IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF TURKISH STUDIES

MASTER THESIS

MIGRATION, MEMORY, AND IDENTITY: THE KAZAKH COMMUNITY IN TURKEY

AYŞE ÇAKIRAY

THESIS SUPERVISOR
PROF. RAMAZAN ARAS

İSTANBUL, 2023

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MIGRATION, MEMORY, AND IDENTITY: THE KAZAKH COMMUNITY IN TURKEY

by
AYŞE ÇAKIRAY

A project submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Turkish Studies

THESIS SUPERVISOR
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İSTANBUL, 2023

APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that, in our opinion, it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Turkish Studies.

Thesis Jury Members

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This is to confirm that this thesis complies with all the standards set by the Turkish Studies of Ibn Haldun University.

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I now declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented following academic rules and ethical conduct. I also say that, as required by these rules and behaviour, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ÖZ

GÖÇ, HAFIZA VE KİMLİK: TÜRKİYE'DE KAZAK TOPLULUĞU

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Bu tez, 1952 yılında Doğu Türkistan'dan göç ederek Türkiye'ye kalıcı olarak yerleşen Kazak topluluğunun kişisel anlatılarını ve yaşam öykülerini araştırmakta ve analiz etmektedir. İstanbul (Zeytinburnu ve Bağcılar) ve Manisa (Salihli)'de yaşayan Kazakların göç, hafıza ve kimlik yapılarını hayat hikayeleri ve anlatılar ışığında incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, Doğu Türkistanlı Kazak göçmenlerin göç deneyimlerini sözlü tarih yöntemiyle toplanan verilere dayanarak sunmaktadır. Bu araştırma, Türkiye'nin iki bölgesinde yaşayan Kazak toplumunun üç kuşağından bireyler ile yapılan görüşmelere dayanmaktadır. Türkiye'ye 1953 yılından yerleşen Kazakların tarihsel süreç içerisinde kimlik, vatan ve aidiyet duygularının nasıl ve ne yönde şekillendiğinin bir resmini çizmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aidiyet, Doğu Türkistan, Göç, Hafıza, Kazak, Kimlik, Vatan,

ABSTRACT

MIGRATION, MEMORY, AND IDENTITY:
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The thesis aims to analyze the personal narratives and life stories of members of the Kazakh community who first migrated from East Turkestan to India and then settled permanently in Turkey in 1953. The research, which examines the migration, memory and identity structures of Kazakhs living in Istanbul (Zeytinburnu, Bağcılar) and Manisa (Salihli), examines the migration experiences of Kazakhs based on data collected through the oral history method. The research was conducted with members of three generations of the Kazakh community living in two regions of Turkey. It shows how and in what direction Kazakhs' sense of identity, homeland, and belonging has been shaped since their resettlement in Turkey.

Keywords: Belonging, East Turkestan, Homeland, Identity, Kazakh, Memory, Migration.

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This thesis is the product of a long process many people have contributed. First of all, terlocutors who shared their valuable life stories with me. Without their words and contributions, this work would never have existed.

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Ayşe ÇAKIRAY

İSTANBUL, 2023

DEDICATION

For the souls of those who lost their lives in the earthquakes centred in Kahramanmaraş on 06 February 2023.

In memory of my aunt Halime Çakıray.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Kazakh community was one of the nomadic peoples living in the vast steppes from Central Asia to Mongolia and East Turkestan (officially called the Xinjiang Autonomous region). In the 20th century, as a result of the fact that China and Russia determined their international borders, the Kazakh community was fragmented. One of the parts of the Kazakh community started to live under Chinese autonomy in East Turkestan (Xinjiang). Another part of Kazakhs was under the control of Russia.

The Kazakh community first settled on the steppes of East Turkestan (Xinjiang) under the control of China's Manchu dynasty under the leadership of Kazakh leader Ablai (Abilay) Khan in the 18th century. However, the Kazakh community in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) was mainly subjected to the oppressive policies of the governors of the Republic of China, which was established after the overthrow of the Qing dynasty in 1911. Thus, the Kazakhs in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) rose for independence. However, their efforts for freedom were not successful. As a result, an estimated twenty thousand Kazakhs first reached the neighbouring province of Gansu.

They left Gansu province in 1939 to flee the Kashmir region in India in 1939. The first wave of Kazakh migration ended two years later, in 1941 when an estimated three thousand Kazakhs reached the Indian border.[1] The second Kazakh migration from East Turkestan started in 1949, following the establishment of Communist China, due to the concern that Communist ideology would hinder Islamic religious practices and destroy Muslim identities, and followed the same migration route as the first group, ending at the Indian border in 1952.[2] The Kazakhs who fled with the second wave of

[1] Ingvar Svanberg, Kazak refugees in Turkey: a study of cultural persistence and social change (Stockholm: Academiae Ubsaliensis ; Distributor, Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1989), 52.
[2] Hasan Oraltay, Kazak Türkleri (Istanbul: Türk Kültür Yayını, 1976), .267.

immigration and the Kazakhs who fled to India 12 years ago came together and wrote a petition about being accepted as immigrants to Turkey.[3]

Finally, on March 13, 1952, 1850 Kazakh immigrants were accepted as "settlement immigrants" by the government of Adnan Menderes by the decision of the Council of Ministers.[4] The immigrants were first settled in the guesthouses in Sirkeci, Tuzla and Zeytinburnu, İstanbul. Between 1954-57 they were paid in various regions of Turkey, such as Kayseri, Manisa, Konya and, Nevşehir, Niğde.[5]

However, most Kazakhs left their primary settlements in the 1960s and settled in Zeytinburnu, Istanbul. Some of the Kazakhs in Turkey migrated to various countries in Europe in the 1960s owing to economic reasons. As a result, nowadays, Kazakhs live as an ethnic minority in different countries. Hence, it has led researchers to face various/multiple theoretical and practical challenges.

After the Kazakhs settled in Turkey, many studies, including folkloric, linguistic, anthropological, and ethnographic studies, have been conducted on the Kazakh community living in Turkey. (Çağatay 1961; Gaytetullah 1977; Altay 1981; Oraltay 1961; Godfrey 2013;)Yet those studies frequently involved knowledge about the language and culture of the Kazakh community. These studies generally included a literature review. Unlike these studies, Ingvar Svanberg's study of *Kazak Refugees in Turkey: A Study of Cultural Persistence and Social Change* has offered about the adaptation process and integration practices of the Kazakhs community in Turkey[6], Yet there is no research focusing on the personal life stories of members of the Kazakhs community in Turkey. Although some researchers who were interested in the Kazakh community did some interviews with Kazakhs on their migration to Turkey, the lack of any analyses on this historical process led me to conduct this oral history research.

[3] Halife Altay, *Anayurttan Anadolu'ya* (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2019),.268-291.
[4] Ibid.,Altay, 292.
[5] Ibid., 152.
[6] Ibid., Svanberg, 9-208.

Researchers' interest in oral history as a new interdisciplinary field in social science has increased in the last few decades in Turkey.[7] However, oral history has been a research method since the 1950s in North America and Europe used by researchers in social sciences. It aims to discover and reconstruct the past.[8] The oral history method is primarily based on in-depth interviews with narrators who testify to specific events in the past and transcriptions of those interview records as well as in-depth analysis of them.[9]

Namely, the oral history method has put life stories at the centre. Traditional historiography has been criticized for focusing on past pleasures instead of its pains, atrocities and contradictions.[10] The historiographical dilemma became a paradigm, and oral history emerged as a fledged field in social sciences in the 20th century. Oral historians have argued that the past can mean something to ordinary people and that ordinary people can recognize the contradictions and changes in their lives through oral history.[11] Oral history has served individual and social goals since it emerged. Therefore, oral history was able to penetrate deep into society and the individual. Ultimately oral history has succeeded in changing the focus of history and opening up new research fields. In that context, oral history has collaborated with areas such as sociology, anthropology, folklore and linguistics that require fieldwork.[12] Oral history methodology has also been widely used in the sub-fields such as migration and memory studies.

In this study, I tried to analyze the migration, memory and identity of the Kazakh community living in Turkey by applying the oral history research method. Furthermore, this thesis attempted to examine the construction and transformation of the essence, homeland, and belonging of Kazakhs living in Kurtuluş, Salihli districts of Manisa in the southwestern region of Turkey and the Zeytinburnu district of

[7] Leyla Neyzi and Arzu Öztürkmen's studies are the first examples.
[8] Leyla Neyzi, "Oral History and Memory Studies in Turkey ," *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem and Robin Philip (London: Palgrave MacMillan UK, 2010), 443-444.
[9] Alessandro Portelli, "Oral History as Genre," *Narrative and Genre*, ed. Mary Chamberlain and Paul R. Thompson (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 23-25.
[10] Paul Thompson, *Geçmişin Sesi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), 1999, 1-2.
[11] Ibid. Neyzi, 443-444.
[12] Ibid., 444.

Istanbul. Ancestors of Kazakhs living in contemporary Turkey had arrived by experiencing an impossible journey. During the migration period, the Kazakh community, as a displaced ethnic minority group, was traumatized. The in-depth interviews with the members of the Kazakh community were the primary data of this research, along with their life stories. Thus, I tried to explain how the Kazakh identity, homeland, and belonging were constructed and how it was transformed for the next generations considering historical, linguistic, and cultural similarities with Turkish society in Turkey.

Positioning the findings of this oral history research requires a critical examination of the literature on the Kazakh community. On account of this, I identified the second chapter as a review of written sources on the Kazakh community in Turkey. Thus, I attempted to analyze how different researchers evaluate the migration stories and narratives of Kazakhs living in Turkey by applying other methods. The literature review revealed whether there are any oral history studies on the Kazakh issue. It also helped to fill in the gaps in my interviewees' narratives by providing insight into Kazakh culture, language and daily life practices.

The multi-sited ethnography[13] in Kurtuluş, Salihli, and Zeytinburnu provided data as life stories and materials such as photographs, letters, novels, clothes, and food from Kazakh people. Listening to life stories and collecting materials from Manisa and Istanbul enabled us to analyze the issues from various aspects. In conclusion, the second chapter described in detail the field research conducted in different locations and the process of transforming the data obtained through the oral history method into an academic text.

Considering the extant literature, in the third part of the thesis, the major commanding points in the historical narratives of the Kazakhs are tried to be revealed. This historical analysis was enlarged until the 19th century when the Kazakh region was divided by the Chinese and Russian empires and the Chinese domination of the Kazakhs living in East Turkestan. At this point, I endeavoured to answer questions such as where the homeland of Kazakhs lived in Turkey before they moved to Turkey and the historical

[13] George E. Marcus, "Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24, no.1 (1995) : 95-117.

narratives of their homeland and origin. Shortly, I focused on the origin of their ethnic identity.

In the fourth chapter, I tried to document their stories of migration from Pakistan to the new permanent settlements in Turkey. While focusing on the memories of the first generation who witnessed the Kazakh migration, I also focused on their childhood memories. While digging deep down many meanings and layers in interviewees' memories, I aimed to draw a picture that reveals the effects of migration on individuals and the dimensions of their "Self" perceptions.

In the fifth chapter, I analyzed the questions such as have they reconstructed a new identity and a sense of belonging in this new environment, have Kazakhs' definitions of identity been reshaped over generations, how has Kazakhstan's independence affected their image of the homeland and their sense of belonging, how do they remember their migration journey, how have they transmitted their trauma and suffering to subsequent generations? In conclusion, the m, main points of the research are how the perceptions of identity, homeland and belonging of the Kazakh community in Turkey are shaped and what the factors affecting this process are. Finally, I have presented how the next generation remembers the trauma of the Kazakh migration by giving examples from the narratives.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND ETHNOGRAPHY ON KAZAKHS

While the ancient Kazakh community was one of the pastoral nomadic peoples dispersed or spread over the vast steppes from Central Asia to Mongolia and East Turkestan (Xinjiang), it is now a community inhabiting different parts of the world. Their dissemination dates back to the 19th century when the Manchu Empire and Tsarist Russia dominated the region, redrawing its borders.

In their historical evolution, Kazakhs began to live as a minority ethnic group in China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey, as well as in Western Europe.[14]The dispersion led researchers to face multiple theoretical and practical challenges. While in the 19th century, there were fewer references to research on the Kazakh community,[15] Since the 20th century, there have been more studies by researchers focusing on the culture and history of the Kazakhs.[16] Despite this effort, these studies are not inclusive enough as they refer to Kazakhs living in Russia.[17]

Meanwhile, they witnessed sovereignty in China as the Manchu Empire and Tsarist Russia reshaped their borders. This thesis focuses on the descendants of Kazakhs who lived in China's East Turkestan (Xinjiang) region and then migrated to Turkey in 1953.

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[14] Linda Benson and Ingvar Svanberg, *China's Last Nomads: The History and Culture of China's Kazaks* (New York: M.E Sharpe, 1998), 8.

[15] In the nineteenth century, Alexis Levshin, Vilhem Radlow, and Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov were researchers who provided information on Kazakh cultural history and ethnography. In addition, German ethnographer Richard Karutz and French ethnographer Joseph Castagne studied on the Kazakhs in the early twentieth century. (Benson and Svanberg 1998; 5.)

[16] Alfred E. Hudson in 1936; George P. Murdock and C. Daryll Forde in 1960; Valentin Riasanovsky in 1965; Lawrence Krader in 1963; Elizabeth Bacon in 1966; Viktor Dingelstedt in 1966; Martha Brill Olcott in 1987 published these studies. . (Benson and Svanberg 1998; 3.)

[17] Ibid., Benson, 6.

Some of these Kazakhs initially migrated to Pakistan and set on a long journey to resettle in Turkey. My literature review, therefore, focuses on the Kazakh population living in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) and the sources written on the Kazakhs who settled in Turkey.

Examining this unique community spread around Turkey requires surveying the published studies on Kazakhs who once lived in East Turkestan. Kazakh descendants who came to Turkey in 1953 still hold ample wealth regarding their historical memory. My endeavour in this part of my thesis is to; (1) extract a review of the literature on Kazakh communities in Turkey and (2) motivate me to pursue oral history as a methodology to conduct my research. Research on the Kazakh community in East Turkestan has been restricted, preventing fieldwork and proper exploration due to Chinese control of the region and the archives.[18] Kazakh researchers Niqmet Manjani (1987) and Han Chinese Su Beihai (1989) researched Kazakhs living in East Turkestan; however, these studies were subsidized by the Chinese government and may be biased.[19]

Several studies have been conducted on Kazakhs living in Turkey in recent decades. The motives of the researchers studying this subject were all sorts. In my opinion, there is a need for new studies to address the issue from different aspects. If ethnic, political, and social characteristics are addressed, there is an opportunity to see beyond the linguistic and cultural outlook. These studies were carried out by Saadet Çağatay (1961), Hızırbek Gaytetullah (1977), Halife Altay (1981), and Hasan Oraltay (1961, 1975, 2005) in the early 1960s and 1970s. Researchers and scholars have frequently studied Kazakhs in Turkey to determine their linguistic and cultural features. Likewise, they attempted to compare different aspects of Turkish culture and language. In the last decades, the book by Ingvar Svanberg, *Kazakh Refugees in Turkey: A Study of Cultural Persistence and Social Change,* is one of the most comprehensive and remarkable examples of these efforts.

