Radio and the Development of Kazakh as a National Language

by

Michael Brown

University of Wyoming

Askhat Yerkimbay

Suleyman Demirel University

Karlyga Missayeva

Kazakh National University

Contact author: Michael Brown

Communication and Journalism

1000 University, Dept. 3904

University of Wyoming

Laramie, WY 82071

mrbrown@uwyo.edu

Abstract

Kazakhstan became independent after the fall of the Soviet Union and began the process of recovering Kazakh traditions and establishing a unique identity as a country. Key to this effort was establishing the Kazakh language as a titular or state language. At the time of independence an overwhelming majority of Kazakhstan's population spoke Russian, which remains strong today. In order to accomplish this goal the state requires that Kazakh is spoken in at least 50% of all radio broadcasts, and state-sponsored radio takes the lead in this effort. Interviews were conducted with key members of Kazakhstan's radio industry to learn the role of radio in establishing a state language. Interviewees were passionate about re-establishing Kazakh culture through language, but the dominance of Russian and a shifting media and language environment continue to present roadblocks.

Radio and the Development of Kazakh as a State Language

Radio is a valuable medium for maintaining ethnic identity and language. Many minority groups have benefitted from organizing and maintaining radio stations that broadcast in their language with their voices. Less is known about the role of radio in establishing and maintaining a titular or state language. Kazakhstan affords a unique opportunity to examine the role of radio in establishing such a language. Kazakhstan has been independent from the Soviet Union for a little over 20 years and establishing Kazakh as a state language is an important cultural goal. The Soviet legacy produced an unstable and complicated language environment that left Kazakh cultural integrity and sense of identity somewhat in disarray. According to linguistic scholars from Kazakhstan:

The Kazakh people were left without cultural, intellectual and political leadership. The Arabic alphabet which was used by Kazakh people was changed to the Latin alphabet with the next change taking place within a few years when the Cyrillic alphabet was introduced. Such changes broke cultural relations between generations. Children could no longer read the literature that their parents read in Arabic. Older people became functionally illiterate because they could not read the new Cyrillic script. All documents and books edited in Arabic or Latin were left without use. Our parents could read Arabic, their documents were in Latin, and we, their children, learned Cyrillic (Orazayeva & Ibrayeva, 2014).

Currently large parts of the titular population in Kazakhstan speak Russian better than Kazakh or do not speak Kazakh at all, and some Kazakhs prefer to use the Russian language in daily conversation, "and do so without any pangs of guilty conscience" (Suleimenova and Tursun, 2016). Establishing a state language is important in order to establish an independent identity and has been widely discussed by both scholars and the media. It is a complicated issue because Kazakhstan has a large minority Russian population in addition to native Kazakhs, and there has been a strong in-migration of Kazakhs and out-migration of other ethnicities. In addition, language is a social issue that Kazakh scholars and critics can discuss freely in a somewhat restricted communication environment (Zardykhan, 2013). In 1991 after the Soviet collapse only about one third of adults were literate in Kazakh while 90% were literate in Russian (Fierman, 2006). The Kazakhstan Constitution declares Kazakh the "state" language and says official documents should use Kazakh. However, the Russian language was declared "official" and allowed to be used during official meetings. A language law adopted in 1997 stripped Russian from its role as a transnational language, but left Russian as the language "used officially on a par with Kazakh in state organisations and organs of local self-government" (Fierman 1998, p. 179). This ambiguous status grants everyone who can speak Kazakh or Russian the right to use both languages in everyday life, which hinders the full development of the Kazakh language, particularly in official and business settings where the Kazakh language held lower status during Soviet years (Fierman, 2009b). In the last 20 years, Kazakhstan's demographic population has changed due to the out-migration of Slavic ethnicities from Kazakhstan and the repatriation of Kazakhs from other countries. As a national ethnic group, Kazakhs are now recovering national values such as language, cultural traditions, and religion. By the 2009 national census, nearly 70% of the population spoke some Kazakh with about 50% being fluent, while 90% of the population continued high fluency in the legacy language, Russian (Agency, 2009). While the Kazakh language has continued to grow and strengthen, Russian continues to hold high symbolic value (Fierman, 2009a).

