised the significance of the Central Asian region to the government in Beijing who suspected that the newly independent

republics sympathised with the Uighurs' drive for independence and played an important part in their mobilisation.[3]

It is against this background that China began to develop a multilateral approach towards Central Asia, which not only sought to promote the peaceful accommodation on border issues but also, crucially, focused on introducing and asserting its own position on the 'Xinjiang problem'.[4] To this end, Beijing embarked upon a neighbourhood policy that combined the newly independent states' core interests of economic development and political stability with its own security needs, gearing at the establishment of mutually beneficial, and hence reliable, Sino-Central Asian relations.[5]

In 1992 and following Beijing's initiative, Russia and the Republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan on the one hand, as well as China on the other, commenced bilateral negotiations regarding border delineation issues. These efforts eventually led to the 1996 Shanghai summit where the five nations signed their first multilateral 'Agreement on Deepening Military Trust in Border Regions.'[6] The same summit also established the 'Shanghai Five', a semi-formal format dedicated at the development of a collective multilateral basis on which future security cooperation could build. From then one, the presidents of the five countries have been meeting annually, expanding their interest base beyond military cooperation to the extent that in 2001, five years after the formative summit and upon admission of sixth member Uzbekistan, the 'Shanghai Five' could be transformed into a formal regional organisation, the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO).[7]

The SCO has a tripartite institutional structure. At the top of the hierarchy is the Heads of State Council (HSC), the 'supreme body' of the SCO. The HSC meets annually in order to define the priorities and areas of activities of the SCO, to take decisions on internal developments and on issues concerning the interaction with third states and international organisations.[8] Despite the inequality with regard to the member states' respective capabilities, all members are endowed with equal rights in the decision-making process. Decisions within the organisation are taken along 'democratic lines', meaning that although taken by consensus, the majority vote is enough to pass a measure as the non-participation of a member state in a particular issue should 'not prevent the implementation of … projects by the (other) member States.'[9]

The work of the HSC is supported by the SCO Secretariat whose main tasks are to coordinate and provide 'informational, analytical, legal, organisational and technical support' to the organisation, to support and monitor the implementation of the agreements of the HSC, and to make suggestions for the annual budget.[10] The focus of the Secretariat is on the

administrative, day-to-day issues of the organisation, and it is composed of four distinct sub-institutions: the Political Section, the Economic and Cultural Section, the Information and Analysis Section, and the Administration Section. It has a total staff of 30 from all member states and is led by the Secretary General who is appointed by the HSC rotating on a three-year basis.[11]

The other permanent organ of the SCO is the Regional Counter-Terrorist Structure (RCTS). It was firstly mentioned in the 'Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism' which envisioned a 'Regional Counter-Terrorist Structure' that would 'effectively combat terrorism, separatism and extremism.'[12] Above all, the task of the RCTS is to assist and coordinate the 'competent agencies of SCO member countries on fighting with terrorism, separatism and extremism' by way of exchanging intelligence and coordinating the interaction of the special services and the law-enforcement bodies of SCO member states.[13] What is more, RCTS engages in the harmonisation of national anti-terrorist legislation, the organisation of expert-level seminars and trainings, and the tracking of financial sources of terrorist organisations.[14] In organizational terms, RCTS stands on two pillars - an executive committee whose members are senior military staff, permanently stationed at the headquarters in Tashkent and a council that is made up of national ministers who are in charge of the domestic anti-terrorism departments.[15] The RCTS, too, has a total staff of 30 persons, with seven coming from Russia and China respectively, six from Kazakhstan, five from Uzbekistan, three from Kyrgyzstan, and two from Tajikistan.[16]

All in all, and in spite of the presence of two permanent organs, however, supra-nationalism remains only nominal within the SCO: both the Secretariat and RCTS have a very narrow decision-making remit, as well as a very tight room for manoeuvre in financial terms, with a budget that 'covers little more than running costs.'[17]Nevertheless, as Akiner points out, 'despite these practical limitations, the Secretary General does play an international role, representing the Organisation at meetings with foreign dignitaries and making public statements on matters of concern' – in short, he acts as the SCO's institutional voice.[18] It is at this point that the organization's normative dimension enters the stage.

Fundamentally, the SCO main priority is to fight the 'three evils' of 'terrorism, separatism and extremism' in the region. The most important source in respect of this joint 'mission' is the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism, and Extremism. This document was adopted in 2001, on the same day as the SCO itself, preceding by one year the legal basis of the organisation - its Charter -, which in itself emphasises its defining role within the organisation. In terms of content, the Convention, notably its key notion of

'three evils', draws on China's domestic security discourse, where it is regularly applied to Uighur-related, as well as other issues of government-felt insecurity.[19] Within the SCO, in turn, the 'three evils' have been re-adjusted to Central Asia's thematic equivalents. In this regard, the 2005 Kyrgyz 'Tulip Revolution' served as a template for the SCO's subsequent categorization of the region's 'evils': Zhang Deguang, then the Secretary-General of the organization and thus its voice, condemned the Revolution, describing it as a 'disturbing event' that exhibited 'negative excesses' and underlining that it was demonstrative of the 'need of the SCO to counteract extremist forces, and to maintain stability in the region and society.'[20] It was thus that the SCO, in the spring of 2005, constructed a locally informed linkage between an activity - civil anti-regime activism - and the offence of 'extremism', and thus officially established its regime-centring understanding of security.[21]

The same year's incident of Andijan, Uzbekistan, was even more illustrative of the SCO's focus on preserving the security and stability of the local regimes, and with it, the region's political status quo. In this case, the SCO explicitly endorsed the Uzbek government's crackdown on protestors in the city of Andijan, during which the Uzbek security services are reported to have shot deliberately on civilians, causing the death of at least four hundred people. Western governments, organisations, and media have condemned the shooting as a 'massacre' against an unarmed, civilian population.[22] The SCO, however, through its heads of states as well as again through General-Secretary Deguang, expressed solidarity with Karimov's government, condemning the protests as an act of terrorism which should be viewed in the context of Uzbekistan's internal struggle against radical Islam, and voiced its readiness to help to restore the country's 'security'.[23] Two weeks after the incident, China's President Hu Jintao reiterated his favourable opinion of the Uzbek government's measures, welcoming its 'efforts in safeguarding national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity', and assuring Uzbekistan's authoritarian president of the 'common interest in safeguarding regional peace, stability and security' by 'jointly cracking down on the "three evil forces"'.[24]

These cases illustrate the implicit understanding of the 'three evils', which allows to frame politically motivated civil anti-regime activism as 'extremism', and even, given a suitable (Islamic) religious dimension, as 'terrorism'. As such, these cases also illustrate the implicit rationale of the organization: at its core, the SCO may be understood as a tool to mutualize Beijing's security understandings and interests with that of the Central Asian states, and to establish a core unifying project that not only preserves the 'stability' of neighbouring Central Asia but also at home - by way of establishing a mutually advantageous normative

framework to control the Uighurs' (and other status quo 'disturbing forces'') 'terrorist, extremist, and separatist' activities in the region.

In addition to its strong focus on security, the organization also exhibits a distinct ideational dimension. Indeed, the SCO, as the first multilateral organization initiated and led by Beijing, acts as a repository of China's foreign policy approach. Accordingly, the normative content of the SCO needs to be seen against the background of China's general strategy of international reassurance and normative multi-polarization. That is, the SCO's normative content represents China's 'distinct' approach to international relations: it aims to address and moderate the concerns about its exponential 'rise', while, at the same time, establishing itself as another, non-Western and alternative, 'pole' in global affairs. Former President Hu Jintao, under whom China's strategy of global reassurance and multi-polarization got particular impetus, elaborated on this linkage between the regional and the international, and the general rationale of such an undertaking:

> 'For our neighbouring countries, we will continue to follow the foreign policy of friendship and partnership, strengthen good-neighbourly relations and practical cooperation with them, and energetically engage in regional cooperation in order to jointly create a peaceful, stable regional environment featuring equality, mutual trust and win-win cooperation. … We will (thus) continue to take an active part in multilateral affairs, assume our due international obligations, … and work to make the international order fairer and more equitable.'[25]

In concrete terms, then, China's strategy of reassurance and the therein contained attitude of political 'neutrality' are the backbones of the SCO's normative content, being epitomized by the organization's 'Shanghai Spirit'.[26] This 'Spirit', as former Secretary-General Deguang described it, has a Taoist-Confucian, and thus a distinctly 'Asian'-informed normative fundament, being constituted by the 'principles of non-alignment and openness to the rest of the world, mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, mutual consultations, respect for diversity of cultures and aspiration for joint development.'[27] At the same time, however, the SCO's normative framework also includes international standards. The organization's Charter, for instance, makes an unequivocal reference to the Charter of the United Nations, listing principles such as 'mutual respect of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity of States and inviolability of State borders, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force or threat of its use in international relations.'[28] Of the latter principles, 'non-interference into the internal affairs of a state' occupies a particularly prominent position, representing the conceptual bridge between the organization's 'Asian' content and its generally international posture.[29]

Thus, the SCO follows the international definition of 'interference' as 'the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state', which ranges from military intervention to more subtle interference in political activities, support for secession, and so-called 'regime change'.[30] However, paying tribute to its 'Asian' heritage as well, the SCO discourse 'flavours' the non-interference principle with the addendum of 'respect for diversity of (political) cultures', which, in turn, establishes the linkage between 'non-interference' and the 'right' to autonomously choose an 'own path of development.'[31] As applied in the SCO, therefore, 'non-interference' is best understood as the unequivocal rejection of the 'export of foreign models of social development.'[32] Such statements address the (Western, and in the case at hand OSCE-led) attempts to promote political transformation in the region – an endeavour that, from a Chinese perspective, constitutes 'the cause at the root to instability around the world.'[33] It is at this point that China's normative counter-endeavour sets in.

Indeed, the linkage between 'non-interference' and 'diversity' unambiguously reflects China's general foreign policy approach, which stipulates that no single model of (social and political) development fits all; that each country should choose its individual development route; and that 'outsiders should not interfere.'[34] In short, it reflects a individualistic position on political development, which is substantiated by China's and the organization's constitutive norms of political 'neutrality' and 'restraint' that evolve along precisely this linkage.[35] According to Beijing, then, these constitutive norms is what sets China, and with it, the SCO, apart from what is understood as the 'West's unipolar domination' of international affairs in general and its universalistic perspective on non-Western political development in particular.[36] In other words, the advocacy of a conduct in inter-state relations that 'respect(s) each other's national sovereignty, tolerate(s) diversity (in national political systems and values), and promotes national development' needs to be seen within the context of Beijing's attempts to multi-polarize, and thus essentially 'de-Westernize' international affairs.[37] In this regard, the SCO represents a fundamental means to demonstrate its 'neutral', 'restrained', and hence normatively distinct international approach – as it, in the words of its Charter, not only aims at the establishment of 'mutual trust, friendship and good neighbourliness between the member states' but also at 'developing political multipolarity' and the 'promotion of a new democratic, fair and rational political … international order.'[38]

To conclude this section, since 2001, the SCO has been active both on the regional and the international levels. Regionally, its functioning may be understood in the context of China's strategy to assert its own, distinct security (and other) interests in post-Soviet Central

by way of reframing and accommodating the local regimes' security concerns into a what it considers a legitimate and 'modern' security discourse. Internationally, on the other hand, the SCO represents Beijing's instrument to promote its distinct perspective on international conduct and order, and to establish itself as a non-Western and alternative 'pole' in global affairs – so as to multi-polarize international relations. It is against this background that various observers have put the organization in the autocracy-promoting, or at least democracy-resistance-supporting corner, arguing that its normative framework was explicitly 'designed to preserve the autocratic regimes in the region', and thus counteract the West's democratizing objectives.[39] And it is against this background, that the next section will investigate whether, and how, the SCO has been promoting democratic resistance in Kazakhstan by examining the impact of the post-Soviet country's SCO membership on its social relationship with the West.

1.2 The Securitization of Political Competition

The common feature of the West's OSCE and China's SCO is that both view their engagement in Central Asia through the prism of international, and especially regional, security. What differs, however, significantly between both actors is the respective meaning that they ascribe to the notion of security. Thus, the OSCE's normative content is traditionally strongly underpinned by the linkage between democratic governance and security, and embraces the concept of human security. In this regard, non-traditional security threats such as terrorism and extremism certainly play a substantial role, having been mentioned in the 1994 Budapest Declaration already.[40] However, in the OSCE, these threats take an equitable place along other 'threats' within the organization's discourse, on a par with 'economic decline, social tension, aggressive nationalism, intolerance, xenophobia', among others.[41]Conversely, the role that China, and thus the SCO, allocates to those non-traditional threats is different, and far more urgent in nature. Indeed, already the SCO's founding document, the 2001-adopted 'Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism, and Extremism' accentuated the dangers emanating from the particular threats of the 'three evils', dedicating the organization's first legal document to them, instead to its legal base, the Charter.[42]

For Kazakhstan, a norm-taker in both organizations, these divergent classifications of security, and especially of the notions of 'terrorism and extremism' resulted in the participation in dual, parallel, and normatively divergent socialization processes. Indeed, if

before 2001, the post-Soviet Republic had to adjust to only one, the OSCE's, definition and classification of extremism and other non-traditional threats, after 2001, it had to deal with two fundamentally divergent approaches to, and definitions of, the same threats: one that assigned 'regular' attention to them, and one that prioritized them among all other issues. Put differently, in 2001, Kazakhstan has become a norm-taking member of two different social groups, which, in their normative contents, exhibited a fundamentally divergent weighting of security in general, and the notion of extremism in particular: one weighting was politicized (OSCE), the other one was securitized (SCO), implying that in the former, 'extremism' was narrowly defined and represented a part of the organization's general outlook on security policy, while in the latter, the definition was broad, and presented as an existential threat, which, in turn, justified defections from established political rules and procedures.[43] In this regard, the pre-eminent and securitized role that was bestowed upon the 'three evils' in the SCO discourse came to have a significant impact upon Kazakhstan's OSCE- and democracy-related discourse, and, ultimately on its Western-oriented social identity.

This is because the SCO's securitized approach offered a vision of regional security that appealed not only to China but also to the nations that it sought to socialize, including outwardly Western-oriented, but 'cognitive priors'-constrained Kazakhstan. Indeed, the SCO's broad definition of the terms and the high degree of its securitization allowed the Kazakh (and other SCO-membering) authorities to create the implicit linkage between extremism and civil anti-regime activism, and thus to transform the non-security issue of political party formation and civil anti-regime activism into a subject of security – in short, to securitize the sphere of local political competition. This, in turn, helped President Nazarbaev to establish and justify the kind of 'order and stability' in Kazakhstan that he sought to create since independence: the institutionalization of protection of the presidential vertical - or in short, regime security.[44]

Put differently, the SCO's approach to extremism represented a useful means to subvert the 'negative externalities' of the then problematic procedural lock-in of political competition. Accordingly, this linkage was applied to the Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan even (shortly) before the official, SCO-wide template of the Kyrgyz 'Tulip Revolution' and the Andijan incident was established. In 2011, moreover, the president used the opportunity to reaffirm his commitment to the SCO's reading of 'extremism' (and thus to Kazakhstan's own 'cognitive prior'), this time addressing the stringently anti-presidential, democracy-oriented party Alga!, whose members helped to organize an oil worker strike in the city of Zhanaozen (see Chapter IV).