When making definitions from a general and macro perspective, these studies approached the subject through a single discipline. Moreover, one-dimensional

[18] Ibid., Benson, 5.
[19] Ibid.,7.

approaches caused a vicious circle that dominated the studies of Kazakh communities living in Turkey. Therefore, these studies were insufficient to determine the nature of migration and identity issues of the Kazakh community in modern Turkey. Even though these kinds of studies deal with the ethnography of the Kazakh community in Turkey, they harbour the same inadequacy. In the last decade, the emergence of new migration concepts and increased interdisciplinary cooperation necessitated a multi-dimensional approach towards the issue. One can also add that they have approached the subject from a single dimension, asking the same questions. Thus, the matter could not be considered in a historiographical sociological approach. Among many questions from these studies are; What language do Kazakhs speak? What are the similar and different aspects of the language spoken by Kazakhs compared to Turkish? Who are the Kazakhs, and what are their traditions? What are the differences and similarities in their culture? [20]

2.1. Expanding Curiosities: Studies on Kazakhs in Turkey

Studies on migration have progressed remarkably in the World in the last fifty years and in Turkey in the previous twenty years. Thanks to the increasing scientific interest in migration studies, numerous contributions have been made to migration literature. Turkey has historically been a country of immigrants due to its geographical and historical position. Even though Turkey is a country of emigration from time to time for several reasons, its role has been mostly held as a host state for various refugee communities. As a result, countless migration studies have been conducted on multiple migrant communities in Turkey. Moreover, international and Turkish researchers alike have successfully carried out ethnographic reflections on the Kazakh community as one of the immigrant groups in Turkey. The literature of the Kazakh community in Turkey can be evaluated in three categories in chronological and thematic order.

(1) The first category is the written resources by researchers of Turkish origin. These researchers focused on the subject in a linguistic or cultural framework. There are several academic studies in this category; nevertheless, the most prominent one of

[20] Saadet Çağatay in 1961; Hasan Oraltay in 1961; Hızırbek Gayretullah in 1977; Halife Altay in 1981; Tanju Karadağ in 2019 included them in their studies.

these works was written by Saadet Çağatay, a Tatar Turkologist. Saadet Çağatay [21] gathered examples of oral literature from Kazakh refugees in Turkey in the 1950s. This study, in which she compiled examples of Kazakh oral literature such as proverbs, atışma,[22] and poems describing their daily life practices, homeland aspirations, and migration experiences, was published in 1961 under the title Kazakh Texts. This study is quite remarkable because it was written using primary sources. Saadet Çağatay held interviews with the Kazakh groups that came to Istanbul. Afterwards, she prepared to gather data about her study by interviewing Kazakhs who settled in the Develi district of Kayseri. Moreover, this study presented examples from Kazakh oral narratives. She interviewed many Kazakhs who witnessed the migration - many of whom are no longer alive.

As a matter of fact, from the 1950s to the present, regardless of the numerous PhD and Master's studies in various disciplines on the Soviet Kazakhs and the Kazakhstan State that declared its independence in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet Union, my subject in this study covers Kazakh communities moving from East Turkestan to Turkey. As a result of my examination concerning the national thesis centre in Turkey, between 1963 and 2021, more than twenty studies were conducted by Turkish researchers on the language, culture and daily life practices of Kazakh communities in Turkey. In these studies, primarily ethnographic research methods have been implemented; however, they have been handled by Various disciplines of social

[21] Saadet Çağatay studied Turkish Dialects at Ankara University in 1952. In February 1953, she heard that a Kazakh group settled in Istanbul Sirkeci Immigrant Guesthouse and came to visit from Ankara. She met with the Kazakh immigrants coming from East Turkestan there. Kazakhs sang their traditional songs called "Car car" and "ölön" Saadet Çağatay recorded these examples. A Year later, She and a group visited Develi, Kayseri. She registered some examples from folk dances and the language of Kazakh. According to Saadet Çağatay, minor changes occurred in their pronunciation due to their contact with other nations during the migration. She focused on the pronunciation differences in the Kazakh dialect in this study. Both Kazakh versions and Turkish translations of the texts are included in the work. However, Saadet Çağatay mentioned in the work's preface that a literal translation is impossible and that the Kazakh word is sometimes translated into Turkish in the closest sense or in a way that gives that meaning. Since there was not even a Kazakh dictionary at that time, it was mentioned that a Kyrgyz dictionary was used to find the equivalents of the words. As a result, a simple and understandable work has emerged, including both the original Kazakh version and the Turkish counterpart of a text. During my interviews, I showed these texts to the Kazakhs, and some said that the words in these texts did not sound very familiar. The interviewees who speak Kazakh stated they were closer to the Kyrgyz language when they read the texts. They needed to check the translation on the other side in some cases. (Çağatay 1961; 1-193.)

[22]It is a kind of song contest in which poets try to outdo each other by strumming the traditional instrument called the dombra, responding with humorous, spontaneously rhyming lines containing political statements, insults and flirty words.

sciences, such as anthropology, sociology, linguistics, folklore, political science, and history, have handled them. These studies, which are master's theses, have discussed various perspectives of the Kazakh community living in Turkey.[23]

Besides, the most striking of these studies are those focusing on the Kazakh diaspora in recent years.[24] These studies, which focus on Kazakh ethnic and national identity, touch upon the concept of homeland. After the independence of Kazakhstan, Kazakhs living in different countries emerged as a diaspora. Some researchers' interest in The Kazakh diaspora in Turkey has grown. One of the most important of these is *Changing the perception of the homeland for the Kazakh diaspora,* written by Işık Kuşçu (2016). This article examines how Kazakhs from East Turkestan reformulated their identity and allegiance to their host state. In addition, after the independence of Kazakhstan in 1991, the activities of the Kazakh diaspora organization focused on the shift to Kazakhstan as the homeland due to the change in their homeland orientation. Kuşçu's study addresses the Kazakh diaspora before and after the independence of Kazakhstan. It is based on interviews with leaders and other members of Kazakh diaspora organizations in Turkey, Germany, France, and the Netherlands.[25]

(2) The second category is the resources written by those who witnessed the migration. These studies aimed to introduce Kazakh ethnic roots, religion, and culture rather than focusing on Kazakh migration stories. Another purpose of these works was to pass on generational knowledge about who Kazakhs are and where they came from. For instance, the aim of Kazakh journalist and writer Hızır Bek Gayretullah (1977) was to provide information about the Kazakh exodus.[26] It is a joint study prepared with the help of a committee established by the East Turkistan Immigrants Association (Doğu Türkistan Göçmenler Derneği).[27]

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[23] These works were written by Muhabay in 1969; Durusoy in 1976; Uehara in 1992; Çeliker in 1994; Özalp in 2015; Özaykaydın in 2016; Gabbasova in 2017; Sandybay in 2018; Akgüney in 2019; Karadağ in 2019; Köksay in 2019; Alyar in 2020; Zafer in 2020; Abdullayeva in 2020; Rakhımzhanova in 2021.

[24] It was written by Kuşçu in 2016; Zafer in 2020; Rakhımzhanova in 2021.

[25] Işık Kuşçu, "Changing perception of homeland for the Kazakh Diaspora", *Nationalist Papers* 44, no.3 (2016): 380-396.

[26] Hızırbek Gayretullah, *Altaylarda Kanlı Günler* (Istanbul: Türkistan Kauçuk ve Plastik Sanayi Koll. Şti., 1977), 14.

[27] Ibid, 14.

The survey named *Altaylarda Kanlı Günler* is a compact work including various documents and pictures about migration and also the migration memoirs of the witnesses.[28] Similarly, Halife Altay (1981) created the framework of the Kazakh ethnic roots in Turkey. According to him, this study does not cover the history of Turkic Kazakhs but provides information about the social and cultural life of the Kazakhs who migrated to Turkey. However, the work's second part includes a detailed explanation of migration movements and the memories of those who witnessed the migration. Therefore, this study is remarkable in understanding the history of the migration of the Kazakhs to Turkey. Hasan Oraltay wrote another study titled Kazak Türkleri (Kazakh Turks) 1961. He is the son of Alibek Hakim, who led and witnessed the migration. The study presents the geographical location of East Turkestan and the history, culture and livelihood of the Kazakhs. After providing enormous information about their entertainment, languages and lifestyle, it also includes detailed information about different migrant groups, the number of casualties, the number of refugees who made it to their final destination and the names of leaders for each group. In addition, he has conveyed his memories of immigration with heartfelt feelings.

(3) The final category is the resources produced by Western researchers. Some of these studies are related to the resistance of Kazakhs in East Turkestan and those who led the opposition. The common feature of these studies is that they provide information about the resistance of Kazakhs against communist China in East Turkestan (Xinjiang). The study titled *Leadership and Political Allocation in Shinkiang Kazak Society* by Milton Clark was presented as his PhD thesis at Harvard University in 1955. It is an ethnographic study that deals with the social, political organizations, social and individual lives of the Kazakhs living in East Turkestan. It also features interviews about personal life experiences focusing on particular issues such as birth, childhood, marriage, and death.

Furthermore, studies by Linda Benson (1989) and Lias Godfrey (1956, 2013) have examined the independence struggle of the Muslim Turks in the region after East Turkestan came under Chinese rule in 1884. Written by Linda Benson (1989), *Ili Rebellion-The Muslim Challenge to Chinese Authority in 1944-1946* is about the

[28] Halife Altay, *Anayurttan Anadolu'ya,* (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 20199),11-348.

Republic of East Turkestan, established in the region after the Ili uprising in 1944, initiated by the Kazakhs, which collapsed soon after. Besides, *Kazakhs Exodus* by Lias Godfrey mentions Osman Batur, an essential hero of the Kazakh national struggle against the Chinese government, providing information about his life. Another study by Ingvar Svanberg (1989), *Kazakh Refugees in Turkey: A Study of Cultural Persistence and Social Change,* offers an analysis of the extent to which Kazakhs in Turkey adapt to settled life. The focus of this study is both the ethnography of the Kazakhs and the changes in their social life.

Historically and regionally, the notion of being disunited provides a reference for groups that have gone through different historical processes under Kazakh. The fact that Kazakhs living in Turkey are a small and specific group has attracted the attention of very few international researchers. Some Kazakhs living in Turkey immigrated to various European countries through the migrant workers' policy of Europe in the 1960s. With Germany leading the way, they entered European countries such as Sweden, France, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, and England.[29]

Although they slowly established a diaspora in the countries they migrated to, their numbers were small. Their rate of immigration from Turkey is low compared to other communities. Though millions of native Turks living in various European countries today, Kazakhs who migrated from Turkey are not more than 100 families on average in the European countries they live in (referring to Kazakhs who came from East Turkestan and settled in Turkey).[30]

All the Kazakhs living in Europe came together under the umbrella of the *FETA, Federation of European Kazakh Association,* established in 2009 to organize the diaspora. The fact that Kazakhs are low in numbers in Turkey and especially in Europe and that being historically and geographically divided makes it difficult to refer to a particular group has led to little research. Although the Soviet Kazakhs migrated from their homeland, Kazakhstan, to countries such as the US, Canada, Australia, Germany,

[29] Ibid.,Kuşçu,380.
[30]" Ethnic Kazakhs from Europe about diasporas in different countries and preservation of the Kazakh Language," Weproject.Media, access August 12,2021,https://weproject.media/en/articles/detail/ethnic-kazakhs-from-europe-about-diasporas-in-different-countries-and-preservation-of-the-kazakh-lan/

France, Austria, Pakistan, Iran, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, England, Denmark, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Morocco, and even Taiwan, I focus on the East Turkestan Kazakh community, excluding Soviet Kazakhs.[31]

On the other hand, some studies focusing on the Kazakh diaspora in Europe and Turkey have positively affected diaspora studies in recent years. Some European and North American researchers, who conducted the initial studies on the Kazakh Community in Turkey in the 1950s, examined their lives in East Turkistan (a.k.a. the autonomous region of Xinjiang), their homeland, as well as their new life in Turkey as the host state. Their efforts to overcome economic, social, and cultural problems attracted the attention of Western researchers, and each has become a subject of study, the most notable of which belongs to Ingvar Svanberg.

In conclusion, the Kazakh community, which the instinct to pass on their history orally or in writing to new generations, still attracts the attention of many researchers; however, addressing the issue from a multi-dimensional perspective requires a multi-dimensional examination of the problems that stem from being an immigrant, such as identity, perceptions of the homeland, sense of belonging with the host country. I believe that examining the formation of the Kazakh community in Turkey from a broad perspective, including their socio-cultural structures, repositioning in the host country, perceptions, and feelings, will provide detailed data on the subject. The Kazakhs in Turkey have attracted the attention of researchers in Turkey as a community since their resettlement in Turkey. From the 1960s to the present, many studies on the Kazakh community have emerged in various disciplines, such as anthropology, history, sociology, folklore, and linguistics. Books written by Kazakh scientists/researchers have also taken their place in literature.

Moreover, it is possible to say that most of the postgraduate studies on this subject in some universities in Turkey focus on revealing the language, social, cultural and ethnic structures of Kazakh communities. In these studies, the comparisons of the ethnic origins, history, languages, socio-cultural systems, oral traditions, customs and traditions of the Kazakhs were emphasized. In these studies, comparisons of the ethnic

[31]Gülnara Mendikulova, "Kazak Diasporası ve İrredantları," *Tasam*, September 12, 2012, https://tasam.org/tr-TR/Icerik/4322/kazak_diasporasi_ve_irredantlari

origin, history, language, socio-cultural systems, oral traditions, customs, and traditions of the Kazakhs were the focus. The most recent studies on Kazakhs in Turkey include articles and theses examining Kazakhs' perceptions of the homeland. In this context, the features of the Kazakh community, such as their languages, cultures, lifestyles, history, and land, have become their distinctive identity. These studies mentioned their cultural and linguistic differences rather than their Kazakh identity.

As a result, it can be said that the Kazakh people in Turkey constitute a small and relatively closed community. Since they arrived in Turkey, The lack of a study in which different fields, theories, disciplines or functionally critical aspects converge necessitates new research on this subject. First of all, in this thesis, unlike other studies on Kazakhs, I tried to analyze the contribution of these characteristics to the adaptation process in the host society rather than explaining their cultural, historical, folkloric and linguistic characteristics. Secondly, in contrast to recent studies on how the Kazakhs' perceptions of identity, homeland, and sense of belonging have been shaped after the independence of Kazakhstan, in this thesis, I focused on how Kazakhs' perceptions of identity, homeland, and sense of belonging have been formulated over generations and which factors have influenced this formulating. Although my thesis includes Ethnography, which uses a qualitative data collection method through observation and interviews, I have benefited from a multi-dimensional approach that uses the perspectives and research methods of different fields, theories, disciplines and methods to address a specific research topic. In conclusion, this thesis differs from previous studies on Kazakhs in that it is multi-dimensional, uses oral history methodology, and focuses on different problems. I believe the thesis will fill the gaps in measuring the change in identity, homeland and belonging between generations.

