Abstract. The issues of studying symbolism and symbol-creativity in the art of contemporary Kazakh crafts have made the methodological potential of Anthony Smith’s ethno-symbolic concept topical. Relying on the scholar’s belief that national traditions are based on a set of stable ethno-cultural symbols that ensure their longevity and vitality, contemporary Kazakh craft can be studied in the aspect of national identity. Anthony Smith’s ethno-symbolic discourse allows us to consider objects of national culture in their historical dynamics as a reconstruction of stable symbolic structures that preserve the national identity core. The study raises the conceptual issue of “ethnicity” and “nationality”, as Anthony Smith’s very position is conceptually opposed to the ideas of both constructivists and supporters of primordialism. The scholar believes that the cultural basis of a nation, its current state depends on “previous development”, on cultural traditions, language and ethnic symbols. Thus, the issues of cultural and national identity appear to be correlated in the aspect of tradition and modernity problem. Craft as a cultural phenomenon of one or another nation bears the stamp of ethnogenesis, in which the whole complex of social dynamics, conditioned by the ontological nature of various forms of human community, participates. Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of socio-analysis on the two-structure society, consisting of production practices and “symbolic matrices” involved in sociogenesis, allows us to use its principles as a methodological approach to the study of both traditional crafts and their modern forms in the aspect of issues of cultural identity, the modernization of the past, the revival of traditional experience, etc. The analysis of some trends in contemporary Kazakh craft has shown that the aspiration for identity to a cultural “pattern” is oriented towards established ethno-cultural symbols. Ethno-symbolic discourse makes the semiotic attitude to traditional symbolism topical. It can be said with confidence that the ethno-symbolic approach opens up new opportunities to consider craft and traditional art as factors influencing the formation and preservation of cultural identity.

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Keywords: contemporary Kazakh craft, identity, ethno symbolism, Anthony Smith, animalistic symbols, branding.

Introduction

Modern Kazakh craft arouses research interest from the perspective of understanding it in various aspects, which reflect both general and local trends in the field of art and culture, due to civilizational, paradigmatic, technological, communicative and other shifts in the global world. This interest is also actualized by the search for a national, civilizational identity that certifies the place of Kazakh culture as a subject and factor in the community of world cultural diversity, which became possible with the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Craft, first of all, as a man-made, basically, traditional form of creativity, to a greater extent bears the historical stamp of intangible and material culture of people. And, as you know, it unites various forms of creative activity, ranging from home, including artistic, professional crafts, folk crafts, to the sphere of creative industries and new types of crafts in the field of digital technologies.

Craft as creativity is changeable in the pragmatic, aesthetic, semiotic, artistic aspects of its functionality, since it is immersed in each subsequent cultural integrity in a different from its arche, diverse in its structure context. Such a multidimensionality of this phenomenon and its study raises questions of a theoretical and methodological nature, in each case objectifying research campaigns that open up new prospects for its study.

Of course, craft as a cultural phenomenon has the horizons of its subject area, determined by one or another research interest. In understanding the ways of interpreting the artistic, aesthetic and pragmatic content of the art of modern Kazakh handicraft, it is possible to trace the socio-cultural processes of which this sphere of creative activity is a part. In particular, in this case, the question of trends in the development of modern craft in the aspect of cultural and national identity is of interest.

The issues of studying trends in modern Kazakh craft art in the plane of theoretical and methodological aspects of the issue of cultural identity are relevant as an explication of the thesis about the modernization of the past, about the legitimacy of certain concepts and constructs existing in the field, both of various concepts and sciences.

The purpose of this article is to clarify the methodological correlation of the issue of cultural identity, viewed through the prism of ethnosymbolism, and the trends observed in the art of modern Kazakh craft.

The questions of cultural identity inevitably appeal to the concepts of “ethnicity”, “nation” and their derivatives, around which theoretical discussions do not cease in various conceptual practices. Therefore, their explicit categorization will be required, the procedure corresponding to the objectives of this study, i.e. the content substantiation of these concepts used in this context.