As part of efforts to further establish and promote the Kazakh language, the Kazakh government mandates that broadcasters in Kazakhstan broadcast at least 50% of programs in the Kazakh language. Such requirements are common in countries where a state language is promoted within a complex language environment. Radio works particularly well to promote language because radio is an established technology that is easy to acquire and use, it can be used in a variety of contexts where other media cannot, and there are few visual distractions so it can focus on the sounds of a language (Gatua, Brown, and Patton, 2012). Radio has proven to be a powerful medium for establishing language communities, particularly for minority language speakers (Mhlanga, 2012; Matelski, 2005; Paredes, 2003). However, some minority groups feel radio's titular or state language requirements are an imposition that forces an unwanted language requirement on both broadcasters and listeners (Sepehri, 2010). Radio personnel in Kazakhstan are tasked with broadcasting the Kazakh language as representatives of a 'recovering culture', within a government dominated broadcast system, and a language environment that is increasingly complex. Research has examined the role of radio serving minority language communities, but no research has asked about radio's role promoting a state language that must co-exist within a multilingual environment. For this paper radio professionals and experts from three cities in Kazakhstan, Almaty, Karaganda, and Astana, were interviewed about the role of radio in the promotion of the Kazakh language. Their answers provide insight into how radio professionals tasked with language promotion view the opportunities and difficulties of their job. The paper starts with an overview of the Kazakh language and its relation to radio; the literature describes key issues related to the Kazakh language and then briefly explores the history of Kazakh radio under Soviet rule. This literature provides the framework for understanding

comments made by local, regional, and national radio broadcasters who primarily work for the Kazakhstan Radio and Television Corporation.

Kazakh Language and Radio

The forces that put pressure on titular languages are many. Some pressures are external. The legacy of colonialism is a particularly powerful external force, and for Kazakhstan this legacy involves Russia both prior to and after the Bolshevik Revolution. What was to become modern Kazakhstan allied itself with Russia in the late 1700s and became part of the Soviet Union in 1936, and Russian colonial influences remain powerful in Kazakhstan. The most cited external pressure on language is globalization which includes factors such as transnational migration as populations move across borders more freely, and the idea of a 'planetary civilization' driven by media that allows us to share cultural products such as images, music, fashion, and sports. Among the strongest globalization influences are American cultural products and the English language. Other pressures on language come from internal sources. Nationalism, regionalism, minority enclaves and ethnic relations, urban/rural divisions, and government policy all contribute to how a national language is shaped (Majzuba & Raisb, 2011; Lui & Ricks, 2012; Lee, 2015; Manns, 2014). As one would expect, these issues are critical in shaping Kazakhstan's language use and policy.

The Soviet regime and most post-Soviet leaders in Central Asia understood the power of language and deliberately attempted to manipulate language use (Fierman, 2009a). Language issues in Kazakhstan were important before the fall of the Soviet Union (Fierman, 2009) and restoring the Kazakh language remains a key issue for Kazakh scholars. However, full use of the Kazakh language continues to be problematic for a number of reasons. Most science and technology is learned in either English of Russian. Kazakh language media is available, much of it funded by the government, but it competes with content delivered from Russia or other transnational sources. In addition, knowledge of English or Russian is crucial for the use of new social media such as Facebook or Vcontact. Overall, Russian is still widely used and still unites different minority groups as a common language. While the government actively promotes the Kazakh language, many scholars and journalists feel the government's commitment to the use of Kazakh lacks force (Orazayeva & Ibrayeva, 2014; Zardykhan, 2013; Rizat, 2009).

Like language, radio in Kazakhstan is tied to the legacy of Russian colonialism. Historically, radio came to Kazakhstan in the 1920s as it did to the rest of the world. *Kazakh Radiosy* began broadcasting in 1921 under the direction of the Soviet government. By 1927 the station broadcast its earliest programs in the Kazakh language. *Kazakh Radiosy* was under Soviet ideological control until the fall of the Soviet Union, and Kazakh radio came under the control of the Kazakh government.