In short, President Nazarbaev was quickly persuaded by the SCO's securitized approach to extremism and other non-traditional threats, as it reflected his own perspective on the matter: already in his seminal formative work, the 1993 'Ideological Consolidation of Society as a Condition of Kazakhstan's Progress', he argued in favour of the need to counteract not 'constructive', anti-presidential, and thus 'extremist', political activity. At that time, however, he was constrained by the absence of a normative alternative, the ensuing strong normative gravitation of the West, as well as the absence of overtly dangerous political competition in the domestic sphere. During the second decade of independence and after experiencing a row of various manifestation of not 'constructive' political behaviour on the part of the local opposition, then, the norm of 'anti-extremism' became even more persuasive and attractive. Strained from the constant tension that emanated from the incompatibility between the new Western-oriented social identity and the needs of the 'cognitive priors' Nazarbaev, as he highlighted himself, was looking for 'our place in the world.'[45] Hence, his regime was 'highly cognitively motivated to analyse counter-attitudinal information' (i.e. to turn back to the pre-existing and SCO-supported norm) - especially, since this information stemmed from an internationally 'rising', and thus authoritative and status-providing power.[46]

Kazakhstan's convergence with the SCO's securitized approach had a substantial impact on its degree of identification with the OSCE's normative content, and hence, on its relationship with the organization in general. This is related to the issue of consistency. Indeed, in psychological terms, the development and verbalization of new discursive practices makes it costlier to defect from these. This is because people, socialization research has shown, are usually loath to appear as inconsistent. In the particular case of Kazakhstan's parallel and normatively divergent socialization processes, this implies that the norm-taker had not only to choose one pathway, but also to confer the chosen way on both identities, so as to avoid inconsistency in either direction. This Nazarbaev did: he consciously turned towards (respectively backwards to) the securitized approach, reconceptualised it as part of the 'Kazakh Way', and then, as the previous chapter has demonstrated, attempted to integrate this new, securitized version into the OSCE-related discourse – and thus subvert the identity of the latter in a not insignificant manner. [47]

For instance, addressing the organization's Parliamentary Assembly in June 2003 (shortly before the bid to chair the OSCE was made), President Nazarbaev stated that 'it is of utmost importance to widen the OSCE's role in the fight against terrorism and extremism.'[48] This idea was taken up by foreign minister Tokaev in 2006, who, in his address to the OSCE's Ministerial Council emphasised his hope that 'all of us are in favour of creating a

unified and effective organization, where we could elaborate a common perspective and position of how to tackle the most serious threats, including extremism …'.[49] In 2007, and in view of the country's upcoming chairmanship, subsequent foreign minister Tazhin stated to his OSCE counterparts that the fight against extremism would become a 'special priority of Kazakhstan' – if it was to attain the chairmanship.[50] This was conclusively reiterated by President Nazarbaev who, after Kazakhstan's successful bid and in the run up to the 2010 OSCE Summit in Astana, published an article in the newspaper *Izvestiya*, arguing that

> 'extremism represents one of the globally-spanning threats of modernity, which all OSCE member states have encountered to date. This is why, speaking of global security questions, the Organization cannot fail to react to terrorism and extremism, who, like cancer metastases, step by step infuse all of the modern global civilization.'[51]

To conclude this section, the SCO's securitized perspective on 'extremism' made it easy for Kazakhstan to turn away from the OSCE's merely politicized approach. This, in turn, facilitated the implementation of its hitherto suppressed desire to securitize a thoroughly political realm – that of political competition. Eventually, this led to a decline in Kazakhstan's identification with the OSCE's original, non-securitized normative content, and thus, with the organization (in its original normative outlook) itself. In this regard, Nazarbaev's address to the SCO's Heads of State of June 2005 (after the closure of the DVK on 'extremist' grounds, after the Kyrgyz Revolution, and after the Andijan incident) was explicit about the extent to which the linkage between 'extremism' and civil anti-regime activism has consolidated under the auspice of the SCO:

> 'Recent events in the Central Asian region have once again reminded us that the problem of … political extremism exists and constitutes a serious threat for the local regimes. … The question of democracy is a difficult and delicate question, which requires the consideration of historical conditions, cultural traditions and national mentality.'[52]

1.3 Ideational Neutralization

The second mechanism to facilitate the decline of Kazakhstan's Western-oriented social identity was that of ideational neutralization, induced by the other, non-securitized part of the SCO's normative content. This mechanism was closely related to China's emerging authoritative position in the international system, which derived from China's self-promoted role as the advocate, and interlocutor, of the developing world vis-à-vis the West, notably the US.[53] This non-securitized part of normative content was hybrid in nature, basing, on the one hand, on the 'Shanghai Spirit' – 'non-alignment and openness to the rest of the world, mutual

trust, mutual benefit, equality, mutual consultations, respect for diversity of cultures and aspiration for joint development' – and, on the other hand, on the traditionally Westphalian principles of 'sovereignty' and 'non-interference'.[54] The conjunction of these principles established what Beijing and the SCO promoted as a policy of international 'neutrality', 'restraint' and, hence, 'reassurance', embracing a developmentally individualistic stance, which stipulated that no single model of (social and political) development fits all; that each country should choose its individual development route; and that 'outsiders should not interfere.'[55]

The political 'neutrality' inherent to the individualistically-stamped 'Shanghai Spirit' helped Kazakhstan in its endeavour of decoupling the notions of democracy and democratization from the original, norm-making and status-providing social group - the OSCE and the Western-dominated international community in general. This is because from the 'neutral' perspective of the 'Shanghai Spirit', democratization could proceed along nationally distinct, non-Western, and thus also non-liberal lines and still be appreciated with international status and legitimacy – an issue that was brought up by Nazarbaev's 2005 State of Nation Address, in which he mentioned 'Asian democracy' as an explicit point of normative reference. Put differently, what the SCO's 'neutral' normative content proposed was a directly inverse cognitive linkage to that of the West - it delinked international status from Western-style democratization, and thus promoted an alternative social promise: not that of democratization, but instead that of cooperation with China along the lines of its developmentally individualistic approach.

It was thus that the SCO's normative content helped to relativize the 'Western-ness' inherent to the general normative content of the OSCE, and to Kazakhstan's existent cognitive linkage in particular. In this regard, President Nazarbaev lauded this 'neutrality' as the '"smartness" of the organization's power', when commemorating the SCO's tenth birthday in 2011:

> The normatively 'restrained and gradual approach to the realization of its goals is at the core of the organization's attractiveness. This is exactly what, in my opinion, renders the SCO a substantial centre of gravitation for all countries and peoples that strive towards an equal and mutual dialogue on the international scene.'[56]

In any case, this new, inverse cognitive linkage is what made the organization a more attractive social group to Kazakhstan's incompatibility-plagued 'self', which was struggling with the unexpected outcomes of effective democratization – the formation of a genuine, anti-presidential opposition and the potentiality to lose the institutionalized certainty of president-desired outcomes in Kazakhstan's political life.

The 'neutrality' inherent to the SCO's developmental particularism, and the ensuing alternative cognitive linkage helped to re-activate and set free those pre-existing transformation-rejecting localization forces, which, during the first decade, and in the realm of political competition, were suppressed by Kazakhstan's newly evolving, Western-leaning social identity – the kind of self-categorization as a legitimate and equitable, because democratizing, member of the international community, that followed the social promise of democratization (see Chapter III). In this, the SCO's 'neutrality' helped to reinforce Kazakhstan's pre-existing, Soviet-inherited 'cognitive priors', which defined the rationale of state institutions as the reduction of political risk, the elimination of all political alternatives, and the enforcement of the regime's rule upon society, and emphasised the uses of engaging in informal, highly personalized political relations.

The president's repetitive mentioning of 'Asian' democracy in the State of Nation Addresses since 2005 testifies to this process of decoupling and normative re-orientation, which, eventually, cleared the path for the development of an own 'Kazakh Way' – including the re-activation of the previously withheld 'cognitive priors'. In other words, instead of offering a concrete (for instance, 'authoritarian') route or direction of development, the SCO's normative content merely sought to strengthen the local political parameters – the pre-existing 'cognitive priors'. In this, it offered an alternative, normatively informed but not transition-enforcing basis for the development of a qualitatively new pattern of Kazakhstan's contestation of Western social identity.

This is an important point: while clearly, the status and legitimacy-providing capability of the 'Shanghai Spirit' drew upon China – its normative constructs and terminology, as well as its new position as an authoritative power due to its growing political and economic weight in the international system -, what it did not do was to promote a 'Chinese' direction of transformation. Rather, as the SCO's various documents point out, it actively, and thus intentionally, offered normative support for the reinforcement of the local pre-existing political sensitivities, needs, and qualities – irrespective of the direction of development. Thus, the 2011 SCO's Anniversary Declaration read as follows: 'The SCO member states support the (general) movement of states … towards democratic development, (however), with due regard for their national realities as well as cultural historical features.'[57] This is exactly what President Nazarbaev has been talking about, and wishing for, since independence.

Indeed, neither the 'three evils' (terrorism, extremism, and what was circumscribed as multi-ethnic discord but was effectively set to mean separatism), nor the appeal to respect the

'diversity' of local biography represent fundamental novelties in terms of discursive substance: Nazarbaev has voiced exactly these concerns and needs as early as in his 1993 'Ideological Consolidation of Society as a Condition of Kazakhstan's Progress', and from there on regularly on different occasions (see Chapter III). However, without the ideational backing of the SCO, these issues were employed as justifications for the 'deficiencies' of an on-going, unidirectional, and alternative-less process of normative rapprochement with the West – that is, as 'apologies' for the unlocking of the organizational lock-in mechanism and the ensuing reinforcement of the presidential vertical.

After the arrival of the SCO and due to the developmentally individualistic approach of the 'Shanghai Spirit', however, the tables were turned: what were previously understood as 'deficiencies', were now reconceptualised as 'characteristics' of Kazakhstan's locally-informed approach towards the OSCE's normative content – that is, as an approach that was in line with the country's geographical, historical and cultural constraints. This implies that is was through the SCO and its normative fundament of developmental-ideational 'neutrality', that Kazakhstan came into the position to take a more self-assertive stance vis-à-vis the West. The president's address to the SCO's heads of states in June 2005 is illustrative of this new stance, combining his long-entrenched perspective on democratization, and flavouring it, additionally, with the new demand for international 'neutrality':

> 'The question of democracy is a difficult and delicate question, which requires the consideration of historical conditions, cultural traditions and national mentality. … In a modern world, there may not be such a thing as interference into the internal affairs of sovereign states.'[58]

It is thus through its effective normative support for Kazakhstan's locally (traditionally anti-democratically) informed, instead of Western-conform version of political development that the SCO actively contributed to unravelling the knot of incompatibility between Western-oriented identity and the requirements of the local presidential vertical. And it is thus – through the removal of the normatively unidirectional imperative that the social promise of democratization entailed - that the relationship between Kazakhstan and the West was significantly, and adversely, affected. This, in turn, created exactly the fundament for the development that the SCO officially pursued: the multi-polarization of international affairs. In consequence, the above suggests that Beijing's policy was at least partly intentional; conceived as a response to Western normative engagement in the post-Soviet, newly independent nation of Kazakhstan.

To conclude the first part of this chapter, the entrance of the SCO as a second norm-maker had an adverse influence on Kazakhstan's original socialization process with the

OSCE. This is because the SCO's normative content, epitomized by the 'Shanghai Spirit', provided normative alternatives in the realms of security and political development, and brought into operation two mechanisms – the securitization of political competition (that is, civil anti-regime activity and party formation) as well as ideational neutralization - that significantly strengthened Kazakhstan's 'cognitive priors', and stimulated the country's orientation away from their original post-Cold War social group.

Thus, the introduction of the 'three evils' not only introduced an alternative, and locally more suitable security understanding to the post-Soviet nation, but also catered to Kazakhstan's pre-existing tendency to securitize the realm of political cooperation and competition, and thus reinforce the presidential vertical. The mechanism of ideational neutralization, on the other hand, derived from the SCO's normative content's 'neutral' and 'non-interfering' stance towards political development. It helped to resolve the knot of incompatibility between Kazakhstan's new Western-informed self-categorization and the local 'cognitive priors' by decoupling the 'Western Way' from international status and legitimacy, and replacing it with the notion of an 'individual', 'diverse' way. This, in turn, substantially reinforced Kazakhstan's pre-existing, 'stability'-oriented forces of localization. Hence, what seems to unite both mechanisms is that they have come to operate in an environment that was torn between externally induced identity and local political biography, and, that they helped to alleviate the internal conflict deriving from this incompatibility. It was this tension- and incompatibility-based receptivity for normative alternatives that was the necessary facilitating condition for the effective normative re-orientation of Kazakhstan.

The conjunction of these SCO-induced mechanisms and the facilitating condition led to a decline in Kazakhstan's Western-oriented social identity, and in consequence, to a decrease in Western social influence on the ground – a state of affairs to which the notion of the 'Kazakh Way' paid the most evident tribute. Therefore, it seems safe to say that this very 'Way', and especially its self-confident promotion in the Western social group of OSCE, was substantially facilitated by the presence of the China-promoted 'Shanghai Spirit'. This, in turn, implies that the entrance of the SCO as a second norm-maker came to adversely impact the norm-taking Kazakhstan's original socialization process with the first norm-maker, the OSCE, precipitating, or at least encouraging, the government's un-locking of the procedural lock-in of political party formation, and with it, its slide in effective democratization.

Hence, the hypothesis put forward at the onset - that a norm-taker's localization pattern can be influenced by a parallel, and normatively contrasting, socialization process – can, in the particular case of Kazakhstan's political party formation, be affirmed: the

cooperation between Kazakhstan and China within the framework of the SCO did indeed have a negative impact on the development of political pluralism in Kazakhstan. This is because it contributed to setting free those Soviet-informed localization forces that previously were suppressed due to Kazakhstan's new, Western-oriented identity. These forces, in turn, have significantly contributed to the jeopardy of the original localization pattern. Against this background, the task of the next, and final, section is to conceptualize this very endeavour from an international, systemic perspective, paying particular attention to the promotion of autocracy and democratic resistance.

2. Strategic Localization

As pointed out in Chapter I, China's general approach to foreign policy has been guided by three core internal policy priorities: first, protecting its sovereign independence and territorial integrity; second, advancing national socio-economic development and maintain domestic stability; finally, reinstating its status as a respected regional and international power.[59] Which function, then, did the absence of democracy in its Western neighbourhood have in the pursuit of these interests? Put differently, why did Beijing promote a framework that facilitated Kazakhstan's re-orientation towards local political 'cognitive priors'? And, importantly, how can such an approach - the conscious reinforcement of local pre-existing structures, sensitivities and needs, and thus, of local 'resistance forces' - be conceptualized? The remainder of this chapter will address these questions, reflecting not only on the uses of Sino-Kazakh authoritarian collaboration but also on its means.

2.1 The Strategic and Ideological Uses of Kazakhstan's Democracy Resistance

According to Risse et al., the motive for supporting anti-democratic governance abroad is simple: 'illiberal regional powers are likely to respond to Western efforts at democracy promotion in third countries if they perceive challenges to their geostrategic interests in the region or to the survival of their regime.'[60] This suggests that the promotion of democratic resistance is a strategically motivated endeavour with a strong local dimension, as well as an endeavour that it is necessarily reactive and preventative in nature, directed not only at 'shelter(ing) or preserv(ing) allied regimes that appear to be at risk from international (Western) democracy promotion activities', but, importantly, oneself as well. [61]

And indeed, as pointed out above, the local dimension as well as the strategic drivers are fundamental to China's anti-Western Central Asia approach. In fact, the linkage between the 'Xinjiang Problem' and the outcome of increased democratic resistance in post-Soviet Kazakhstan is borne by strategic considerations: China has been working through various institutional mechanisms, notably the SCO, in order to provide wealth and security maximization for the region's patrimonial-authoritarian structures and thus create a strong, self-monitoring dependency on Beijing – especially with regard to Uighur activism. In other words, both the SCO's security understanding as well as its political 'neutrality' have had a substantial strategic function on site, aiming to actively accommodate Kazakhstan's local (Soviet-inherited) political sensitivities and needs – so as to establish a reliable pattern of (Uighur-related) collaboration.

A further point in this regard was the economic dimension. In fact, as a net importer of hydropower and hydrocarbons, a net exporter of manufactured goods, and a significant regional investor, China has been working on the establishment of a mutually advantageous political-normative relationship – one that is free of the West's political constraints and expectations - with energy abundant, strategically positioned, and economically (relatively) advanced Kazakhstan. The strategic goal was to prepare a suitable framework for China's engagement on site, so as to tap into Kazakhstan's considerable raw materials - notably its oil, gas, and hydropower resources – , its markets, and its substantial infrastructure development projects.[62] In other words, Beijing endeavoured to carve out an advantageous position vis-à-vis the other regional competitors – Russia, and notably the US and European countries – so as to effectively pursue its interests. In this regard, the alleviation of Kazakhstan's internal ideational tensions that ensued from the incompatibility between Western-oriented identity and local 'cognitive priors' through a collective security understanding and the norm of political 'neutrality' proved a suitable, and lucrative, point of entrance.

In other words, on the local level, the drivers behind Beijing's multilateral, normatively alternative security approach were indeed strategic – ranging from the self-protection-oriented objective of controlling Uighur separatism to a geopolitically and geo-economically informed goal of consolidating its economic grip on the country. In this equation, the promotion of democracy resistance (not to speak of authoritarianism) on ideological grounds played a subordinated role – rather, the strategy was one of pragmatic, or even 'opportunistic adjustment to the preferences of the region's regimes in order to maximise own advantage.'[63] Nevertheless, the approach had a democracy-stifling effect anyway: Kazakhstan's SCO membership facilitated the nation's re-orientation away from the

OSCE's normative content, helping its government to embark on a less Western-informed, and instead more domestically centred pattern of localization.