2.2. Unveiling the Oral History of Kazakhs in Turkey

Considering the literature published on the Kazakh community living in Turkey, it is inevitable to view the history and identity of such a particular community from a deeper perspective. At this point, oral history research is the most prominent approach to dig into unanswered questions by observing and analyzing specific communities. Although interviews were conducted with members of the Kazakh community, as seen

in some of the published literature studies, oral history methodology was not applied. By utilizing oral history methodology correctly and effectively, this thesis is the first attempt to investigate diverse aspects of the Kazakh community in Turkey. In this context, defining oral history and setting the frame around how it will contribute to this research would be appropriate. As Alessandro Portelli has stated:

> Oral history is a composite genre which calls for a stratified critical approach. In addition to the uses of the genre in the collected discourse of the narrator(s), we also need to recognize genre in the public address of the historian and the space between them. Oral history is then both a genre of narrative and historical discourse and a cluster of genres, some shared with other types of address, some peculiar to itself.[32]

Oral history carries out the method by historians to record oral narratives and memories about the past by interviewing people who witnessed a particular event and then transcribing and analyzing those memories. Oral history examines events and experiences neglected mainly by traditional historiography and reveals that individuals who embody the past in the present can interpret historical events alternately.[33] While doing this, it cooperates with folklore, anthropology, sociology, psychology, etc. Oral history focuses on meanings rather than events.[34] In this context, narrative analysis is inevitable to disclose the implications of events. For Barbara Hardy:

> The narrative is all-encompassing: We dream in history, daydream in the description, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticize, construct, gossip, learn, hate and love by narrative. To live, we make up stories about ourselves and others, about the personal as well as the social past and future.[35]

Indeed, in the twentieth century, traditional historiography was replaced with the Annales school, which focused on ordinary people from the past and aimed to break down interdisciplinary boundaries.[36] Yet anthropology and history are still far from

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[32] Alessandro Portelli, "Oral History as Genre," *Narrative and Genre,* ed. Mary Chamberlain and Paul R. Thompson (London; New York: Routledge),1998, 23.
[33] Ibid. Neyzi, 443.
[34] Alessandro Portelli, *The death of Luigi Trastulli, and other stories: form and meaning in oral history*(Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 1991), 67.
[35] Lynn Abrams, "Narrative," *Oral History Theory,* ed.Abraham Lynn (London; New York: Routledge, 2010), 106.
[36] Peter Burke, *Fransa Devrim Tarihi: Annales Okulu 1929-1989,* trans. Mehmet Küçük (Ankara: Doğubatı, 2014),.1.

addressing the real-life experiences of people along with historical facts,[37] People interpret the world by collecting stories and telling those stories. The narrative analysis identifies and tries to explain the people who use these created stories.

> People share their experiences with others by embedding them in a report. As a result, every moment in a person's past is presented in a story or a narrative. However, these narratives are not independent of the cultural world experience.[38] A person may tell a life story for various reasons, such as describing one's life, demanding an identity, or conveying an uncomfortable or sad experience.[39] Yet a narrative may not be using simple language. It may contain embedded meanings, codes, and language patterns.[40]

An oral history researcher must be able to perform narrative analysis to decipher them. At this point, the fact that oral history adopts a method that gives the narrator enough space to tell his/her story (rather than the classical yes-no-style standard question patterns or limited, non-narrative questions) provides the historian with the data necessary for narrative analysis.

Given enough space, the historian can listen to a story from the narrator reflecting on memories.[41] These nostalgic memories can allow the oral historian to dig deeper, touch the narrator's subconscious, and reveal the deeper secrets of the past. A narrative is always multi-layered, and silence can be a form of storytelling. In oral history studies, the narrator's silence is testified many times. This state of silence can signify exclusion, memory loss, etc. Silence can occur consciously and unconsciously at various levels in individuals and collectives.[42]Diana Gittins argues that ‘‘silence is, in the widest sense, political.”[43]

Recognizing that identity, homeland, and belonging were the main points of my interviews with the members of the Kazakh community; I believe the methodologies of this study are appropriate to conduct the relevant ethnography.For this purpose, the

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[37] Jesse Newman, “*Narrating Displacement: Oral Histories of Sri Lankan Women,”* (Sri Lanka: Refugee Studies Center, 2003),.6.
[38] Ibid., Abrams, 106-108.
[39] Paul Thompson, *The voice of the past: oral history* (Oxford: New York: Oxford University press, 20179, 238.
[40] Ibid., Abrams,109.
[41] Ibid., 108.
[42] Diana Gittins, “Silence: the case of a psychiatric hospital,” *Narrative and Genre*, ed. Mary Chamberlain and Paul R. Thompson (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), 46.
[43] Ibid., 46.

time I spent with the Kazakhs in Turkey they were allowed me to collect data and deeply observe the testimonies of their migration processes in Turkey. Through official meetings and everyday conversations, I had the opportunity to question how and by what factors the Kazakh identity is formulated and reshaped.

Although the tradition of the oral narrative is as old as human history, the oral history methodology emerged less than a century ago. In the 1940s, At Columbia University, historian Allan Nevins recorded interviews with people who knew former US presidents, marking the beginning of oral history. In 1948, Allan Nevins founded the Columbia Oral History Research Office, creating the oral history archives of Columbia University.[44] In the decades that followed, oral history attracted the attention of researchers, specifically in England, after the Second World War.[45] In particular, traumas caused by the Second World War on people led to improvements in oral history.[46] In the 1960s. However, oral history studies did not go beyond collecting archival documents,[47] The Oral History Association was founded in 1966, and oral history centres began to emerge at universities in the 1970s. In 1972, the UTEP Institute of Oral History was established, making a significant contribution to the development of oral history.[48] In the 1980s, oral materials obtained through oral history found their way into museums, research, and the presentation of artefacts.[49] In the 1990s, oral history became very popular among researchers.[50]

Oral history also took off in Turkey in the 1990s. Although the term oral history has been used since the 1980s, in the 1990s, researchers, primarily women academics, and institutions such as the History Foundation, Istanbul University Women's Issues

[44] Leyla Neyzi, "Oral History and Memory Studies in Turkey, " *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem and Robin Philip (London: Palgrave MacMillan UK, 2010), 443.
[45] Ibid., Neyzi, 443
[46] Paul Thompson, *Geçmişin Sesi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), 2.
[47] Ellen Swain, "Oral History in the Archives: Its Documentary Role in the Twenty-First Century," *The American Archivist 66*, no.1 (01 Ocak 2003),.140-141.
[48]" What is Oral History?," Accessed March 1 2023, https://www.utep.edu/liberalarts/oral-history/about/what-is-oral-history.html.
[49] David K. Dunaway, "The Development of Oral History in the United States: the evolution toward interdisciplina," *Revista Tempo e Argumento 1*, no. 24 (August 13, 2018): 115-116.
[50] Ibid., Swain, 142.

Research Center and the Women's Library and Information Center Foundation contributed to the development of oral history in Turkey.[51]

Apart from these institutions, Arzu Öztürkmen, who graduated from the folklore doctoral program at the University of Pennsylvania in 1990, has made to the development of oral history in Turkey. Since the early 1990s, Arzu Öztürkmen has been teaching oral history at the undergraduate and graduate levels at Boğaziçi University. She is a member of the council of the International Oral History Association. Just like Arzu Öztürk'ten, Leyla Neyzi focused on studies based on life stories in the early 1990s. She published these studies in 1999 under *Remembering and Forgetting in Istanbul.(İstanbul'da Hatırlamak ve Unutmak).* Although the first studies on oral history were based on interviews, in the 2000s, scholars such as Meltem Ahıska, Esra Özyürek, and Yael Navaro-Yasin helped the development of memory studies in Turkey, which gave a new dimension to oral history studies in Turkey.[52]

Nevertheless, oral history serves the purpose of making the voices of marginalized groups heard, such as LGBTQ2+, women, African-Americans, refugees, and the working class, which written history has often neglected. Oral history focuses on the subject and reveals individual traumas by analyzing the society transformed from past to present.[53]

Furthermore, it is known that some theses have been put forward on the Kazakh community. However, any study on this subject will eventually remain incomplete and ineffective without the personal experiences and narratives of the witnesses, who encompass valuable historical data. Indeed, I observed the value of oral history throughout my interview. The interviews I made enabled me to realize the substantiality of oral history during my interviews. I did not only record the facts and events but also focused on how the narrators spoke and how they reacted while recalling their memories. I tried to look at the narrative under a word. Because an oral historian first attempts to discover difficulties and intentions with the help of

[51] Ibid., Neyzi, 444.
[52] Ibid., 447-448.
[53] Ibid.,Newman, 7.

reflections, feelings, and emotions, with the possibility that s/he can dig into and reveal a hidden truth in layers of memory rather than the theme the narrator creates in his mind.[54]

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For many years, it has been argued whether a researcher stays objective. However, the fact that a researcher is entirely neutral and unbiased is nothing but a "God trick" illusion. At this point, the positionality and personality of the researcher have been ignored by other researchers.[56] "There are no neutral observers, and no research is completely unbiased. All forms of knowledge are also situated, and the reality is that researchers will not all produce the same findings."[57] Here, Sarah Moser emphasizes that the researcher's personality in an ethnographic study is as essential as her gender, age, social position, and race. Although postmodern theory argues that identity is changeable.[58] However, it should also be taken into consideration that the personality traits of the researcher, such as being extrovert, assertive, or shy, are essential factors that affect an ethnographic study.[59] Indeed, throughout my ethnographic study, I was

[54] Paul Thompson, *The voice of the past: oral history (*Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 238.
[55] David K. Dunaway, "The Interdisciplinary of Oral History,"*Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology,* ed.David K. Dunaway and Willa K.Baun (London; New Delhi: Altamira, 1996), 8-18.
[56] Sarah Monser, " Personality: a new positionality?, " *Area 40,* no. 3 (2008), 383-392
[57] Ibid., p. 384
[58] Adrianna Kezar and Jaime Lester, "Breaking the Barriers of Essentialism in Leadership Research: Positionality as a Promising Approach," *Feminist Formation* 22, no.1 (2010), 166-167.
[59] Ibid., Monser, 387-388

able to observe the position of the researcher and the contribution of personality to the ethnographic fieldwork.

Essentially, It is predictable by many interviewees that the intention of a researcher and journalist when conducting an interview is a public interrogation. Hence, when sharing my life story with others, I prefer to speak in my own words. This still constitutes data for oral history studies. Portelli claims that:

> Oral sources tell us not just what people did but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did. Oral sources may not add much to what we know, for instance, of the material cost of a strike to the workers involved, but they tell us a good deal about its psychological costs.[60]

The members of the community insisted on repeating a particular theme. Although this is extremely surprising, it constitutes data for oral history. The personal narratives of my informants living in different places were surprisingly similar around specific points. Ethnographic studies should contain observations and people's recorded words; therefore, I thought about ways to collect more data. Even though I initially made my intention and identity clear, I got rid of my researcher identity and became an interested listener during the interview. I paid attention to the fact that the discussions were held in a friendly atmosphere. I tried not to interrupt the narrator and listened carefully to what he was saying. Indeed, during the interviews lasting from one hour to three and a half hours -sometimes staying all day, with conversations held off the record- the researcher, as a good listener, needs to give their full attention to the conversation.

Moreover, another struggle for the researcher is to listen carefully for hours while observing without being noticed by the narrator. If the ethnographer does not listen carefully to the narrator's stories, the narrator may think that the researcher is not taking them seriously enough. In this situation, it may affect the research negatively. Besides, the interviewer determines the significant data received by observing the narrator to transcribe later. Conducting a multifaceted study can be overwhelming for a researcher, but these are necessary to break down the preconceptions of the interview and establish rapport. It is always better to be a listener who cares about the narrator's

[60] Portelli, "*The death of Luigi Trastulli, and other stories: form and meaning in oral history*," 50.

feelings and emotions. Oral history also uses participant observation and includes ethnography.

> Initially developed in anthropology to describe the way of living" of a social group (Heath, 1982), ethnography is the study of people's behaviour in naturally occurring, ongoing settings, with a focus on the cultural interpretation of behaviour (see also Fir Hymes, 1982). The ethnographer's goal is to provide a description and an interpretive-explanatory account of what people do in a setting (such as a classroom, neighbourhood, or community), the outcome of their interactions, and how they understand what they are doing (the meaning interactions have them).[61]

An ethnographer is responsible for making observations and reporting and evaluating these observations. The ethnographer fulfils these obligations by using observation techniques such as prolonged face-to-face contact with local group members and direct participation in some of that group's activities. Throughout the ethnographic study, the researcher establishes a connection with members of the local group by working intensively with informants.[62] The fieldwork is based on the interaction between the informant and the interviewer.According to Conklin's "Because ethnographers interact personally and socially with informants, they find themselves carrying on a unique type of natural history, in which the observer becomes a part of (and an active participant in) the observed universe."[63]

My fieldwork started a few months before the pandemic; therefore, I went to Zeytinburnu and had the opportunity to observe several Kazakh family homes thoroughly as a guest. The first interviews included elderly individuals who had witnessed the migration. They easily conveyed their memories as if the interview was therapy. The informers were aware of the reason I was there but soon forgot the reason I was there, the camera and the audio recording. I think this is because my attitude towards them was kind and sincere, and I rarely asked questions. Before the interview started, I asked for their consent for recording. I notified the informants about the certainty of the ethical rules. I also stated that they coupe use nicknames if they would like to. I believe that these conversations have established trust between us. To build

[61] Watson Gegeo and Karen Ann, " Ethnography in ESL: Defining the Essentials, " *Tesol* 22, no.4 (1988): 576.
[62] Sidney W. Mintz, "The Anthropological Interview and the Life History," *The Oral History Review 7*, no.1 (1979): 19-20.
[63] Ibid., Mintz, 22

rapport, they also asked me who I was, which university I studied at, and why I was conducting this research. I observed that the clear and direct answers I provided were practical. That supports Mintz's claim that it is the personal nature of the ethnographic interview, in which ethnographers and informants are interrogating each other.[64] Indeed, the narratives reproduced are conveyed by community members with a particular traumatic past. Collecting and documenting records through interviews and daily conversations was a particularly challenging process considering the covid-19 pandemic period of my research. The fieldwork visits had to be cancelled due to health risks. Community members volunteered less for home visits after the pandemic. Due to the contagious disease, I and the interviewees had various concerns.