There are three broad approaches scholars use to classify radio broadcast organization. One approach is commercial radio which is profit driven, has a consistent and stable format, and today is likely part of a network of corporate owned stations. Another approach is public service radio. This approach is driven by a need to serve the public rather than generate profit. Public service radio takes a variety of forms from national professional organizations such as the BBC to community radio stations staffed by local volunteers (Lowe and Bardoel, 2009). The last approach is government radio which is sponsored and funded by a government. This approach is used to enhance national prestige, promote national interests, indoctrinate the population, and develop cultural ties among otherwise divergent people (Clark, 2012). Most of Kazakhstan's radio history is government sponsored radio and is tied to the legacy of Russian broadcasting. The Soviet Union was one of the early adopters of a 'government radio' approach to broadcasting and this extended to the use of radio in Central Asia. Radio was an important tool used to spread Soviet ideology in Central Asia, and use of the Russian language was a key part of this effort (Yudin and Keith, 2004). Kazakhstan was central to the development of Soviet government radio in Central Asia. While radio first came to Kazakhstan in the 1920s, there was an influx of radio into Central Asia in the late 1930s and early 1940s as the Soviet state apparatus was extended, and Kazakhstan was the focus of much of this effort. In 1939 there were 17,500 radios distributed in Kazakhstan, and 25,000 in 1940. Uzbekistan received the second largest number at 6100 in 1939 and 12,300 in 1940 (Kulikova, 2012). This was done to intensify ideological control and entrench the Russian language. However, the government mandated approach to radio, along with the harsh consequences for any deviation, produced broadcasters who lacked creativity, tended to be unenthusiastic, and who produced mediocre work (Kulikova, 2012).

Today Kazakhstan has two of the three forms of radio. State sponsored radio continues to operate. After Kazakh independence state radio continued broadcasting as the newly formed Kazakhstan Radio and Television Corporation (KRTC), but audiences were low. Four state radio channels currently broadcast in Kazakhstan. The channels include: *Kazakh Radiosy*, *Shalkar, Astana*, and *Classic. Kazakh Radiosy* is the traditional state channel with a long history in Kazakhstan. It broadcasts the core programming produced by the government's corporation (www.kazradio.kz). *Shalkar* draws programming from *Kazakh Radiosy*, but focuses on the Kazakh language and broadcasts only in Kazakh (www.shalkarfm.kz). *Astana* is a music and information channel (www.astanafm.kz), and *Classic* features classical music, particularly music produced by Kazakh musicians. The channel is a project co-sponsored with the Kurmangazy Kazakh National Conservatory (www.classicfm.kz). Because Kazakh radio was part of the

Soviet ideological apparatus, there was a perception that the state owned Kazakh radio was somewhat inferior and not particularly sensitive to the needs of audiences. State radio today struggles to connect with audiences, in large part because of the authoritarian legacy of a Soviet approach to radio broadcasting (Ibrayeva, Missayeva and Alzhanova, 2012).

Kazakh commercial radio is present but struggles. Commercial Kazakh radio arrived in the early 1990s and by the mid-1990s competed for audiences and advertising with transnational commercial radio from Russia. Moscow was the center of Soviet radio's ideological network, and serves as the center for commercial broadcasting today that is exported to a number of international markets. Russia entered the Kazakh commercial market with an established history of international broadcasting while Kazakh-based radio was emerging with little market experience. This put Kazakh commercial radio at a disadvantage. Networks such as Radio Russia-Kazakhstan and Europa Plus-Kazakhstan, both part of Russia's international media presence, are the most popular radio channels (Ibrayeva, Missayeva and Alzhanova, 2012). Through the mid-1990s private Kazakh commercial stations relied on advertising but faced many challenges. First, there was little experience with commercial radio. Advertising supported media was a new concept. Second, there was pressure from the state. Kazakhstan was an authoritarian state and press freedom with audience-centered programming had not been tested. Third, the infrastructure to train broadcasters and deliver programs was not as 'professional' as international imports, particularly from Russia. In 1996 a law was passed that required radio stations to purchase a 3-year license to continue broadcasting. The cost ranged between \$80,000 and \$120,000 which forced many stations to cease operating. Some scholars suggest this was ideologically motivated and used to silence opposition voices, but commercial opportunities remain. Currently about 30 commercial stations operate in Kazakhstan, some networked

throughout the country. For example, *Auto Radio* is one of the more successful private commercial radio stations. It was organized in 1998 in Almaty and now broadcasts in 17 cities. It broadcasts an eclectic music format with traffic and weather reports, and limited talk. The station primarily targets a male audience (www.avtoradio.kz).

