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The Kazakh and Korean Diasporas: Comparison of Typology

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During last two decades international relations in the World Community were complicated by increasing of the large-scale inter ethnic conflicts, very often growing to a war. That is why importance of research historical and contemporary roots of these events is actually and obviously. In current international relation studies, ethnic pluralism takes a very important place. Now we talk about one of categories of ethnic pluralism: Diaspora, which influence to international relations because it could be a source of either international or inter ethnic conflicts.

The global Kazakh population in 1999-2000 [Table No. 1] exceeded 12 million, with some 8 million in Kazakhstan, another 1.5 million in China, more than 800 thousand in Russia, 1.5 million in Uzbekistan, 80 thousand in Mongolia, and rest are in various other countries. According to [Table No. 1], which was compiled on the basis of several statistical studies and my own research, among these 4 million Kazakhs who live abroad about 800 thousand are the Kazakh Diaspora, the rest are Irredenta.

Irredenta is an ethnic group, occupying its own lands, which as a result of conquests or annexations of territories belong to the neighboring countries of its motherland. The Irredenta does not move, they were separated from the main body of their ethnic group by state borders.

In the case of the Kazakhs, we have both Irredenta and Diaspora in Russia, China and Uzbekistan. In Russia the

Kazakh Irredenta is settled in Astrakhanskaya, Kurganskaya, Volgogradskaya, Orenburgskaya, Omskaya, Chelyabinskaya, and Gorno-Altayskaya Autonomous oblasts. The representatives of the Kazakh Diaspora in Russia live in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The Kazakh Irredenta in Russia was created by colonial conquests of the Tsar's policy during 16th - first decade of the twentieth centuries, and national-state territorial division of Kazakhstan and Central Asia in 1925 in the Soviet period.

In China the Kazakh Irredenta lives in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and the same Diaspora settled in the central areas of China. The Kazakh Irredenta in China was created by the historical events in 18-19th centuries, in consequences of the State-territorial division in Central Asia between Russian and Chinese empires in the second part of the 19th century.

But now I would like to talk about the Kazakh and Korean Diasporas, because their historical fates are very closed to each other. First of all I would like to give the definition of a Diaspora and then consider some typologies concern to it.

Definition of a Diaspora. According to the definition given in "Modern Diasporas in International Politics", edited by Gabriel Sheffer: "Modern Diaspora are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin - their homelands"¹⁾.

In typology of a Diaspora we have a few variations.

In 1976 on the pages of American Political Science Review, J. Armstrong offered one of the first typology of a Diaspora: mobilized and proletarian. Representatives of ethnic groups played or play significant role in external

1) Modern Diasporas in International Politics. Edited by G. Sheffer. - London & Sydney, 1986. - C. 3.

affairs of a recipient country define as mobilized Diaspora. In the history Greeks and Armenians in Ottoman Empire, Germans in Tsar's Russia could be to account as a mobilized Diaspora. Current representatives of mobilized Diasporas having important economical and organizing resources could influence and give some support to governments of recipient country both internal and external problems.

Proletarian Diasporas is a product of labor migration from (very often) rural areas of developing or middle developing countries into western ones. Having being labor migrants they could not influence to government's acts.

In case of the Kazakh Diaspora, it could be account as mobilized one in Turkey in 1970-1980s, and as proletarian - in Western European countries and America since 1960s till present.

In case of the Korean Diaspora we would like to note, that mobilized Korean Diaspora could be account in Japan, to where since 1 Millenium BC ancestors of current Koreans moved from Korean peninsula to Japan islands and took participation in ethnogenesis of Japanese till IV century there.

Proletarian Korean Diaspora is characterized for the USA at the beginning of the 20th century, when in 1902-1905 7 thousand Koreans migrated to Hawaii as immigrating workers on sugar-refined plantations.

I think that this typology is not enough for describing of nature of a Diaspora, because other types of migration population did not include there, such as: professional migrants (scholars, musicians, etc.). That is why the Armstrong's classification does not work completely.

In 1993 in the article "Ethnic Diasporas: A Treat to Their Hosts?" by G. Sheffer, on the base of researches of J. Armstrong, M. Miller, R. Rogers, M. Weiner, M. Esman and others, the following classification of a Diaspora was given: classic, new and incipient.

This typology does not consider both character and cause of migration formed a Diaspora in recipient country. So, according to Shefer's typology, Jews and Armenians are classic Diaspora, representatives of labor immigration - new and remains, who arrived to a recipient country not so long ago (especially, after any conflicts) are incipient one. There are no comments to this unserious typology.