However, the fact that on Central Asia's geographically and normatively confined space China's normative agency - that is, its promotion of political securitization and political 'neutrality' through the SCO - was rather strategic, does not imply that it was devoid of ideology overall. In fact, it was not, especially if the systemic level is taken into consideration, where Beijing pursued distinct ideological goals as well. Indeed, if ideology is defined as a set of ideas to express 'needs and wants', the SCO's objective to promote multi-polarity, that is, a 'new democratic, fair and rational political … international order' through a Western-opposing political attitude of ideational 'neutrality' and 'non-interference', may be understood as absolutely ideological. [64] Per se, the term 'multi-polarity' denotes a system of distribution of power that has multiple, as opposed to only one, base. Hence, the notion of 'multi-polarization' implies a process of developing an international system that exhibits a multitude of distinct 'poles' – and, in the post-Cold War era, this notion has come to represent a thinly veiled code for the 'de-Westernization', and thus 'democratization' of international affairs.[65]

In this regard, the SCO is among Beijing's most important multilateral vehicles to the pursuit of precisely this objective: the establishment of an alternative normative pole in the international system – one, that promotes a 'neutral', locally-informed and particularistic model of political and economic development, and one that, unlike the Western model, offers legitimate international standing and participation to developing nations while allowing them to preserve their 'individual national (political) characteristics.'[66] This is what renders the SCO a fundamental tool of Beijing in its project of 'diversifying' or 'multi-polarizing' the international system. The Dushanbe statement subsumes this ideologically informed perspective on international political diversity:

> 'The SCO member states … urge to respect the independent choice of peoples to choose their own path of political and socio-economic development. (Therefore), they underline that the principles of mutual respect for the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, equality, mutual advantage, non-interference into internal affairs, and the non-use of force or threats of its use represent the fundament of the development of international relations.'[67]

Departing from this, and in due regard of the SCO's impact on the socialization process between post-Soviet Kazakhstan and the OSCE, the final section of this chapter will engage in developing a macro-level contextualization and conceptualization of the SCO's normative

functioning – the conscious reinforcement of a foreign nation's local pre-existing structures, sensitivities and needs.

2.2. Strategic Localization

In its regular, 'classic', understanding, socialization - 'the induction of actors into the norms and rules of a given community'- represents a two-stage process. It involves the act of 'teaching' on the part of the norm-maker - a process during which models of 'appropriate behaviour' are displayed to norm-taking agents – as well as the act of 'learning' – a process during which these norm-taking agents process, understand, and eventually implement the content of these 'lessons'.[68] Correspondingly, it also involves two distinct sets of roles: the norm-making agents are responsible for introducing and transmitting their community's normative content – the act of 'teaching' – while the norm-taking agents' task is the 'learning' - the accommodation to, and eventually the internalization of, the new community-appertaining rules in question. By definition, then, socialization (in the ideal case scenario) has a transformational character: it describes how norm-taking agents, usually newcomers of any kind, come to change their minds, preferences, identities, and attitudes, following social interaction on the group level. To be sure, on the national level, the process of socialization is likely to be result in localization – the reconstruction of the international norm into the local, pre-existing, environment. However, in this scenario as well, as the above analysis has demonstrated, the element of general change remains.

While certainly appropriate for many cases, including the herein discussed process of social interaction between Kazakhstan and the OSCE, the 'classic' and straightforward understanding of socialization does not apply to the relationship between Kazakhstan and the SCO. This is because the Sino-Kazakh socialization process did not involve any (significant) change of the original and pre-existing mind-set, preferences, identities, and attitudes. Instead, the SCO's 'teaching' transmitted a normative content that sought to reinforce, rather than displace, the original and pre-existing structures – strengthening, as has been pointed out above, Kazakhstan's actual 'localization forces', and, weakening, in consequence, the pattern of the Western-oriented transformation of the already begun ('first') process of socialization between Kazakhstan and the OSCE. In other words, the socialization process with China contributed to Kazakhstan's normative, ideational, and behavioural reconsolidation and stasis

rather than to its transformation – and with it, importantly, to a significant geopolitical advantage for China.

How, then, can such a statically informed, 'irregular' socialization process be conceptualized? To answer this question, a reconsideration of the 'teaching' dimension, and with it, of the characteristics of 'teachers', the norm-makers themselves, is in order. Usually, norm-making agents recourse to the tool of socialization in order to exercise power beyond national borders by promoting own norms and values abroad. According to Ikenberry and Kupchan, a nation's decision to embark on a process of socializing other nations ensues from the desire to 'recast the international order in a way that is more compatible with its interests'.[69] Moreover, they continue, the norm-making nation,

> 'as a part of its effort to shape the international system, … must actively attempt to alter the normative orientation of elites in secondary states and, in doing so, must articulate a clear set of normative claims about the international order.'[70]

The pursuit of such a policy has a strong top-down connotation, and may be most suitably situated within the framework of (relative) hegemonic control, which

> 'emerges when foreign elites buy into the hegemon's vision of international order and accept it as their own – that is when they internalize the norm and value orientations espoused by the hegemon and accept its normative claims about the nature of the international system.'[71]

Such a transformative approach may be conceptualized as 'structural foreign policy' or the pursuit of *milieu goals*.[72] The main objective of nations pursuing such a policy is to 'improve' their neighbourhood by creating more favourable conditions for themselves – for instance by shaping their neighbours' socio-economic, political, as well as security conditions according to own understandings and needs.[73]

In principle, the concept of 'structural foreign policy' appears applicable to the functioning of both norm-making, security-promoting agents. Both, the OSCE's as well as the SCO's policy in Kazakhstan was certainly 'structural' in nature, meaning that it was oriented towards the promotion and consolidation of certain political, social, economic, and security structures. Both norm-makers' policy also focused on making the post-Soviet state's conditions more hospitable to their own sensitivities and needs – in the realm of polity, security, economy, as well as general geo-strategy. Both norm-makers, finally, fulfilled the criterion of the top-down, or dominant-secondary state, dynamic. What distinguished both organizations, however, was their respective understanding of local 'improvement' and the ensuing focus of transformation. Thus, while the OSCE sought to promote change on the local level, 'actively attempt(ing) to alter the normative orientation of (the local) elites', the SCO,

as demonstrated above, focused on consolidating the local political status quo.[74] It is at this point that the international dimension enters the stage.

Indeed, even geographically confined *milieu goals* have an overtly international dimension – and thus, goals. In the case at hand, the OSCE's promotion of democracy in the aftermath of the Cold War had an internationally consolidative function, serving the stabilization of the liberal, Western-dominated international order. Put simply, to the nations behind the OSCE, it was change on the local level that implied the consolidation of the international environment according to their own liberal interests and needs. To China, on the other hand, it was the maintenance of the local status quo that would help it to 'recast the international order in a way that (was) more compatible with its interests.' [75] In this regard, democratizing, but authoritarianism-inclined Kazakhstan could be understood as local proxy for both - the international ambitions of the actors behind the OSCE as well as the SCO. In the former case, Kazakhstan was one among the many places of the post-Cold War international environment, where that time's 'hegemon's vision of international order' came to be promoted. In a similar vein, the post-Soviet republic provided the geographic and normative space necessary to introduce Beijing's normatively alternative stance to the international stage – the establishment of a more 'rational and equitable', and less Western-centric, world order.

As such, then, only the OSCE's policy qualifies for the traditional understanding of the milieu goals, which epitomizes the promotion of change in the geographically confined periphery of a hegemon. China's strategy, on the other hand and if viewed from a Western perspective, may be situated within the framework of a 'spoiler', a concept that originally derives from the realm of peace and conflict research. Traditional 'spoilers' are 'leaders (that are party to a conflict)… who believe that peace emerging from negotiations threatens their power … and interests, and use violence to undermine attempts to achieve it.' [76] Thus, a central constituent of a 'spoiler' in a conflict situation is the (in most cases violent) contestation of the legitimacy of a peace process. The contestation of legitimacy, in turn, is also precisely the issue at stake in China's multilateral approach towards Central Asia and Kazakhstan - only different in context (the making of a new, China-friendly regional and international order) and form (non-violent and normative).

In other words, what China, through the SCO, has been contesting both on the regional and the international levels, was the West's one-sided - 'unipolar' – approach of promoting a 'universally valid' system of political and economic development. Rather than recurring to violence, however, China enveloped its 'spoiling attack' on effectively democratizing and, in

terms of identity, Westernizing Kazakhstan into a multilateral organization – the SCO - that promoted an alternative, explicitly non-transformational, normative content – the 'Shanghai Spirit' -, which catered to the pre-existing, but, in the process of socialization with the OSCE partly suppressed, localization forces of the country's Soviet 'cognitive priors'.

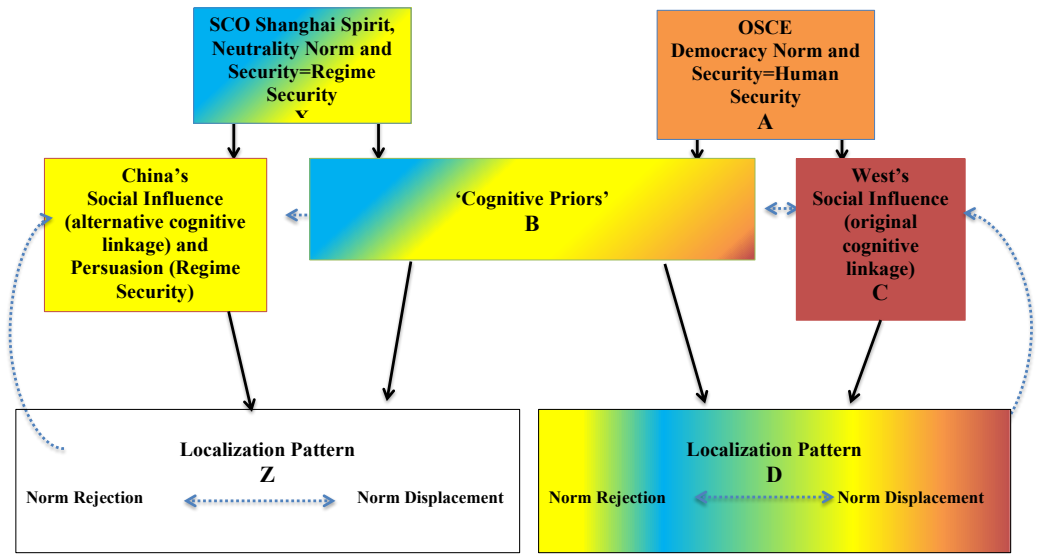
This implies that China's strategy had a distinct transformative element, too. However, since Beijing promoted the exactly inverse 'cognitive linkage' to that of the West – promising, in the case of cooperation with China, legitimate international standing and participation to non-democratic developing nations while allowing them to preserve their 'individual national characteristics' – the transformative effect was inverse as well: the SCO's structural foreign policy aimed at changing the international, at that time still Western-dominated, order rather than the non-democratic national or regional one.

Following from this, China's alternative structural foreign policy through the SCO can be conceptualized as 'strategic localization'. This concept departs from the following assumptions: firstly, socialization is no exclusively binary process – a norm-taker faces (at least) two, and not just one norm-making agents, and thus social groups. Secondly, on the national level, socialization implies localization – that is, following social interaction in an international environment, a norm-taker will engage in the process of localizing the international norm, rather than in its direct, unmodified, transposition in the domestic context. Finally, strategic localization shares its analytical point of departure with Wolfers' *milieu goals*, describing how a nation may engage in policies that are aimed at improving its 'near abroad'. However, the strategic localization necessarily breaks with the *milieu goals*, when it comes to the definition of 'improvement': in the case of strategic localization, 'improvement' does not entail transformation and change, but rather the norm-taker's maintenance of the pre-existing political status quo. In other words, 'improvement' entails a reinforcement of the rejecting localization forces, rather than the support of the displacing ones.

Put in theoretic terms, then, the concept of 'strategic localization' describes a case, in which a norm-making power (here: China) prefers the maintenance of the local political status quo of a neighbouring and norm-taking power (here: Kazakhstan) over its transformation as promoted by a different norm-making power (here: West). Hence, the transformation-averse, 'spoiling' norm-making power (China) engages in the endeavour of 'strategic localization' – in the external support and legitimation of the pre-existing local political structures of the norm-taking power (Kazakhstan). This, in turn, affects the localization pathway of the norms as promoted by the transformation-oriented power (West).

Translated into variables this can be illustrated as follows: Strategic localization necessarily departs from the concept of localization – be it under social influence or any other mechanism of social motivation. As pointed out in Chapter III, localization under social influence implies that, given only one norm-maker, the dependent variable D (representing a norm-taker's localization pattern) will be composed of the independent variable A (the norm promoted by norm-making power), the intervening variable B (the norm-taker's 'cognitive priors'), as well as the second intervening variable C (the norm-taker's social identity, and with it for the degree of social influence on the part of the norm-making group).

Figure 2. Strategic Localization



In 'strategic localization' then, a second norm-maker joins the original socialization process, and promotes an alternative norm, which is captured by the independent variable X. The social identity appertaining to the second norm-maker is represented by the intervening variable Y. With regard to the impact of the second socialization process on the first one, then, this means that in order to get from A to D, one still has to pass by B and C. B, however, will not only stand in interaction with A but also with X and Y, which implies that in the next round, B would be moulded by A and C as well as X and Y, as opposed to only A and C. What is more, the intervening variables C and Y will now be in direct competition with each

other, potentially (depending on their content) to the detriment of C. In terms of the outcome D, then, the dependent variable will not be composed solely of ABC anymore, but rather of ABXCY. In any case thus, the intervening variables B and C are likely to experience more or less significant changes as a consequence of the new socialization process, which, in turn, will have some form of influence on the pattern of D.

This is precisely what happened in Kazakhstan during the second decade of independence: Beijing, through the SCO, entered Kazakhstan, with the objective to make the post-Soviet country more sympathetic to its own, national interests and needs - thus to improve its 'near abroad'. Once in Kazakhstan, Beijing, again through the SCO, not only provided a security understanding that was compatible with the local elites' needs, but also an alternative, non-transformation-bound 'cognitive linkage'. In this, the SCO used the facilitating condition on the ground to its own advantage, alleviating the tension that ensued from Kazakhstan's incompatibility between Western-informed social identity and locally informed democratization pattern, while, at the same time, providing a normative framework that actively and effectively strengthened the nation's local 'cognitive priors' - those organizational and procedural patterns that evolved and consolidated during the country's Soviet history.

These steps were well received by Kazakhstan's political establishment around President Nazarbaev, the post-Soviet country's main insider proponent and responsible for the original localization pattern. Together with those close to him, he engaged in a reinforced pruning of the political competition principle and the procedure of political party formation. He did this through enhanced repression, new legal institutions (the adoption of 2002 Law on Political Parties and the 2005 Extremism-Law), and the further verticalization of political parties (the establishment of the super-presidential party Nur Otan) – as well as through the legitimation of these measures through the particularistic notion of the 'Kazakh Way'. In other words, the SCO facilitated Kazakhstan's steadily evolving renunciation of democracy by offering discursive tools to securitize the political sphere and by promoting an alternative, developmentally individualistic social promise (or 'cognitive linkage'), which formed the basis for the anti-democratic 'Kazakh Way' of democratization. This externally facilitated localization, in turn, endowed Beijing with a significant geopolitical advantage vis-à-vis the West on the regional level – in economic and, especially, in security terms – and also contributed to undermining the West's dominant position on the system level. And it is precisely these advantages vis-à-vis the West on the local and the international levels that rendered this localization-supportive foreign policy strategic.

Conclusion

The findings of this chapter suggest that China, pursuing a policy of 'strategic localization', has indeed actively contributed to fostering and consolidating the locally grown 'Kazakh Way', and with it, to Kazakhstan's enhanced democratic resistance during the second decade of independence. In addition to providing an explanation and a conceptualization of China's impact on Kazakhstan's post-Soviet democratization pathway, the theoretical underpinnings of strategic localization provide evidence that the 'classical' understanding of unidirectional and transformative socialization is out of line with today's multipolar realities. Instead, this concept demonstrates firstly, that while the act of localization may render socialization processes more authentic and in line with the local biographical givens, it also may render the norm-taker vulnerable to specific normative influences from the outside. In this regard, vulnerability emerges where the incompatibility between identity and biography surpasses a certain threshold, creating a deadlock for unidirectional, parallel development of process and discourse. This paves the way the second point. 'Strategic localization' demonstrates how other norm-making actors may come to use the original localization-induced incompatibilities in order to consciously engage in a second and 'spoiling' socialization process that yields an actual counter-draft to the 'regular', transformative understanding of the concept.