The third general form of broadcasting, an independent public service radio, is absent from Kazakhstan's radio landscape, with the exception of one BBC channel in Karaganda. Government sponsored radio stations offer public service and local programming, but programs are developed under government direction. However, a significant part of the public service effort assigned to radio by the government is to promote the Kazakh language.

Interviewing Professionals

Kazakh radio professionals operate in a relatively new legal environment which remains somewhat authoritarian, in a language environment that seeks a 'state' language within much language diversity, and in an historical context that puts them at a disadvantage in an increasingly international market. In 2014 eight radio professionals and associates from three Kazakh cities were interviewed about radio's role in preserving and promoting the Kazakh language. The three cities included Almaty, Karaganda, and Astana. Almaty served as a capital and gateway to Central Asia for the Soviet Union and was the original capital of Kazakhstan upon independence. It remains the business center of Kazakhstan. Karaganda is a diverse industrial city in central Kazakhstan and was originally near one of the largest Soviet gulags. Astana is the current capital of Kazakhstan and headquarters for the state operated Kazakshtan Radio and Television Corporation. Astana was developed by President Nazarbaev and chosen as the new capital and seat of government for Kazakhstan in 1998. For a list of radio stations available in each of the cities visited for this study, see Tables 1-3. The tables list the name of available stations, whether they are commercial or not, their format, general coverage, and dominant language.

Most of those interviewed for this project were members of the Kazakhstan Radio and Television Corporation, so they represent government broadcasting. One individual who broadcasts with Auto Radio was interviewed (see Table 4 for a list of participants). People interviewed included on-air personalities for Auto Radio, Shalkar, and Kazakh Radiosy. Specific individuals included the head of the Kazakh Radiosy in Almaty, Chief Editor of Karaganda regional television who spent years in radio, Vice President for Strategic Development for the Kazakhstan Radio and Television Corporation in Astana, and a long-time journalist who specializes in reporting on media and language. Because little research has been conducted regarding Kazakh radio, a qualitative less structured interview approach was used. Interviewees were asked general open-ended questions about the role of radio in preserving and promoting the Kazakh language, about the broadcasting climate in which they operate, and about important issues related to their success as Kazakh language radio. The core interviews lasted between thirty minutes and one hour each. The interviews were recorded then transcribed for analysis. The comments were analyzed to identify common themes among subject responses, to identify the unique role of Kazakh radio in presenting a state language, and identify issues that influence their operation.

Comments about Kazakh Radio and State Language

Role of radio in presenting and preserving Kazakh language

One common impression that emerged from the comments of those interviewed was the sense of pride radio broadcasters have in contributing to a unique Kazakh identity. Those interviewed expressed passion for their work and believed they provided a valuable service to Kazakh citizens. One national radio host said, "Working for Kazakh Radiosy is not just a job. ... but rather you have the whole nation's interest on your shoulders." Developing and preserving Kazakh was quite important to this group, "...because this is where we hold on to Kazakh traditions." While it is not surprising that radio was judged important by these professionals, they offered clear reasons for radio's value in promoting language. According to The Vice-Chair of Strategic Planning, unlike other media, radio covers 98% of the population so it remains an important media when establishing a truly national audience. All of those interviewed mentioned a strong need for radio in rural areas where other media can be sparse. Kazakhstan is a large country with many rural villages that lack advanced media technology. Radio is easy to use and inexpensive, and works particularly well to deliver messages about health, law, and education that all Kazakhs find useful. These are produced easily, some in short five minute segments, which is better suited for radio than television. Communicating national emergencies can be done quickly when television may be unavailable. Radio can help unite Kazakh's who might otherwise be left out of the national conversation, and because Kazakh is the national language then radio should be a leader in the use of Kazakh. As one announcer noted, "We work for a national radio station, we have live broadcasts, that's why we have to speak Kazakh."

