

B.B. Aktailak<sup>1\*</sup>, M.S. Ibrayemova<sup>2</sup>, D.S. Mutalova<sup>3</sup>, B.B. Baishov<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan;

<sup>2</sup>Semey Medical University, Semey, Kazakhstan;

<sup>3</sup>West Kazakhstan Agrarian and Technical University named after Zhangir khan, Uralsk, Kazakhstan;

<sup>4</sup>T.Ya. Begeldinov Military Institute of the Air Defense Forces, Aktobe, Kazakhstan

(E-mail: a.bakytzhan1992@gmail.com; mayra\_isa\_1972@mail.ru; mutalova.dzhanargul@mail.ru; dil\_123@mail.ru)

## From nomads of the steppes to citizens of Turkey: Turkish historiography of the Kazakh diaspora

The proposed article is devoted to studying the evolution of the image of Kazakhs in Turkish historiography. It will focus on analyzing how Turkish historians formed and transformed perceptions of Kazakhs during different historical periods. The study covers a wide time range, from the first contacts between Kazakhs and Turks to the present day. Special attention is paid to how political, social and cultural factors influenced the formation of stereotypes about Kazakhs in Turkish society. The article will consider such aspects as the evolution of the image of Kazakhs in the XX century; analyze changes in the perception of Kazakhs in connection with political events in Central Asia, and in the world as a whole. And also, much attention is paid to modern studies of the history of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey, including an assessment of the level of scientific objectivity and relevance of contemporary works of Turkish historians devoted to this topic. The authors explore the main changes in the image of Kazakhs in Turkish historiography, what factors influenced it and what prospects are open for further research in this area. This study provides a deeper understanding of the peculiarities of relations between Kazakhs and Turks, as well as tracing how historical memory and stereotypes influence international relations.

**Keywords:** Kazakh diaspora, Turkish historiography, Hasan Oraltay, Historical memory, Identity, Kazakh refugees, Kazakhs in Turkey, Kazakhstan, Intellectual history, History of migrations.

### Introduction

The study of the Turkish historiography of the Kazakh diaspora allowed us to achieve the set goal — a comprehensive analysis of the main directions and trends in the study of this issue. In the course of the study the following tasks were solved: the main stages of the formation of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey were studied; the key works of Turkish historians were analyzed; the main topics and problems considered in Turkish historiography were identified; the influence of political and ideological context on the interpretation of the history of the Kazakh diaspora was determined.

Throughout the 20th century, migration processes radically changed the demographic map of the world, forming numerous diasporas outside their historical homelands. Among these movements, the history of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey occupies a special place, which is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon due to several historical, political and socio-economic factors. This migration, which began in the first half of the 20th century and intensified in the following decades, led to the establishment of a stable Kazakh community on Turkish soil, which integrated into Turkish society but retained its cultural identity.

This article analyses the Turkish historiography of the Kazakh diaspora. The study of how Turkish scholars and researchers interpret the history of Kazakh resettlement, their adaptation and integration into Turkish society is an important task for understanding not only the past but also the present of Kazakh-Turkish relations. Turkish historiography, shaped by various ideological and political currents, offers a unique perspective on the history of the Kazakh diaspora, reflecting both the official position of the state and various public discourses.

The relevance of this study is due to several factors. Firstly, the history of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey remains understudied in domestic historiography, while Turkish studies offer valuable materials and interpretations. Secondly, the study of historiography allows us to identify the peculiarities of the perception of the «other» within the host society, which is important for understanding the processes of intercultural interaction and the formation of national identity. Thirdly, analyzing Turkish historiography allows us to trace the evolution of views on migration processes and their impact on socio-political and cultural life in Turkey.

\* Corresponding author's e-mail: a.bakytzhan1992@gmail.com

The purpose of this article is to provide a comprehensive analysis of Turkish historiography of the Kazakh diaspora, to identify the main directions and trends in the study of this issue, as well as to determine the degree of influence of political and ideological factors on the formation of historical narrative.

### *Materials and Research Methods*

Historiography, as the product of a historian's work, is not just a recounting of the past, but an interpretation of it through the lens of the present. While history spans from the past to the present, it is ultimately created in the present. The choice of the research topic and the form of its presentation are conditioned by the urgent problems of the present [1; 419]. Consequently, in order to study historiography, in particular Turkish historiography on the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey, it is necessary to take into account contemporary contexts and issues affecting the formation of historical narrative.