Nevertheless, I took my chances to visit a few families in their homes in Kurtuluş / Salihli in Manisa. Since I was worried about my health, I no longer continued these home visits. My interviews continued online. However, I do not think online discussions are as efficient as home visits since the narratives of many Kazakhs emerged during face-to-face interviews held in their homes. Especially after the official interviews were over and the tape recorder turned off, it appeared as if we had more casual conversations in a variety of contexts: talking about meals gathered around the dinner table with family members who were not interviewed, talking about their wedding and distant relatives, walking down the street, I listened to many stories about political issues in Turkey, and the complicated situation with China.

After September 2021, I returned to Istanbul as the Covid restrictions were lifted. I continued with my interviews in Zeytinburnu and Bağcılar. I have had fifteen official discussions thus far. The ones I have talked to informally are even more, and my study involves three generations of Kazakh community members. At this point, the first difficulty I faced in studying the ethnographic field was contacting the younger generations of the Kazakh community. My request to interview younger people was persistently refused. I was suggested to meet with older individuals as the community did not believe that the youngsters would have any contribution to my research. When I requested an interview, they were surprised and suspicious. According to them, researchers should only interview old Kazakhs, and young people should not be

[64] Ibid., 23

regarded as the subject of a study. Although these stereotypes caused some delays, I succeeded in convincing some of them. I used two different methods to contact the young people. First, the previous interviewees agreed to meet me based on the references of some Kazakhs I knew.

I was wondering about the reason for it. I thought, what is the easiest way to solve this issue? I tried to communicate with young people without intermediaries. I started following a "Youth Branches of Kazakh Turks Foundation" page on Facebook and Instagram. I sent a message to the young Kazakh people following that account, and I mentioned the subject of my thesis, my purpose, and whether I could interview them for my thesis. I sent messages to about twenty people. A couple of them refused after receiving detailed information. A few directed me to others but never responded to my messages. In conclusion, it was not possible to "get in" without an intermediary.

There are some ethical issues to consider when conducting this ethnographic fieldwork. One must respect their wishes to remain confidential regarding their concerns, even if they participate voluntarily. The participants in the study wanted to use their names. They were not willing to use nicknames. They wanted to review the thesis before it was published. As for the content of the narratives, I believe that the narrators often convey a particular theme they constructed in their minds during the interviews. They either remain silent on specific issues or tell the truth by distorting it due to various political concerns. In addition, some of the elderly interviewees were unconsciously speaking in Kazakh while conveying their memories. However, all of the interviewees can speak Turkish well. In such cases, the Kazakhs who allowed me to contact other family members or the interviewer translated them into Turkish. I intervened very little in the narratives to not disturb the intense emotional atmosphere that built up during this time. Even though they are generally called Kazakh, they are divided into tribes called large, medium, and small juz. (Kazakhs are divided into three main groups. These three central communities are called large, medium and small juz.[65]) They define themselves through their homeland (East Turkestan). Their native language of them is Kazakh, which is a branch of Turkish. Kazakh differs from Turkish spoken in Turkey due to specific pronunciation differences.

[65] Altay, *Anayurttan Anadolu'ya*, p.22.

This thesis includes analyses of migration, identity and memory as reflected in the stories of the Kazakh community living in Turkey. In this context, in this thesis, I tried to present this thesis by narrative analysis of the data I obtained using the oral history method. Narrative analysis is a research method that involves reading texts closely to interpret the stories they tell. The stories a text tells can provide insight into the culture, values, and beliefs of the people who created them.[66] After transcribing many of the interview data in this thesis, I set out to search for answers to the questions I posed to the research, such as what role did the Kazakhs' origin play in their adaptation to the host country Turkey, did they acquire a new ethnic immigrant identity while maintaining their Kazakh identity, did they formulate a new identity and sense of belonging in this new environment, how do they remember their migration memories, how did they transfer their traumas to the next generation?

Narrative analysis is usually carried out on the transcribed version of the interview. Its purpose is to try to reveal the deep structure beneath the surface. First, by paying close attention to the transcribed text, I tried to identify what the narrators call "*key phrases"* [67] repeatedly used by the narrators to indicate their relationship with the community and to identify thematic and linguistic connections. Narratives provide a rich source of data that can be used to understand the complexity of human experience and can be used to study a wide range of topics and issues. Narrative analysis can help researchers develop new theories and insights into the human experience. [68]The oral historian aims to draw conclusions that have much broader ramifications than being concerned with the microanalysis of a small number of testimonies.[69]

In my narrative analysis, I highlighted the main points in which the narrators framed their stories and what they placed at the story's centre when presenting their narrative or listing their experiences. I marked the commonalities of the narratives. "The narrative encompasses not only the temporal and causal organization of facts and events considered significant, but also the value judgements that make sense of this

[66] "Narrative Analysis – Examples, Methods, Guide,"*researchmethod*, accessed March 21, 2023, https://researchmethod.net/narrative-analysis/
[67] Abrams. "Narrative" 111-116.
[68]Narrative Analysis – Examples, Methods, Guide". *researchmethod* accessed March 21, 2023, https://researchmethod.net/narrative-analysis/
[69] Ibid., Abrams, 115.

particular life experience."[70] I have analyzed what the narrator reveals through his/her choice of language (which events and phenomena they use I and we language to describe) because language is used to create a sense of self and persuade a listener of the integrity of our version of events.[71] I also compared the transcribed narratives of male and female narrators to determine whether they adopted different strategies and narrative styles. At the same time, I highlighted dramatic points in the narrative and longer passages about the narrators' emotions to draw the listener into the narrator's point of view as they narrate their migration experiences. That is an effective strategy to bring the listener back to their point of view.[72]

Although turning an oral narrative into an academic paper is difficult, I still believe that doing so will help illuminate the darker parts of their history. Moreover, this research will enable us to reconsider the neglected aspects of the Kazakh community and its history in Turkey. The life stories of the Kazakh community provide the opportunity to understand better the Kazakhs' experience in Turkey between 1952 and 2021.

Based on the interviews, I can say that being cognate and speaking the same language (even though I am not a Kazakh researcher) speaking the same language and being Turkish provided me with a privileged position. In addition, the fact that Aydın province, neighbouring Manisa in western Turkey, is my hometown positively affected my ethnographic work in Manisa/Salihli.

In conclusion, Oral history, as a research method that interviews witnesses and then transcribes and analyzes these interviews, examines events and experiences neglected by traditional historiography. Through witnesses' narratives, oral history contributes to history by filling in gaps, sometimes correcting and sometimes even contradicting the written record. Oral history relies on narratives and collects people's stories. Oral history is, therefore, inseparable from narrative analysis, which seeks to identify and explain how people use these created stories. For narrative analysis, examining the transcribed interviews more closely is necessary. That is because these transcribed

[70] Ibid., 117.
[71] Ibid., 117.
[72] Ibid., 119-120.

stories are not independent of the narrator's experience of the cultural world. Through narrative analysis, the researcher aims to uncover the embedded meanings, codes and language patterns contained in the narrative. Thus, an oral historian seeks to reveal the deep structure beneath the surface.[73] As a result, considering that the subject of this thesis deals with several points such as memory, identity, homeland, and sense of belonging, including the migration of Kazakhs to Turkey in the East Turkestan region, oral history has been chosen as the most appropriate and efficient method that provides a rich source of data that can be used to reveal the dark parts of the Kazakh community's past.

2.3. Ethnography: Fieldwork on the Kazakh Community in Turkey

My desire to explain the journey of the Kazakh community required surveying more than one region; therefore, my fieldwork extends from Zeytinburnu, Istanbul, to Salihli, Manisa. Recently, it has been unclear whether the single-site concept of ethnography as an ingrained power in fieldwork serves us well. In the midst of current global flows such as trade, politics, immigration, ecology, and the mass media, the concept of a single-site notion of ethnography has been brought up for discussion again. In this changed setting, multi-sited ethnography research has emerged.[74]

Multi-sited ethnography aims to study social phenomena that cannot be explained by focusing on a single site and following an object or idea across many sites.

> The essence of multi-sited research is to follow people, connections, associations, and relationships across space (because they are substantially continuous but spatially non-contiguous). Research design proceeds by a series of juxtapositions in which the global is collapsed and made an integral part of parallel, related local situations rather than something monolithic or external. In terms of method, multi-sited ethnography involves a spatially dispersed field through which the ethnographer moves actually, via sojourns in two or more places or conceptually utilizing techniques of just a position of data.[75]

[73] Abrams. "Narrative" 115-119.
[74] George E. Marcus, "Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24, no.1 (1995), 95-99.
[75] Mark Anthony Falzon, "Introduction: Multi-Sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research," *Multi-sited ethnography: theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research*, ed: Mark-Anthony Falzon (Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009): 1.

At this point, the boundaries between sites in multi-sited ethnography are central to my thesis as ıt is inherently ambiguous and allow the researcher to draw boundaries along the way.[76] (My thesis focuses on tracing generations of identity and home belongings of the Kazakh community as a migrant community since their migration from East Turkestan.) In researching the ethnography of transnational communities such as migrants, precise boundaries are difficult to define and sometimes make it difficult to follow "*networks, phenomena and ideas*".

In this study, I examine the stories of migration, perceptions of identity, and memory among three generations of Kazakhs to understand the hardships of their integration processes in Turkish society. I looked into the changes in their perception of identity over time and if the regions where they were resettled impacted the integration process. To explain these points, I interviewed my target community in two different Kazakh settlement areas. After deciding on Manisa and Istanbul as adequate regions to base my ethnographic study on, I first planned to visit Kazakh families settled in Zeytinburnu and Bağcılar in Istanbul, where there's a significant Kazakh presence. Then, I set to complete my ethnographic study by interviewing families in Salihli, Manisa. I planned to talk to members of the Kazakh community representing three different generations in the mentioned settlements, following a gender and age-group-inclusive methodology. Essentially, my research aims to shed light on; (a) the changes in the Kazakh community's perceptions of identity and homeland over three generations, (b) in which direction their sense of belonging develops, and (c) the factors influencing the process, and (c) the factors influencing the process.

This study is based on interviews, oral stories, and primary and secondary historical sources. In this context, oral history as the primary source will be the most authentic aspect of the study. It will consist of real-life stories and personal historical witnesses (i.e. the elderly) to be collected at the end of my field research. One of the reasons I chose this particular topic and community is the real-life stories of migration which genuinely intrigued me and increased my research appetite. During fieldwork, I was able to make sense of the interviews due to my cultural familiarity with the

[76] Sarah Duijn Van, "Everywhere and Nowhere at Once: The Challenges of Following in Multi-Sited Ethnography," *Journal of Organizational Ethnography 9*, no. 3 (july 24 2020): 283. https://doi.org/10.1108/JOE-12-2019-0045.

expressions, gestures, and voices, along with the advantage of speaking Turkish and being Turkish. I got acquainted with their migration narrative while collecting stories from the historical memory of older narrators. I then got myself prepared to interview the younger generation of Kazakhs.

2.3.1. Fieldwork in Kurtuluş, Salihli, Manisa

The main reason behind my motivation for choosing this subject is my fascination and interest in the life stories of immigrant communities. For someone who does not come from a family history of migration, my curiosity and desire to explore the topic further increased with a social incident I experienced at a meeting I attended in 2017. I previously believed that all who have epicanthic fold features are of Chinese ethnic origin, assuming that the Kazakh community member attending the conference was Chinese. I attempted to greet him by saying "Nǐ hǎo (hello)" in Chinese. However, he kindly explained that he was one of the grandchildren of Kazakhs who migrated from East Turkestan to Turkey in 1953 and that he was born and raised in Turkey. That conversation, in particular, encouraged me to dig deeper into the life stories of Kazakhs living in Turkey.

The Kazakhs, who gradually migrated from East Turkestan first to India, settled in Pakistan after Pakistan became independent in 1947. After their admission to Turkey in 1952, Kazakh migrants set off by ship from Karachi to Basra to come to Turkey as the country of their final destination. They travelled to Nusaybin from Basra and finally reached Sirkeci in Istanbul by train. They were placed in refugee facilities in Tuzla, Sirkeci, and Zeytinburnu districts. A few years later, after staying in refugee quarters in Istanbul, Kazakh migrants were resettled in different rural areas throughout Turkey, including Salihli in Manisa, one of the two regions where this fieldwork was carried out.[77]

The district of Salihli used to be a region where Greeks, Armenians, Muslims, and Jews lived together under Ottoman rule. As a result of the population exchange that

[77] Aray Rakhımzhanova, "*Negotiating Diaspora Identities: Kazakhs in Turkey* " (Master Thesis, Hacettepe University, 2021), 40.

occurred during the first years of the Turkish Republic, the social fabric of Salihli changed rapidly.[78] The population change gradually continued with immigrants coming from the Balkans. In the 1950s, in addition to Yugoslav and Bulgarian migrants from the Balkans, immigrants from Turkestan were settled in Salihli. Kurtulus neighbourhood was not only an area where Kazakhs settled but also home to Yugoslav and Bulgarian immigrants. In addition, Alevi religious group and Roma ethnic group, minority communities in Turkey today, constitute a significant part of the population in Salihli. When the Kazakhs first settled there, they had warm relations with the Roma people in Salihli as their neighbours. During fieldwork, I started researching the memoirs and stories of my Kazakh friend, whom I met during an interview in Salihli in 2020. The first part of the fieldwork was conducted between December 17 and April 12 2022, in Manisa / Salihli, which has since been completed. I conducted in-depth interviews with men and women aged between 18 and 90. Among those, many of the community members who agreed to be interviewed were the elders of the Kazakh community who witnessed the migration.

My Kazakh friend, who helped me connect with Kazakh community members, awaited me upon my arrival in Salihli. When I got there, we kindly greeted each other. The masks on our faces hid our smiles as we avoided contact when Covid-19 pandemic casualties were at a high record in Turkey. In the midst of the global pandemic, I needed to continue my ethnographic fieldwork. On March 11, 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the Coronavirus a global pandemic. Thousands of people died all around the World in the first few months. Thus, quarantine and curfews were implemented in many countries. Schools and universities were closed, and activities other than compulsory services were resumed. This situation continued throughout the whole year of 2020. The disease was airborne and quite deadly.

Social sciences, especially field studies, were interrupted during these times. It was necessary to develop other ways for ethnographic studies to continue. During the process, activities started being carried out online, and so did my interviews. Although online interviews are seen as the only and ideal solution during a pandemic, applying

[78] Naim A. Güleryüz, "Geçmişten Günümüze Anadoluya Yahudi Göçü," *Türkiye'nin göç tarihi: 14.yüzyıldan 21 yüzyıla Türkiye'ye göçler*, ed. Ayhan Kaya and M. Murat Erdoğan (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi yayınları, 2015), 59-60.

the participant observation method inherent in an ethnographic study to online interviews is difficult. After weighing the difference between online interviews and those in person, I returned to Salihli for my fieldwork as soon as the restrictions were lifted. The heterogeneous population characteristics of Salihli, an agricultural town where immigrants from different ethnic (Kazakhs, Yugoslav Turks, Bulgarian Turks, Roma) and religious (Alevi) backgrounds live together, have shaped Kazakhs' social and economic lives. Furthermore, it enriches their lives to acquire the necessary cross-cultural skills to live among the local population and minority groups. Therefore, Salihli constitutes an essential aspect of my ethnographic field study.