In the case at hand, moreover, it explains why a 'spoiling' norm-maker may engage in the purposeful consolidation of a norm-taker's pre-existing sets of ideas, belief systems, norms and practices – to the detriment of both democratic transformation, and, in the long term, the post-Cold War liberally informed international order. Finally, and in more abstract terms, the concept of 'strategic localization' illustrates how the endeavour of socialization may be used as a strategic tool of geopolitics on the local or regional level - as an explicit method of a third actor to undermine an on-going socialization process to which he is not a party.[77] As such, then, 'strategic localization' is supportive of the proposition that 'illiberal regional powers are likely to respond to Western efforts of democracy promotion in third countries if they perceive challenges to their geostrategic interests in the region or to the survival of their regime', allows, however, also for an ideological as well as international dimension in this regard - and offers a potential pathway for the elaboration of the 'how'. [78]

In the end, the concepts of localization under social influence and of strategic localization both demonstrate that socialization is no neat, and exclusively binary process between one norm-maker and one norm-taker, which has a fixed point of departure as well as an equally fixed ending point. Rather, these concepts pay tribute to the fact that in today's

world, which is characterized by a growing number of 'emerging' norm-making powers, as well as by a rise in norm-takers' orientations (and hence, self-confidence), the process of socialization inevitably represents a multi-level and multi-actor undertaking that is likely to yield unexpected and chaotic, potentially 'inappropriate', and even frustrating outcomes – and still remain real.

---

[1] Cf. Kassymjomart Tokaev, Preodolenie: Ocherki Diplomata, Moscow / 2009.
[2] Only the Tajik people have no Turkic, but Indo-Iranian, roots.
[3] Apart 'from the theoretical border given on the maps', the border between Xinjiang and Central Asia has never been clear, and after gaining independence, the populations of Central Asia appeared to feel solidarity with their ethnic kin, supporting the 're-establishment of East Turkistan' in Xinjiang. Cf. Niklas Swanström, China and Central Asia: a new Great Game or Traditional Vassal Relations? Journal of Contemporary China, 14/45/ 2005, p.571; Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, for example, hosted independence-minded organisations such as the Uyghur Political Union Committee and the Ittipak Uyghur society among others, on their territory. See e.g.: Guangcheng Xing, China and Central Asia, in: Roy Allison and Lena Jonson (Eds.): Central Asian Security, London / 2001, p. 163; Martha Brill Olcott, Central Asia's Second Chance, Washington, D.C. / 2005, p.61f; Michael Clarke, "Making the Crooked Straight": China's Grand Strategy of "Peaceful Rise" and its Central Asian Dimension, in: Asian Security, 2/2008.
[4] The notion 'Xinjiang Problem' has been taken from Graham E. Fuller and Frederick S. Starr, The Xinjiang Problem, Washington / 2004.
[5] Cf. Luba Von Hauff, China: A Stabilizing Neighbour? The Impact of China's Engagement in Central Asia on Regional Security, DGAPAnalyse, 2013 / 3; Maurice Lanteigne, In Medias Res: The Development of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, in: Pacific Affairs, 4/2006, p. 206ff.
[6] Cf. Jia Qingguo, The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: China's experiment in Multilateral Leadership, in: Iwashita Akihiro (Ed.) Russia and its Eastern Edge, Sapporo / 2007.
[7] Cf. Shirin Akiner, The Shanghai Cooperation Organization. A Networking Organization for a Networking World, London / 2010; Henry Plater-Zyberk, Who's Afraid of the SCO? Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, London / 2007.
[8] The subordinate tiers of responsibility are occupied by the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and other heads of ministries. Cf. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, *Struktura Shankhaiskoi Organizatsii Sotrudnichestva* (The Structure of the SCO). http://rus.sectsco.org/structure/ (Retrieved on 12.06.2016).
[9] Cf. Matthew Oresman, SCO Update: The Official Launch of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly, 2004 / 4, p. 4.
[10] Cf. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, op. cit. (note 8); Oresman, op. cit. (note 9), p. 3.
[11] The current Secretary-General is the Tajik Diplomat Rashid Alimov.
[12] Cf. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Shanghai Convention on Combatting Terrorism, Separatism, and Extremism, Shanghai / 2001.
[13] Cf. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, op. cit. (note 8).
[14] Cf. Oksana Antonenko, The EU Should Not Ignore the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, Centre for European Reform Policy Brief, London / 2007, p.4; Farkhod Tolipov, Central Asia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly, 2004 / 4.
[15] Cf. Oresman, op. cit. (note 9).
[16] Cf. Allison Bailes, Pal Dunay, Guang Pan, Mikhail Troitsky, The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Stokholm / 2007, p. 5.
[17] Cf. Akiner, op. cit. (note 7).
[18] Ibid.
[19] Cf. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Convention, op. cit. (note 12).
[20] Cf. Zhang Deguang, cited by Thomas Ambrosio, Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 60/8, p. 1332.
[21] Cf. Von Hauff, op. cit. (note 5).

[22] Cf. Human Rights Watch, Bullets Were Falling Like Rain. The Andijan Massacre, in: Human Rights Watch Report, 17/5. For an alternative perspective, cf. Shirin Akiner, Violence in Andijan, 13 May 2005: An Independent Assessment, in: Silk Road Paper, Washington, D.C. / 2005.
[23] Cf. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, *Deklaratsiia Glav Gosudarstv-chlenov Shanghaiskoi Organizatsii Sotrudnichestva* (Declaration of the SCO Heads of States), Astana / 2005.
[24] Cf. Von Hauff, op. cit. (note 5), p. 10.
[25] Cf. Xinhua News Agency, Oktober 15, 2007, cited in Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Nicholas R. Lardy, Derek J. Mitchell (Eds.). China's Rise. Challenges and Opportunities, Washington, DC 2007, p. 216.
[26] Cf. Joshua Cooper Ramo, The Beijing Consensus, London/2004; Bergsten et. al., op. cit. (note 25), p. 70.
[27] Cf. Zhang Deguang, Speech by Secretary-General of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Zhang Deguang at the 60th High-Level Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, Septmeber 16, 2005.
[28] Cf. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, St. Petersburg / 2002. It omits, however, the principles of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as the principle of self-determination of peoples.
[29] The principle of non-interference is the most frequently cited position in the organisation's declarations, communiques, and statements, and counts as the fundamental norm in regard of mutual interaction. Cf. Jia, op.cit. (note 6), p. 120.
[30] Cf. Article 2.4 of the UN Charter and Article 2 of the Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. For a discussion on the international application of the principle, cf. Chatham House, The Principle of Non-Intervention in Contemporary International Law: Non-Interference in a State's Internal Affairs Used to be a Rule of International Law: Is it Still? London / 2007, p.3. <http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/International%20Law/il280207.pdf > (Retrieved on 15.09.2013).
[31] Cf. Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Declaration by the Heads of Member States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Astana / 2005. <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2006-06/12/content_6020345.htm> (Retrieved on 09.01.2016).
[32] Cf. Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Declaration by the Heads of Member States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Shanghai / 2006. < http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2006-06/12/content_6020345.htm> (Retrieved on 15.01.2016).
[33] Cf. Pang Xingchen, cited by Evan S. Medeiros, China's International Behavior. Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification, Santa Monica / 2009, p. 103.
[34] Cf. Ramo, op.cit. (note 26); Bergsten et. al., op. cit. (note 25), p. 70.
[35] Cf. Shanghai Cooperation Organization, op. cit. (note 31).
[36] Cf. Barry Buzan, China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible?, in The Chinese Journal of International Politics, 2010/3, p. 22.
[37] Cf. Hu Jintao, cited by Medeiros, op. cit. (note 33), p. 49.
[38] Cf. Shanghai Cooperation Organization, op. cit. (note 28), Article I.
[39] Cf. Ambrosio, op. cit. (note 20), p. 1322.
[40] Cf. Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Budapest Document: Towards a Genuine Partnership in a New Era, Budapest /1994, VIII The Human Dimension, Introduction.
[41] Cf. Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Helsinki Document: The Challenges of Change, Helsinki / 1992.
[42] The SCO Charter was established one year later, in 2002. Cf. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, op. cit. (note 28).
[43] On the theoretic underpinnings of 'securitization', cf. Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, Jaap de Wilde, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, Boulder / 1998, p. 25.
[44] Cf. Von Hauff, op. cit. (note 5).
[45] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Oktaiabr' Aprel' 2003 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, April 2003), Astana / 2003.
[46] Cf. Alistair Iain Johnston, Social States. China in International Institutions, Princeton / 2009, p. 155.

[47] On the impact of the SCO-inspired security discourse on the OSCE, cf. David Lewis, Who's Socializing Whom? Regional Organization and Contested Norms in Central Asia, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 64/7.
[48] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystupleie na Pervom Forume Parlamentskoi Assamblei OBSE* (Address at the First Forum of the OSCE Parliamentary Asembly), Almaty / 2003.
[49] Cf. Kassymzhomart Tokaev, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del Kassymzhomarta Tokaeva na 14-m Zasedanii SMID OBSE* (Address of Foreign Minister Kassymzhomart Takoaev on the 14th Session of the OSCE Ministerial Council), December 4, 2006, Brussels / 2006.
[50] Cf. Marat Tazhin, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del RK M.M. Tazhina na Spezsial'nom Zasedanii Postoiannogo Soveta OBSE* (Address of Foreign Minister Tazhin at a Special Session of the Permanent Council of the OSCE), April 30, 2007, Vienna / 2007.
[51] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Sud'ba i Perspektivy OBSE* (The Destiny and Perpsectives of the OSCE), in: Izvestiia of January 28, 2010.
[52] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, Vystuplenie Na Zasedanii Soveta Glav Gosudarstv-Chlenov SHOS, 2006 (Address at the Head of State Council of the SCO, 2005), Shanghai / 2006.
[53] Cf. Bergsten et al., op. cit. (note 25). p. 221ff.
[54] Cf. Zhang, op. cit. (note 27).
[55] Cf. Ramo, op. cit. (note 24); Bergsten et. al., op. cit. (note 25), p. 70.
[56] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *SHOS: Desiat' Let Istorii* (SCO: Ten Years of History), in: Rossiyskaia Gazeta of Juna 3, 2011. https://rg.ru/2011/06/03/nazarbaev.html (Retrieved on 13.04.2016).
[57] Cf. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, *Astaninskaia Deklaratsiia Desiatiletiia Shanhaiskoi Organizatsii Sotrudnichestva* (Astana Declaration on the Tenth Birthday of the SCO), Astana / 2011.
[58] Cf. Nazarbaev, op. cit. (note 52).
[59] Cf. Robert Sutter, Chinese Foreign Relations. Power and Policy Since the Cold War, Lanham / 2007, pp. 17ff; Susan Shirk, China. Fragile Superpower. Oxford / 2007, p. 109f; Bergsten et al., op. cit. (note 25), pp. 209ff; Medeiros, op. cit. (note 33), p. 45f. Ultimately, these priorities serve the overarching, long-standing goal of legitimating and thus securing the continued rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).
[60] Cf. Thomas Risse and Nelli Babayan, Democracy Promotion and the Challenges of Illiberal Regional Powers: Introduction to the Special Issue, in: Democratization, 22/3.
[61] Cf. Laurence Whitehead, Antidemocracy Promotion. Four Strategies in Search of a Framework, in: Taiwan Journal of Democracy, 10/2, p. 8.
[62] On China's economic interests in Central Asia, cf. Sebastien Peyrouse, Economic Aspects of the Chinese-Central Asia Rapprochement. Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Washington, D.C. / 2007.
[63] Cf. Von Hauff, op. cit. (note 5).
[64] Cf. David Easton, 1965, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, New York / 1965, p. 295.
[65] Cf. David A. Scott, Multipolarity, Multilateralism and Beyond …? EU-China Understandings of the International System, in: International Relations, 27/1.
[66] Cf. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, *Dushanbinskaia Deklaratsiia Glav Gosudarstv-Chlenov Shnhaiskoi Organizatsii Sotrudnichestva* (The Dushanbe Declaration of the Heads of Member States of the SCO), Dushanbe / 2014.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Cf. Johnston, op. cit. (46), p. 17.
[69] Cf. John G. Ikenberry and Charles Kupchan, Socialization and Hegemonic Power, International Organization, 44 / 2, p. 292.
[70] Ibid. p. 292.
[71] Ibid., p. 285.
[72] Cf. Arnold Wolfers, Discord and Collaboration, Baltimore /1962, pp.73f. See also Ikenberry and Kupchan, op. cit. (note 70). On structural foreign policy, cf. Stephan Keukeleire and Arnout Justaert, EU Foreign Policy and the Challenges of Structural Diplomacy, DSEU Policy Paper, 2012.
[73] Cf. Wolfers, op. cit. (note 72), p. 74.
[74] Cf. Ikenberry et al., op. cit., (note 69).
[75] Ibid.
[76] Cf. Stephen John Stedtman, 'Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes', in: International Security, 1997 / 2, p.7.

[77] The notion of 'socialization as geopolitics' has been developed by James Davis, Wildbad-Kreuth, 25 March, 2014.
[78] Cf. Risse et al., op. cit. (note 60).

Conclusion

According to Pu Xiaoyu, we can only understand the impact of 'emerging' nations on the international system, if we 'investigate how ideas matter and also whose ideas matter in world politics.'[1] The rationale behind the research project at hand has been exactly this: to understand how Western and non-Western ideas about democracy and democratization have come to matter since the end of the Cold War, and to extract the ensuing implications for the evolving international order. Empirically, the focus was on the role that 'emerging' and authoritarian power China has played in the democratization process of newly independent, post-Soviet Kazakhstan. This is a nation that, after its institutionalization of relations with its Eastern neighbour, developed from an originally enthusiastic supporter of Western-oriented liberal democracy and, by extension, the liberal international order, into an overt critic of both.[2] It was this normative turnaround that prompted the guiding questions of the research project at hand: was Kazakhstan's anti-democratic rollback directly linked to China's normative functioning on the ground? Did China, in other words, act as a 'democratization spoiler' in Kazakhstan? And if so, how could this local development be related to China's system-level ambitions, and more general, to the future of the liberal international order?

The research project at hand has endeavoured to tackle these questions by considering the process of national democratization through the theoretical lenses of international socialization, investigating how domestic political actors come to change their minds and identities following social interaction on the international level, how these changes are implemented on the local level, and, ultimately, how these changes can be undermined from the (normatively alternative) outside. To this end, the analysis at hand has developed two theoretical extensions to the established concept of socialization: that of 'localization under social influence' and that of 'strategic localization'.

The former addresses the subject of how domestic political actors implement socialization-induced changes on the ground. As its name implies, localization under social influence takes a locally informed, norm-taking, perspective on socialization, and pursues the objective of searching for socialization effects even in the absence of externally expected 'appropriate' domestic behaviour. Accordingly, in its analysis of an international norm's local passage, the approach takes into consideration both the local pre-existing, 'biographical' factors – a nation's individual 'cognitive priors' that act as filters for the new normative content – as well as, in a separate step, the local operation of externally induced mechanisms of social motivation. The dichotomous focus on the local and the international intervening

variables allows to develop a more holistic understanding of the internationally-induced but locally administered process of socialization.

In the case at hand, this two-track perspective helped to discover that even without normatively interfering China, Kazakhstan, during the first decade, has exhibited an inclination towards anti-democratic rule – striving to institutionalize the certainty of president-desired outcomes at the expense of the OSCE-promoted principles of separation of power and, somewhat less extensively, political competition. At the same time, however, the dichotomy of the approach also draws attention to the fact that, during the first decade, the effective exercise of this authoritarian inclination has been significantly contained by the presence of substantial Western social influence (and Western-oriented social identity) on the ground. Indeed, it was the Kazakh president's fear of loss of Western-provided international status that kept the local democratization process on-going despite the presence of anti-democratic 'cognitive priors'. This is what has supported the emergence of a liberally inspired and yet locally informed 'democracy with Soviet characteristics' – instead of an entirely Soviet-stamped political system, which some of Kazakhstan's post-Soviet neighbours have come to exhibit by the turn of the century.