The subject area of the study identified issues of cultural identity developed in the aspect of methodological substantiation of the principles of constructivist structuralism by Pierre Bourdieu (Socioanalysis), as well as the main provisions of ethnosymbolism concept by Anthony Smith (Ethnosymbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach). The justification of this
methodological approach is one of the main objectives of this article. The results of the study are the provisions formulated in the following theses: the ethnosymbolic discourse of modern Kazakh craft has prospects for symbol-making with new meanings; one of the trends in the development of modern Kazakh craft, considered in the aspect of identity to a cultural and historical “sample”, an artifact, is observed in design oriented to established ethno-cultural symbols, with a preference for archaic animalistic mode of a sign. Finally, a new semiotic attitude to traditional symbolism finds its expression in the part of branding in which the performativity of national identity dominates, based on an established mytho-symbolic complex.

Methods

The methodological dominance of the set goals and objectives initiated the discussion of controversial theoretical concepts, as well as the justification of their interpretation, based on the methodology of socioanalysis of the French scientist Pierre Bourdieu, which has not yet been mastered in the domestic scientific field (37). The methodology of socioanalysis is based on the synthesis of structuralist and constructivist approaches, since, in his opinion, the structures of society are binary: both “first-order reality” — production practices and “second-order realities” — “symbolic matrices”, i.e. social representations. Both “realities” are in interaction and participate in the process of sociogenesis.

The methods of Pierre Bourdieu’s socioanalysis are applicable to the study of artistic, aesthetic and pragmatic content of both individual crafts and general trend of their development as actualized codes and matrices of national and cultural identity. The latter makes it possible to approach the understanding of cultural processes through the prism of preferences, interpretations of identification codes that act as algorithms for stratification and communication of a particular society as an ethnos and (or) nation. Actually, this research approach has an inverse correlation. “With the help of structuralism, I want to say that in the social world itself, and not only in symbolism, language, myths, etc., there are objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, capable of directing or suppressing their practices or ideas. With the help of constructivism, I want to show that there is a social genesis, on the one hand, of schemes of perception, thinking and action, which are integral parts ...” (32) of the structure of society,” Pierre Bourdieu believes.

Such a methodological message is supported by the ideas of Lev Gumilev about the unity of the process of ethno-and-cultural genesis. With all the existing controversial interpretations of his theory of passionarity based on the ideas of Eurasianism, as well as the indisputability of his scheme of phases of ethnos development, I think this idea deserves the attention of researchers (Ethnogenesis and the biosphere of the Earth). Taking into account the correlativity of the processes of ethnogenesis and cultural genesis, the concepts of “ethnic” and “national”, in accordance with the accepted methodological task of this study, are interpreted as dispositives within the designated cultural and historical boundaries.

The Anthony Smith’s concept of role of cultural symbols in the formation of identity in the context of studying the process of nation-building, and considering it from the perspective of historical nationality and ethnopolitical community, does not contradict the basic principles of the methodology of socioanalysis.

The methods of observing the ongoing processes in the socio-cultural sphere, as well as the analysis of available literature
and information sources on the practice of the art of modern Kazakh artisans (Alibek Kazhgaliuly), provides an illustrative platform for the ongoing research and substantiation of the choice effectiveness of methodological approaches.

Discussion

Scientific interest in folk art, applied art, craft as a whole has intensified for the most part in historical and ethnographic studies, which, by and large, fulfill the mission of reviving knowledge about the origins, history of the national culture of the Kazakhs. In the last two decades, in the study of Kazakh craft, there has been a scientific and methodological turn of objectification of this phenomenon as a special kind of way of fixing the coordinates of the human life world, the language of art and the way of communication with the outside world and the transfer of knowledge about it.

One of the main methodological messages of such studies is the idea of traditional crafts as a form of artistic and aesthetic, ideological self-expression and reproduction of the Kazakh worldview. Therefore, the objective of such research interests is dominated by works devoted mainly in a broad sense to the “language” of traditional crafts. From a wide range of studies of modern Kazakh craft in this aspect, attention is drawn to the works of the authors, in which there is a reliance on the methodological principles of semiotic interpretations, which, as is known, have prospects for expansion towards the objective vision of the phenomenon or process being studied.

Alibek Kazhgaliuly’s work “The Organon of Ornament” is distinguished by the understanding of ornament as a system of a special language, “with the help of which ancient man transferred to the plane his ideas about time and space, about life and death, about the cosmos and the place of man ...” (Organon of ornament 7). Considers an ornament as a graphic hypostasis of a myth or a “visual archetype”.