After returning to Salihli, I met with my Kazakh friend and scheduled the interviews. I decided to stay there for a week to complete my ethnographic work. I had to arrange a place to stay since my Kazakh friend had communicated that her parents could not host me in their home due to chronic illness. After resolving my accommodation problem, we took a little tour in and around the Kurtuluş neighbourhood. During this tour, I realized that a small river split the immigrant neighbourhood into two sections; Kazakhs lived on one side of the river and across on the other side was an Alevi settlement, a faith-based minority group in Turkey.

As an ethnic minority mostly exposed to discrimination in Turkey, many negative discourses are observed against the Alevis in society. However, when my Kazakh friend stated that the neighbourhood across was an Alevi village, there was not the slightest expression of discrimination or disguise in his speech, voice, gestures, or facial expression. During the week I stayed in Salihli, I conducted several face-to-face interviews. At this point, many recorded and unregistered stories that Kazakh elders told me during my fieldwork in Zeytinburnu in 2019 about Kazakhs from East Turkestan shed light on the entirety of my research. Before I began the fieldwork in Salihli, I interviewed a few people off the record. However, I discussed the questions with my Kazakh friend while preparing for my first recorded interview, centring on oral history's perspective and methodology. Eventually, with a camera, my phone, and my notebook, I visited the house of Muzaffer Altınmakas, who resided in the same neighbourhood as my Kazakh friend in Salihli.

When I knocked on the door with a smiling face, Muzaffer's wife opened the door and kindly invited us inside. Muzaffer Altınmakas, who was born and raised in Salihli, told the stories of his father, a witness to the migration of Kazakhs to Turkey. Their tiny house, with several sections added later, was provided for them by the State when they first settled in Salihli in the 1950s. After leaving this Kazakh household, we met Aklima Hakim, who came to Turkey with the Kazakh migration flow. Following this household, we had a few more be held online later.

2.3.2. Fieldwork in Zeytinburnu, Istanbul

This part of my study has been developed based on the experiences I gained when conducting fieldwork in Zeytinburnu, Istanbul. As the first step of my research project, I set out from Başakşehir to find the Kazakh Turks Foundation. Although I have lived in Istanbul for about seven years, I have never been to districts such as Bağcılar and Zeytinburnu, where the relatively socio-economically lower group lives. I was biased due to their bad reputations. My friends warned me when I talked about my extended research project in Kazakh houses on the streets of Zeytinburnu, where you can come across people of diverse ethnicities. The persistent warnings of my friend about these districts strengthened the possibility that my prejudices might be true. While preparing for my first fieldwork tour in the last months of 2019, I became familiar with the discourses about Zeytinburnu's notoriety. I wondered whether this notoriety stemmed from the perception that crimes such as theft, extortion, and assault can frequently occur in the regions where immigrants are concentrated.

While it was a small settlement during the Byzantine period, the region, which has become one of the largest districts of Zeytinburnu after the conquest of Istanbul by Fatih Sultan Mehmet, became a vital leather working centre with the establishment of production workshops called tanneries in Kazlıçeşme, where raw leathers are processed. This situation continued in the following centuries, and Zeytinburnu and Kazlıçeşme were declared as one of the industrial zones of Istanbul in the Republican period.[79] Due to the increase in migration from the rural areas to the city in the 1960s and the fact that Zeytinburnu was an important industrial centre in this period, this

[79] Mehmet Atik, "*Yenilenen Kentler Dönüşen Kentliler: İstanbul - Zeytinburnu Örneği"* (Master Thesis, Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi,2014), 57-58.

place was opened to settlement and became a slum. Kazakh Turks were also affected by these intense migrations from the village to the city at the beginning of the 1960s. They settled in Istanbul Zeytinburnu by immigrating from various cities of the country, such as Niğde, Manisa, Konya, Kayseri, Istanbul and Ankara.[80] In the following years, the population of Zeytinburnu rapidly increased, and it became a place of immigrants.

Such places in metropolitan areas where socio-economically low-income groups live and frequently receive internal and external migrations are stigmatized and discriminated against. For this reason, some prejudices/perceptions are not based on scientific data, such as the high crime rate in the neighbourhoods where various immigrant groups live. It is inevitable that a neighbourhood created by immigrants like Zeytinburnu, which is labelled as a place where criminals can easily shelter, creates a perception of fear and threat in society. The reason for this is that emotions like fear and danger are contagious.

Sara Ahmet highlights this in her book "The Cultural Politics of Emotions", suggesting that emotions move from the outside to the inside and stick to society. In the Zeytinburnu case, the fear created by the community against this region is entirely related to the fact that migrants intensely settle in this region. Yet the citizens are worried as they perceive immigrants as a threat. As a result, the notoriety of Zeytinburnu is nothing but the sticking of emotions between bodies.[81]

During my fieldwork in Zeytinburnu, I also had the opportunity to experience the effects of these discourses and labels on my body. From the first moment I entered the side streets of Zeytinburnu, I walked uneasily and often looked back to see if anyone was behind me. While searching for the location of the Kazakh Turks Foundation in the side streets of Zeytinburnu, with the help of navigation, I arrived at the place where the building previously used by the foundation exists. However, the International Afghan Turkish Dynasties Association was now operating there. When I entered, the head of the association greeted me politely, and I told him (Unfortunately, I don't remember his name) that I was a researcher and was there to research the Kazakhs.

[80] Harun Mesut Akgün, "*Doğu Türkistan'dan 1950'li Yıllarda Türkiye'ye Göç Eden Kazakların Tarihi ve Sosyo Ekonomik Gelişimi*" (Master Thesis, Tekirdağ Namık Kemal Üniversitesi, 2019),42-61.
[81] Sara Ahmet, *Duyguların Kültürel Politikası* (Istanbul: Sel yayıncılık, 2019), 9-271.

Afterwards, we started walking on the street with one of the association's members to reach the new location of the Kazakh Foundation. We chatted while walking on the side street with the association member. He said that they are descendants of Uzbeks (Uzbeks are considered to be of Turkish origin) who immigrated from Afghanistan in the 1980s.

When I finally arrived at the Kazakh Turks Foundation (Kazak Türkleri Derneği). I told them about my plans for my study, and they said they could help me. They asked a few families living in Zeytinburnu if they could meet me. Even though some refused it, Abdulvahap Kılınç agreed to do an interview. We decided to meet Abdulvahap Kılınç at the Kazakh Turks Foundation, and when we met, my narrator shared many memories and stories from his life. I met another interviewer, whom I contacted thanks to Abdulvahap, at his house in Zeytinburnu one afternoon in December 2019. My interviewer Kayn Orhan told me his life story, including how they settled in Zeytinburnu, his job in the leather industry and many more. Afterwards, I did these interviews online because the Covid-19 epidemic, which emerged in China in the first months of 2020 and affected the whole world, prevented me from doing more fieldwork. However, in the last months of 2021, with the removal of the Covid-19 restrictions in Turkey, I had an interview with the president of the Kazakh Turks Foundation.

The demography of Zeytinburnu is mainly composed of immigrants of Turkish origin from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Romania, as well as immigrants from Central Asia, such as Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Uyghur, and Kazakh. Besides, immigrants of Central Asian origin, such as Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Uyghur and Kazakh, who started to immigrate to Turkey at the beginning of the 2000s preferred to settle in Zeytinburnu because their Kazakh compatriots previously migrated there.[82] Due to the Syrian civil war outbreak in the last decade, millions of Syrians have come to Turkey as refugees. Some of them have settled in Zeytinburnu. As a result, Zeytinburnu has a heterogeneous structure where many immigrants and asylum seekers who come to Turkey live. Therefore it was one of the most suitable regions for me to conduct my ethnographic study.

[82] Meryem Küçük, "*Mekânsal dönüşüm ve kentsel ayrışma:İstanbul-Zeytinburnu örneği/ Spatial transformation and urban segregation: The case of Zeytinburnu,İstanbul"* (PhD diss., Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2021), 132-133.

I conducted my fieldwork from Zeytinburnu, Istanbul, to Salihli, Manisa. Similarities such as both regions being one of the first settlements of Balkan immigrants and Kazakh immigrants in Turkey, Zeytinburnu being a region densely populated by immigrants and refugees, and Salihli hosting and continuing to host minority groups such as Armenians, Greeks, Alevis and Romani people since the Ottoman period was influential in determining The both two regions where I will conduct my fieldwork. Furthermore, this section presents the detailed journey of the ethnographic study I planned with the Kazakh community members, following a methodology covering gender and age groups. In my research, I conducted an oral history methodology focusing mainly on the Kazakh community's perceptions of identity and homeland over three generations in Turkey and the transfer of migration memories between ages.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF THE KAZAKHS LIVING IN TURKEY

3.1. The Kazakh Geography and the Historical Background of Kazakhs

Conventionally, the Kazakhs were nomadic and pastoral people who settled in a large region in Central Asia, spreading from the Caspian Sea to the Altai mountains in the East. In the 19th century, due to Tsarist Russia in the eastward and the Manchu Empire in the westward, redrawing the boundaries of the traditional Kazakh homeland, the regions where the Kazakhs once lived freely were dispersed.

Some Kazakhs lived under Russian domination, while others became an ethnic minority under Chinese rule. The majority of Kazakhs in China live in the East Turkestan region, officially called East Turkestan (East Turkestan (Xinjiang)).[83] To start with, I will get in touch on the geographical features of the East Turkestan (Xinjiang) region; because the geography and climatic characteristics of the area had a significant influence on the history of the region, as well as in determining the migration routes that will be mentioned in the following chapters of this thesis.

3.1.1. Geographical Features of East Turkestan (Xinjiang)

Best known as East Turkestan (Xinjiang) today, East Turkestan is a region that makes up one-sixth of China and is approximately 3000 kilometres away from the capital Pekin.[84] At present, East Turkestan (Xinjiang) autonomous region is an independent state, it would be one of the sixteen largest states in the world in terms of land size.[85]

[83] Linda Benson and Ingvar Svanberg, *China's Last Nomads: History and Culture of China's Kazaks* (Armonk N.Y: M.E. Sharpe,1998), 3-11.
[84] Ibid., 12.
[85] James A. Millward, *Eurasian crossroads: a history of Xinjiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 4.

However, the landforms and climatic conditions of the region, as a large piece of terrain, are pretty challenging for human life as vast deserts and colossal mountain ranges surround the region. These mountain ranges and the Gobi Desert, surrounded by rocky mountains in the northeast, are natural barriers that isolate the region. Steppe tribes dominated this highly contested region before the invasion of the Qing dynasty in 1755.[86] These passes, located in the Tarbagatai Mountains stretching towards both sides of the East Turkestan (Xinjiang) autonomous region and today's Kazakhstan border, were the gateway of the region to Central Asia and Tsarist Russia. [87]

The region is geographically divided into three: First, the northern areas with abundant grasslands and rainfall, where a shepherd and nomadic Kazakhs live; second, are those who live in the valleys and oases between the Tian Shan mountain ranges; and finally, there is the less rainy and barren southern region, where Uighur farmers live. The Dzungarian (Jungarian) basin, which forms the majority of the North, is surrounded by the Altai and Tian Shan mountains. Although the northern region is mostly desert, the grasslands and the Yili (Hi) river made it suitable for agriculture.[88] The Altai mountains, which have a harsh climate in the northeast region, also formed a natural border with outer Mongolia. In contrast, some Kazakhs who had adapted to the extreme climatic conditions made their living by shepherding. The gateway, called the Dzungarian (Jungarian) Gate by Europeans, served as a corridor through which Genghis Khan, who was considered the greatest ruler of the Mongols, and his later successors, flowed into Central Asia.[89]

However, although the Turfan basin found in the region is surrounded by desert, it contains suitable basins for agriculture due to abundant water resources. Starting from the Turfan region, the desert road is a corridor that reaches the neighbouring province of Gansu and, from there, to the interiors of China. Although the southern part has a very arid climate due to the high mountain ranges and deserts, many large and small valleys stretching between the mountain range feed the rivers formed by the melting snow falling on the mountains during Spring. Because of this, the valleys have

[86] Milton J. Clark, "*Leadership Political Allocation in Sinkiang Kazak Society*" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1955), 21.
[87] Ibid., Clark, 21.
[88] Benson and Svanberg, *China's Last Nomad*, 12 and Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads*, 5.
[89] Ibid., Clark, 21-22.

grasslands that are kilometres wide. In addition, vast glaciers form the most enormous mass of glaciers in China. The Tian Shan mountain range, a pass-through through which traders from the West reach the East, starts from Kyrgyzstan and continues till Kashgar. Moreover, the Tarim basin, fed by the longest river in Central Asia, is surrounded by the Taklamakan desert to the South. The Tarim River originates from the Tian Shan mountain range, passes through the city of Aksu, and joins the Yarkand and Kash-ar Rivers. There are many oasis cities in the region. The most significant of these are; Kashgar, Aksu, and Hotan. In the far East of the Taklamakan desert, there is a salt lake called Lop Nur, fed by the Tarım river.[90] The trade routes passing through the Tarim basin in the Southwest of the region, on the other hand, cross the Tibetan highlands through Pamir and Karakoram Hindukush mountain ranges reaching Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.[91] Kunlun Mountain, one of the largest mountain range in Asia, separates East Turkestan (Xinjiang) from the Tibetan plateau.[92]

Following this brief information about the geographical specifications of the region, I will briefly speak of the characteristics of the ethnic groups living in the region while focusing on the population and political structure of the Kazakhs as one of these ethnic minorities.

[90] Ibid., Benson and Svanberg, 12-13.
[91] Ibid., Millward, 6.
[92] Ibid., 5.