When writing the article we used historical-comparative, chronological methods, as well as general scientific methods such as analysis, synthesis, analogy, comparison, description and others. This study uses a comparative-historical method to compare various Turkish historiographical works on the Kazakh diaspora in order to identify both convergences and divergences in methodological approaches, interpretations of historical events and emphasis. Retrospective analysis provides an opportunity to study the evolution of Turkish historiography on the problem of the Kazakh diaspora in chronological sequence, from early publications to contemporary studies. Contextual analysis involves examining historiographical works in a broad historical context, taking into account the political conjuncture, dominant ideological currents and socio-cultural conditions characteristic of different periods of Turkish society.

The source base of the study consists of scientific articles, monographs, and dissertations by Turkish scholars.

### *Discussion and Results*

Turkish historiography shows a progressive development in the study of the history of the topic under consideration. The beginning of modern Turkish historiography is considered to be 1923, due to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey [2; 191]. The period covering more than a century is marked by a significant expansion of the source base, deepening of the methodological apparatus and formation of various interpretative approaches. The body of knowledge accumulated to date enables a comprehensive analysis of various aspects of the subject, from socio-political to cultural and economic.

The Kazakh emigration played an important role in shaping Turkish historiography on the subject, providing not only personal testimonies and memoirs, but also critically assessing Turkish historiographical practice. Their comments and indications of methodological and interpretive shortcomings contributed to the enrichment and clarification of the historical narrative.

In his work, scholar K.N. Abdullaev characterizes emigrant literature predominantly as a narrative of the defeated, seeking to reconstruct an alternative version of the historical process and prove that the dominant course of events was the result of violent interference in the natural course of history. The uniqueness of this literature lies in the preservation of fragments of historical memory of the emigrants themselves, which represent a valuable source for studying the past. At the same time, it should be noted that there are no generalized works on the history of Kazakh emigration created directly by the emigrants themselves. In the 1920s–1940s of the last century, emigrants of nationalist orientation, among whom Mustafa Shokay occupies a special place, showed high literary activity [3; 32].

Comparing scientific and political activities of emigrants, one should note the clear predominance of the former. In the conditions of emigration, where opportunities for direct political influence were limited, the intellectual potential of the emigrant environment was realized mainly in the scientific sphere. The works of prominent emigration figures provided valuable empirical and analytical material, which later formed the basis of Sovietology, a scientific field that studied the Soviet Union [3; 34].

The choice of Turkey by Kazakh emigrants, as well as by other Central Asians, is due to a whole set of factors. Among them are linguistic and cultural proximity, common religious views, as well as the perception of Turkey as an independent and more developed state compared to other Muslim countries in the region.

The arriving Turkic emigrants were defined in the Turkish context as «diş Türkler», which emphasised their position as «external» to mainstream Turkish identity, but also indicated their belonging to the wider Turkic world. For many Turkic-speaking migrants, Turkey became not just a temporary refuge, but a genuine second home. Linguistic commonality facilitated their integration into Turkish society and allowed them to avoid language barriers. Importantly, they felt relatively safe from discrimination and segregation in

Turkey [3; 484]. In the Turkish environment, where the ideas of Turkism enjoyed considerable popularity, emigrants from Central Asia often became their supporters. Their loyalty to the concept of «Turkestan» as a designation of their homeland served as a kind of manifestation of their political views and aspirations for the unification of Turkic-speaking peoples. In Turkey, emigrants took a very active part in governmental, cultural and social activities [3; 485].

Between 1923 and 1950, official Turkish historiography adhered to a concept that differed significantly from contemporary views. The dominant point of view was that of the exceptional importance of the Anatolian roots of the Turks, who, according to this version, left Central Asia in the distant past and finally settled in Anatolia. The formation of this position in Turkish historiography did not happen without the participation of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk [4; 202].

However, there was also an alternative point of view that was critical of the one-sided interpretation of history aimed at legitimizing the new republic. One of the most vivid expressors of this position was the Bashkir emigrant scholar Zaki Validi Togan, who argued that the migrations were caused by a complex of factors, including demographic pressure and military conflicts, and insisted on the continuing role of Turkestan in the history of Turkic-speaking peoples, thus refuting the official historiographical concept [4; 211].