Hence, the results of the first research part, covering the first, 'China-free' decade of independence are: firstly, and contrary to what a customary socialization perspective would expect, socialization effects – the emergence of a new Western-oriented social identity, and thus of Western social influence - have been present in Kazakhstan, despite the authorities' often 'inappropriate' behaviour on the ground. This disproves the often-made claim that a norm-taker's 'inappropriate' behaviour necessarily implies a socialization 'failure'. Secondly, and again in contrast to what has been commonly argued by the relevant scholarship, the Kazakh government has remained on the path to democracy during the first decade (even if in a somewhat deficient, 'inappropriate', manner, if measured against the benchmarks established in Chapter I), allowing for distinct 'technical adjustments' to democracy, notably in the realm of political competition, and, hence, by extension, for some adjustment in the realm of the political community as well: during (at least) the first fifteen years of Kazakhstan's independence, the 'democratic myth' was in existence, albeit, again, not in quite the form that was expected by the West.

The authorities' perspective on democracy changed substantially during the second decade of independence – and with it, the pattern of localization. Indeed, during the second decade, the authorities came to gradually turn off the functioning of the procedural lock-in of political party formation, and with it, the principle of political competition and the process of

democratization as a whole. Thus, by 2012, Kazakhstan's previously weak, but present, democracy, if understood as a system of governance that institutionalizes the uncertainty of outcomes while institutionalizing the certainty of rules and procedures, has unequivocally ceased to exist. Instead, the power of President Nazarbaev came to be effectively unconstrained, and competitive political participation – thus the possibility of actual power transition – was no longer a relevant issue. The political system that prevailed - the 'Kazakh flavour' or 'Kazakh Way' of democracy - provided neither for the citizens' participatory equality nor for the government's accountability vis-à-vis the populace. In short, this kind of 'democracy' failed to live up to the actual content of the term – at least in its original understanding.

The second decade's pattern of localization mirrored the developments in Kazakhstan's newly evolved international identity. Indeed, as Chapter IV has demonstrated, it was during this period, that the Kazakh authorities (first and foremost President Nazarbaev), came to include the notion of 'Asian democracy' into the relevant Kazakh discourse, thus unilaterally expanding the originally non-Asian social group of OSCE in geographic as well as in normative terms, and thus signalling their on-going disassociation from the unequivocally 'Western', liberal content of 'democracy'. As demonstrated, this rhetoric twist signalled that norm-taking Kazakhstan perceived its relationship with the OSCE (and the West in general) as neither exclusive nor unavoidable anymore: Nazarbaev withdrew his previously unequivocal acceptance of the West's position as the only, and alternative-free, provider of status, legitimacy and belonging and, in search for a status-providing social group that was better compatible with its pre-existing 'cognitive priors', turned towards the East – politically as well as ideationally.

It is at this point that Kazakhstan's domestic normative turnaround becomes relevant for the broader objective of the research project at hand - to capture China's endeavour of normative diversification on the local level and its potential implications for the post-Cold War international order. As for the local level, the original research objective was to find out whether Kazakhstan's democratization and socialization pathways (and thus, its anti-democratic rollback) have been influenced by the institutionalization of relations with China within the framework of the SCO - and, if so, then how. The short answer in this regard is: they were, but in a complex and indirect way.

Indeed, as the previous chapters have demonstrated, the 'Kazakh Way' of political development was an essentially domestic, Soviet-informed construct that was strongly influenced by the local pre-existing political culture – the local 'cognitive priors' - which

understood the rationale of state institutions as the reduction of political risk, the elimination of political alternatives, and the enforcement of the regime's rule upon society. Effectively, the 'Kazakh way' entailed a limited technical adjustment to democratic principles under the supervision of an institutionally unconstrained president, who sought to control the 'democratization' process as to its potential 'threats' to the presidential vertical in formal and informal ways, attempting to preclude any spill-overs into the one realm that is most difficult to control: that of political community. With particular respect to China, this implies, in a slight deviation from what was presumed in the hypothesis, that China did not engage in any kind of overt autocracy promotion in the post-Soviet republic.

At the same time, however, the initial presumption about China's role in Kazakhstan's ultimately failed democratization process was not entirely misleading. This is because the implementation of the essentially Soviet-inspired 'Kazakh Way' of democratization on the ground and its promotion on the international level would not have been feasible in the same way if the strength of the Western-informed social identity, and thus of the West's social influence during the second decade of independence had been similarly pronounced as during the first one. This, then, is precisely what renders China a fundamental actor in Kazakhstan's democratization process: through the SCO, Beijing promoted the exactly inverse 'cognitive linkage' to that of the West – promising, in the case of cooperation with China, legitimate international standing and participation to non-democratic developing nations, while allowing them to preserve their individual political characteristics. It was thus that China, through the SCO, neutralized, and indeed, incapacitated, the OSCE's (and the West's) social promise of democratization, by offering the same reward – international status and belonging – while allowing for a different, and in the Kazakh case far more convenient, condition: the maintenance of the political status quo, or, in the words of the Kazakh President, the 'democratization … without the weakening of state power', whereby 'state power' referred to the 'presidential vertical' that stood above the entrenched three branches of power.[3]

In other words, what the SCO did was to contribute to the pruning of the in normative-ideational terms previously untouchable position of the West – locally as well as internationally.[4] On the local level, this strengthened, and indeed, set free, those pre-existing, democracy-rejecting 'localization forces' that aimed at the all-encompassing and compromise-free consolidation of the presidential vertical, and that, during the first decade, were contained by the enhanced presence of Western social influence on the ground. This implies that, while the 'Kazakh Way' was certainly not authored by China or the SCO, its actual realization would not have been possible without the normative alternative provided by

these actors.[5] Put differently, without the ideational 'safe haven' that China, through the SCO, provided to an incompatibility-plagued, yet status-seeking Kazakhstan, such a re-orientation would have been at least more difficult – and, in terms of social status, more costly. Therefore, it is unlikely that the 'Kazakh Way' would have developed in the same self-confident manner as it eventually did, if it was not for the normatively alternative framework provided by the SCO (and China's indirect backing of this project).

It is at this point that the concept of 'strategic localization' enters the stage. This concept provides a theoretic framework that allows to track how and when a commenced socialization process can become vulnerable to specific normative influences from the outside, that is, how and when an on-going socialization process and pattern may be undermined, or 'spoiled', by a normatively alternative external actor. As such, this concept offers a theoretical underpinning to China's normative functioning in non-democratic Kazakhstan. Indeed, in the case at hand, strategic localization has helped to reveal that the SCO's normative and also social agency has indeed focused on influencing already operating mechanisms –those social variables that conditioned the working of the norm-taker's 'cognitive priors', and with it, the character of the process itself: social identity and the appending social influence. In other words, it has helped to reveal that the SCO, in its normatively alternative agency, has indeed been targeting Kazakhstan's original process of socialization with the West, overtly endeavouring to halt the advance of democratization, rather than promoting authoritarianism as an ideological value in itself.

This, then, introduces the last point of the research at hand: the international dimension of China's and the SCO's local normative functioning, and thus the question about 'whose ideas matter in (current) world politics.'[6] As has been demonstrated above, China's normative functioning in Kazakhstan was not primarily driven by the ideological commitment to autocracy per se. Rather, China's approach through the SCO may certainly be understood as the promotion of democratic resistance – as a policy 'designed to support (the Kazakh) autocratic regime abroad as a means to avoid the negative externalities that come with transitions to democracy' at home.[7] However, neither the absence of an essentially authoritarian ideology nor the condition of strategic self-interest should lead to the conclusion that China's action in Kazakhstan constituted a geographically confined occurrence that had no ideological and normative consequences beyond the regional level. This is due to the SCO's essentially international (rather than regionally confined) objective of multi-polarizing the international system.

Indeed, as emphasised in Chapter V, the SCO was envisioned as Beijing's multilateral vehicle to promote a 'new democratic, fair and rational political international order', which exhibits a diverse set of distinct 'poles', rather than only one (liberally or Western-informed) centre.[8] In this regard, the organization was set to act as a repository of China's normatively alternative, 'neutral', and hence distinctly non-Western approach to both, domestic political development and the conduct of international relations. Accordingly, the SCO's status-providing political 'neutrality' and the ensuing incapacitation of Western social influence fulfilled the same task on the international level as they did on the local one: they contributed to pruning the in normative-ideational terms previously untouchable position of the West, and thus promote what is understood as a politically more 'diverse', 'rational' and, 'democratic', because less Western-centric, international order. This implies that both levels are closely linked: the international level is merely the extension of the local one, where the main normative 'work' – be it the democratization or its eventual 'neutralization' – was conducted.

And this, indeed, is also the essence of the concepts of 'localization under social influence' and 'strategic localization'. Both allow to work out how and why ideas come to matter in the local and, by extension, in the international environment, and also, to comprehend how and why these ideas may, eventually, be undermined. Put differently, these concepts not only help to investigate how exactly 'illiberal regional powers (may) … respond to Western efforts at democracy promotion in third countries if they perceive challenges to their geostrategic interests in the region or to the survival of their regime', but also to understand how these Western efforts have been operating on, and effecting, the local level in the first place – and thus illuminate how Western policies of democratization produced some windows of opportunity that actually facilitated the smooth entrance of normatively alternative actors and ideas.[9]

As a concluding point, therefore, it remains to be said that the presence of local receptivity is the key to any process of internationally promoted transformation. As the Kazakh case of democratic reversal has shown, the presence of the normatively alternative SCO did not induce the local desire for anti-democratic rollback – it was already there. However, by levering out the West's social promise of democratization, the SCO was decisive in facilitating Kazakhstan's normative administration of this process. This implies that its 'spoiling' effect on democratization was only possible because a fundamental, insurmountable internal conflict (to which China and the SCO were not a party) already existed in Kazakhstan – that between its newly evolved Western-oriented identity on the one hand, and the pre-existing and Soviet-informed local political biography on the other. And

this, in the end, is the main lesson, which the political development of the post-Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan holds for the West, not only when it comes to the rather narrow issue of democracy promotion, but also, and especially, when it comes to the bigger question of the Middle Kingdom's normatively 'diversifying' possibilities on the international stage – and its limits.

---

[1] Cf. Pu Xiaoyu, 'Socialization as a Two-way Process: Emerging Powers and the Diffusion of International Norms', in: The Chinese Journal of International Politics, 5/2012, pp. 341 – 367.
[2] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie Prezidenta RK N.A. Nazarbaeva na zasedanii Soveta Glav Gosudarvtv – chlenov SHOS* (Statement of President Nazarbaev at the Meeting of the Heads of State Council), Shanghai / 2006.
[3] Cf. Nursultan Nazarbaev, The Kazakhstan Way, London / 2008, p. 5.
[4] Of course, there were more factors that may have contributed to the pruning of the West's predominant position on the international level. These, however, are not under consideration here.
[5] Clearly, this is not to say that China alone is responsible for Kazakhstan's drop in identification with the OSCE – there were and are certainly many more factors. Cf. Marat Laumulin, Kazakhstan's OSCE Chairmanship, History and Challenges, in: Institute for Peace Research Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (Ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2010, Baden-Baden / 2011.
[6] Cf. Pu, op. cit. (note 1).
[7] Cf. Oisin Tansey, The Problem with Autocracy Promotion, in: Democratization, 23/1, p. 150.
[8] Cf. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, St. Petersburg / 2002.
[9] The quotation has been taken from Thomas Risse and Nelli Babayan, Democracy Promotion and the Challenges of Illiberal Regional Powers: Introduction to the Special Issue, in: Democratization, 22/3.

Bibliography

Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, & Rose McDermott, Identity as a Variable, in: Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston & Rose McDermott (Eds.), Measuring Identity, Cambridge (Mass.) / 2009.

Serikbol'syn Abdil'din, *Kazakhstan: Ot Demokratii k Avtoritarii*, Almaty / 2003.

Serikbolsyn Abdil'din, in: Sultan Han Akkuli, *Poiavlenie i Raspad DVK Posluzhili Urokom Ne Tol'ko Dlia Vlasti* (The Emergence and Downfall of the DVK Served as a Lesson not only for Those in Power), Radio Azattyq, November 20, 2009.
http://rus.azattyq.org/a/Kazakhstan_dvk_round_table/1882932.html (Retrieved on 12.06.2016).

Bulat Abilov, in: Sultan Han Akkuli, *Poiavlenie i Raspad DVK Posluzhili Urokom Ne Tol'ko Dlia Vlasti* (The Emergence and Downfall of the DVK Served as a Lesson not only for Those in Power), Radio Azattyq, November 20, 2009.
http://rus.azattyq.org/a/Kazakhstan_dvk_round_table/1882932.html (Retrieved on 12.06.2016).

Amitav Acharya, 'Whose Ideas Matter? Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism', Ithaca /2009.

Amitav Acharya, The End of American World Order, Malden / 2014.

Laura L. Adams, Techniques for Measuring Identity in Ethnographic Research, in: Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston & Rose McDermott (Eds.), Measuring Identity, Cambridge (Mass.) / 2009.

Jonathan Aitken, Nazarbayev and the Making of Kazakhstan, London / 2009.

Shirin Akiner, Violence in Andijan, 13 May 2005: An Independent Assessment, in: Silk Road Paper, Washington, D.C. / 2005.

Shirin Akiner, The Shanghai Cooperation Organization. A Networking Organization for a Networking World, London / 2010.

Ak Zhol Demokratichekaia Partia Kazakhstana, *Novoia Programma Partii* (New Party Program).
http://akzhol.kz/ru/listarticle/index/22/151 (Retrieved on 12.06.2015).

Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, Princeton /1963.

Thomas Ambrosio, Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 60/8.

Amnesty International, Concerns in Europe and Central Asia: July to December 2002, London / 2003.

John Anderson, 'Constitutional Development in Central Asia', Central Asian Survey, 1997 / 3.

Oksana Antonenko, The EU Should Not Ignore the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, Centre for European Reform Policy Brief, London / 2007.

Vladimir Ardaev, *Nursultan Nazarbaev Odnim Resheniem Dostig Dvukh Tselei* (Nursultan Nazarbaev Reached Two Goals through One Decision), *Izvestiia*, 11 October 1997.

Byrkytbay Ayaganov, *Politicheskii Partii i Obshchestvennye Dvizheniia Sovremennogo Kazakhstana* (The Political Parties and Public Movements of Contemporary Kazakhstan), Almaty / 1994.

Vladimir Babak, Kazakhstan: How its Multiparty System Came Into Being, Central Asia and the Caucasus, 32/2.

Vladimir Babak, Kazakhstan. In: Vladimir Babak, Demian Vaisman & Aryeh Wasserman (Eds.): Political Organization in Central Asia and Azerbaijan, London / 2004.

Julia Bader, Propping Up Dictators? Economic Cooperation from China and its Impact on Authoritarian Persistence in Party and Non-Party Regimes, in: European Journal of Political Research, 54/4.

Allison Bailes, Pal Dunay, Guang Pan, Mikhail Troitsky, The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Stokholm / 2007.

Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller, Political Handbook of the World, Binghamton /1998.

Frederick C Barghoorn, Politics in the USSR, Boston / 1972.

Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations, International Organization, 53/4.

Mats Berdal, 'International Security After the Cold War', in: Kurt R. Spillmann & Wenger, Andreas (eds.) 'Towards the 21st Century: Trends in Post-Cold War International Security Policy', Bern / 1999.

C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Nicholas R. Lardy, Derek J. Mitchell (Eds.). China's Rise. Challenges and Opportunities, Washington, DC 2007.

Arie Bloed, The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Analysis and Basic Documents, 1972 – 1993, Dordrecht / 1993.

Carles Boix and Milan W. Svolik, The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships, in: The Journal of Politics, 75/2.

Anthony Clive Bowyer, Parliament and Political Parties in Kazakhstan, Silk Road Paper, Washington, D.C. / 2008.

Ian Bremmer and Cory Welt, 'The Trouble with Democracy in Kazakhstan', Central Asian Survey, 1996 / 2.

Shaun Breslin, The "China Model" and the Global Crisis: From Friedrich List to a Chinese Model of Governance?, in: International Affairs, 87/6.

Marilynn B. Brewer and Miles Hewstone, Self and Social Identity, Malden / 2004.

BRICS, The 6th BRICS Summit: Fortaleza Declaration, July 15, 2014.

BRICS, Sanya Declaration, April 14, 2011.

Martha Brill Olcott, Central Asia's Second Chance, Washington, D.C. / 2005.

Marta Brill Olcott, The Kazakhs, Stanford / 1987.

Marta Brill Olcott, Kazakhstan, Unfulfilled Promise? Washington, D.C. / 2010.

James Brownlee, Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization, Cambridge / 2007.

Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, Beyond "Identity", in: Theory and Society 29/1.