Table 3.1. East Turkestan (Xinjiang) Population by Nationality, 1945 [93]

Nationality	Population
Uighur	2,988,528
Han Chinese	222,401
Hui	99,607
Kazakh	438,575
Mongolian	59,686
Russian	19,392
Uzbek	10,224
Taranchi	79,296
Tatar	5,614
Tajik	8,210
Kirghiz	69,923
Sibo	10,626
Solon	2,506
Manchu	762
Total	4,015,350

Approximately seventy-nine per cent of the region's population is of Uyghur origin, while Kazakhs are the second densest population living in the area with twelve per cent. Kazakhs lived in small groups in various places in the region. The state government report from the 1950s shows their numbers as 319,000. However, Milton Clark points out that many Kazakhs ignored registration to avoid heavy taxes on livestock and says their number is around 500,000. This is because, for Kazakh people, live animals are equivalent to their lives.[94] Kazakhs live in settlements called aul or encampments. These auls can be classified as rich, middle and poor according to the number of tents, families, and animals owned. The wealthy auls are the settlements where 7 or 8 families live in 20, owning 5000 sheep, 800 horses, 600 cattle and 200

[93] Source: She Lingyun, "Economic Construction in Xinjiang as a Means to Secure Peace," Tian shan yuegan 1 (October 15, 1947): 21 (Linda Benson, The Ili Rebellion ; 30.)
[94] Ibid., Clark, 19.

camels, while the middle-class auls are the settlements where 5 or 6 families live in 15 tents and own 4000 sheep, 300 horses, 80 cattle and 60 camels. Poor auls are single-tent families with an average of 30 sheep, 30 horses, and 2 cattle and rarely own camels.[95] Since the Kazakhs' livelihood is based chiefly on shepherding, their eating habits are shaped around meat and dairy products. While they prefer dairy products in the Summer, they favour meat on short winter days. In addition to meat, products such as barley, wheat, flour and rice they bought in the city formed their winter diet. A Kazakh family had an average of five people butchers, 5 or 10 sheep, cattle and a horse.[96] In addition, they still need money to shop in the city.[97]The fact that Kazakhs pay for their vitally essential animals to the Manchu Empire (Qing Dynasty) to survive the harsh winter in the mountains means that they cannot survive the winter, especially the low-income families.

3.1.2. Historical Background

East Turkestan (Xinjiang) was historically the homeland of various steppe peoples and was controlled by these nomadic tribes before the Qing Dynasty gradually took control of the region.[98] The classical central Asian prototype was; straight, thick-browed, sparsely bearded and deep-eyed Uyghurs who succeeded in gaining complete control over the area from the seventh century. They united the Tarim basins and established a large settlement stretching from the Jungarian to the North China border.[99]

From this date on, Uyghurs settled mainly in the oases in the region and started to engage in agriculture. This Empire, founded by the Uyghurs, collapsed due to pressure from the Kyrgyz from the North and the Tibetans from the South about three hundred years later.[100] Genghis Khan established a strong state in the North-west of the region and flowed through the Jungarian gate to the Asian steppes. In particular, the North-west of the area was neighbouring the traditional homeland of Mongolian nomadic

[95] Ibid. p. 34-36.
[96] Halife Altay, *Anayurttan Anadolu'ya*, (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2019), 83.
[97] Hasan Oraltay, *Kazak Türkleri,* (Istanbul: Türk Kültür Yayını, 1976),.50.
[98] Ibid., Clark, .23.
[99] Ibid., Millward, 40-43.
[100] Ibid., 42-64.

tribes. It was also very suitable for grazing and for the settlement of nomadic tribes such as Kazakhs, Mongolians and Kyrgyz.[101]

Genghis Khan divided his enormous Empire among his sons. Thus, following his death, four great khanates named Chagatai, Kublai, Ilkhanate and Golden Horde were founded by his descendants in the lands conquered by Genghis. Among these khanates, the Chagatai khanate was divided into two after dominating the East Turkestan region for many years, and the East Chagatai Empire ruled the region. Indeed, with the weakening of the Eastern Chagatai state, essential areas such as Aksu and Hotan in the south of the region became city-states.[102] Beginning in the fourteenth century, Mongolian tribes called choros, dörböts and khoits in northern East Turkestan (Xinjiang) formed a confederation under the leadership of the Jungar.[103] After the Cungar (Jungar) Federation was established between 1398-1408, it attacked both the East Turkestan region and the cities in Central Asia and captured essential towns such as Beşbalık. Since the Cungar (Jungar) federation rose to the status of khanate in 1635, they tried to improve their political relations with the Kazakh khanate without success. As a result, these two khanates fought each other for about 200 years.[104]

After summarising the region's historical background, I would like to discuss the origin of the Kazakhs and their presence there. First of all, it isn't effortless to talk about the political unity of the Kazakhs before establishing a khanate with the name Kazakh in 1465. At this point, the information about the origin of the Kazakhs is also limited. The consensus based on the 18th-century. Russian resources about the Kazakh nation are based on the throne struggles in the Golden Horde[105] Empire in the fifteenth century.[106]

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[101] Ibid., Benson and Svanberg, 12-13.
[102] Erkin Ekrem, "Doğu Türkistan'da Sufi Hocalar," *Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Dergisi 8*, no. 23 (1996): 629.
[103] Ibid., Millward, 88-89.
[104] Yerkinay Maukhara, "*Kazakh Khanate in terms of political and cultural (1456-1731)"* (Master Thesis, Selçuk University, 2011), 51-52.
[105] Before Genghis Khan's death, he had divided the imperial lands among his sons. He gave the Seyhun River, located in the western part of Lake Balkash, to his son Cuci. In 1230, Cuci's son, Khan Batu, invaded present-day Russia, and in 1294 Mongol rule reached the eastern part of Europe. Thus, in 1242, the Golden Horde was established under the rule of Khan Batu. After the death of Khan Batu, his son Berke became the Khan of the Golden Horde. Under his rule, the territory of the Golden Horde expanded and reached its zenith. Following the reign of Toktamış Khan in 1380, the Golden Horde Empire went into decline and was politically divided into four khanates named Kazan, Sibir, Nogay, and Crimea. In 1502, the Golden Horde Empire completely collapsed due to internal conflicts. With this disintegration, Ebu'l Hayr Khan gained autonomy with the title of Uzbek Khan and settled in Turkestan. Thus, between 1500-1510, the Shibani rule succeeded in establishing dominance in the region (Teziç 2006, 26-27).
[106] Martha Brill Olcott, *The Kazakhs (* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 3.

The Kazakhs living in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) are similar in origin to the nomadic pastorage tribes that settled in a large region sparing from the Caspian Sea in Central Asia to the Altai mountains in the East.[107] The ethnic origin of the Kazakh people is traced to the nomadic tribes living on the territory of Kazakhstan at different times, such as the Saka, Uysun, Kangli, Huns, Gokturks, Turgish, Karluks, Oghuz, Kimeks and Kipchaks and in the later period the Naymans, Argins, Kereyler, Konurats, Calayirs and Dulat.[108] Today's Kazakhs have established dominance in the steppes of Kazakhstan together with the Kazakh khanate, which was established after the collapse of the Golden Horde. In the fifteenth century, as a result of the throne struggles in the Golden Horde founded by Batu Khan (son of Genghis's eldest son Jochi (Cuci)), the Uzbek Khan Barak (Borak) -Khan of Shaybanid- was killed by Ebu'l-Hayr. Under the leadership of Janibek and Kerei Khan, an estimated 200,000 Kazakhs settled in Semirech and Junghariya, on the steppes of present-day Kazakhstan and at the foot of the Tian Shan mountains.[109] Janibek and Kerei Khans, who left the Shaybanids Dynasty and settled in the northern region, caused the formation of a new ethnopolitical union called the "Kazakh Confederation".[110] However, this Kazakh confederation in the steppes did not manage to establish political unity. As a result, the political existence of Kazakhs was created around a system known as the Uluğ (Great), Middle and Small orda (juz).[111, 112]

Nevertheless, the Kazakh khanate, founded by Canibek and Kerey in 1465, can be considered a turning point in the political history of Kazakhs. Since the establishment of the Kazakh khanate, they have been challenged by both the Russians and the Jungars for many years in the steppes of Kazakhstan. However, the Kazakh khanate weakened considerably due to these struggles against the Russians and Jungars, which lasted for

[107] Ibid., Millward, 20.
[108] Ibid., Maukhara, 19-20.
[109] Millward, Eurasian Crossroads, 71 and Mustafa Can Teziç,“ *The Russian Population in the Kazakh steppes*” (Master Thesis, Middle East Technic University, 2006), 32.
[110] Teziç, “The Russian Population,” 33-34.
[111] After the decline and collapse of the Golden Horde state, the Kazakhs were organized as a confederation in the Asian steppes. The rivalry between them in the 18th century caused those who were to split into three political formations. These loose confederations, known as great juz, middle juz and small juz, are also divided into many sub-branches within themselves. (Hizmetl 2011; 28-29)
[112] Sabri Hizmetli, "Kazak Ulusu ve Kazak Tarihi üzerine: Dünü ve Bugünü," *İSTEM* 17 (Aralık 2011): 32.

many years.[113]Hence, although the Qing dynasty managed to defeat the Jungars in 1755 with the help of the Mongolian commander Amursana, Amursana rose against the Manchu empire by collaborating with the commander of the Kazakh, Ablai (Abilay) Khan.[114]Ablai[115] Khan, who succeeded to the throne of the Middle Horde, maintained strength against the Jungars and the Russians and gathered the Kazakh hordes (juz) under a single flag. In addition, he established close relations with China by following a stable foreign relations policy.[116]

The Qing dynasty was not able to fully consolidate the region until 1758 due to the Jungar revolt. However, Mongolian pastoral nomads were able to be displaced when Ablai Khan broke his alliance with the Jungars and cooperated with the Manchu Dynasty. Eventually, the bilateral policy of Ablai Khan served his purpose and the Kazakhs under the leadership of Ablai Khan were given rich pasture lands in the region as a reward for their help to the Manchus to subdue the Mongols.[117] Early 19th century, Kazakhs were divided by the Chinese and Russian Empires, both of which benefited from the political conflicts among the Kazakhs. In 1806, some Kazakh leaders sought protection from the Qing Dynasty. Russia, on the other hand, succeeded in trying the Kazakh State to itself, starting small throughout the time.[118]Therefore, the Kazakh nation was gradually divided in the historical process.

After the Jungars, one of the nomadic pastoral Mongolian peoples of Asia was expelled from the region. The Manchu state allowed this new nomadic tribe to settle in the area. At the same time, they tried to get away from their own administrative structure and be connected to an administrative system created by the Chinese. Instead of the Han system, this was an order with titles such as Wāng, Kung, Taiji, Okurdai,

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[113] Ibid., 34-40.

[114] Clark, "Leadership Political Allocation," 24.

[115]Ablai was born in 1711 on the territory of present-day Kazakhstan. His real name was Abul Mansur. His grandfather was the ruler of the Middle Juz, one of the Kazakh federations. When Ablai Kagan was still young, he made an alliance with the high-ranking Kazakhs and later became the Kkhan of the Great Horde. Later, he made an alliance with Middle Orda and took the throne in Middle Orda after the death of the Khan of Middle Orda (Benson ve Svanberg 1998, 37).

[116]Halida Devrişeva, "İşgal döneminden (18 yy) günümüze kadar Rusların Kazaklara karşı yürüttüğü politikalar"(Master Thesis, Ankara University, 2007),.29-30.

[117] Ibid.,Clark, 24.

[118] Benson and Svanberg, *China's last Nomads*, 40.

Elgidai, Zaling, Zange and Kundo. According to this order, political hierarchy was regulated depending on how many families one led. In addition, those who lead Kazakh families had to obtain a certificate of authority from the central Chinese government. However, the Kazakhs who settled in the East Turkestan (Xinjiang) region did not wholly abandon their traditional political structures. The leaders in Urumqi needed to be descendants of Abilai Khan, who was an essential leader for them.[119] While the Qing dynasty preferred to use the title of Wang instead of the title of Han, which is the traditional leadership title of the Kazakhs in this system, those who used the title of *Taiji* (the name *Taiji* will be used frequently when describing the Kazakh migration that started in the 1930s) had a meaningful status. There were thousands of Kazakh families under their leadership.[120]

The Kazakhs were traditionally organized under the supervision of those given the title of Khan. According to Svanberg, the Khans often assumed interim leadership during battle.[121] Wāng was at the top of the hierarchy of Nomadic groups and was appointed directly by Beijing. It had Wāng's unique clothing and an official emblem issued by the Qing dynasty. After his revolution in 1911, a governor responsible for the centre began to be appointed to Xinjiang. In addition, Xinjiang Province was divided into ten districts called *Aymaq*.[122]

The administrator, called *Aymaq bastik*, was appointed by the province's governor and was directly responsible to him.[123]The *Aymaq* system was also divided into small units, like *Taiji*. In the 1940s, there were 30 leaders with the title of Taiji. Under the management of the *Taiji*, the *minbaşı* or *okurday* was under the jurisdiction of 300-600 aul (yurt), the juzbaşı which was under the jurisdiction of about 100-200 aul (yurt), and *onbaşı* the smallest unit were leading 10 or 30 Yurts[124]. In addition, although Alan Wang was the leader of Kazakh tribes in different parts of Xinjiang, he did not have any authority.[125] In essence, the administration system based on kinship was modelled

[119] Ibid.,Clark, 25-26.
[120] Ibid., Benson and Svanberg, 41.
[121] Ibid.,Svanberg, .43.
[122] Ibid., 44.
[123] Ibid., 44.
[124] Ibid., .44.
[125] Ibid., .44.

based on the Soviet administration system to a certain extent.[126] The Kazakhs also used traditional titles such as Batur, given to those who were brave on the battlefield, and Hodja, as well as Imam, given to religious leaders and teachers. Both titles were bestowed by the Qing dynasty and conferred great powers on those who wielded them.[127]

The Kazakh nation became an integral part of both China and Russia under their rule. Russia and China both implemented similar administrative systems for ethnic communities. By applying these systems, they aimed to divide the Kazakhs into different administrative units and to distribute the political power among different tribal segments. Thus, "kin" groups were able to have extensive autonomy, and the Qing Dynasty would be able to control these tribes easily. Yet, in the 19th century, the region's Muslim population revolted in 1815, 1825, 1830, 1847 and 1857 against Qing rulers such as Uyghurs, Uzbeks, and Kyrgyz. Both Sunni and Hanafi Muslim Kazakhs and Hui (Chinese Muslims) participated in these uprisings. This unrest also affected Kyrgyz and Kazakhs living in Russia, and they also rebelled from time to time against Tsarist Russia.[128]

Neither State could establish hegemony in the region until the 19th century.[129] At this point, in the gradual occupation of the territory by the Manchu empire, while the developments I described above were taking place on the Mongolian border and North-east of East Turkestan, the cities of Kashgar, Yarkent, and Khoten in the South were occupied by the Genghis Khan descendant Seyit Khan. In 1514, the Yarkent Khanate (also known as the Seidiye Khanate) was established, the capital of which was Yarkent.[130] During the reign of Yarkent Khan Reşidi (1533-1570), a system called “Era of Hodjas” was established. Under the leadership of Bahaüddin Nakşibendi from Buhara, Islamic religious men from the Bahaüd'din Nakşibendi order from Central Asia established this system in 1755 on the Chinese side of the region. It paved the

[126] Ibid., Clark, 29.
[127] Ibid., Benson and Svanberg, .43.
[128] Vecihi Sefa, Fuat Hekïmoğlu, Aytkul Mahayeva, Gulzada Çargınova, "*19. Yüzyılın Son Çeyreğinde Doğu Türkistan'daki Milli Mücadelede Kazak ve Kırgızların Rolü*," Belleten 83 (2019): 241-250. (access 16.04.2022).https://doi.org/10.37879/belleten.2019.229.
[129] Ibid., Benson and Svanberg,18.
[130] Ibid, Sefa, 229.

way for occupation because there was polarization and internal conflicts amongst Hodjas during the period of "Hodjas".[131] However, in 1755, Qing dynasty's attempt to invade the region faced resistance from some Hodjas. Although Hodja Ali Saadat, one of these teachers, rebelled in 1816, he could not succeed. Then, his son Cihangir captured Kashgar in 1826 with a military unit of 15,000 people. However, this situation did not last long, and in 1827, the Chinese forces took Kashgar back.[132]

Since then, Muslim ethnic groups such as the Kyrgyz Kazakh and Tungan (Muslim Chinese) living in East Turkestan have revolted from time to time against the Qing dynasty, but they have not been successful. Considering these developments, the Qing dynasty could not establish complete dominance in the region for a long time. In 1864, the Kyrgyz, Uyghur and Tungans from the Muslim minorities in the region joined their forces and started a rebellion. The Kyrgyz commander Sıddık Bek was appointed as the governor of Kaşgar. However, in the same year, due to the complex political situation in East Turkestan, Sıddık Bek asked for help from the Commander-in-Chief of the Hokant Army Alimkul. Thereupon, Alimkul appointed Hoca Buzuruk Kaşgar as "Khan" and Yakup Bek as the "commander in chief" of the army.[133]

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[131] Ekrem, "Doğu Türkistan'da Sufi Hocalar", 630 and Sefa, "19. Yüzyılın Son Çeyreği", 229.
[132] Ibid., Sefa, 229.
[133] Ibid., 230-231.
[134] Ibid., 231.