From the standpoint of anthropology, the author analyzes ornament as a sign embodying the conceivable world with its internal logic of the symbols used, puts forward the position that the ornament is not a reproduction of the object in the sign, but is something arising from the systemic relationships of visually perceived signs. In another work, “Oyu and oi” by Alibek Kazhgaliuly, addressing the problem of typology of Kazakh ornament in a comparative aspect. Kazakh felt patterns — “oyu” and “ornek” are distinguished by the peculiarities of the “method of dividing the artistic space”; “Kazakhs treat the figure and the background that shades it” (Oy and oy 7) — the author believes.

The study of Nursultan Alimbay (Traditional Kazakh Carpets and Carpet Products: Types, Composition, Semantics) is devoted to the study of the Kazakh carpet-making tradition on the basis of the collection of carpets and carpet products of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The study of the structure of ornamental space of the traditional carpet, the semantics of ornamental composition leads the author to the conclusion that they embody the ideal model of the organization of society in the traditional ideas of the Kazakhs. The author considers the use of Kazakh carpet-making terminology to be scientifically correct when the names of products are nominated based on the characteristics of the source material, manufacturing techniques and practical purposes.

Shaizada TokhtAbaieva’s book “The Artistic Felt of the Kazakhs” (8) is devoted to the analysis of language and description of the Kazakhs’ nightmare. The author calls decorative felt an “artistic ethnocode”, which, along with practical functions, plays an artistic and aesthetic, iconic role. The expanded semiotic approach
revealed the interrelationships of production processes with the customs, rituals of the Kazakhs, oral and poetic creativity, which was further studied in the work of this author “Symbolism of Objects of Traditional Life of the Kazakhs” (8).

The yurt as a model of the universe and the symbolic space of a traditional dwelling is the object of many scientific studies. As it is known, the symbolic space of yurt is a system of codes modeled by various projections of socio-cultural experience, its structural elements are structures of the sacred yurt system: material and manufacturing techniques, decor, installation rules, etc., which is due to the systemic connection with some traditional taboos, superstitions, rituals and customs.

An example of an integrated approach to the study of yurt is the study of Asia Nurdubayeva (Kiiz uy: the structure of spatiality), dedicated to the study of the structure of yurt spatiality.

Based on the methodological principles of the subject of study as an integrity corresponding to its ontological features, the author puts forward the idea that “the spatial relations of kiiz uy unfold, manifest and live in a variety of forms of structures, elements, utensils, and are also described in myths, legends, rituals, rituals accompanying the construction and use of housing.”

The structural and semiotic interpretation of kiiz uy in combination with the socio-symbolic approach revealed the structures of spatiality as ontological meanings of the social ties of traditional Kazakh society.

The works considered, which are different in terms of problems, combine methodological searches and new approaches to the study of traditional Kazakh crafts and related cultural artifacts: they mainly master the principles of semiotics and its derivatives. This interest is primarily due to the understanding features of the traditional Kazakh culture language, its semantic and symbolic nature of the meaning of the world and its perception.

Another study position in the study of picture of modern Kazakh craft is associated with interest in the continuity of cultural and historical heritage as the basis of national tradition and its interpretation in design and artistic solutions in the products of artisans, craftsmen. Basically, these studies are aimed at identifying the object’s historical model identity or the methods of modernization of this sample, a review of the popular products of craftsmen, and finally, some aspects of branding in handicraft production (Sultanova Madina, 10; Khazbulatov Andrey, 11).

At the same time, various spheres of handicraft production that are actively emerging as business or cultural projects remain insufficiently studied. There are also open questions about the development of the theoretical and methodological basis for the research of modern Kazakh crafts and related social and cultural processes.

**Results**

When craft is understood as the primary form of production of a material product that participated in the process of cultural genesis, respectively, and the sociogenesis of traditional societies, this gives rise to a stable idea of its conservative, unchanging nature. However, the historical and cultural dynamics and changes in the structure of society, its institutions, production technologies cannot but affect the nature of the craft, the appearance of its new types, transformations of artistic and aesthetic design solutions, etc.