All of the state radio interviewees were quite vocal about the importance of using proper Kazakh language on the radio because one goal was to teach language competence. This was one of the strongest and most consistent observations. One interviewee noted, "Radio can teach people to speak correctly," and another said "Radio is a source for proper Kazakh language." Radio hosts needed to speak proper Kazakh, understand proper diction, and be quite fluent because radio takes the lead in ensuring audiences learn to speak "the right way." Radio hosts influence how people learn the language and "The person who speaks clean Kazakh leaves a good impression." Because radio personalities represent the state, then their language competence should be exceptional. One announcer said, "In our day-to-day lives we sometimes use Russian filler words. During the live broadcast we always control ourselves." Several interviewees mentioned a growing interest in Kazakh language by their audiences, primarily related to increased education in Kazakh at the secondary and college level, a growing interest in establishing a unique Kazakh Identity, and less interest in Russian. One interviewee summed the relationship between the Kazakh language and radio, "On the radio, all you have is words. That's why you need beautiful, impressive words."

One interviewee noted that a good understanding of Kazakh was important because radio personnel transcribed Russian language news and information into Kazakh, and "Russian announcers talk fast." This comment suggests a strong need for bilingual competence and suggests that broadcasts in Kazakh may still hold Russian content. Another interviewee commented that translations are bypassing Kazakh and being made between Russian and English. While Russian was the 'foreign' language cited most in opposition to Kazakh, several interviewees noted that English is becoming more popular and a growing number of young Kazakhs are learning English because of its growing international presence. English was not talked about as direct competition with Kazakh but concerns were expressed that a rise in English might further complicate establishing Kazakh as a state language.

Issues that Influence Operation

Some scholars believe that radio in Kazakhstan finds ways around laws that require at least 50% of broadcasts to be in Kazakh (Fierman, 2009b). Radio broadcasts in Russian historically attracted a wider audience and more advertisers, and there is evidence that private commercial radio stations broadcast in Kazakh during hours when audiences are low (Smagulova, 2006). The interviewee who writes about language issues said, "State broadcasts are in Kazakh, private not so much." One interviewee suggested that for commercial broadcasters it might be closer to 70% Russian and 30% Kazakh. The head of Kazakh Radiosy in Almaty noted that their broadcasts focused on Kazakh with only 12% of programming in Russian. A few additional programs are broadcast in German, Uigur, Azeri, Turkish, Korean, and Tartar. The dominant narrative remains that state radio values and promotes Kazakh because it is part of their mission as government sponsored national broadcasters, while commercial broadcasters focus on Russian which has more commercial appeal. This trend may be changing. According to the interviewee from Auto Radio, the Kazakh language is becoming more important for commercial broadcasters. Ratings for Kazakh language programs continue to grow and are now among the most popular programs. Because private commercial radio uses an audience centered rather than state centered approach to broadcasting, the change in ratings should change the way commercial radio stations value the Kazakh language. State radio personnel spoke most passionately about their culture and language while the commercial representative spoke of ratings and audience numbers. Both came to the conclusion that the Kazakh language was important and radio played a key role in ensuring that it becomes a meaningful state language. If commercial radio finds a growing audience for Kazakh language programming, then it will schedule Kazakh language programming more prominently.

Several dichotomies appeared that further complicate to goal of developing a state language. The interviewees spoke of a rural vs. urban divide, state vs. official designation, old vs. new media, and young vs. old audiences. Interviewees suggested rural audiences are more likely to speak Kazakh or another dialect while people in urban areas are more likely to speak Russian. As one interviewee commented, "City people want Russian." In addition, Russian held status as the 'unifying' language among the different minority language groups in Kazakhstan increasing the likelihood that Russian is preferred in some rural areas as well. Along with Russian language's official status, a strong audience for Russian language programs still exists. This divide has been noted in scholarly literature but is changing as more rural speaking Kazakhs move to cities, increasing the presence of Kazakh Language in cities (Fierman 2009a). The interviewees recognized a clear distinction in the designation of Kazakh as the state language and Russian as the official language. Officials continue to conduct business in Russian which complicates attempts to prioritize Kazakh and puts state radio at a disadvantage. Business is strongly Russian. The interviewee from Karaganda, who had worked in Kazakh radio since the mid-1990s, noted that the local affiliate of *Kazakh Radiosy* closed in 2006 because of low audience numbers while *Russian Radio-Asia* opened and maintains a local presence. She also noted that, "Russian dominates our information space – it's like brainwashing."