In his 1997 monograph *Global Diasporas*, Robin Cohen proposes the following typology, which classifies Diasporas into five distinct groups: victim, labor, and trade, imperial and cultural. While Cohen's model offers new classifications of Diasporas, I find his attempt to place Diasporas into only one of these groups problematic. This is because Diasporas have the potential to be in any of the five groups, and often have elements of more than one at a time. In this context, I will show that the Kazakh Diaspora can be classified as a victim, labor, trade and cultural Diaspora. Indeed, throughout its history, Kazakhs have been political and war refugees as well as labor, trade or cultural emigrants.

A few words about classification of Diaspora, which was given by Robin Cohen in "*Global Diasporas*". He writes: "In Chapter 1 I identified the Jewish, Palestinian, Irish, African and Armenian Diasporas as the principal ones that can be described with the preceding adjective of "victim"²⁾.

Why only these peoples? All peoples in different times (historical periods) had trauma, after which a part of them escaped from home country. If this book should have been written and published in 1920s, I could understand the definition of the Armenian and Jews, as a victim Diaspora. But, this monograph is published in 1997, at the period when we could not define Jewish and Armenian diasporas as victims and by Robin Cohen's classification, especially Jewish Diaspora is one imperial (in context with Palestinian problems). In

2) Cohen, Robin. *Global Diasporas*. London, 1997. p. 31.

modernity, in particular, during last decade many historical tragically events took and take places in the World, which, in their turn, created or developed diasporas. The principle of actuality is very important approach to the research: (what and why the research of these problems is very important today), but unfortunately was not used in this monograph.

Why only these peoples? Universal history has many examples of “the principal “victim” Diaspora”. For example, Crimean Tatar’s Diaspora which was deprived its own lands on Crimean peninsula during/consequently the Russian Empire policy. Why he did not include in this list: Indian, Chinese, former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union people’s Diasporas and many others. It seems to me, every people has its own Diaspora. Any Diaspora is a victim of a war, ecological catastrophe, internal and external policies, ruined economical system in a home country or, at the end, its own ambitions. Any Diaspora takes multiple forms and changes its character over time. That is why, the typology, which was proposed by Robin Cohen does not work completely, when he adds ethnic belonging to.

I shall try to show, that the Kazakh and Korean Diasporas were or are a victim, labour, trade and cultural, because at different times in several countries and the Kazakhs and Koreans were or are political and war refugees, labour, trade or cultural emigrants.

Diaspora is created by migrations usually in untraditional, alien environments. In the Western historiography of Migration there are two types of it:

Forced and Voluntary Migrations of the Kazakh and Korean Diaspora [Table N 2]

The categories “voluntary” and “forced” maybe are not completely satisfactory, but I prefer it for easier and better understanding the problem.

Every migrant population could be divided into two parts. The first part are those who escapes from violence. The

second one makes voluntary decision to migrate: they have a right and opportunity of choice: to stay or leave their homeland. The firsts have the right, but do not have the opportunity.

As a result, it is very important to research the reasons of man choice, when he/she decides to leave home country and migrate to another one. These reasons could be described as “push” or “pull” aims: “from what” and “for what” a man needs to change his life and make a fresh start. It is not a voluntary decision; it is necessity, which very often is connected with his security and well being. It is not a sightseeing tour; it is stark reality, which challenges his survival.

Reasons of migration could be political, economical, religious, cultural, ecological and etc.

The Kazakh and Korean Diasporas were created by forced and voluntary long distance migrations, for permanent time, with crossing of international borders, by the political, economical and religious causes. All Kazakh and Korean Diaspora movements were characterized by either mass or individual migrations. I would like to show these two categories of Kazakh and Korean Diasporas migrations in details.

Forced Kazakh Migrations or Victim Diaspora

Mass Kazakh migration was always forced ones and usually took place in eastern countries. In the process of the forced creation of the Kazakh Diaspora, there are two separate fields/blocks of study:

First - Kazakh emigration from Kazakhstan to neighboring countries, and further resettlement in the World in 18-20th centuries, and

2 - Kazakh exodus from Sinkiang in 1940-1950s.