Meanwhile, more significant in determining the nature of craft is that it has a stable “gene” of cultural memory, fixed in the sphere of ontologically valuable orientations of society. Moreover, these landmarks are at the same time the identification keys of community
that organizes the space of its being, transmitted from generation to generation. History knows periods of oblivion, the disappearance some types of craft from culture: a particularly dramatic situation for traditional forms of craft has developed in Modern times, when machine mass production has replaced manual labor, folk crafts. In many industrial societies, craft has passed into the category of art, turning out to be museum or exclusive exhibits, and traditional crafts are objects of scientific interest.

The current state of Kazakh craft art also in general trends. Meanwhile, certain traditional types of crafts live and are revived in the works of folk masters and represent a “living heritage”. In pragmatic terms, the products of Kazakh artisans increasingly turn out to be attributes of the national image, thereby indicating not only an understanding of their aesthetic value, but also indicates their identifying function.

These trends can be considered in the context of discursive practices of the process of cultural identification of modern Kazakhstan, since identity in the modern world is more focused on the coordination of symbols that change their meaning in the “floating” space of various systemic discursive structures. We are talking about the immersion of modern culture in a global context, where there is a “competition” of values, which, in turn, are also identifiers of national culture.

Trends in culture and art are not accidental. They are in the unity and integrity of all system and intra-system processes, sometimes in a state of instability, structural changes. It is appropriate to recall the words of Pierre Bourdieu, about objective structures, “independent of consciousness and will of agents capable of directing their practices or representations, not only in symbolism, language, myths, etc.” There is also a “social genesis of schemes of perception, thinking and action, which are components...” of the structure of society (32).

In turn, the methodological mode of studying cultural identity may well be focused on “specific doxes as systems of assumptions related to belonging to a certain field: belonging to the field of sociology, we accept a whole series of scientific or semi-scientific oppositions, often representing partially ordered, mixed and euphemized oppositions of a more general social space...” (Pierre Bourdieu 122).

Pierre Bourdieu’s thought about hidden assumptions based on “practical, implicit, hard-to-define schemes” also concerns explications of understanding both ethnic and national. Thus, as confirmed by the most scientific practice, the methodology of socio-cultural studies is conventional and integrative, while adhering to rationally observable relativism of theories and concepts.

Similarly, the study of handicraft, by its nature a phenomenon of “social genesis”, the structures of which direct actions and representations fixed in the symbolic language of the culture of a particular people, presupposes a methodological justification of theoretical attitudes used. Such a substantive understanding of craft as an object of study is quite correlative with the foundations of Anthony Smith’s ethnosymbolic concept. And since his theory is at the stage of mastering in the practice of domestic scientific discourse, I think it would be appropriate to have a little digression into the basics of his methodological institutions.

First of all, it should be noted that Anthony Smith considers the process of nation-building through the prism of ethnopolitical community formation, with its “inner world”, “which is embodied in some cultural phenomena, such as myths, symbols, values, historical memory, traditions, customs, linguistic proximity, mechanisms of ethnic
mobilization” (134). Their role in the formation of a particular identity is subject to study. Anthony Smith defined the limits of application of the proposed approach, since historical nationality is investigated with its help, as Anna Mainicheva points out, opening methodological perspectives of Anthony Smith’s theory for ethnographic research. She also drew attention to the advantage of ethnosymbolism indicated by Anthony Smith himself in the ability to offer tools for performing comparative empirical research (Ethnosymbolism: possibilities of use in ethnographic research 13).

And other researchers of Anthony Smith’s work find in his works concepts containing great methodological potential for research in the field of social sciences. His ideas about the role of the national ethnic components and their historical stability, since “the cultural basis of the nation cannot just be invented to solve momentary problems. Moreover, it is impossible to stretch it into the future without relying on subtle, but very important grounds: the dependence of modernity on previous development, including cultural traditions, linguistic proximity, ethnic symbols, special mechanisms of ethnic mobilization” (Pain Emil 256), are recognized as key.

Also, one of the most valuable provisions of Anthony Smith’s concept, researchers consider his indication that “the ethnic factor and traditional culture throughout history played an important role, which was not the same in different historical periods, but just in the era of the formation of modern nations became decisive” (Pain Emil 257).

Methodologically valuable is his idea that “national traditions are not reinvented, but only innovatively reconstructed, recombined. Therefore, a nation cannot in the full sense of the word arise from non-existence as an absolutely new phenomenon: it inevitably bears the imprint of the long history of a particular people and a given country.”