A technological divide was also apparent in comments and was somewhat related to both a rural/urban and young/old dichotomy. People in the city have access to modern wireless technology and the internet while rural people rely on more traditional media technology such as radio. Today's Kazakh youth use cell phones and new media like youth in other parts of the world, while older people still want newspapers and traditional electronic media. All interviewees suggested that adding new media to their operations was imperative and necessary. The Kazakhstan National Radio and Television Corporation added a Kazakh language internet station in early 2014 and within a few months had attracted over two thousand listeners. Both national and regional organizations hire staff to help manage and operate online operations and most on-air personalities maintain Facebook pages and use other new media in addition to their on-air work. All of the interviewees felt that their web presence helped to support rather than supplant radio. One announcer said she used new media applications to talk about radio in Kazakhstan so that people who find her online "... might stop and think 'there are good things on the radio'."

Online operations provide opportunities for further language development but also present problems. Audio is easy to put online and does not require a specific font or set of characters in order to be used. Technologically it is easy for radio to go online. In our conversation with the interviewee from Karaganda, we learned that five-minute Kazakh language lessons were produced in Karaganda in the late 1990s and were archived. The discussion included talk of putting the lessons online so they could continue to be used. Several interviewees talked about the value of the internet as a site to archive and share valuable Kazakh voices. These elements benefit the relationship between radio and the use of Kazakh, but there are other issues that present problems. Most new media platforms support Russian or English and the development of Kazakh language for new media is ongoing. For example, Google Translate did not add Kazakh to its language translation list until 2014. Most of the websites for Kazakh commercial radio are in Russian and most do not include translations to other languages. This has the potential to further slow the development of Kazakh as the state language.

Conclusion

The interviewees for this project provided a snapshot of the relationship between radio and the Kazakh language. This is a snapshot because the media landscape and language use in Kazakhstan is fluctuating. The government has begun a series of institutional reforms designed to open Kazakhstan to the world and place it in a higher position in the world economy. The reforms were announced as "The 100 Concrete Steps" published in May 2015. The steps are designed to improve civil service and reduce corruption, improve the rule of law, promote economic growth, add accountability, and promote identity and unity. These steps have implications for language. Specifically there are six steps designed to promote identity and unity within Kazakhstan and although language is not mentioned explicitly in these steps it is central to many of them. For example, step #90 seeks "Information support and promotion of . . . Kazakhstan's identity in mass media, the internet, new-generation media, and social networks" ("100 Concrete Steps," 2015). This step will likely encourage multilingual media, particularly when reaching out to international audiences on the internet.

The use of Kazakh is increasing. For example, some Russian speaking Kazakhs are sending their children to Kazakh-language schools to provide them with skills in Kazakh, which in turn promotes bilingual competence (Suleimenova and Tursun, 2016). The president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, recently suggested that Kazakhs may need to learn three languages: Kazakh as the state language, Russian for interethnic communication, and English to integrate into the global economy (Suleimenova and Tursun, 2016). If trilingualism becomes a goal it puts additional pressure on state radio which is tasked with promoting only one state language. The 50/50 language policy may need to change to 30/30/30 which would likely reduce the amount of Kazakh spoken on radio. As young people become more proficient in English and continue to engage in new social media, English will likely join Russian in putting pressure on the use of Kazakh. What will likely propel the use of Kazakh is the passionate support of many scholars and professionals, like those in radio, who believe language is key to recovering Kazakh culture and establishing a truly Kazakh identity.

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Radio Available in Astana*

69.56Kazakh RadiosyState radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian71.66Radio ShalkarState radio, variety, national, Kazakh	
71.66 Radio Shalkar State radio, variety, national, Kazakh	
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100.40 Radio Astana State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian	
101.40 Kazakh Radiosy State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian	
102.30 Love Radio Commercial, pop, international, Russian	
103.20 ORDA FM Commercial, pop, local, Russian	
104.10 Russian Radio Asia Commercial, music and talk, international, Russian	
104.50 Tengri FM Commercial, world rock, national, Russian	
105.00 Retro FM Commercial, 70s-90s music, national, Russian	
105.90 Radio NS Commercial, music, international, Russian	
106.40 Auto Radio Commercial, music and light news, national, Kazakh and Russia	ın
106.80 Kazakh Radiosy State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian	

*The list of radio stations was developed using www.radio-asia.org; www. radiostationworld.com, and by the paper's researchers.