Peter Burnell, Does International Democracy Promotion Work? DIE Discussion Paper, 17 / 2007.

Peter Burnell, Is There a New Autocracy Promotion? Working paper 96. Madrid / 2010.

Peter Burnell and Oliver Schlumberger, 'Promoting Democracy – Promoting Autocracy? International Politics and National Political Regimes', in: Contemporary Politics, 1/2010.

Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, Jaap de Wilde, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, Boulder / 1998.

Barry Buzan, China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible?, in The Chinese Journal of International Politics, 2010/3.

Caspian News Agency, *Ugolovnoe Dela Protiv Eks-Ministra Energetiki Abiazova Napravleno v Verhovnyj Sud* (Criminal Case Against Former Minister of Energy Referred Directly to the Supreme Court), Karavan News of June 3, 2002. http://www.caravan.kz/news/ugolovnoe-delo-protiv-ehksministra-ehnergetiki-ablyazova-napravleno-v-verkhovnyjj-sud-174553/ (Retrieved on 18.08.2015).

Caspian News Agency, *Goskomissiia po Demokratizatsii Prizyvaet Ob'edinit' Usiliia Dlia Podderzhki Zaiavki Kazakhstana Na Predsedatel'stvovanie v OBSE* (The State Commission on Democratization Appeals to Reinforce the Efforts to Support Kazakhstan's Bid for the OSCE), in: Caravan.kz of September 04, 2006. http://www.caravan.kz/news/goskomissiya-po-demokratizacii-prizyvaet-obedinit-usiliya-dlya-podderzhki-zayavki-kazakhstana-na-predsedatelstvovanie-v-obse-215666/ (Retrieved on 13.10.2015).

Thomas Carothers, The End of the Transition Paradigm, in: Journal of Democracy 13/1.

Thomas Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad. The Learning Curve, Washington / 1999.

Chatham House, The Principle of Non-Intervention in Contemporary International Law: Non-Interference in a State's Internal Affairs Used to be a Rule of International Law: Is it Still? London / 2007.

Jeffrey T. Checkel, 'Norms, Institutions, and National Identity in Contemporary Europe', International Studies Quarterly, 1999/1.

Jeffrey Checkel, Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change, International Organization, 55/3.

Jeffrey Checkel, International Institutions and Socialization in Europe, Introduction and Framework, International Organization, 3 / 2005.

Andrey Chebotarev, *Politicheskij Krizis Oseni 2001 Goda i Ego Posledstviia: 5 Let Spustia* (The Political Crisis of Autumn 2001 and the Consequences: 5 Years After), kub.info of November 7, 2006. http://www.kub.info/print.php?sid=15070 (Retrieved on 15.07.2015).

Gregory Chin and Ramesh Takur, 'Will China Change the Rules of Global Order?', in: Washington Quarterly, 33/4.

Ian Clark, Globalization and International Relations, Oxford/1999
William A. Corsaro and Laura Fingerson, in: Delamater, J. (Ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, New York / 2003.

Michael Clarke, “Making the Crooked Straight”: China’s Grand Strategy of “Peaceful Rise” and its Central Asian Dimension, in: Asian Security, 2/2008.

Kathleen Collins, ‘Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia’ , Cambridge / 2009.

Leo Cooper, Power and Politics of the Soviet Union: The Crumbling of an Empire, London / 1992.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Helsinki Final Act, Helsinki / 1975.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Charter of Paris for a New Europe, Paris / 1990.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Copenhagen Document, Copenhagen / 1991.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Document of the Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, Moscow / 1991.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Helsinki Document 1992: The Challenges of Change, Helsinki / 1992.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Budapest Document: Towards a Genuine Partnership in a New Era, Budapest /1994.

The Congress of the United States of America, Resolution by Senator Smith of New Jersey, Washington, D.C. / 2002. ftp://ftp.loc.gov/pub/openthomas/107/107HC00422.xml (Retrieved on 15.02.2016).

Andrew P. Cortell and James W. Davis, ‘How do International Institutions Matter? The Domestic Impact of International Rules and Norms, International Studies Quarterly, 4 / 1996.

Andrew P. Cortell and James W. Davis, ‘Understanding the Domestic Impact of International Norms: A research Agenda’, International Studies Review, 2000/1.

James Critchlow, Corruption, nationalism, and the native elites in Soviet Central Asia, in: Bhavna Dave (Ed.), ‘Politics of Modern Central Asia, Volume I’, New York / 2010
Robert A. Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory 1956.

Robert A. Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition, New Haven / 1971.

Bhavna Dave, Kazakhstan: Ethnicity, Language and Power, London / 2007.

Delegations of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia, On the Issue of Reform of the OSCE Field Activities (‘Food-for-Thought’-Paper), Moscow, PC.DEL/986/03 of September 4, 2003.

Deutsche Welle, *Hronika Tsentral’noi Azii, Vypusk za 13.12.02* (Chronicle of Central Asia of 13.12.2002), http://www.dw.com/ru/выпуск-за-131202/a-712697 (Retrieved 15.02.2015).

Sergey D’iachenko, Ludmila Karmazina & Sergey Seydumanov, *Politicheskii Partii Kazakhstana, 2000 God* (The political Parties of Kazakhstan, Year 2000), Almaty / 2000.

Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino, The Quality of Democracy, in: Journal of Democracy 15/4.

Dingding Chen and Katrin Kinzelbach, Democracy Promotion and China: Blocker or Bystander?, in: Democratization, 22/3.

China File, Document 9: A ChinaFile Translation: How Much Is a Hardline Party Directive Shaping China's Current Political Climate?, November 8, 2013. http://www.chinafile.com/document-9-chinafile-translation (retrieved on 15.09.2015).

Sally N. Cummings, 'Kazakhstan. Power and Elite', London, 2005. Martha Brill Olcott, 'Kazakhstan. Unfulfilled Promise', Washington, D.C., 2002.

Larry Diamond, The Democratic Rollback. The Resurgence of the Predatory State, in: Foreign Affairs, March / 2008.

David Easton, 1965, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, New York / 1965.

Elimai.kz, *Politicheskij Krizis Noiabria 2001 Goda* (The Political Crisis of November 2001), 2008. http://www.elimai.kz/politicheskij-krizis-noyabrya-2001-goda.html (Retrieved on 20.07.2015).

Naomi Ellemers, Russel Spears, and Beertjan Doosje, Sticking Together or Falling Apart: In-Group Identification as a Psychological Determinant of Group Commitment Versus Individual Mobility, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72/3.

Charlotte Epstein, Who speaks? Discourse, the subject and the study of identity in international politics, European Journal of International relations, 2010/2.

Gulzhan Ergalieva and Petr Svoik, *Proshloe ne Otkazyvaetsia ot Nas. Tsikl Besed Glavnogo Redaktora Gazety 'Svoboda Slova', Zhurnalistki Gul'zhan Ergalievoi I Politika Petra Svoika ob Istorii Dvizheniia 'Demokraticheskij Vybor Kazakhstana'* (The Past does not Reject Us. Conversations Between Editor-in-Chief of Newspaper 'Freedom of the Word' Gul'zhan Ergalieva and the Politician Petr Svoik about the History of the DVK Movement), in: Internet-Gazeta Zona.kz April 23, 2009. https://zonakz.net/articles/25061 (Retrieved on 17.07.2016).

European Parliament, Human Rights in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, February 13, 2003, P5_TA(2003)0064; Freedom House, Nations in Transit: Kazakhstan, Washington, D.C. / 2005 https://freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2005/kazakhstan (Retrieved on 13.06.2015).

European Union Permanent Council, EU Statement on the Passing of Legislation on Extremism and the Court Ruling to Dissolve the DCK Political Party in Kazakhstan, 17 February 2005.

Frank Evers, Martin Kahl, Wolfgang Zellner, The Culture of Dialogue. The OSCE *Aquis* 30 Years After Helsinki, Hamburg / 2005.

Diane Ethier. Is Democracy Promotion Effective? Comparing Conditionality and Incentives, in: Democratization 10/1.

James Fearon, What is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)? Draft (1999).

Fergana News Agency, Galymzhan Zhakianov Vyshel na Svobodu i Torzhestvenno Vozvratilsia v Almu-Atu, January 16, 2006. http://www.fergananews.com/articles/4183 (Retrieved on 15.07.2015).

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, 'International Norm Dynamics and Political Change', in: International Organization 4/1998.

Ann Florini, 'Rising Asian Powers and Changing Global Governance', in: International Studies Review, 13/2011.

Freedom House, 'Freedom in the World 2015', Washington, D.C. / 2015.

Freedom House, 'Freedom in the World 2016', Washington, D.C. / 2016.

Freedom House, Freedom in the World, Individual Country Ratings and Status, FIW 1973 – 2016, Washington, D.C. / 2016.

Francis Fukuyama, 'The End of History and the Last Man', New York / 2012.

Graham E. Fuller and Frederick S. Starr, The Xinjiang Problem, Washington / 2004.

Dmitrii Furman, The Regime in Kazakhstan, in: Boris Rumer (ed.), 'Central Asia at the End of Transition', Armonk / 2005.

Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski, Cooperation, co-optation and rebellion under dictatorships, in: Economics and Politics 18/1.

Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski, Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats, in: Comparative Political Studies, 40 /11.

Jennifer Gandhi and Ellen Lust-Okar, Elections under Authoritarianism, in: Annual Review of Political Science, 2009 /12.

Azar Gat, The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers, in: Foreign Affairs, July / 2007.

Barbara Geddes, What do we know about Democratization after twenty years? In: Annual Review of Political Science, 1999/2.

Barbara Geddes, Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transition, in: Perspectives on Politics, 12/2.

Paul Georg Geiss, 'Andere Wege in die Moderne. Recht und Verwaltung in Zentralasien', in: Manfred Sapper, Volker Weichsel, Andrea Huterer (Eds.), Machtmosaik Zentralasien. Traditionen, Restriktionen, Aspirationen, Osteuropa, Berlin /2007.

Paul Georg Geiss, 'Changing Political Systems and Regime Types: In between the Neopatrimonial and the Bureaucratic-Developmental State in Central Asia, in: Susan Stewart, Margarete Klein, Andrea Schmitz & Hans-Henning Schröder, Presidents, Oligarchs and Bureaucrats, Farnham / 2011.

Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, Case Studies and Theory Development in the Political Sciences, Cambridge / 2005.

Johannes Gerschewski, 'The Three Pillars of Stability. Legitimation, Repression, and Co-optation in Autocratic Regimes', in: Democratization, 2013/1.

Robert Gilpin, War and Change in the International System, Princeton / 1981.

Gregory Gleason, Fealty and Loyalty: Informal Authority Structures in Soviet Asia, Soviet Studies, 43/4.

Gregory Gleason, The Central Asian States: Discovering Independence, Boulder / 1997.

Gregory Gleason, Markets and Politics in Central Asia. Structural Reform and Political Change, London / 2003.

Francois Godement, Control at the Grassroots: China's New Toolbox, European Council on Foreign Relations, China Analysis /2012.

Peter Gourevitch, Second Image Reversed. The International Sources of Domestic Politics. In: International Organization, 32/4.

Guangcheng Xing, China and Central Asia, in: Roy Allison and Lena Jonson (Eds.): Central Asian Security, London / 2001.

Marie-Carin von Gumppenberg, Staats- und Nationsbildung in Kasachstan, Opladen / 2002.

Stefan Halper, The Beijing Consensus. How China's Authoritarian Model will Dominate the Twenty-First Century, Philadelphia / 2010.

Luba von Hauff, A Stabilizing Neighbour? The Impact of China's Engagement in Central Asia on Regional Security, DGAPAnalyse, 2013/3.

Jürgen Habermas, Between Facts and Norms. Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy.Cambridge (Mass.) / 1998.

Stephan Haggard and Beth A. Simmons, Theories of International Regimes, International Organization, 41/3.

Henry Hale, Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics, Cambridge / 2015.

David Held, Models of Democracy, Stanford /2006.

Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams, Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes, London / 1988.

Ted Hopf, The Logic of Habit in International Relations, European Journal of International Relations, 2010/4.

Marc Morje Howard and Philip G. Roessler, Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes, in: American Journal of Political Science, 50/2.

Jerry F. Hough, Political Participation in the Soviet Union, in: Soviet Studies, 28/1.

Human Rights Watch, Political Freedoms in Kazakhstan, 16/3 (D).

Human Rights Watch, Bullets Were Falling Like Rain. The Andijan Massacre, in: Human Rights Watch Report, 17/5.

Human Rights Watch, Kazakhstan: Opposition Leader Jailed, October 9, Washington, D.C. / 2012.

Samuel P. Huntington, The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late 20th Century, Oklahoma / 1993.

John G. Ikenberry and Charles Kupchan, Socialization and Hegemonic Power, International Organization, 44 / 2.

John Ikenberry, The Rise of China and the Future of the Liberal World Order, The C. Douglas Dillon Lecture, Chatham House, London / 2014.

John Ikenberry, The Future of the Liberal World Order, in: Foreign Affairs, 2011/5.

Takashi Inoguchi, Edward Newman, John Keane, Introduction. The Changing Nature of Democracy, in: Takashi Inoguchi, Edward Newman & John Keane (Eds.): The Changing nature of Democracy, Tokyo / 1998.

Rico Isaacs, Informal Politics and the Uncertain Context of Transition: Revisiting Early Stage Non-democratic Development, Democratization, 2010/1.

Rico Isaacs, 'Party System Formation in Kazakhstan', New York / 2011.

Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INCSR), Polity IV Annual Time-Series 1800 – 2015, Vienna, V.A. / 2015.

International Business Publications, Kazakhstan Country Study Guide, Volume 1, Strategic Information and Developments, New York / 2013.

Jia Qingguo, The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: China's experiment in Multilateral Leadership, in: Iwashita Akihiro (Ed.) Russia and its Eastern Edge, Sapporo / 2007.

Alastair Iain Johnston, Conclusions and Extensions: Toward Mid-Range Theorizing and Beyond Europe, International Organization, 2005/3.

Alistair Iain Johnston, Social States. China in International Institutions, Princeton / 2009.

Pauline Jones Luong, Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia, Cambridge / 2002.

Barbara Junisbai and Azamat Junisbai, The Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan: A Case Study in Economic Liberalization, Intraelite Cleavage, and Political Opposition, Demokratizatsiya, 13/3.

Barbara Junisbai, A Tale of Two Kazakhstans: Sources of Political Cleavage and Conflict in the Post-Soviet Period, Europe-Asia Studies, 62/2.

Anna Kalashnikova, *Vpered! Narodnaia Partiia!* (Forward! Peoples' Party!), in: ZonaKZ of July 26, 2005. https://zonakz.net/articles/9347 (Retrieved on 15.10.2015).

Lidia Karmazina, Institutionalization of the Party System in the Republic of Kazakhstan: Past and Present, in: Central Asia and the Caucasus, 53/5.

Akezhan Kazhegeldin, Shattered Image, in: Harvard International Review, 22/1.

Akezhan Kazhegeldin, *Moi Reiting Rastet Kak Arbuz* (My Rating is Growing like a Watermelon), *Kommersant* of October 15, 1998.

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics, Ithaca / 1998.

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye, Power and Interdependence Revisited, in: International Organization, 41.

Stephan Keukeleire and Arnout Justaert, EU Foreign Policy and the Challenges of Structural Diplomacy, DSEU Policy Paper, Bruegge / 2012.

Audie Klotz, Norms in International Relations: The Struggle Against Apartheid, Ithaca / 1996.

Audie Klotz and Cecilia Lynch, Strategies for Research in Constructivist International Relations, Armonk / 2007.

Sergey Konovalov, Parties' Pre-Election Platforms: Experience of Implementation of Discursive Analysis Technique, in: Analytic, 2007/4.

Vladimir Kozlov, *Narodnuyu partiyu 'Demokraticheskiy vybor Kazakhstana' (NP DVK) – zaregistrirovali!* (The Peoples' Party 'Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan' has been registered!),

Internet Newspaper ZonaKZ of May 5, 2004. https://zonakz.net/articles/6172 (Retrieved on 13.04.2015).

Konstitutsiia Respubliki Kazakhstan (Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan), Almaty /1993.

Paul Kowert and Jeffrey Legro, 'Norms, Identity and Their Limits: A Theoretical Reprise', in: Peter J. Katzenstein (Ed.), 'The Culture of National Security', New York / 1996.