Zaki Walidi Togan's interpretation of Turkish history as «Turkestan» is a key point for understanding his position and its significance in the context of the study of the Turkic world and, in particular, the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey. This interpretation means that Validi considered the history of the Turks not as an isolated history of one ethnos, but as an integral part of the general history of the Turkic peoples, the center of which, in his opinion, was Turkestan [3; 35].

Despite justified criticism from opponents, both the authorities and the proponents of the official concept of Turkish history stubbornly rejected any criticism, which created serious obstacles to solving the overdue problems in historiography. This dominant conception, focusing exclusively on the Anatolian aspect, effectively confined Turkish historiography within the framework of «Anatolian thought», completely ignoring and rejecting «Turkestan thought» [4; 214].

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in an effort to strengthen the legitimacy of the new Turkish Republic, focused on proving the historical right of the Turks to Anatolia, addressing both the European powers and the Turks themselves, whose origins were diverse and included people from the Balkans, Armenia and Greece. Issues related to historical ties with the Asian nations that had become part of the USSR were relegated to the background. Given the support provided by the Soviet Union, Turkey also avoided active political engagement with the «external Turks» [3; 491].

Turkey, while accepting «external Turks» from the former Russian Empire, simultaneously exercised strict supervision over their political activities. The policy of «Turkcilik» established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was limited to the territory of the Republic of Turkey, as evidenced by the very division of Turks into «internal» and «external». In the 1940s, fearing complications with the USSR, the Turkish government suppressed any manifestations of pan-Turkism and Turanism. President İsmet İnönü, unlike Atatürk, took a tough stance towards these movements, considering them a threat to the integrity of the state [3; 494].

The limited contacts of the Turkish authorities with «external Turks» in that period can be explained, according to modern researchers, by the fear of provoking a negative reaction from the Soviet Union and the communist regime [3; 494]. In particular, Zhanimkhan Tleubayuly, a representative of the Kazakhs and former finance minister of Xinjiang, mentions in his memoirs the failed meeting with Atatürk in 1937. The alleged reason is the Xinjiang governor-general's fear of Sheng Shitsai [5], but the possibility of a refusal by the Turkish authorities is not excluded, given their political situation at the time and their desire to avoid conflict with the USSR.

Thus, the failed meeting of Janykhan Tleubayuly with Atatürk, nevertheless, indirectly contributed to the beginning of the process of formation of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey. The dissemination of information about Turkey as a free and friendly state, as well as the personal example of Eliskhan Batyr played a decisive role in the decision to resettle and establish the first Kazakh communities on Turkish soil. This event became an important stage in the history of the Kazakh diaspora and paved the way for subsequent migration waves [5].

From 1948 Turkey received Turkic emigrants, primarily Uzbeks, from Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. The peak occurred between 1952 and 1954, with approximately 2,000 people arriving in 1952 alone. The government provided them with full support. The emigrants set up their own organizations and media. Among them were the Turks from East Turkestan (Kazakhs, Uyghurs, Uzbeks) who had fled communist China [3; 504].

A significant role in the study of the history of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey was played by the book «Kazak Exodus» by G. Lias, originally written in English. This publication, published in London in 1956, became an important source of information about the Kazakhs for the Turkish public. The author, having visited Turkey to gather material, held meetings and interviews with representatives of the Kazakh diaspora. The book was subsequently translated and published in Turkish [6; 173].

In Turkish historiography, the first researchers to address the topic of the Kazakh diaspora were the representatives of this community themselves, among whom H. Oraltay, H. Altay, K. Gayretulla, etc. stand out. It should be noted that the first to begin studying the history of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey were representatives of the diaspora themselves.

The works created by diaspora representatives inevitably bear the imprint of personal experience, experiences and views of the authors. This may lead to a certain subjectivity in the presentation of the material, but at the same time gives the research a special emotional depth and authenticity. The authors, as a rule, are deeply interested in preserving the memory of their people, their culture and history.

Diaspora people also have unique access to sources of information that are not available to outside researchers. These may include family archives, oral histories, memories of older generations, personal letters and photographs. The use of these sources enables a more complete and reliable picture of the past. Diaspora research provides a narrative of diaspora history from the inside, from the perspective of the diaspora participants themselves. This is important for understanding the identity of the diaspora, its place in Turkish society and its ties to the historical homeland.

