

ABSTRACT

of the Thesis for the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)
in the specialty «6D050200 – Political science»
by **Baipakov Marat Karlovich**

«The state and party system of independent Kazakhstan»

General characteristics of the dissertation research. The dissertation examines the state and party system of independent Kazakhstan in the conditions of political modernization. The work identifies the main scientific approaches and features, key trends and prospects for the development of political parties and the party system in the conditions of strengthening the statehood of modern Kazakhstan.

Relevance of the dissertation work. The topic of the dissertation has a high degree of relevance in socio-political and scientific-theoretical aspects.

In socio-political terms, the relevance of the dissertation topic is determined by the critical role that the state and political parties play in the implementation of the New Fair Kazakhstan program for the transformation of society. The New Kazakhstan reform program is naturally considered as a new stage in the socio-political modernization of society after the country gained independence. The main goal of the New Kazakhstan program is to improve the role of the state and socio-political institutions to build a fair and democratic society.

President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, recognizing the decisive role of the state in the implementation of the New Kazakhstan program, put forward a proposal to improve the main branches of government of the countries according to the formula “Strong president - influential parliament - responsible government” [1]. Revealing the relevance of the topic of our dissertation, we would like to draw attention to the second element of the presidential formula in the form of an “influential parliament.” The practice of socio-political development of modern states suggests that without an influential parliament, the state cannot achieve success on the path of modernization.

The degree of development of the study. In the dissertation we explore political parties and the party system of Kazakhstan in the context of its modernization at different stages of historical development. Therefore, we will consider the degree of development of political parties and the party system of Kazakhstan in the works of domestic and foreign scientists.

Multi-party system as a political phenomenon arose in Kazakhstan only with the acquisition of independence as a result of the collapse of the USSR and the entire communist system. It is quite natural that Kazakh political scientists, sociologists, and historians have made a great contribution to the study of parties and the party system of Kazakhstan. In particular, we can highlight the works of N. Kuzmin, A. Gromov [2], G. Admond [3], D.A. Amanzholova [4], M.S. Ashimbaeva [5], G.Zh. Zhumanova [6] E. Babakumarova [7], A. Bizhanova [8], Y. Buluktaeva [9, 10], S. Konovalov [11], S. Dyachenko [12], L. Karmazina [13, 14], M. Mashana [15, 16], G. Nasimova [17], E. Nechaeva [18], S. Seidumanov [19], Uyama T. [20], Volobuev O.V. [21], Khazanov A.M. [22], Huntington S.P. [23], Dave B. [24], Duch R.M. [25],

Heineman R.A. [26], Hough J.F. [27], Horowitz D.L. [28], Kitschelt H. [29], Kitschelt H., Mansfeldova Z. Markowski R. et al. [30], Lieven D. [31], Martin T. [32], McFaul M. [33], Schmidt S.W., Shelley M.C., Bardes B.A. [34], Seton-Watson H. [35], Shugart M.S. [36], Carey J.M., Sneath D. [37] and others.

Our review of the literature of domestic and foreign studies of parties and the party system of Kazakhstan leads to the conclusion about the need to apply theories and methodology developed in the world literature on this topic. At the same time, it is necessary to remember that multipartyism in Kazakhstan and a number of other post-Soviet states is developing under the conditions of a presidential system of government.

This dissertation attempts to apply theories and methods of analysis developed in the world scientific literature to the study of parties and the party system of Kazakhstan in the context of political modernization.

The object of the study is the state and political parties of independent Kazakhstan in the context of political modernization.

The subject of the study is the processes of formation of a multi-party system in independent Kazakhstan in conditions of the increasing role of parties in the political life of society.

The purpose of the dissertation research is a political science analysis of the interaction between the state and political parties in the conditions of modernization of independent Kazakhstan.

To achieve this goal, the following tasks are expected to be solved:

- to reveal the theoretical and methodological significance of the concepts of multi-party system and political modernization developed in the world party literature for the study of interaction between the state and political parties in independent Kazakhstan;

- introduce into scientific circulation the concept of “party institutionalization of parliament”, which makes it possible to reveal the patterns and features of the formation of a multi-party system in the process of political modernization in Kazakhstan;

- to develop a classification and periodization of the formation and formation of a multi-party system in independent Kazakhstan through the prism of the concept of party institutionalization of parliament;

- to identify two main trends in the evolution of the party system related to the variability of the composition of parliamentary parties and the emergence of a one and a half party system led by the presidential party";

- reveal the influence of the “New Fair Kazakhstan” program on the formation of an influential parliament and a stable party system at the new stage of political modernization of Kazakhstan.

The scientific novelty of the dissertation is in the study of historical and modern forms of political parties and the party system of Kazakhstan from the standpoint of the methodological scheme of their relationship with parliament. During the study, the following new scientific results were obtained:

- the theoretical and methodological significance of the concepts of multi-party system and political modernization developed in the world party literature for the

study of interaction between the state and political parties in independent Kazakhstan is revealed;

- the concept of “party institutionalization of parliament” was introduced into scientific circulation, making it possible to reveal the patterns and features of the formation of a multi-party system in the process of political modernization in Kazakhstan;

- a classification and periodization of the formation and formation of a multi-party system in independent Kazakhstan has been developed through the prism of the concept of party institutionalization of parliament;

- two main trends in the evolution of the party system have been identified, associated with the variability of the composition of parliamentary parties and the emergence of a one and a half party system led by the presidential party;

- the influence of the concept of “New Fair Kazakhstan” on the formation of an influential parliament and a stable party system at the new stage of political modernization of Kazakhstan is revealed.