Asylbek Kozhakhmetov, *'Alga, DVK!' Zaevlenie of Sozdanii Narodnoj Partii 'Alga, DVK!'* ('Forward, DVK!' Statement on the Establishment of the People's Party 'Alga, DVK!'), in: FREEAS Svobodnaia Aziia of March 29, 2005. http://www.webcitation.org/mainframe.php (Retrieved on 13.04.2015).

Serik Kozhkenov, *DPK 'Nastoiashchii Ak Zhol' Proshel Registratsiiu* (DPK 'The Real Ak Zhol' Passed Government registration), in: Kazinform News Agency of March 22, 2006. http://www.nomad.su/?a=3-200603220610 (Retrieved on 20.08.2015).

Sergey Kozlov, Mladoturki Rvutsia k Vlasti (The Young Turks Strive for Power), in: Nezavisimaka Gazeta, December 21, 2001.

Aldar Kusainov, Kazakhstan's Critical Choice, in: Eurasianet.org of January 12, 2003. http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/rights/articles/eav011303.shtml (Retrieved on 13.04.2015).

KUB, *Velikolepnaia Semerka ili Deputaty Kamikadze? Tekst Pis'ma Nazarbaevu* (The Great Seven or Parliamentarian Suicide? The Text of the Letter to Nazarbaev). http://www.kub.info/print.php?sid=129 (Retrieved on 13.08.2015).

Joshua Kucera, Why did Kazakhstan Give Up Its Nukes?, in: Eurasianet.org of 15.05.2013. http://www.eurasianet.org/node/66967(Retrieved on 13.03.2015).

Joshua Kurlantzick, Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World, New Haven / 2007.

Joshua Kurlantzick, Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World, New Haven / 2007.

Joshua Kurlantzik, China: Resilient, Sophisticated Authoritarianism. In Freedom House Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty / Radio Free Asia (Eds.), Undermining Democracy. 21st Century Authoritarians, Washington, D.C. / 2009.

Tomila V. Lankina and Lullit Getachew, A Geographic Incremental Theory of Democratization: Territory, Aid, and Democracy in Postcommunist Regions, World Politics, 58/4.

Robert Legvold, 'Thinking Strategically. The Major Powers, Kazakhstan, and the Central Asian Nexus', Cambridge / 2003.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War, Cambridge / 2010.

David Lewis, Who's Socializing Whom? Regional Organization and Contested Norms in Central Asia, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 64/7.

Arend Lijphart, Thinking About Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Practice, New York / 2007.

Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, New Haven / 1998.

Joanna Lillis, Kazakhstan: Astana's Proposed Reforms Draw Criticism, in: Eurasiante.org of December 16, 2008. http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/eav121708.shtml (Retrieved on 13.04.2015).

Joanna Lillis, Kazakhstan: Opposition Leader Jailed Over Zhanaozen Unrest, in: Eurasianet.rog of October 8, 2012. http://www.eurasianet.org/node/66021 (Retrieved on 13.02.2015).

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, Toward Consolidated Democracies, in: Takashi Inoguchi, Edward Newman & John Keane (Eds.): The Changing nature of Democracy, Tokyo / 1998.

Karen Lutfey and Jeylan T. Mortimer, 'Development and Socialization through the Adult Life Course', in: Delamater, J. (Ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, New York / 2003.

Neill MacFarlane, European Strategy Towards Kazakhstan, in: Robert Legvold (Ed.), Thinking Strategically. The Major Powers, Kazakhstan, and the Central Asian Nexus, Cambridge / 2003.

Vadim Mahin, *Zakony Rabotaiut na Stabil'nost'* (The Laws are Working for Stability), Kazakhstanskaia Pravda of 01.06.2001.

Asylhan Mamashuly, *Zharmahan Tuiakbai. Lider 'Edinstvennoi Oppozitsionnoj Partii'* (Zharmakhan Tuiakbai. Leader of 'the Only Opposition Party'), in: Radio Azattyq of February 22, 2016. http://rus.azattyq.org/a/zharmakan-tuyakbay-osdp/27561918.html (Retrieved on 13.06.2016).

Ian Manners, 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?', in: Journal of Common Market Studies, 2/2002.

James G. March and Johan P. Olson, 'The Logic of Appropriateness', ARENA, Centre for European Studies, Oslo / 2009.

Lisa L. Martin, the Rational Choice State of Multilateralism, in John Gerard Ruggie (Ed.), Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form, New York / 1993.

Carlo Masala, Der Aufstieg Chinas. Folgen für das Internationale System, in: Politische Studien, 64/451.

Rose McDermott, Psychological Approaches to Identity: Experimentation and Application, in: Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston & Rose McDermott (Eds.), Measuring Identity, Cambridge (Mass.) / 2009.

Evan S. Medeiros, China's International Behavior. Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification, Santa Monica / 2009.

Inna Melnykovska, Hedwig Plamper, Rainer Schweckert, Do Russia and China Promote Autocracy in Central Asia?, in: Asia Europe Journal, 10/1.

Raphael Metais and Chales Thépaut, Introduction: What Is Structural Foreign Policy? In: Raphael Metais, Chales Thépaut, & Stephan Keukeleire (Eds.), The European Union's Rule of Law Promotion in its Neighbourhood: A Structural Foreign Policy Approach, College of Europe, EU Diplomacy Paper 4/2013.

Stephan M. Minikes, Kazakhstan: Freedom of the Media, Statement to the OSCE Permanent Council of February 18, 2003, Vienna. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/2003/19829.htm (Retrieved on 13.07.2015).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Information and Press Department, Statement by CIS Member Countries on the State of Affairs in the OSCE, Moscow, PC.DEL/630 of July 8, 2004.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Information and Press Department, Appeal of the CIS Member States to the OSCE Partners 'Astana Appeal', Astana, SEC.DEL/225 of September 16, 2004.

Hans Morgenthau, The Struggle for Power and Peace. New York / 1978.

Jonathan Murphy, Illusory Transition? Elite Reconstitution in Kazakhstan, 1989 – 2002, in: Europe-Asia Studies, 58/4.

Ethan A. Nadelmann, 'Global Prohibition Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society, International Organization, 44 (4), p. 481.

Moises Naim, Rogue Aid, in: Foreign Policy, October 2009.

National Intelligence Council, Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds, Washington D.C. / 2012.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Strategiia Stanovleniia i Razvitiia Kazakhstana Kak Suverennogo Gosudarvstva* (Strategy of Establishment and Development of Kazakhstan as an Independent State), Alma-Ata / 1992.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Ideinaia Konsolidatsiia Obshchestva – Kak Uslovie Progressa Kazakhstana* (Ideational Consolidation of Society – the Condition of Kazakhstan's Development), Almaty / 1993.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *K Obnovlennomu Kazakhstanu – Cherez Uglublenie Reform i Obshchenatsional'noe Soglasie* (Towards a New Kazakhstan – Through the Deepening of Reforms and All-National Consensus), Speech at the I Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kazakhstan of the 13th Convocation, Almaty / 1994.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie Na II Sessii Assamblei Narodov Kazakhstana* (Address at the Second Session of the Assembly of Peoples of Kazakhstan), Almaty /1995.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie na XXVIII Sessii General'noi Konferentsii UNESCO po Sluchaiu 50-letnego Iubileja Organizatsii* (Address at the XXVIII Session of the General Conference of UNESCO), New York / 1995.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie na III Sessii Assemblei Narodov Kazakhstana* (Address at the Third Session of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan), Almaty / 1996.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, An der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert, Nürnberg / 1997.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Sentiabr' 1998 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the People, September 30, 1998), Astana / 1998.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Sentiabr' 1999 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the People, September 16, 1999), Astana / 1999.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Oktaiabr' 2000 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, October 2000), Astana / 2000.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Aprel 2002 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, April 2002), Astana / 2002.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Oktaiabr' Aprel' 2003 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, April 2003), Astana / 2003.

Nursultan Nazarbayev, *Demokratiu Nelzia Ob'iavit, Yie Mozhno Lish' Vystradat* (Democracy Cannot be Decreed, It Has to Evolve), in: Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, February 1, 2003.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie Prezidenta Respubliki N.A. Nazarbaeva na Pervom Forume Parlamentskoi Assamblei OBSE* (Address at the First Forum of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly), Almaty / 2003.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Mart' 2004 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, March 2004), Astana / 2004.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Fevral' 2005 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, February 2005), Astana / 2005.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie Prezidenta RK N.A. Nazarbaeva na zasedanii Soveta Glav Gosudarvtv – chlenov SHOS* (Statement of President Nazarbaev at the Meeting of the Heads of State Council), Shanghai / 2006.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Vystuplenie Prezidenta RK N.A. Nazarbaeva na Soveshchanii OBSE po Mezhkul'turnoi, Mezhreligioznoi, Mezhetnitichskoi Terpimosti* (Address by N.A. Nazarbaev on an OSCE Meeting on Intercultural, Interreligious, and Interethnic Patience), June 12, 2006, Almaty / 2006.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, The Kazakhstan Way, London / 2008.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Poslanie Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbaeva Narodu Kazakhstana, Fevral' 2008 g.* (Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, February 2008), Astana / 2008.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *Sud'ba i Perspektivy OBSE* (The Destiny and Perpsectives of the OSCE), in: Izvestiia of January 28, 2010.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, Statement by his Excellency Nursultan Nazarbayev, President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, at the 2010 OSCE Summit, Astana / 2010.

Nursultan Nazarbayev, 'Kazakhstan's Steady Progress Toward Democracy', The Washington Post, Opinions, 01.04.2011

Nursultan Nazarbaev, *SHOS: Desiat' Let Istorii* (SCO: Ten Years of History), in: Rossiyskaia Gazeta of June 3, 2011. https://rg.ru/2011/06/03/nazarbaev.html (Retrieved on 13.04.2016).

Nursultan Nazarbaev, What Iran Can Learn From Kazakhstan, in: The New York Times, Opinion Pages of 25.03.2012.

Nursultan Nazarbaev, Address by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Leader of the Nation, N. Nazarbayev 'Strategy Kazakhstan-2050': New Political Course of the Established State of December 14, 2012, Astana / 2012.

Nursultan Nazarbayev, 'Foreword', in: Aktoty Aitzhanova, Shigeo Katsu, Johannes F. Linn, Vladislav Yezhov, Kazakhstan 2050. Toward a Modern Society for All', New Dehli / 2014.

News Service DVK, Uchreditel'nyj S'ezd Narodnoi Partii 'Demokraticheskii Vybor Kazakhstana' (*The Constitutive Congress of the Peoples' Party 'Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan'*), Internet Newspaper ZonaKZ of February 25, 2004. https://zonakz.net/articles/5626 (Retrieved on 13.06.2015).

News Service DVK, Itogi Pervogo S'ezda Narodnoi Partii 'Demokraticheskii Vybor Kazakhstana', Internet Newspaper ZonaKZ of July 28, 2004. https://zonakz.net/articles/6666 (Retrieved on 15.06.2015).

News Service NP DVK, *Materialy II S'ezda NPDVK* (Materials of the Second Congress of the DVK), Internet Newspaper ZonaKZ of December 13, 2004. http://www.zonakz.net/articles/7670 (Retrieved on 15.06.2015).

News Service of NP Alga (DVK), *7 Iiulia Sostaialos' Pervoe Zasedanie Koordinatsionnogo Komiteta Nezaregestrirovannoj Narodnoj Partii 'Alga!' (DVK)* (On July 7, the First Meeting of the Unregistered People's Party 'Alga!' (DVK) has taken place), in: ZonaKZ of July 10, 2007. https://zonakz.net/articles/18437 (Retrieved on 15.10.2015).

News service NP 'Alga' (DVK*), Predsedatel' Prezidiuma Politsoveta Narodnoj Partii 'Alga!' (DVK) Asylbek Kozhakhmetov Podal v Otstavku* (The Chairman of the People's Party DVK has Stepped Down), in: qwas.ru of July 4, 2007. http://www.qwas.ru/kazakhstan/npdvk/id_63255/ (Retrieved on 19.09.2015).

No author, *Kommunistam 'vykruchivaut' ruki'* (Unscrewing the Communists' Hands), Pravda Kazakhstana, 11/79, March 19-25, 2003. http://www.navi.kz/Articles/4print.php?artid=3125 (Retrieved on 14.04.2015).

No Author, Kazakhstan: Astana Seeks OSCE Rotating Chairmanship in 2009, in: Eurasianet.org of Novmber 4, 2005. http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/pp110505.shtml (Retrieved on 25.10.2015).

No Author, *Sozdana Goskomissiia po Demokratizatsii* (The State Commission on Democratization has been Established), in: Kazakhstan Today of March 23, 2006. http://www.kub.info/print.php?sid=12444 (Retrieved on 28.10.2016).

Joseph S. Nye, Nuclear Learning and U.S.-Soviet Security Regimes, International Organization, 41/3.

Guillermo O'Donnell and Phillippe C. Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies, Baltimore / 2013.

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Republic of Kazakhstan Parliamentary Elections 10 and 24 October 1999, Warsaw / 1999.

The Office For Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Factsheet of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Warsaw / 2009.

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, ODIHR and Democratic Governance, Warsaw / 2013.

The Office For Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, 'Democratization', Warsaw.

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Republic of Kazakhstan. The Law on Political Parties Adopted on 15 July, Warsaw / 2002.

Nicholas Onuf, World of Our Making, Columbia / 1989.

Open Dialogue, The Story of 'The Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan' Opposition Movement. Warsaw / 2012.

Matthew Oresman, SCO Update: The Official Launch of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly, 2004 / 4.

Andriy Osavoliyk, The 'Alga!' Party: A Ban on Its Activities and Oppression of Activists, Open Dialogue Foundation, Warsaw / 2013. http://en.odfoundation.eu/a/1054,the-alga-party-a-ban-on-its-activities-and-oppression-of-activists (Retrieved on 18.10.2015).

OSCE/ODIHR, OSCE PA, CEPA International Election Observation Mission, Republic of Kazakhstan Parliamentary Elections 19 September 2004, Warsaw / 2004.

OSCE / ODIHR, Comments on the Draft Laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan 'On Counteractive Measures against Extremist Activities' and 'On Amendments to Several Legislative Acts with regard to Counteractive Measures Against Extremist Activities', Warsaw / 2005.

OSCE/ODIHR, OSCE PA, CEPA International Election Observation Mission, Republic of Kazakhstan Parliamentary Elections 19 September 2004, Warsaw / 2007.

OSCE/ODIHR, OSCE PA, CEPA International Election Observation Mission, Republic of Kazakhstan Parliamentary Elections 19 September 2004, Warsaw / 2012.

Timothy Owens, Self and Identity, in: Delamater, J. (Ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, New York / 2003.

Otwarty Dialogue, *Kratkij Obzor Po Dosrochnym Parlamentskim Vyboram v Kazakhstane I Spisok Politicheskij Partij* (Brief Overview over the early Parliamentary Elections and a List of Political Parties), Otwarty Dialogue, Warsaw / 2012.

Pang Xingchen, cited by Evan S. Medeiros, China's International Behavior. Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification, Santa Monica / 2009.

Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan, History of the Parliamentarian Development in Kazakhstan.

Permanent Mission of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 'History of Kazakhstan's Participation in the OSCE', Vienna / no date.

Nikolai Petrov and Mehman Gafarly, The Course Towards Political Stability, in: Alexei Vassiliev (Ed.), Central Asia. Political and Economic Challenges in the Post-Soviet Era, London / 2001.

Sebastien Peyrouse, Economic Aspects of the Chinese-Central Asia Rapprochement. Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Washington, D.C. / 2007.

Henry Plater-Zyberk, Who's Afraid of the SCO? Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, 2007.

Vitalii Ponomarev, Obshchestvennye Organizatsii v Kazakhstane i Kyrgyzstane – 1987-1991, Alma-Ata / 1991.

The President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *Ukaz ot 2 Noiabria 2004 Goda N 1467, O Natsional'noi Komisii po Voprosam Demokratii i Grazhdanskogo Obshchestva pri Prezidente Respubliki Kazakhstan* (Decree on the Establishment of the National Commission on Questions of Democracy and Civil Society under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan). https://egov.kz/cms/ru/law/list/U040001467_ (Retrieved on 15.02.2016).

Press Release RNPK, *Budet Takoi Zakon o Partiiakh*, May 29, 2002. http://www.kub.info/print.php?sid=1252 (Retrieved on 15.02.2016).

Richard Price, A Genealogy of the Chemical Weapons Taboo, in: International Organization, 49/1.

Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub & Fernando Limongi, Democracy and Development. Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950 – 1990. Cambridge / 2000.

Adam Przeworski, Democracy and the Market. Political and Economic reform in Eastern Europe and Latin America, Chicago / 1991.