What political events took place in Kazakh history, which stimulated the emigration of the part of Kazakhs from

the territory of Kazakhstan and created the Kazakh Diaspora?
There were:

Kazakh-Oirats wars within the first part of the 18th century;

numerous uprisings against Russian expansion and colonization of Kazakhstan in 18-19th centuries;

the National-Liberation movement 1916 against Russian rule in Kazakhstan and Central Asian region;

the establishment of the Soviet rule in Kazakhstan;

the Collectivization (1929-1932);

The Second World War.

The first Kazakh exodus from Kazakhstan took place in the spring of 1723, when the Oirats surprised the peaceful Kazakh auls (villages) attacked and massacred many people, entire Kazakh clans and tribes were completely destroyed. Other Kazakhs were forced to leave their homes and flee to Bukhara and Khiva khanates and Badakhshan area in Pamir.

Under the rule of Tsars in 18-19th centuries, there were several Kazakh emigrations following the defeats of numerous Kazakh uprisings against Russian conquest and Tsarist policy in Kazakhstan that promoted giving the best land to Russians. Kazakhs emigrated to China, Bukhara, Khiva, Afghanistan and Iran.

The 20th century was a generator of historical events, to which consequences the forced Kazakh Diaspora was developed. In 1916 the biggest national-liberation movement in Kazakhstan and Central Asia began, where Kazakhs fought against the Russian Government's effort to conscript Kazakhs for labor battalions behind the front of the First World War. This armed rebellion resulted in the massacre of several hundred thousand Kazakhs, and more than 300 thousand Kazakhs and Kyrgyzs fled to China.

Later, the Bolsheviks established control and many Kazakhs refused to accept their hegemony; eventually they emigrated to the South and the East, finally crossing the

frontiers of Afghanistan, Iran, and China. They also fled to France and Turkey.

Collectivization in the Soviet period resulted in gross human tragedy for the Kazakh population and devastated the Kazakh nomadic economy. Thousand of nomadic families were forced into collective encampments where their animals often starved to death for lack of adequate grazing. The Kazakh livestock starved, hence the people starved. During only three years of the collectivization, from 1929 to 1933, nearly 2 million or 52 % of total Kazakh population was lost. 42 % were killed by hunger, and 10 % of Kazakhs also fled to other regions, including Xinjiang in China, Iran, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Russia and Karakalpakistan. What happened to the Kazakh people was an example of genocide.

World War II uprooted and displaced enormous numbers of people across the globe. From this period, there are two interesting developments of the Kazakh Diaspora evolving out of the capture of Kazakh soldiers by the Nazis.

Kazakhs took participated to the Second World War in 1941, after the aggression Nazi Germany to the Soviet Union. The Nazis captured some of them in the early years of the war. As a prisoners of war, Kazakhs were first concentrated in large transitional/concentration camps, and subsequently, were distributed among smaller work camps in Germany and German-occupied territories.

There were two ways there:

To joined to the resistance movement on these territories, for example, in France, where about 350 Kazakhs fought with Nazis, as members of the French Resistance movement in 1944-1945 near the town of Toulouse;

Or another way: to stay without initiatives in prisoner camps and wait for the solution of their fates.

In such a manner, the “Turkestan Legion” was a group that formed in German concentration camps, since the end of 1941, especially, for participating in the fronts of the Second

World War, against the Soviet Union. Kazakhs were largest group in the Legion, after Uzbeks and numbered about 420 thousand there.

After the defeat of the Nazi Germany in the Second World War, Turkestan legionaries were kept in the concentration camps, in particular in Dahau. After the checking a part of them returned the Soviet Union, but many of them decided to leave in the West. To the Selection Committee, they said, that they are Turks, as a result, were moved to Turkey. According to my data, there were about 20 Kazakhs, former prisoners of war, and then Turkestan legionaries in 1950s in Turkey.

Kazakh Exodus from Eastern Turkestan in 1940-1950s

One of the most heroic stories to be told in Central Asia is that of the fate of the Kazakhs in Eastern Turkestan. According to the Chinese census of 1937-1943, about half a million Kazakhs lived in the country between the Altai Mountains and the borders of the Northwest Tibet known as Eastern Turkestan (now called Sinkiang).

There are two major developments whereby Kazakhs were driven from Sinkiang.

First, the local Chinese governor Shen Shin Tsai encouraged Han-Chinese peasants to settle on lands occupied by Kazakhs. As a result, many were forcibly deported from their ancestral home in the Altai Mountains region. There was a real reason, why Kazakhs took participation in the many uprisings against Chinese authorities, and after defeat more than 18 thousand of them were forced move to India, via Tibet in 1939-1941.