In turn, N. Berezikov drew attention to Anthony Smith’s idea that the stability of ethnic identities is based on symbol, myth and communication. “Symbols can give certain groups a special kind of shared experiences and values, whereas myths can reveal to them the meaning of these experiences and illustrate their values. This understanding of myths, symbols and communications forms the definition of identity in ethnosymbolism...; “identity is both an intergenerational treasury, and a legacy, and ... a set of meanings and images embodied in values, myths and symbols that serve to unite a group of people with common experiences and memories and separate them from strangers” (Ethnosymbolic approach to the phenomenon of identity 392).

The importance of social memory for maintaining identity can objectively serve as a methodological orientation for researchers of problems of tradition and continuity. The rationale for such studies can be based on the ideas of Anthony Smith that “ethnic communities were formed not by physical inheritance, but by a sense of continuity, common memory and collective destiny, that is, cultural closeness embodied in myths, memories, symbols and values preserved in the memory of this cultural unit” (Anthony Smith 115; Berezikov N.A. 7).

As follows from the observation, the modern design of Kazakhstani brands mostly relies on stable ethno-cultural symbols, preferring the animalistic mode of the sign, which goes back to the archaic “indistinguishability” of the strict opposition “culture/nature”. This mode articulates animalistic symbols as the ethno-cultural identification code of the traditional Kazakh culture’s language and logo of aesthetic world and appeals to the Scythian-Saka aesthetics as a structural element of ethnosymbolics.
For example, tulpar and berkut, popular in branding, combining the symbolism of the Saka “animal style” of early nomads art, represent a fusion of authentic and borrowed components. And as symbolic elements of the heraldry of Kazakhstan — on the flag and coat of arms, they often act as the central figure of emblems of state bodies, law enforcement agencies and in the logos of large national companies of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Such branding is dominated by a clearly expressed citation or the stylization of symbolism of heraldic canons as a sign of belonging to state structures.

The stylistics of the Saka animalistic construct, embodied also in the images of winged horses, deer, argali, actualized by direct quoting and deconstructing them, testifies to its great symbolic potential for use in the design of souvenir and gift products of Kazakh artisans, as well as in the field of creative industries.

Traditional Kazakh ornaments as an iconic symbolic system are not only in the field of view of designers of national clothes, but are also used as elements of fabric prints, jewelry, paintings on household items, etc.

Of course, this does not limit the space of modern Kazakh craft: the partially considered examples only illustrate the theoretical provisions on the methodological potential of ethnosymbolic concept in the study of modern Kazakh craft in the aspect of national identity.

Conclusion

The ethnosymbolist approach to the study of modern Kazakh craft art has expanded the range of issues and opened up the opportunity to consider the object under study in the aspect of national and cultural identity. Anthony Smith’s ethno-symbolic concept, with the help of which it is possible to explore the emergence and maintenance of ethno-cultural identities, in this case opens the horizons of understanding craft as a cultural phenomenon that has stable symbols that preserve the memory of the unique culture and historical fate of the Kazakhs.

In modern Kazakhstan branding and craft design, for the most part, traditional animalistic symbols act as a cultural identification code that revives cultural and historical memory, actualizes interest in cultural, historical and national dimensions of identity.

In the design of modern craft art, ancient symbols are actualized as key structures of the cultural code of the worldview of the Kazakhs — descendants of the horse-nomadic civilization. And the modern requirement of effective communication of image focuses on design language and articulation of the meanings of ethnic signs, the recombination of which contributes to the contamination of symbols of different periods of Kazakhs cultural genesis.

Relying on traditional forms, modern craft reserves the right to fit into the picture of the modern world not as an attribute of the tradition, but as one of the ways of expressing the language of ethniculture. The practice of Kazakhstan branding reveals the richest aesthetic and semiotic potential of archaic animalistic and zoomorphic symbols and actively uses their meaning-generating resource.

Modern Kazakh design of various crafts, focused on ethnosymbolic discourse, relies more often on a mythologized interpretation of history and culture, thereby opening up the expanses of symbol-making as a process of modernization of the past.

The new semiotic attitude to traditional symbolism finds its expression in the part of branding in which the performativity of national identity dominates, based on the established interpretations of the Kazakh and common Turkic mytho-symbolic complex.
It should also be noted that Anthony Smith’s ethno-symbolic concept has the potential and sufficient reason to be considered and applied as a methodological support in the study of the identity of various objects of national culture and art. This also applies to the development and promotion of the national language, not only from the standpoint of linguistic discourse, but from the point of view of national linguistic consciousness formation.