In 1957, the Izmir-based newspaper Ege Express published the work «Himalaya destanı (Himalayan saga)», co-authored by Ozdemir Atalan and Hasan Oraltay (H. Hakim). The work described the lifestyle of Kazakhs and emphasized the plight of Kazakhs under the communist regime [7].

Hasan Oraltay's work, published in 1961, was one of the first monographic studies devoted exclusively to the Kazakh people [8]. Unlike previous works that examined the Kazakhs in the context of other peoples of Turkestan, H. Oraltay's book focused on their unique history and culture. The publication of the book aroused interest in academic circles, as evidenced by reviews by prominent researchers such as Z.V. Togan, A. Inan, and B. Hite. Oraltay explained the choice of the title by the need to dispel the common misconception in Turkey, which identified Kazakhs with Russian Cossacks, and to familiarize Turkish society with the true face of the Kazakh people. The book described in detail the origin, religion, traditions, everyday life and culture of the Kazakhs, as well as different points of view on the origin of the ethnonym «Kazakh». The author emphasized the Kazakhs' adherence to Islam, their traditional nomadic pastoralism and such qualities as honesty and bravery.

In his next work, «Büyük türkçü Mağcan Cumabayoğlu», H. Oraltay turns to the figure of one of the key representatives of Kazakh literature, Magzhan Zhumabaev, exploring his life path, literary work and significance for the Turkic world. The main task of this work H. Oraltay sees familiarizing the Turkic community with Magzhan Zhumabayev, emphasizing his outstanding literary talent and commitment to the ideas of Turkism [9].

In 1973, the next book by H. Oraltay was published with the title «Alaş. The National Password of Independence of Turkestan Turks (Alaş. Türkistan türklerinin Milli İstiklal Parolası)» [10]. During this period, Turkish historiography tends to study the history of Turkic peoples in the context of the struggle for national independence and opposition to Soviet influence. The main goal of Hasan Oraltay in this book is to familiarize the Turkish public with the «Alash» movement, its ideology and role in the history of the Kazakh people. The author seeks to show that the «Alash» movement was not just a local Kazakh phenomenon, but a part of the all-Turkestan movement for national self-determination. For this purpose, he used a wide range of sources, which include the works of «Alash» figures (including Alikhan Bukeikhanov, Akhmet Baitursynov, Mirzhakypa Dulatov), periodicals of the time, studies of Soviet and Western historians, as well as personal knowledge and experience gained from representatives of the Kazakh diaspora [10; 117].

The methodology of H. Oraltay, is based on the historical-biographical approach, emphasizing the role of personalities in history. The book has a strongly nationalist and Turkist orientation. H. Oraltay presents the Alash movement as a struggle for the national liberation of Turkic peoples from Russian and then Soviet influence. The book emphasizes the unity of the Turkic world and the need for its consolidation. It is important to take into account that the ideological attitudes of the author may have influenced the interpretation of historical events and the assessment of the activities of Alash figures.

Hyzyrbek Gayretullah book «Bloody Days of Altai (Altaylarda Kanlı Günler)», first published in 1977, was subsequently republished in 1995 and 2017 (with additions) [11]. It describes not only the tragic events,

but also various aspects of Kazakh culture, including traditions and national cuisine. The author's goal was obviously to provide readers with a comprehensive picture of the lives of Kazakhs, especially those who were forced to leave Altai and settle in Turkey.

Halifa Altay's book *From the Forefatherland to Anatolia* (Anayurttan Anadolu'ya), published in Ankara by the Ministry of Culture in 1981, is an important source on the history of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey [12]. H. Altay (1917–2003) was a prominent representative of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey, writer, public figure and researcher. His life was closely linked to the tragic events of the 20th century: fleeing China in the 1940s, wandering and finally finding a new home in Turkey. These personal experiences undoubtedly had a strong influence on his writings, including from Progenitor land to Anatolia.

The book has a clear structure and consists of several parts, successively revealing the history of Kazakh emigration:

*Background:* Description of Kazakhs' life in Xinjiang before the migration, their everyday life, traditions, culture and relations with neighboring peoples.

*Reasons for Emigration:* An analysis of the political situation in Xinjiang in the 1930s and 1940s, including the increasing Chinese influence, conflicts and persecution that forced the Kazakhs to leave their homeland.