In 1865, Yakup beg, who was a commander of the Kokand khanate, which managed to expand its borders to today's Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and East Turkestan, attacked the Chinese garrisons in Kashgar and Yengisar in East Turkestan and defeated them. At the same time, Russia's attack on the Kokand khanate weakened the khanate and Alim Kulu, the khan of Kokand, died. Thereupon, the Kokand troops, which passed under the command of Yakup Beğ, captured important cities west of the Tarım basin, such as Hokan Yarkand and Aksu. In 1871, he completely dominated East Turkestan by discarding Manchu soldiers from cities such as Urumqi, Ili, Manas and Piçan in the North East of the region. While fighting the military units sent to the part with the desire of the Qing dynasty to dominate the region again, the region was ruled by Ya'qub Beg until his assassination in 1877.[135]

As it is seen, the Qing Empire did not manage to dominate the region for long, and the area always remained in conflict. In 1878, the Qing Dynasty reoccupied important cities of the region, such as Khotan, Kashgar and Korla.[136]

In 1884, China annexed the entire region, and East Turkestan became its province. East Turkestan Kazakhs, now separated from the Russia-dominated Kazakhs, settled heavily in the far northwestern regions of East Turkestan (Xinjiang), the new province of the Manchu empire. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Qing Dynasty completely pacified the region.[137] However, turmoil always prevailed in the East Turkestan (Xinjiang) region, the new province of China. The Republic of China period, which replaced the Manchu Empire in the early 20th century, began a series of uprisings for Kazakhs in the region. The Republic of China period, which replaced the Manchu Empire at the beginning of the 20th century, began a series of uprisings for Kazakhs in the region.

[135] Ibid., Millward, p.116-123.
[136] Ibid., p.130-131.
[137] Ibid., Benson and Svanberg, p.41.

3.2. Kazakhs Under the Reign of Republican China

3.2.1. The Kazakhs People of East Turkestan (Xinjiang) Until 1940

After the fall of China's traditional dynastic system in 1911, the Republic of China took over the dynasty's legacy by dominating regions ruled by the Qing dynasty.[138] The developments between 1911 and 1912 found a response in the military and the upper echelons of government rather than a popular movement from below. Therefore, this regime change did not have a broad and profound effect on the people, and there was no visible difference in the administrative structure.[139]

Although the 1911 Revolution changed little for traditional Chinese policy, Sun Yat Sen paid careful attention to the issue of minorities in China. He centralized the Wilsonian principles regarding ethnic minorities in China, making minority self-determination the basis of Kuomintang (Guomintang) policy. The core of Sun's policy was to unite the ethnic minorities living in China into a single cultural and political unity. However, since Sun barely held the reins of power during his control, he could not implement this policy.[140] Besides, with the loss of a strong central power in Beijing, local administrators in the frontier territories began to act more freely.[141] Thus, the warlords continued the old imperial style of rule in most of the frontier territories. As a requirement of this management style, they continued to use the "Divide and Rule" tactic to protect their power in the region.[142]

After the 1911 revolution, there was no significant change in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), except that the Manchu governor Yuan Dahua was replaced by Yang Zengxin, who would continue the feudal bureaucratic system adopted by the Manchu government in 1912.[143] Yang Zengxin, a high-ranking official, ruled East Turkestan

[138] Ke Wang and Fletcher Carissa, *The East Turkestan Independence Movement, 1930s-1940s* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2018), 1.
[139] Ibid., Millward, 164.
[140] Linda Benson, *The Ili Rebellion: the Moslem challenge to Chinese authority in Xinjiang, 1944-1949 (*Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 1990), 10.
[141] Ibid., Millward, 164.
[142] Benson, The Ili Rebellion, 11.
[143] Ingvar Svanberg, Kazak refugees in Turkey: a study of cultural persistence and social change, (Uppsala : Stockholm: Academiae Ubsaliensis ; Distributor, Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1989), 45.

(Xinjiang) in relative peace and stability for nearly two decades. A shrewd autocrat, Yang isolated the enemies who threatened his regime.[144] East Turkestan became a province of China in 1884. It had a centrally appointed governor in its administration, which included the typical provincial government under the Qing. Due to the distance of this governor from the capital of East Turkestan (Xinjiang), the head of government (the governor appointed from the center) in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) could quickly establish his feudalism. This situation did not change during the period of governors who came to power under the rule of the Republic of China.[145] Therefore, Yang had no difficulty in establishing his influence in the region. First of all, Yang followed a very similar policy regarding ethnic groups in the region as the previous Manchu administration to prevent the consolidation of forces that could pose a threat to his power.[146]

Indeed, the region has never been fully controlled by the Qing dynasty since its occupation in 1755. Furthermore, Sun's dream was the ideal of a Chinese nation where all ethnic minorities in China united around a single goal, as in the case of America and Switzerland. To this end, it recognised the five ethnic minorities, Manchu, Mongol, Hui (Tungan), Tatar, and Tibetan, but neglected the existence of other ethnic minorities.[147] However, the minority policy of Sun Yat Sen could not be implemented, and the Warlords continued to pursue independent policies regarding ethnic minorities in bordering regions for many years. While the Yang administration in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) implemented an effective strategy of elimination against the local self-declared in the area, it also realized that maintaining central control in a region with such complex regional and ethnic interests required balancing and conferring some privileges on the various elites.[148] Moreover, instead of choosing Han-origin Chinese rulers over non-khan local rulers, he resorted to inciting the complex local and ethnic groups in the region against each other, for example, boosting the Kazakhs against the Mongols.[149]

[144] Joy R. Lee, "The Islamıc Republic of Eastern Turkestan and The Formation of Modern Uyghur Identity In Xinjiang" (Master, Kansas University, 2006), 10-15.
[145] Benson, The Ili Rebellion, 25.
[146] Svanberg, Kazak refugees in Turkey, 45.
[147] Benson, The Ili Rebellion, 11.
[148] Ibid., Millward, 182.
[149] Ibid., 183.

Thus, Yang planted seeds of hatred among ethnic groups in the region and prevented these groups from posing a threat by uniting against Yang's own rule around Islamic ideologies such as jihad.[150] Similarly, during the Qing Dynasty, a policy was adopted in which the Uyghurs, who had a larger population in the region, were given some privileges to avoid resistance.[151]

At this point, although the Muslims in the region rebelled from time to time, they could not be in solid solidarity for the region's independence. Since the Qing dynasty took over East Turkestan (Xinjiang) in 1755, it has never been able to gain complete control. It has always faced revolts by local Muslims Uyghur, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, and Tungan (Hui) in various parts of its territory, but the Qing dynasty suppressed the uprisings.

During Yang's period, despite establishing stability in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), existing pasture and water resources have been a cause of conflict among the nomadic peoples in the region due to decades-long droughts.[152] Yang saw these conflicts among peoples of the steppes as an opportunity on account of sharing vital resources in his administration and supporting the Mongol Tonguts against the Kazakhs. However, after the collapse of the Qing dynasty, Yang, who was afraid of a Mongol uprising in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), banned the arming of the Mongols and supported the arming of the Kazakhs.[153] As seen, Yang maintained his power in the region by manipulating the conflicts between ethnic minorities to his advantage. After Yang was assassinated, Jin Shuren succeeded as governor in 1928.

This year, Jin came to power, and the collectivisation program carried out in Soviet Russia caused the Russian Kazakhs to experience significant difficulties. Soviet Kazakhs complained that the available pastures could no longer feed their flocks. Because of this, some starving Soviet Kazakhs fled to Afghanistan, while others fled to East Turkestan (Xinjiang). This caused the nomadic Kazakhs, who had just come to

[150] Ibid., Svanberg, 45.
[151] Ibid., Wang and Carissa, 15.
[152] Ibid., Svanberg, 45-46.
[153] Ibid., 45.

the pastures of the Kazakhs in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), which were already deficient, to become allies[154]

In addition to the lack of authority of the Chinese central government, unlike Yang, his successor Jin Shuren lacked the administrative and political intelligence to stabilize the region and could not succeed in Yang's autocratic style. The Jin replaced non-Chinese local leaders with Han officials, banned East Turkestan (Xinjiang) Muslims from going on pilgrimage, angered the locals, and laid the groundwork for future rebellions.[155]One reason for the uprisings was that Jin had not enacted economic policies that privileged non-Muslims at the expense of both the Tungan and Turkish populations.[156]Eventually, the "khanate" status of Hami (Qumal), which had special privileges as a consequence of fighting alongside the Qing dynasty against Zunghars (Jungar) during the rule of Jin, was abolished. During the Qing period, the Hami and Turfan khans enjoyed a semi-independent status.[157] During Jin reign, he did not treat the Turkish-Muslim villages in Hami (Qumal) fairly and settled Han refugees from Gansu on the lands cultivated by the Uyghurs in Hami (Qumal).[158] However, the main reason for the upheavals that broke out in Hami (Qumal), according to a rumour, is that Cheng Mu, a Han tax collector in Hami, allegedly seduced a Uighur girl and forced her family to consent to the marriage in 1931.[159] Whatever it was that ignited the fire of rebellion, it is clear that a deluge of rebellion in Hami broke out under Jin's mismanagement.

The Hami (Qumal) indictments are a turning point in the migration movements of East Turkestan (Xinjiang) Kazakhs. The Hami rebellion caused a chain reaction in the region and lasted four years. The revolts in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) between 1931 and 1934 are a complex affair, with dozens of rebel leaders challenging authority.[160]

[154] Ibid., 46.
[155] Ibid.,Millward, 188.
[156] Ibid., Joy.R Lee, 10-15.
[157] Ibid., Millward, 190.
[158] Lee, "The Islamıc Republic of Eastern", 10-15.
[159] Ibid.p.14.
[160] Ibid., Lee, 10-15.

The Hami uprising expanded rapidly, and in November 1933, the rebels proclaimed the establishment of the East Turkestan Islamic Republic.[161] After the Hami uprising succeeded in the first place, the Uyghur-origin Hodja Niyaz and Yolbars, who were once advisers to Hami khan (the Nationalist central Chinese government (KMT), organized local Uyghur, Kazakh and Kyrgyz forces to fight against Yolbars forces.Yolbars soon realized that their army was insufficient.They formed an alliance with a local Tungan (Hui) warlord, Ma Zhongying (Ma Chung Yin), against the KMT (the nationalist central Chinese government).[162] Besides, Hodja Niyaz revolted against the Kazakhs living in Barköl, a province of Hami (Qumal) while the local Uyghur Turks were fighting under the command of Hodja Niyaz.The Kazakh Turks participated in the revolts under the leadership of leaders named Elishan Batur, Alembet, Kasım, Yoyusu and Zayip.[163]Tungan (Hui) Officer Ma Fu-ming, who was the commander of the Turfan provincial garrison, also supported these uprisings.[164]

All the Muslim communities of East Turkestan (Xinjiang) were now fighting with the forces of the Nationalist Central Chinese government (KMT). However, this Muslim coalition did not last long. As a result of the disagreements between the Uyghur leader Hodja Niyaz and the Tungan general Ma Chung Yin, these two Muslim forces began a conflict. Ma Chung Yang was determined to continue his struggle for independence against China, so although he cooperated with the Kazakh Turks in the Altai mountains, the strength of the Muslim forces in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) was already fallen to pieces.[165] Regardless, the Tungan general Ma Zhongying (Ma Chung Ying) continued his struggle and achieved numerous victories against the Nationalist central Chinese forces.[166]

Dissatisfied with the weakened Jin power within the rebellion, the White Russian forces staged a coup against Jin. After Jin fell from power, Sheng Shi Cai and former

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[161] Benson, The Ili Rebellion, 26.
[162] Ibid., Lee, 10-15.
[163] Oraltay, *Kazak Türkleri*, 69.
[164] Andrew D. W. Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A political history of Republican Sinkiang 19II-1949 (* London, NewYork, New Rochelle: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 70.
[165] Ibid., Oraltay,72-80.
[166] Ibid.,Forbes, 97-127.

education minister Liu Wenlong announced their interim positions as military and civilian officials.[167]After training in Japan, Sheng Shi Cai took office as an officer in Nanjing in 1931 to suppress rebellions in the East Turkestan (Xinjiang) region.[168] Although Sheng Ma continued to fight against Zhongying, he did not achieve remarkable success for a long time. Finally, allied with the Soviet Union, Sheng managed to suppress all the rebellions in the province.[169]

In general, there were two reasons why the USSR assisted the East Turkestan (Xinjiang) governor-general in defeating the revolts in East Turkestan (Xinjiang). First, the USSR wanted East Turkestan (Xinjiang) to remain under the stable control of the Chinese government. The other reason was that they feared that a prosperous Islamic republic in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) would provoke similar disturbances among the neighbouring peoples of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.[170]

Whatever the reason for Russia's aid to Sheng Shi Cai was, he was able to suppress these upheavals, which spread to the entire region with a domino effect. Centering on the Stalinist type of ethnic classification, Sheng, contrary to the Kuomintang ideology, defined and recognized fourteen ethnic groups, including Uyghur, Taranchi, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Tatar, Tajik, Manchu, Sibe (Xibo), Solon, Han, Hui (Tungan or Chinese Muslim), Mongolian and Russian in East Turkestan (Xinjiang).[171] Naming each ethnic group with a new name aimed to prevent them from uniting under the umbrella of Islam and Turkishness, but local people resisted these "new" names.[172]