Geoffrey Pridham, The Dynamics of Democratization. A Comparative Approach, York / 2000.

Pu Xiaoyu, Socialization as a Two-way Process: Emerging Powers and the Diffusion of International Norms, in: The Chinese Journal of International Politics, 5/2012.

Arch Puddington, Freedom in Retreat: Is the Tide Turning? Findings of Freedom in the World 2008.

Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy, Princeton / 1993.

Joshua Cooper Ramo, The Beijing Consensus, London/2004.

Gregory A. Raymond, ‚Problems and Prospects in the Study of International Norms', Mershon International Studies Review, 2 / 1997.

William Rehg, Translator's Introduction, in: Jürgen Habermas, Between Facts and Norms. Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy.Cambridge (Mass.) / 1998.

Thomas Risse and Kathryn Sikkink, The Socialization of International Human Rights Norms into Domestic Practices: Introduction, in: Thomas Risse and Kathryn Sikkink, The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change, Cambridge / 1999.

Thomas Risse and Nelli Babayan, Democracy Promotion and the Challenges of Illiberal Regional Powers: Introduction to the Special Issue, in: Democratization, 22/3.

Sean Roberts, Under one Bid Tent (Yurt) in Kazakhstan. Will the Civic and Agrarian Parties Join the New 'Otan' Megaparty? In: The Roberts Report, October 25, 2006.

Sean Roberts, Doing the Democracy Dance in Kazakhstan: Democracy Development as Cultural Encounter, in Slavic Review, 2012/2.

Richard Rose, 'Post-Communism and the Problem of Trust', Journal of Democracy, 1994/3.

James N. Rosenau, Pre-Theories and Theories of International Policy', in: Barry Farrell (Ed.) Approaches to Comparative and International Politics, Evanston / 1964.

Bolat Ryskozha, *Biznes-Tekhnologiia Liderov DVK ne Opravdala Sebia v Oppozitsionnoi Srede* (The Business Skills of the DVK Leaders did not Help in their Opposition Endeavours), Radio Azattyq January 18, 2009. http://rus.azattyq.org/a/DVK_kazakhstan_leaders_ablyazov_zhakyanov/1371159.html (Retrieved on 16.08.2015).

Michael Rywkin, Moscow's Muslim Challenge, Armonk / 1990.

Eberhard Sandschneider, Der erfolgreiche Abstieg Europas, München / 2011.

Marat A. Sarembayev, Parliamentary Reform in the Republic of Kazakhstan, Institut für Froedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik Hamburg (ISFH) (Ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2007, Baden-Baden / 2007.

Dossym Satpaev and Tolganay Umbetaliyeva, The Protests in Zhanaozen and the Kazakh Oil Sector: Conflicting Interests in a Rentier State, in: Journal of Eurasian Studies, 6/2.

Kanat Saudabaev, *Vystuplenie Gossekretaria RK K.B. Saudabaev na Spetsial'noi Press-Konferentsii po Povodu Predsedatel'stva Kazakhstana v OBSE v 2010 godu* (Address at a Special Press Conference regarding Kazakhstan's Chairmanship of the OSCE in 2010), Astana / 2007.

Kanat Saudabaev, *Vystuplenie Gossekretaria RK K.B. Saudabaev na Konferentsii "Sovremennyi Kazakhstan" i "Put' v Evropu"* (Address of State Secretary Saudabaev at the Conference "Contemporary Kazakhstan" and "The Path to Europe"), May 21, 2009, Astana / 2009.

Edward Schatz, 'Modern Clan Politics. The Power of 'Blood' and Beyond', Washington / 2004.

Andreas Schedler, The Logic of Electoral Authoritarianism. In: Andreas Schedler (Ed.): Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition, Boulder / 2006.

Frank Schimmelfennig, 'Introduction: The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and Eastern European States – Conceptual and Theoretical Issues', in. Linden, R. (Ed.), Norms and Nannies, The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and Eastern European States, Lanham / 2002.

Frank Schimmelfennig, 'Strategic Calculation and International Socialization: Membership Incentives, Party Constellations, and Sustained Compliance in Central and Eastern Europe', in: Jeffrey Checkel (Ed.), International Institutions and Socialization in Europe; International Organization, 2005/3.

Phillippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, What Democracy is… And Is Not, in: Journal of Democracy, 2/3.

Phillippe C. Schmitter, Some Basic Assumptions About the Consolidation of Democracy, in: Takashi Inoguchi, Edward Newman & John Keane (Eds.): The Changing nature of Democracy, Tokyo / 1998.

Philippe C. Schmitter and Imco Brouwer, Conceptualizing, Researching, and Evaluating Democracy Promotion and Protection, EUI Working Paper SPS No. 99/9.

Andrea Schmitz, Elitenwandel und Politische Dynamik in Kasachstan, SWP-Studie, Berlin / 2003.

Joseph Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy, London / 1976.

David A. Scott, Multipolarity, Multilateralism and Beyond …? EU-China Understandings of the International System, in: International Relations, 27/1.

Amartya Sen, Democracy as a Universal Value, in: Journal of Democracy, 10/3.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, *Struktura Shankhaiskoi Organizatsii Sotrudnichestva* (The Structure of the SCO). http://rus.sectsco.org/structure/ (Retrieved on 12.06.2016).

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Shanghai Convention on Combatting Terrorism, Separatism, and Extremism, Shanghai / 2001.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, St. Petersburg / 2002.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, *Deklaratsiia Glav Gosudarstv-chlenov Shanghaiskoi Organizatsii Sotrudnichestva* (Declaration of the SCO Heads of States Astana 2006), Astana / 2005.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Declaration by the Heads of Member States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Astana / 2005. <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2006-06/12/content_6020345.htm> (Retrieved on 09.01.2016).

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Declaration by the Heads of Member States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Shanghai / 2006.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, *Dushanbinskaia Deklaratsiia Glav Gosudarstv-Chlenov Shnhaiskoi Organizatsii Sotrudnichestva* (The Dushanbe Declaration of the Heads of Member States of the SCO), Dushanbe / 2014.

Nazif Sharani, 'Central Asia and the Challenge of Soviet Legacy', in: Bhavna Dave (Ed.), 'Politics of Modern Central Asia, Volume I', New York / 2010.

S. G. Sheretov, *Noveishaia Istoriia Kazakhstana: 1985 – 2002 gg.* (The Newest History of Kazakhstan: 1985 – 2002), Almaty / 2003.

Sergey Shipulin, *I Nikakoi Politiki…* (And No Politics at All…), Kazinform, January 7, 2005. http://www.kub.info/print.php?sid=7946 (Retrieved on 20.03.2016).

Susan Shirk, China. Fragile Superpower. Oxford / 2007.

Beth A. Simmons and Lisa L. Martin, International Organizations and Institutions, in: Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, Beth Simmons (Eds.), Handbook of International Relations, Los Angeles / 2002.

Christian von Soest, Democracy Prevention: The International Collaboration of Authoritarian Regimes, in: European Journal of Political Research, 54/4.

Kathryn Sikkink, The Power of Principled Ideas: Human Rights Policies in the United States and Western Europe. In: Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane (Eds.), Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change, Ithaca / 1993.

Beth A. Simmons and Lisa L. Martin, International Organizations and Institutions, in: Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, Beth Simmons (Eds.), Handbook of International Relations, Los Angeles / 2002.

Benjamin Smith, Life of the Party. The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single Party Rule, in: World Politics, 2005 /57.

Frederick Starr, Clans, Authoritarian Rulers, and Parliaments in Central Asia, in: Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, Silk Road Paper, Washington, D.C. / 2006.

Stephen John Stedtman, 'Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes', in: International Security, 1997 / 2.

Robert Sutter, Chinese Foreign Relations. Power and Policy Since the Cold War, Lanham / 2007.

Andrey Sviridov, Kazakh Establishment vs. European Parliament, Kazakhstan Monitor of March 31, 2003. http://kub.info/print.php?sid=3450 (Retrieved on 13.12.2015).

Niklas Swanström, China and Central Asia: A New Great Game or Traditional Vassal Relations? Journal of Contemporary China, 14/45/ 2005.

Gennadi Sysoev, *Vlasti Kazakhstana Otmeniaiut 'Demokraticheskii Vybor* (The Power of Kazakhstan logs off the 'Democratic Choice'), Kommersant of January 11, 2005. http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/537630 (Retrieved on 12.06.2015).

Henri Tajfel, Social Identity and Intergroup Relations, Cambridge /1981.

Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner, An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict, in: William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel (Eds.): The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations, Monterey, Calif. / 1979.

Oisin Tansey, The Problem with Autocracy Promotion, in: Democratization, 23/1.

Saken Taubaev, *Dva Protivnika Prezidenta Kazakhstana: Dve Pravdy* (Two Adversaries of the Kazakh President: Two Truths), in Nomad of 20.07.2009. http://www.nomad.su/?a=3-200907200109 (Retrieved 14.05.2016).

Marat Tazhin, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del RK M.M. Tazhina na Spezsial'nom Zasedanii Postoiannogo Soveta OBSE* (Address of Foreign Minister Tazhin at a Special Session of the Permanent Council of the OSCE), April 30, 2007, Vienna / 2007.

Marat Tazhin, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del RK M.M. Tazhina na 15 Seveshchanie MInistrov Inostrannykh Del Gosudarvst-Uchastnikov OBSE* (Address of Foreign Minister Taazhin at the 15th OSCE Ministerial Council), November 30, 2007, Madrid / 2007.

Marat Tazhin, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del M.M. Tazhina na 16-om Soveshchanii Ministrov Inostranykh Del Gosudarstv-Uchastnikov OBSE v Helsinki* (Address of Foreign Minister Tazhin at the 16th Session of the OSCE Ministerial Counci), December 4, 2008, Helsinki / 2008.

Maximilian Terhalle, 'Reciprocal Socialization: Rising Powers and the West', in: International Studies Review, 12/2011.

Testent.ru, *Evolutsiya Konstitutsii Respubliki Kazakhstan (*Evolution of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan).

Simon Tisdall, Can the Brics Create a New World Order?, The Guardian of March 29, 2012.

Kazis Toguzbaev, *Vybory Parlamenta: Oppositsiia Reshila Splotitsia Eshche Raz* (Parliamentary Elections: The Opposition Decided to Unite One More Time), in: Radio Azattyk of November 21, 2011. http://rus.azattyq.org/a/parliament_election_kazakh_opposition/24397571.html (Retrieved on 25.02.2015).

Kassymzhomart Tokaev, *Zaevlenie Premier-Ministra Respubliki Kazakhstan, 20 Noiabria 2001 g.* (Statement of the Prime Minister Kassymzhomart Tokaev). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iS8dc4f39xc (Retrieved on 16.08.2015).

Kassymjomart Tokaev, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del RK K.K. Tokaeva na 13-oi Sessii Soveta Ministrov OBSE* (Address by Foreign Minister K.K. Tokaev at the 13th Session of the OSCE Ministerial Council), December 6, 2005, Ljubljana / 2005.

Kassymzhomart Tokaev, *Vystuplenie Ministra Inostrannykh Del Kassymzhomarta Tokaeva na 14-m Zasedanii SMID OBSE* (Address of Foreign Minister Kassymzhomart Takoaev on the 14th Session of the OSCE Ministerial Council), December 4, 2006, Brussels / 2006.

Kassymzhomart Tokaev, *Vystuplenie na Mezhdunarodnoi Nauchno-Prakticheskoi Konferentsii 'Sovremennyi Kazakhstan i "Put' v Evropu"'* (Address at the International Academic-Practical Conference 'Contemporary Kazakhstan and the Pathway to Europe', Astana / 2009.

Kassymjomart Tokaev, Preodolenie: Ocherki Diplomata, Moscow / 2009.

Farkhod Tolipov, Central Asia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly, 2004 / 4.

Jakob Tolstrup, Black Knights and Elections in Authoritarian regimes: Why and How Russia Supports Authoritarian Incumbents in Post-Soviet States, in: European Journal of Political Research, 54/1.

David Truman, The Governmental Process, New York / 1951.

John C. Turner, Some Current Issues in Research on Social Identity and Self-Categorization Theories, in: Naomi Ellemers, Russell Spears, and Bertjan Doosje (Eds.), Social Identity, Oxford / 1999.

Tolganai Umbetalieva, *Economicheskaia Elita Kazakhstana Na Sovremennom Etape* (The Economic Elite of Kazakhstan of Contemporary Times), Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies, Almaty / 2002.

USAID, Democracy and Governance, Washington / 1991.

Rachel Vanderhill, Promoting Authoritarianism Abroad, Boulder / 2013.

Vox Populi, History 2001 *god*. http://www.voxpopuli.kz/history/520-2001-god.html (Retrieved on 13.08.2015).

Mark van Vugt and Claire M. Hart, Social identity as Social Glue: The Origins of Group Loyalty, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 86/4.

Christopher Walker, The Hijacking of 'Soft Power', in: Journal of Democracy, 27/1.

Kenneth Waltz, Theory of International Politics. Reading, Mass./ 1979.

Lucan A. Way, The Limits of Autocracy Promotion: The Case of Russia in the 'Near Abroad', in: European Journal of Political research, 54/1.

Deborah Welch Larson and Alexei Shevchenko, Status Seekers. Chinese and Russian Responses to US Primacy, in: International Security, 34/4.

Deborah Welch Larson and Alexei Shevchenko, Shortcut to Greatness: The New Thinking and the Revolution in Soviet Foreign Policy, International Organization, 57/1.

Alexander Wendt, Social Theory of International Relations, Cambridge /1999.

Lawrence Whitehead, The International Dimension of Democratization, Oxford / 2001.

Laurence Whitehead, Antidemocracy Promotion. Four Strategies in Search of a Framework, in: Taiwan Journal of Democracy, 10/2.

Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilton, A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis, Amsterdam / 2005.

Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (Eds.), Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis, London / 2009.

Arnold Wolfers, Discord and Collaboration, Baltimore /1962.

Joseph Wright, How Foreign Aid Can Foster Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes, in: American Journal of Political Science, 53/3.

Xi Jinping, Speech At the Körber Foundation, March 28, 2014.

Xi Jinping, Carry Forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to Build a Better World Through Win-Win Cooperation, Address at Meeting Marking the 60th Anniversary of the Initiation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence, June 28 2014.

Xiaoming Zhang, A Rising China and the Normative Changes in International Society, East Asia, 28/2.

Fareed Zakaria, The Rise of Illiberal Democracy, in: Foreign Affairs, November / December 1997.

Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan, O Vnesenii izmenenij I dopolnenij v Konstitutsiiu Respubliki Kazakhstan (Law of the republic of Kazakhstan, On the Introduction of Amendments and Complements in the Constitution), October 7, 1998.

Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 2 Iiulia 1996, O Politicheskikh Partiiakh, (Law on Political Parties of July 2 1996), Almaty /1996.

Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 26 Ijunia 1998 goda No 223-I, O Natsional'noi Bezopastosti Respubliki Kazakhstan (Law on National Security), Astana / 1998.

Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 15.07.2002, O Politicheskikh Partiiakh, (Law on Political Parties of July 2 1996), Astana /1996.

Zakon O Protivodeistivii Ekstremizmu ot 18 Fevralia 2005 (Law on Counteractive Measures Against Extremist Activities of 18.02.2005), Astana / 2005.

Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 21 Maia 2007 Goda No 254-III 'O Vnesenii Izmenenii i Dopolnenii v Konstitutsiiu Respubliki Kazakhstan' (Law on Introducing Amendments and Supplements into the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan), Astana / 2007.

Andrei Zaretskiy, *Politicheskie Partii Kazakhstana – Istoria i Sovremennost'* (Political Parties in Kazakhstan – History and Present), in: Sovremennaia Nauka: Aktual'mye Problemy Teorii i Praktiki, 2015/11-12. http://www.nauteh-journal.ru/index.php/ru/---ep15-11/1654-a (Retrieved on 10.02.2016).

Maria Zaslavskaya, *Politicheskii Partii i Obshchestvennye Ob'edineniia Kazakhstana Na Sovremennom Etape Razvitiia* (The Political Parties and Public Groups of Kazakhstan in the Contemporary Stage of Development), Almaty / 1994.

Zhang Deguang, Speech by Secretary-General of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Zhang Deguang at the 60th High-Level Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, Septmeber 16, 2005.

ZonaKZ, Freedom House: *Ogranichenie Demokratii v Kazakhstane* (Limitation of Democracy in Kazakhstan), Internet Newspaper ZonaKZ, https://zonakz.net/articles/?artid=7881 (Retrieved on 15.03.2015).