*Migration Path:* A detailed description of the arduous and dangerous path Kazakh refugees traveled, including crossing mountain passes, encounters with bandits, and other hardships.

*Adaptation in Turkey:* An account of how Kazakhs settled in a new place, faced language and cultural barriers, integrated into Turkish society and preserved their identity.

For modern researchers studying the history of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey, the work of H. Altay remains an important and relevant source. It provides valuable information about the tragic pages of the history of the 20th century, about the migration processes that Kazakhs experienced and their adaptation to new living conditions. The book is also of great importance for understanding the self-identity of the Kazakh diaspora and preserving its connection with its historical roots.

In describing the plight of Turkic-speaking peoples in the Soviet Union, Professor Tahir Chagatai pointed to the imperialist nature of the Soviet authorities, who resorted to terror to establish control [13]. Despite this, however, he hoped that the Turkic-Muslim peoples could resist assimilation and preserve their unique identity.

After arriving in Turkey, the main goal of the literary works of the representatives of the Kazakh diaspora was to introduce the Turkish society to the Kazakh people, with the answer to the question: «Who are the Kazakhs?» These works were mainly of an introductory nature, presenting the culture and life of the Kazakhs. After Kazakhstan gained independence and was recognized as the common homeland of all Kazakhs, this task lost its relevance. It was replaced by a new goal: to help Kazakh youth raised in Turkey understand their roots and address the question, «Who are the Kazakhs?» and «How did we end up in Turkey?» H. Gayretullah's book «Altai Kazakhs (Altay kazakları)» is a striking example of works dedicated to this new goal [14]. Thus, the change in the purpose of literary works of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey reflects important processes associated with the formation of identity, the influence of political events and the role of literature in the preservation of cultural heritage.

While in the 1960s and 1970s, the focus of authors writing about Kazakhs was on themes of the fight against communism, the desire for freedom, and the idea of Kazakhs as «true Turks», works that appeared after 2000 demonstrate the evolution of this image, adding to it such aspects as modern education, competitiveness, and economic development of the Kazakh people [14; 140]. The changing image of Kazakhs in Turkish literature reflects important changes in the historical context, in the position of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey and in the self-awareness of the Kazakh people. It also indicates the development of Turkish historiography, which is becoming more multifaceted and takes into account various aspects of the life of the Kazakh diaspora.

Significant contributions to the study of the history of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey have been made by Kazakh-speaking scholars in the country, such as Abdulvahap Kara and Maryam Kırımlı. The latter's dissertation, «The genesis of Kazakh nationalism and independent Kazakhstan: a history of native reactions to Russian-Soviet policies» (1999), is an important study in this area [15]. Also worth noting are the works of historian A. Kara, including «Türkistan Ateşi. The Life and Struggle of Mustafa Çökay (Türkistan Ateşi. Mustafa Çökay'ın hayatı ve mücadelesi)», which explore related topics [16].

The appearance of works written by representatives of the Kazakh diaspora influenced Turkish historiography as a whole, enriching it with new topics, approaches and sources. This contributed to the

expansion of the boundaries of Turkish historical science and more complete coverage of the history of Turkic peoples.

At the same time, it should be taken into account that diaspora writings may be influenced by emotional factors and may not always meet the strict requirements of scientific methodology. Therefore, it is important to critically analyze such works and compare them with other sources.

Thus, the works written by representatives of the Kazakh diaspora are of special importance for Turkish historiography. They are not only valuable sources of information about the past of the Kazakh community in Turkey, but also contribute to the formation of a more complete and objective view of the history of Turkic peoples. Both the strengths associated with personal interest and access to unique sources and the possible limitations associated with subjectivity and methodology must be taken into account.

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, Turkish historiography showed increased interest in the history of the Turkic peoples, in particular, the Kazakhs. Among the works examining the rivalry between Russia, Great Britain, China and the Ottoman Empire in Turkestan, the study by Mehmet Saray, "The Russian, British, Chinese and Ottoman rivalry in Turkistan: four studies on the history of Central Asia" stands out [17].