The theoretical and methodological basis of the dissertation were the theories and methodological approaches developed in the world scientific literature on political parties and party systems. The use of these theories and methodologies allowed us to take a fresh look at the formation of political parties in Kazakhstan and to trace the evolution of parties and the party system during the period of independence.

In the research of parties and party systems, there is a continuous stream of new research into these most important institutions of modern society. Nevertheless, the theoretical and methodological significance of Giovanni Sartori's book *Parties and Party Systems* [44] remains enduring.

Source base of the research. To solve the goals and objectives set in the work, the dissertation author used a wide range of sources.

An important group of sources consisted of legislative and government documents reflecting the features of the political process in the state: speeches and works of the Head of State, the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan [47], Messages of the President of the country to the people of Kazakhstan [48, 49], the Law on Political Parties [50], the Law on public associations [51], the Election Law [52], etc. They allow us to identify the main trends and prospects for the development of the political process in Kazakhstan.

Invaluable assistance in solving the problem was provided by such sources as: reports of the Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Statistics, results of sociological studies and surveys, monographs, materials of scientific and practical conferences, collections of scientific papers.

Main provisions submitted for defense:

1. The political science analysis of the state and political parties in independent Kazakhstan, carried out in the dissertation, is based on the widespread use of theories and methods developed in the world literature on parties and party systems. The use of concepts and concepts of political modernization, the theory of social cleavages, qualitative and quantitative methods for studying party systems made it possible to

deepen the understanding of the formation and establishment of a multi-party system in independent Kazakhstan.

2. The study of interaction between the state and political parties in independent Kazakhstan should be based on an analysis of the relationship between the parties and the country's parliament. In this regard, the concept of "party institutionalization of parliament" introduced in the dissertation should have greater theoretical and methodological effectiveness, which allows one to analytically link political parties and the parliament of Kazakhstan in the process of political modernization of the country. Application of the concept of party institutionalization of parliament allows us to reveal the logic of the formation of a multi-party system in independent Kazakhstan.

3. The dissertation proposes a classification and periodization of multi-party system in independent Kazakhstan based on the application of the concept of party institutionalization of parliament, consisting of five stages:

The first stage: extra-parliamentary multi-party system or non-party parliament (1990-1994) at the initial stage of Kazakhstan's independence.

The second stage: non-institutionalized party membership in the parliament of Kazakhstan (1994-1999), when there was no institutional connection between parties and parliament;

Third stage: limited partisanship of the parliament of Kazakhstan within the framework of the main majoritarian electoral system (1999-2007).

Fourth stage: party institutionalization of parliament within the framework of the super-presidential regime (2007-2022).

Fifth stage: party institutionalization of parliament as part of overcoming the super-presidential regime (2022-2023).

4. In the post-Soviet period, two main trends in the party institutionalization of the parliament of Kazakhstan emerged, which had a decisive influence on the relationship between parties and parliament and on the country's party system in general:

1) a high level of variability in the composition of parties represented in parliament in the period 1994-2007. and reappeared after the 2023 parliamentary elections;

2) the emergence of parties in power and the growth of their influence on the political system, primarily on the country's parliament. In its greatest manifestation, this tendency found expression in the formation of a one and a half party system led by the presidential party "Nur Otan".

5. After the January events of 2022, a new stage of political modernization began in Kazakhstan based on the proposal put forward by President K.K. Tokayev's formula "strong president-influential parliament-responsible government" [53]. The 2023 parliamentary elections demonstrated a high level of political participation, with six political parties elected to the Majilis. At the same time, these elections demonstrated a high level of political competition based on a mixed electoral system, which resulted in a renewal of the deputy corps.

The theoretical significance of the dissertation work is determined by the fact that the study of the formation and functioning of political parties and the party

system in Kazakhstan contributes to the formation of a general theory of parties and party systems. The study of parties and the party system of Kazakhstan is important in terms of confirming the general patterns of development of the political system of post-communist and, in particular, post-Soviet states.

The practical significance of the dissertation research is determined by the initial results and proven conclusions during the analysis. The results of the study can be used for scientific and theoretical substantiation of the state's innovation policy, improving the system of state and party building in the Republic of Kazakhstan, and developing new forms of cooperation between government bodies and civil society institutions. The provisions and conclusions of the dissertation can be used in the development and teaching of courses in political science at universities in Kazakhstan, for example, “Formation and development of political parties and the party system of modern Kazakhstan,” “Civil foundations of patriotism.”

Testing of practical results. The dissertation was discussed at the Department of Political Science of KazNU. al-Farabi (protocol No. 3 of October 31, 2023) and was recommended for protection. The results were tested in the following publications: “The party system as an element of political modernization of Kazakhstan” in the journal “Central Asia and the Caucasus”, included in the Scopus database, “Political modernization and the party-political system of the Republic of Kazakhstan: The logic of change” in the journal Izvestia NAS RK , “Political parties and the socio-economic development of Kazakhstan: the reflection effect” in the magazine “Kazakhstan Spectrum”, “The state as the main social institution” in the magazine “Adam Alemi”, etc.

Structure and scope of the dissertation. The structure of the dissertation work is logically built in accordance with the goals and objectives of the scientific research. The dissertation consists of an introduction, two sections, each section has three subsections, a conclusion, and a list of sources used. The volume of the dissertation is 125 pages.