The second major Kazakh exodus took place after 1949 when the Chinese Communists established control and a prolonged-armed resistance forced Kazakhs to leave Eastern Turkestan in 1951. After crossing the sands of the Lopnor desert and snow summits of Tibet Mountains, the Kazakhs arrived in India and Pakistan.

With few material assets, their economic livelihood was not easy and the Indian Government would not allow them permanent settlement until 1952.

On the other hand, the Turkish government enthusiastically supported the Kazakh Diaspora, ultimately giving permission for 1,850 Kazakh political refugees to settle permanently in Turkey. With the help of the Kashmir and Indian Governments as well as the United Nations, World Church Service, National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States, the Kazakhs were able to leave Kashmir and resettle in Turkey from 1952 to 1956.

All of these events – from the initial onslaught of the Oirats in the eighteenth century until the forceful expulsion of the Kazakhs from Eastern Turkestan by the Chinese Communists – certainly distinguish the Kazakh Diaspora as a victim Diaspora. And we could stress that till the end of 1950s the Kazakh Diaspora was created by mass forced migration.

Forced Korean Migrations or Victim Diaspora

I would like to give a few examples of Korean victim Diaspora of the 20th century in two countries, such as: Japan and Russia.

Japan. In the 20th century Korean Diaspora was created as labor immigration since 1910 till 1937. In 1937 they were about 735 thousand labor immigrants. But later in 1930-1940s Korean Diaspora became a victim ones. This period is characterized by foundation of Korean getto in large Japanese cities and pursue the policy of forced (labor and military) mobilization.

At the same time, in 1930s Chang Khek-chu, famous Korean writer, lived in Japan. This fact is good example of presenting of Cultural Diaspora of Koreans in that country.

Korean businessmen in textile and rubber-soled productions were representatives of Trade Diaspora in Japan in 1930s.

There are a few typologies of Diaspora at the same time, at the same country: victim, trade, cultural. These historical facts prove that any Diaspora could take multiple forms and changes its character over time. That is why, the typology, which was proposed by *ethnic belonging to*, does not work completely.

In the Russian Empire, on the areas of the Far East, Korean Diaspora was formed by hunters and traders. That is more characterized Trade type of a Diaspora. But after establishment of Japanese protectorate on 17-18 November 1905 anti-Japanese turn people fled from Korea into the Russian Empire. They waged armed war upon Japanese vanguards³⁾. They were political refugees or representatives of Victim Diaspora.

It is must note that most trouble and tragic pages in the Kazakh and Korean histories we can find in 1930s. During these years both these peoples in USSR, China and Japan lost numerous human lives, survived after crime against people or ethnocide (genocide).

In Kazakhstan Korean Diaspora was created by forced deportation in 1937. The monograph "History of Koreans of Kazakshtan" written by pr. G. Kan was devoted to these tragic pages in Korean history. Deported peoples are exactly victims.

Voluntary Migrations of the Kazakh Diaspora or Labor, Cultural and Trade Diaspora

When the Kazakhs moved to the West their movements are characterized by individual and voluntary migrations. Since 1960s the Kazakh Diaspora is characterized by voluntary migrations of individuals. It was a new trend in the development of the Kazakh Diaspora. The Kazakhs, as a component of the Turkish labor immigration movement, came to the West, primarily as manual laborers.

3) Kim G. Immigration 7777777777. p. 146.

Today, the Kazakh Diaspora in the West [Table No. 3] consists of office employees in large corporations, hotels, and various other service industries. Many Kazakhs have their own businesses. About one third of them have manufacturing businesses in the Western European countries and in the United States.

In 1990s there are many examples of Kazakh scholars, artists, and musicians who left Kazakhstan for work in the West, according to invitations of the Western governments.

What kinds of processes take place among representatives of the Kazakh Diaspora: assimilation, acculturation, preservation ethnic identity or repatriation?

In the case of the Kazakh Diaspora now it is good observed two tendencies:

Attempts to preservation and development its ethnic identity in the conditions of alien living in the West or Repatriation to Kazakhstan.

These tendencies became more active after 1991, when Kazakhstan declared its independence. Who decided to leave/live in the West, first of all, tried to stop the process of acculturation. It took place on early stages of Kazakh coming to Turkey, for example. First step was made in a family. Kazakhs taught their children to speak in Kazakh, to know Kazakh traditions. Mono-ethnic marriage was stimulated. Outside the family, Kazakhs began organized the cultural ethnic centers. For example, in the UK Kazakh Cultural Center was established in 1992. In the USA we have not such center yet.