Ospan Batyr is one of the most revered figures in the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey, especially among the younger generation. In Turkish historiography, his exploits are the subject of scientific works, including the study by Gulcin Candarlioglu [18]. It is interesting to note that Professor Candarlioglu, who has Turkmen and Crimean Tatar roots, inherited scientific traditions from the famous Bashkir scientist Ahmet Zaki Validi Togan [18; 7]. It is characteristic that many researchers of this topic are descendants of or close to the emigrant environment.

The translation into Turkish and subsequent publication of works by Kazakh authors dedicated to the history of the Kazakh diaspora indicate significant interest in this topic in the Turkish academic community. An example of such a translation is the memoirs of Dalekhan Zhanaltay, «Hard Times, Hard Days (Çetin zaman zor günler)» which tells the story of the Kazakh exodus from Turkestan [19]. D. Zhanaltay, one of the leaders of this exodus, spent most of his life in Turkey and accepted Turkish citizenship. His memoirs, originally published after Kazakhstan gained independence, became available to Turkish readers in 2019.

A number of dissertations, written within the framework of an interdisciplinary approach, are devoted to the study of the history, culture and social status of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey. In preparing this article, not only historical works were considered, but also studies conducted in the field of political science, sociology and cultural studies.

The dissertation of H. Fidan «Turkestan Migrants of Salihli from the Perspective of Social Structure and Social Changes (1977–1998)» is devoted to the study of the social situation of the Kazakh diaspora in the Kurtuluş district of Salihli city [20]. The study shows that the leaders who distinguished themselves during the migration through the Himalayas and played a decisive role in the survival of their fellow tribesmen tried to maintain their influence in Turkey as well. However, over time, their role in maintaining the unity of the diaspora, consulting and regulating relations with the local population gradually decreased [20; 167], which, according to the author, indicates the complete integration of the Kazakh community into Turkish society by the end of the 1990s [20; 169].

O. Kul's doctoral dissertation (Istanbul, 2009), dedicated to Ospan Batyr and the national liberation struggle in East Turkestan in the period 1941–1951, sheds light on how the political upheavals of the first half of the 20th century influenced the formation and subsequent position of the Kazakh diaspora that found refuge in Turkey [21].

Tekin Tuncer's doctoral dissertation is devoted to the reasons and process of the migration of Kazakhs under the leadership of Kalibek Hakim, Sultan-Sharip, Kusayin Taydzhi and Delil Khan to Turkey in 1953–1958, with a preliminary stay in the Himalayas [22]. The author notes that the migration from East Turkestan, caused by the rejection of the communist regime, was not limited to this period. In 1961, another migration of a different nature took place to Afghanistan. Unlike the difficult passage through the Himalayas and the subsequent path through India to Turkey, this migration was peaceful and sanctioned by the Chinese authorities. The settlers even declared their Afghan origin, although the exact number of Kazakhs among them is unknown. In 1964, this group was repatriated from Afghanistan to Turkey, to Ankara and Kayseri [22; 320].

The author emphasizes that after emigrating to Turkey, the participants in the events began to publish their own works, but these sources are not always objective, demonstrating a tendency to exaggerate their own role and belittle the merits of others. In particular, in the works of that time [22; 321], Kazakh-Uyghur

and inter-tribal contradictions are noticeable. It is argued that some publications of the Kazakh emigration in Turkey created a false impression of the passivity of the Uyghurs in the struggle [22; 322].

Initial financial difficulties prevented Kazakh children from accessing higher education in Turkey, but later, thanks to successful entrepreneurial activity, the situation changed [22; 323]. Having become citizens of Turkey and having taken a worthy place in society, the Kazakhs continue to closely follow the events in Kazakhstan [22; 324].

In her dissertation, defended in Ankara, A. Rakhimzhanova examines the ethnic identity of Kazakhs in Istanbul [23]. The author emphasizes that factors such as collective memory, family ties and experienced trauma play an important role in shaping the unique identity of this group [23; 209]. Although all citizens in Turkey are officially considered Turks and Kazakhs are perceived as part of the Turkish nation, the study shows that their presence in Istanbul may disrupt the idea of the homogeneity of Turkish identity [23; 211]. The perception of independent Kazakhstan as the only homeland also influences the identity of Kazakhs in Turkey [23; 212]. From the very beginning of their stay in Turkey, Kazakhs demonstrated their nationalist political beliefs [23; 212].