Radio available in Almaty

Frequency and Station	Designation, Format, Coverage, and Primary Language
91.70 Europa Plus Kazakh	Commercial, pop/world, international, Russian
101.00 Kazakh Radiosy	State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian
101.40 Radio Astana	State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian
102.20 Energy FM	Commercial, dance, local, Russian
102.80 Radio Classic	State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian
103.50 Love Radio	Commercial, pop, international, Russian
104.00 Hit FM	Commercial, music variety, international, Russian
105.40 Auto radio	Commercial, music/light news, national, Kazakh and Russian
106.00 Radio NS	Commercial, music, national, Russian
106.50 Radio Shalkar	State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian
107.00 Europa Plus Kazakh	Commercial, pop/world, international, Russian
107.50 Tengri FM	Commercial, world rock, national, Russian

Radio available in Karaganda

Frequency and Station	Designation, Format, Coverage, and Primary Language
67.04 Kazakh Radiosy	State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian
68.96 Radio 69/BBC WS	Public, variety, international, Kazakh
71.33 Radio Dlya	Commercial, pop, local, Russian
72.89 Kazakh Radiosy	State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian
100.30 Tengri FM	Commercial, world rock, national, Russian
100.50 Tengri FM	Commercial, world rock, national, Russian
100.70 Kazakh Radiosy	State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian
101.00 Kazakh Radiosy	State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian
101.20 Radio Teks	Commercial, world music, national, Russian
102.00 Radio 102	Commercial, eclectic, local, Russian
102.00 Europa Plus Kazakh	Commercial, pop world, international, Russian
102.30 Radio Shalkar	State radio, variety, national, Kazakh
102.60 Radio NS	Commercial, music, national, Russian
102.80 Russian Radio Asia	Commercial, music and talk, international, Russian
103.40 Kazakh Radiosy	State radio, variety, national, Kazakh and Russian
103.60 Europa Plus Kazakh	Commercial, pop world, international, Russian
103.70 Radio NS	Commercial, music, national, Russian
104.00 Europa Plus Kazakh	Commercial, international, pop world, Russian
104.80 Love Radio	Commercial, pop, international, Russian
105.10 Russian Radio Asia	Commercial, music and talk, international, Russian
105.20 Russian Radio Asia	Commercial, music and talk, international, Russian
105.20 Russian Radio Asia	Commercial, music and talk, international, Russian
105.60 Radio NS	Commercial, music, national, Russian
106.90 Europa Plus Kazakh	Commercial, pop/world, international, Russian
107.00 Nashe Radio	Commercial, music, international, Russian

List of interviewees:

Maksat Radzhuly, Auto Radio Kazakhstan, on-air personality, Almaty.

Murat Mukash, Head of the Kazakhstan Radio and Television Corporation regional office in Almaty.

Mukhamedali Bolatuly, *Kazakh Radiosy* editor/on air personality for national programming. In Kazakhstan he is referred to as "the voice of Kazakhstan," Astana.

Zhanetta Saduakas, Radio Astana, editor/on air personality, Astana.

Dariya Sagyndykkyzy, Radio Shalkar, editor/on air personality, Almaty

Sagat Batyrhan, Kazakhstan State Television in Karaganda, Chief Editor. Ms. Batyrhan spent nearly 20 years in Kazakh radio and was the first female journalist to work in Kazakh radio in the 1990s. In addition she spent time working for *Radio Liberty* in Prague. Karaganda.

Marat Raimkhanov, Vice-Chairman for Strategic Development, Kazakhstan Radio and Television Corporation. Mr. Raimkhanov spent some time with the BBC. Astana.

XXXX XXXX, journalist. She has written about language issues and the media in Kazakhstan for about 14 years. In addition to a journalist she does new media training and teaches at the Suleyman Demirel University.