There are a few specifics of the Kazakh Diaspora in the West.

Anywhere and always they were/are ethnic minority group;

They have small numbers in a host country, which is not more than a few hundred families;

They never played/play significant role in political elite activity of a host country;

Representatives of the Kazakh Diaspora usually live in urban zone, which gives them good opportunities for job and education.

They had/have great adaptation abilities, which usually help them to live and act in new environment successfully, such as: good and very quick language skills/knowledge; very short period of adaptation to alien climatic environment,

6. But at the same time they have very strong Kazakh identity, which is displayed in Kazakh traditions, celebrations and customs in living activity.

Now, after 1991, the Kazakh Diaspora has strong sentimental and maternal links with the Republic of Kazakhstan, which was impossible in the Soviet period. Another Kazakhs returned to Kazakhstan, where especially for them the conditions were created⁴⁾.

Voluntary Migrations of the Korean Diaspora or Labor, Cultural and Trade Diaspora

In different countries Koreans live as workers, traders, scholars, musicians and etc. Their movements in the West and spreading in the World after World War II have voluntary character.

For example, now Koreans live in current Kazakhstan, where they are bright representatives of Cultural, Professional and Trade types of a Diaspora. Everybody knows names of outstanding Korean scholarly and creative intelligentsia in Kazakhstan. There are pr. of History George Kan and German Kim, architect Kim-Syn-Khan, scientist L. Pak, Honor Buider of the Republic of Kazakhstan Moisei Kim and many others. They found here their Second Motherland and became indivisible part of Kazakhstani people.

4) Mendikulova G. Repatriation into Kazakhstan. - University of Toronto, 2000.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that it is not easy to present all aspects of this problem. Nevertheless it is clear that the Kazakh and Korean Diasporas, throughout their history, included elements of the victim, labor, trade AND cultural diasporas introduced in Robin Cohen's recent work. These new classifications of diasporas give us new tools to critically examine diasporas around the world. Although they should be seen not as mutually exclusive, as Cohen argues, but rather that these classifications exist in combinations and multiple forms.

[Table No. 1]

Numbering of the Kazakhs in the World in 1998-2000*

Kazakhstan	7.985.000**
Uzbekistan	1.500.000
China	about 1.500.000
Russian Federation	800.000
CIS countries (without Uzbekistan and Russia)	187.000
Mongolia	83.000
Afghanistan	30.000
Turkey	10.000
Iran	10.000
Canada	7.000***
Pakistan	5.000***
Germany	2.000
France	2.000
USA	1.000
Saudi Arabia	1.000
Australia	0.900***
Austria	0.700
Argentina	0.500***
United Kingdom	0.300
Sweden	more than 0.200
Jordan	0.200
Israel	0.100
Siria	0.100
Denmark, Switzeland, Holland, Norway, Morocco, Egypt, Belgium, Taiwan	less than 0.100 in each

[Table No. 2]

* Table is a combination of the data given by Ambassies and Consulates of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the World and my own additions and correction. Some of them were published in Egemen Kazakhstan, 2000, 26th April.

** Asylbekov M., Kozina V. The Kazakhs (Demographical Tendencies 1980-1990s). - Almaty, 2000. p. 94-95.

*** These data need to define more precisely.

FORCED AND VOLUNTARY MIGRATIONS AND TYPES
OF DIASPORAS

	Forced migration, Or Victim Diaspora	Voluntary migration, Or Trade, Cultural and Labor Diaspora
Outward movement	Refugees Internally displaced people Development displacement Forcible relocation Disaster displacement	Labor migrants Professional migrants Traders Tourists Students
Return movement	Deported or expelled migrants Forced repatriates Forced returnees	Returning migrants and refugees Voluntary repatriates Voluntary returnees

Table is a combination of English scholar Nicolas Van Hear's data from *New Diasporas*. Seattle, 1998, p. 42, and my own additions.

[Table No. 3]
% COMPOSITION OF THE KAZAKH'S OCCUPATION IN
THE WEST (1990s)

OFFICE EMPLOYEES	50 %
MANUFACTURING	30 %
OWN BUSSINESS	10 %
RESEARCHERS, JOURNALISTS, MEDICINE OFFICERS, LAWYERS	10 %