Ideas of the Kazakh diaspora about national identity in Turkey have undergone significant changes over time. Initially, in the 1960s, «being a Kazakh» meant, above all, being a «model minority»: hard-working, law-abiding citizens and adherents of Islam. The main efforts were directed at adapting to Turkish culture, and Kazakh identity was manifested only episodically, on special occasions. However, as early as the 1970s, the active involvement of some second-generation representatives in Turkey's political life signaled a shift in the position of Kazakh settlers. In the perception of various groups in Turkish society, «being a Kazakh» began to be associated either with a «real Turk» [23; 213].

Currently, there are various ways of expressing Kazakh identity in Zeytinburnu. It can be expressed through acts of solidarity, such as visiting a pharmacy owned by a Kazakh or preferring shops where Kazakhs work. However, the key element of Kazakh identity in Zeytinburnu remains the discourse of kinship. Belonging to a particular clan is not enough; active demonstration of loyalty to it, promoting its social advancement through charity and support of relatives is required. Kazakh genealogy thus becomes an instrument for strengthening the power and authority of clans and tribes. The financial well-being of a clan directly correlates with the splendor of its ancestor commemoration ceremonies. The Kazakh kinship system thus serves several functions. On the one hand, it acts as a model of national unity based on blood ties, representing the Kazakh people as a large family. On the other hand, similarity in appearance is also used as a criterion for determining Kazakh identity [23; 213].

Although the modern Kazakh generation in Turkey has lost many traditional features, such as the Kazakh language, the nomadic lifestyle, living in yurts, and eating horse meat [23; 215], it is not fully assimilated. Kazakh ideology continues to play an important role in maintaining and strengthening their ethnic identity [23; 216]. This points to a complex and multifaceted process of identity formation in diaspora settings that requires further study.

### *Conclusions*

The conducted study of the Turkish historiography of the Kazakh diaspora allowed us to identify key trends and features in the coverage of this issue. An analysis of the scientific works of Turkish historians devoted to the history of Kazakh migration to Turkey showed that the perception and interpretation of this phenomenon evolved under the influence of various historical, political and socio-cultural factors.

One of the important conclusions is that Turkish historiography considers Kazakh migration primarily in the context of Turkic unity and solidarity. The idea of a common language, culture and history of the Turkic peoples has played and continues to play a significant role in shaping the narrative of the Kazakh diaspora. This is manifested in the emphasis on common roots, cultural parallels and a sense of brotherhood between Kazakhs and Turks.

At the same time, the study showed that Turkish historiography is not monolithic. Different approaches and interpretations can be identified within it. Early works often focused on the humanitarian aspect, emphasizing the plight of Kazakh refugees and the hospitality of the Turkish people. Later, with the development of scientific research and the change in the political context, more comprehensive works began to appear in historiography, taking into account the socio-economic, cultural and political aspects of the integration of the Kazakh diaspora into Turkish society.

It is important to note that Turkish historiography was also influenced by external factors, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan's independence, and the development of Kazakh-Turkish interstate

relations. These events contributed to increased interest in the history of the Kazakh diaspora and the formation of a more objective and multifaceted view of this problem.

The analysis showed that Turkish historiography has made a significant contribution to the study of the history of the Kazakh diaspora. Turkish researchers have collected and systematized a large amount of information, conducted an in-depth analysis of archival materials and published a number of valuable works. At the same time, the study also revealed some gaps and limitations in Turkish historiography. In particular, insufficient attention is paid to the study of the internal life of the Kazakh diaspora, the preservation of its cultural identity and its interaction with other ethnic groups in Turkey.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the Turkish historiography of the Kazakh diaspora is an important source for understanding the history of Kazakh-Turkish relations and migration processes in general. It reflects both the official position of the state and various public discourses, offering a unique perspective on the history of Kazakh migration and its consequences. Further research in this area, taking into account both Turkish and Kazakh historiography, will create a more complete and objective picture of the history of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey.

Brief conclusions:

- Turkish historiography examines Kazakh migration in the context of Turkic unity.
- There are different approaches and interpretations within Turkish historiography.
- Turkish historiography has been influenced by both internal and external factors.
- Turkish historiography has made significant contributions to the study of the history of the Kazakh diaspora, but there are still some gaps.
- Further research, taking into account the different historiographic approaches, is needed to create a more complete picture.

Prospects for further research are seen in studying the regional characteristics of the formation of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey, analyzing its socio-economic situation and studying the processes of preserving and transforming cultural identity. It also seems important to conduct a comparative analysis with other diasporas in Turkey and other countries.