**Авторлардың үлесі**

А. Б. Наурзбаева – маселе қалыптастыру және зерттеу әдістемесін құрау, тұжырымдарды концептуалдау.

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**Вклад авторов**

А. Б. Наурзбаева – формирование проблемы исследования и разработка методологии его проведения, концептуализация выводов.

А. И. Ибрагимов – работа с зарубежными источниками, анализ научной литературы, подготовка литературного обзора, доработка текста.

**Contribution of authors**

A. B. Naurzbaeva – the formation of problem to the study and the methodology development for conducting, conceptualization of conclusions.

A. I. Ibragimov – work with foreign sources, the scientific literature analysis, literature review, text reworking.
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АНДАТПА. Қазіргі қазақстандық қолөнер өнерінің символикалық және символикалық-шығармашылықты зерттеу мүмкіндігін әдіснама дәстүрлік сапкарда болады. Энтони Смиттің этносимволдық дискурсы өзінің ұлттық бірегейлік аспектісінде зерттеу мүмкіндігін ұсынады. Қазіргі қазақ қолөнерінің өнерлік символдарыныңғы ұлттық дәстүрлік ұсынысын қабылдауына қатысты. Қалың арқылы мәдениет өңдіріп, мәдени орыс өңдіріп, қазіргі қазақ қолөнерінің ұлттық бірегейлік аспектісінде зерттеу мүмкіндігін ұсынады. Энтони Смиттің этносимволдық дискурсы ұлттық мәдениет нысандарын тарихи динамикасында ұлттық дәстүрлік сапына қатысты. Қазіргі қазақ қолөнерінің ұлттық бірегейлік аспектісінде зерттеу мүмкіндігін ұсынады.
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СОВРЕМЕННОЕ КАЗАХСТАНСКОЕ РЕМЕСЛО В ФОКУСЕ ЭТНОСИМВОЛИЗМА: МЕТОДОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ АСПЕКТЫ

Аннотация. Вопросы изучения символического и символотворчества в искусстве современного казахстанского ремесла актуализировали методологический потенциал этносимволической концепции Энтони Смита. Опираясь на положения ученого о том, что в основе национальных традиций находится комплекс устойчивых этнокультурных символов, обусловливающих их долговечность и живучесть, современное казахское ремесло может быть изучено в аспекте национальной идентичности. Этносимволический дискурс Энтони Смита позволяет рассматривать объекты национальной культуры в их исторической динамике как реконструкцию устойчивых символических структур, сохраняющих идентификационное ядро нации. В рамках исследования затрагивается вопрос о понятиях «этническое», «национальное», поскольку и сама позиция Энтони Смита концептуально выступает против идей как конструктивистов, так и сторонников примордIALIZМА. Ученый считает, что культурная основа нации, ее современное состояние зависит от «предшествующего развития», от культурных традиций, языка, этнических символов. Тем самым вопросы культурной и национальной идентичности оказываются коррелируемыми в аспекте проблемы традиции и современности. Ремесло как феномен культуры того или иного народа несет на себе печать этногенеза, в котором участвует вестер комплекс социальной динамики, обусловленной онтологической природой различных форм человеческого сообщества. Теория социоанализа Пьера Бурдье о двуструктурности общества, состоящего из практики производства и «символических матриц», участвующих в социогенезе, позволяет использовать ее принципы в качестве методологического подхода к изучению как традиционного ремесел, так и их современных видов в аспекте вопросов культурной идентичности, модернизации прошлого, возрождения традиционного опыта и т. д. Анализ некоторых тенденций современного казахского ремесла показал, что устремленность к идентичности культурному «образцу» ориентирована на устоявшиеся этнокультурные символы. Этносимволический дискурс актуализирует семиотическое отношение к традиционной символике. Можно с уверенностью утверждать, что этносимволический подход открывает новые возможности рассматривать ремесло, традиционное искусство как факторы, оказывающие влияние на становление и сохранение культурной идентичности.

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Ключевые слова: современное казахское ремесло, идентичность, этносимволизм, Энтони Смит, анималистические символы, брендинг.


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