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## Дала көшпенділерінен Түркия азаматтарына дейін: қазақ диаспорасының түрік тарихнамасы

Мақала түрік тарихнамасындағы қазақтар бейнесінің эволюциясын зерттеуге арналған. Түрік тарихшыларының әртүрлі тарихи кезеңдердегі қазақтар туралы түсініктерін қалай қалыптастырғанын және өзгерткенін талдауға көңіл бөлінген. Зерттеу қазақтар мен түріктер арасындағы алғашқы байланыстардан бастап қазіргі заманға дейінгі кең ауқымды қамтиды. Түрік қоғамындағы қазақтар туралы стереотиптердің қалыптасуына саяси, әлеуметтік және мәдени факторлардың қалай әсер еткеніне ерекше назар аударылған. Мақалада XX ғасырдағы қазақтар бейнесінің эволюциясы; Орталық Азиядағы және жалпы әлемдегі саяси оқиғаларға байланысты қазақтардың қабылдауындағы өзгерістерді талдау сияқты аспектілер қарастырылған. Сондай-ақ Түркиядағы қазақ диаспорасының тарихының заманауи зерттелуі, оның ішінде осы тақырыпқа арналған түрік тарихшыларының қазіргі заманғы жұмыстарының ғылыми объективтілігі мен өзектілігі де сипатталған. Авторлар түрік тарихнамасындағы қазақтар бейнесіндегі негізгі өзгерістерді, оған қандай факторлар әсер еткенін және осы саладағы одан әрі зерттеу үшін қандай перспективалар ашылатынын зерттейді. Зерттеу қазақтар мен түріктер арасындағы қарым-қатынастардың ерекшеліктерін тереңірек түсінуге, сондай-ақ тарихи жады мен стереотиптердің халықаралық қатынастарға қалай әсер ететінін бақылауға мүмкіндік береді.

*Кілт сөздер:* қазақ диаспорасы, түрік тарихнамасы, Хасан Оралтай, тарихи жады, бірегейлік, қазақ босқындары, Түркиядағы қазақтар, Қазақстан, интеллектуалды тарих, көші-қон тарихы.

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## От кочевников степей до граждан Турции: турецкая историография казахской диаспоры

Предлагаемая статья посвящена исследованию эволюции представлений о казахах в турецкой историографии. В фокусе внимания: анализ того, как турецкие историки формировали и изменяли представления о казахах на протяжении различных исторических периодов. Исследование охватывает широкий временной диапазон, начиная от первых контактов между казахами и турками и заканчивая современностью. Особое внимание уделяется тому, как политические, социальные и культурные факторы влияли на формирование стереотипов о казахах в турецком обществе. В статье рассмотрены такие аспекты, как эволюция представлений о казахах в XX веке и анализ изменений в их восприятии в связи с политическими событиями в Центральной Азии и в мире в целом. Большое внимание уделяется современным исследованиям истории казахской диаспоры в Турции, в том числе оценка уровня научной объективности и актуальности современных работ турецких историков, посвященных данной теме. Авторы исследуют основные изменения в представлениях о казахах в турецкой историографии, какие факторы на это влияли и какие перспективы открываются для дальнейших исследований в этой области. Данное исследование позволяет глубже понять особенности взаимоотношений между казахами и турками, а также проследить, как историческая память и стереотипы влияют на международные отношения.

*Ключевые слова:* казахская диаспора, турецкая историография, Хасан Оралтай, историческая память, идентичность, казахские беженцы, казахи в Турции, Казахстан, интеллектуальная история, история миграции.

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## Information about the authors

**Aktailak Bakytzhan** — PhD Doctoral Student, L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7614-2935>

**Ibrayemova Maira** — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Semey Medical University, Semey, Kazakhstan, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6776-5505>

**Mutalova Dzhnargul** — Senior Lecturer, Master of Humanitarian Sciences, West Kazakhstan Agrarian and Technical University named after Zhangir khan, Uralsk, Kazakhstan, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5614-938X>

**Baishov Bakyt** — PhD, Head of the Department of Social and Humanitarian Disciplines, T.Ya. Begeldinov Military Institute of the Air Defense Forces, Aktobe, Kazakhstan, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6656-9596>