As a matter of fact, Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the Nationalist Chinese regime, had only ever mentioned the "five races of China" in his speeches - Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan and Hui. [173] His successor, Chiang Kai-shek, claimed that all ethnic minorities in China were originally part of the ancient Chinese race. Therefore, according to Chiang, all peoples in China were descended from a single root, and there

[167] Lee, "*The Islamıc Republic of Eastern,*" 15-16.
[168] Benson, *The Ili Rebellion,* 27.
[169] Svanberg, *Kazak refugees in Turkey,* 48.
[170] Ibid., Lee, 33.
[171] Ibid., Millward, 207.
[172] Ibid., Benson, .31.
[173] Ibid., Millward, 207.

was no reasonable basis for their self-determination.[174] While HızırBek Gayretullah, born in 1940 in the Manas district of East Turkestan immigrants in the first wave of Kazakh immigration, complained about the unfair practices of Sheng and local administrators in his book "Bloody Days in Altai" (Altay'da Kanlı Günler). The Chinese central government and Sheng mentioned that the primary purpose of defining ethnic groups with various names was to start a civil war in the region.[175]Indeed, although the majority of the population living in the region were Muslims, Islam has not been an element that unites the people of the region. However, it would not be correct to say that the only reason for this is the result of the minority policies implemented by Sheng and Chang Kay Shek. At the same time, the region was the conflict area for many local or international interest groups such as Soviet Russia, Britain, Local elites or Hodjas. Sheng Shi Cai, the Nationalist central Chinese government, moved away from the Guomindang and implemented a pro-Soviet policy in the East Turkestan (Xinjiang) region. The first actions of Sheng and his Soviet advisers after suppressing the revolts were spying, imprisoning or eliminating potential rivals and nationalist Turkish leaders. Stalin implemented a similar policy in the Soviets, and the Turkish political elite and intellectuals were annihilated.[176] Sheng's administration was influenced by the Soviet model and embarked on progressive reform movements.[177] However, Sheng's adoption of a Soviet-influenced government after a while caused discomfort in these communities. In addition, he also had the Turkish-Muslim elites spied on by the secret police and intelligence network he had established.[178]

The situation in the Kazakh community was no different. Under the administration of Sheng in 1933, taxes increased. He controlled every move of the Kazakh elite he had taken into his cabinet. Finally, with the elimination of Hodja Niyaz, upheaval began among the Kazakh Turks in 1933. Meanwhile, with the secret arrest of a group of Kazakh nobles, a new rebellion broke out in Hami (Qumal).[179] However, this uprising was harshly suppressed by Sheng just before expansion. In addition, the close relations

[174] Ibid., Benson..12.
[175] Hızırbek Gayretullah, *Altay'da Kanlı Günler*, (Istanbul: Ahmet Sait Matbaası, 1977), .25.
[176] Ibid., Millward,209.
[177] Benson, *The Ili Rebellion,* 35-37.
[178] Oraltay, *Kazak Türkleri,* 84-85.
[179] Ibid.85.

of pro-Soviet Sheng with the Soviets in the region increased the influence of communism in the area.[180]

In the face of these adverse conditions, the Kazakh community found the solution to leave the region. After the Hami (Qumal) uprising in 1931 was suppressed, a group of Kazakhs were expelled from Gansu and Qinghai in China.[181]In 1933, a group of 300 Kazakh people, accompanied by leaders named Adıvbay and Tungişbay, migrated to Gansu, where Tungan (Hui) people lived. After this movement, they gradually migrated to Gansu province from 1934 until 1937, accompanied by leaders of Kazakhs such as Elishan Batur, Zayid Teyci, and Kasım Batur.[182] To migrate to Gansu, Kazakh convoys crossed the desert and fought Sheng's forces. During this long journey, Sheng's forces attacked the civilian Kazakhs with planes and machine guns to prevent the migration, leaving a field of blood behind.[183]

After the initial migration to Gansu by Elishan Batur, Sheng increased the pressure on the Kazakhs who remained in Altai. Finally, in 1937, Sheng received the intelligence that some Kazakh leaders would be arrested. November of the same year Davutbeyli, Serikbay, Nurali, Ayebet, Koyçu Batur, Buscanbay, Kayışbay, Hamza Görmüş and Hüseyin, Sultan Şerif Teyci, Sıddık, İsmagül, Abdullah Teyci, Hayber Teyci along with a vast Kazakhs convoy of about twenty thousand people, accompanied by the leader, migrated from the Barköl region of the Hami (Qumal) province to the Gansu province of China.[184] During this migration, as with other convoys, Governor Sheng violently attacked this convoy of mostly civilians, with troops consisting of Chinese Mongols and Russians. After a challenging two-month journey escaping hunger, thirst and China's Forces attacks, the convoy managed to reach Gansu province.[185]

When they arrived in Gansu province, the locals did not welcome the Kazakhs with open arms, who hoped to have a peaceful life. They attacked the tents of the Kazakhs from time to time and stole their flocks. Some of the Kazakhs, who could not stand the

[180] Ibid.,85.
[181] Svanberg, *Kazak refugees in Turkey*, 48.
[182] Ibid.,Oraltay, 86.
[183] Ibid., Gayretullah, 27.
[184] Ibid., Oraltay, 89-90 and Ibid.,Gayretullah, 33.
[185] Ibid., .88 and Ibid., 33-34.

harassment of the local people and Sheng's insistence on bringing the Kazakhs back, decided to immigrate from Gansu to India.[186]This migration is the first wave of Kazakh migration from East Turkestan to India.

During the first wave of Kazakh migration from East Turkestan, Kazakhs overcame harsh natural conditions while fighting Chinese and Tibetan soldiers. Many Kazakhs succumbed to cold and low oxygen conditions on Tibet's high-altitude peaks. The Kazakhs reached India in September 1941 after almost two years, suffering heavy losses, snowstorms, hunger, frost, and disease.[187] It is difficult to determine the total number of people in the convoy that set off from Gansu to India. However, personal migration narratives can differ as the convoys set out separately. Some of them were taken prisoner by the Chinese and Tibetans on the way and lost their way. In addition, it is known that from the first wave of migration, three thousand Kazakhs were officially placed in camps after crossing the Indian border.[188]

The ordeal of the Kazakhs did not end with their arrival at the Indian border. The conditions in the camps they were placed in were challenging. They had to survive under unhealthy and inhumane conditions lacking hygiene and facing malnourishment.[189] Moreover, the climate of India was quite different from the climate the Kazakhs used to. Some Kazakhs not accustomed to the tropical climate died due to epidemic diseases. Approximately two thousand Kazakhs were buried in the Kamfor camp in Pakistan.[190] After the Kazakhs, who escaped from the bases with the help of their leader, moved to several places in India, most of them decided to settle in a city called Bhopal. When British India was divided in 1947, Kazakhs settled in Pakistan. [191] Thus, the Kazakhs, who left their homeland with the first Kazakh migration, settled in India, followed by Pakistan until 1953.

[186] Ibid., Oraltay, 88-89.
[187] Ibid., Gayretullah, 50-68.
[188] Altay, *Anayurttan Anadolu'ya*, 268.
[189] Ibid., Gayretullah, 71.
[190] Ibid., 79.
[191] Ibid.,Gayretullah, 72-82, and Ibid., Altay, 272-285.

3.2.2. Kazakhs Uprising After the 1940s in East Turkestan (Xinjiang)

Sheng Shi Chai served as the governor of East Turkestan under the rule of the Republic of China for ten years, from 1934 to 1944. His oppressive regime and, most notably, his political ties to Soviet Russia caused discontent among the local people in Xinjiang. In light of these developments, the gradual migration of the Kazakhs (first started in the 1930s) continued as the second wave in the 1940s, and the Kazakhs fled to India. The final destination of this wave of immigration, which continued at intervals of ten years, was Turkey. In 1954, after the Kazakhs in India were accepted as settlement migrants in Turkey, their migration journey ended.

Sheng Shi Chai had progressive reforms, which at the beginning of his reign, drew attention to the importance of equality between different ethnicities in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), to the protection of religious freedom, and to some reforms. However, it didn't take long to turn into a repressive regime with the purge and arrest of political dissidents.[192] One night, the secret police suddenly raided the houses or tents of the people they wanted, arresting them without any explanation.[193] Sheng, with the secret police he established, was able to identify those who participated in the uprisings and abruptly eliminate them and had local leaders arrested.[194]

Sheng's oppressive regime was exacerbated when the Kazakhs who emigrated to Gansu province in 1935, accompanied by a group of Kazakh leaders, fled to India because the incident undermined his authority. Although Sheng wanted to prevent this migration through military intervention by air and land, he failed.[195]

Because of this incident, Sheng began to take heavier measures in the region. For example, he strictly forbade travelling to other states without a passport or permission.[196] Notable Kazakh leaders were kept under constant surveillance, and some were arrested and given heavy sentences. For instance, one of the Kazakh

[192] Ibid., Svanberg, 48.
[193] Lias Godfrey, *Büyük Kazak Göçü*, (Istanbul: Bilgeoğuz, 2013), 74.
[194] Oraltay, Kazak Türkleri, 87.
[195] Altay, Anayurttan Anadolu'ya, 318.
[196] Ibid., Oraltay, 87.

leaders, Alibeg Rahimoğlu (Alibeg Hakim), was arrested in 1936 and sentenced to 18 months in prison in addition to a hefty fine.[197] Halife Altay provides information about some of the murdered leaders in his book "Homeland to Anatolia". It holds him responsible for the deaths of 75,000 Kazakhs who lost their lives under Sheng's reign.[198] Sheng led the "Bloody Reign", which he established through the army and the secret police organization he founded, and created an atmosphere of terror in the region. Halife Altay, Hızırbek Gayretullah and Hasan Oraltay, who lived for a while under Sheng's rule and were among the witnesses of the migration, described Sheng as a cruel, a traitor and a murderer in their books about this partial migration of East Turkestan Kazakhs.[199]

Sheng managed to suppress the uprisings in the 1930s only with Soviet support. However, with the start of the Second World War, Sheng's license from the USSR decreased.[200] Sheng, who dominated East Turkestan with the help of the Soviet government since 1933, wanted to sow the seeds of communism in the region. Still, the people were far from adopting the ideology of communism. Thus, Sheng's orders of arrest directed to dignitaries had groundless excuses and slanders, causing local people to die through unprecedented inhumane tortures. In short, Sheng's oppressive and torturous regime resulted in the endurance of the local people.[201]

During Sheng's reign in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), he prevented the Kazakh resistance from reaching a full-scale rebellion using various tactics.[202] When the footsteps of a new rebellion began to be heard in the region, Shen took measures and tried to pacify the rebels. For this purpose, a secret organization called the Organization for the Protection of the Nation (Ulutlu Korgov Harmony) was established in 1936 under the leadership of the Kazakh leader Yunus Haji. Sheng's secret Organization identified them in 1940, and their members were arrested and sent to prison.[203] Despite Sheng's

[197] Ibid., 138.
[198] Ibid., Altay, 321.
[199] Ibid.,Altay,Ibid.,Gayretullah,and Ibid.,Oraltay.
[200] Benson, *The Ili Rebellion,* 27.
[201] Altay, *Anayurttan Anadolu'ya,*.318.
[202] Ibid.,Benson,29-31.
[203] Ibid., Benson, 29-30.

continued control of the army and the extensive secret police network, nationalist influence in East Turkestan (East Turkestan (Xinjiang)) was eventually growing.

Comparable abuses caused public outrage in the region, resulting in a new resistance. In June 1943, a new revolt broke out among the Kazakhs in Altai. The Sheng administration initially described these attacks on the Chinese garrisons as "bandit attacks" and confiscated the weapons of the Kazakhs.[204] The local people, who had lost their patience in the face of these incidents, were waiting for a spark to start a revolt. In 1943, economic turmoil, along with the resettlement of one million refugees in the oases of East Turkestan (Xinjiang), caused deep discontent among the local people. Until 27 April 1944, seven thousand refugees settled around Hami. [205] As a result, on top of the economic instability, a series of incidents in 1943 caused Sheng Shi Chai to pursue an increasingly oppressive and unpredictable policy, sparking a new rebellion.[206]

The pavements for a new revolt in the region were already in place in the late 1930s. Between 1943 and 1944, the events increased both in number and intensity. Finally, on November 7, 1944, a rebellion against the East Turkestan (East Turkestan (Xinjiang)) provincial government began with attacks on the Chinese garrison located in Yining (Kulja), the principal city of the Ili (Hi) valley, close to the Sino-Soviet border. [207] The Kazakhs remaining in East Turkestan (East Turkestan (Xinjiang) embarked on a new independence struggle against China. The Kazakhs, as brave and daring warriors, successfully raided the Chinese garrisons in the Yili (Hi) valley, forming the backbone of the united Muslim power.[208] It would not be wrong to say that the Kazakhs were the driving force since the revolt started in the regions where the Kazakhs were densely populated.[209]

The forces were secretly organised for a long time by local Muslim people. Despite being outnumbered by the Chinese local government, they could take control of the

[204] Ibid., 35.
[205] Ibid., Benson, 35-39.
[206] Ibid., 42.
[207] Ibid., Svanberg, 48-49.
[208] Ibid., Benson, 31.
[209] Ibid., 44.

Chinese garrisons in the Yili valley and seize control of Yili City.[210] The East Turkestan Republic (ETR) was founded in 1933 under Ali Han Töre, the leader of the Nationalists. ETR was considered the predecessor of the East Turkestan Islamic Republic, which was an unsuccessful attempt.[211] The newly established state captured three regions named Altai, Ili and Chuguchak (Tarbagatai).[212]

The ETR's national army continued to advance, approaching the capital, Urumqi, in the final months of 1945. In the face of these developments, a peace treaty was signed between Sheng and the Nationalists in January of 1946 due to the collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist party.[213]

The Soviet mediation supported the Rebellion as part of the Soviet policy of encouraging those who were part of the international revolution with Soviet ideology towards the national liberation movement.[214] Thus, a new coalition government was formed in 1946 due to the Ili revolt, also known as the " Three Regions Revolution".[215] While the mixed state government was composed of 25 members, more than half of these members were Turks.[216] In the government council were Kazakh notables such as Osman Batur Ali Han Töre, CanımHan Hacı, Mehmet Emin Buğra and İsa Yusuf Alptekin.[217]

The 1946 peace agreement envisaged the opportunity for Muslim Turks to preserve their mother tongue. The Eastern Turkish province was announced as officially bilingual (Turkish and Chinese), and their mother tongue was the language of instruction. Political prisoners would be released. The region would remain the Chinese provincial government of East Turkestan to be governed by a mixed government. The governor-general and secretary-general of this mixed government were going to be appointed by the Chinese government, but other local rulers would be from the people. In addition, separate privileges would be given to these three

[210] Ibid., Svanberg, 49.
[211] Ibid., Benson, 45.
[212] Ibid., Svanberg, 49.
[213] Ibid.,Benson, 52.
[214] Ibid., 39-41.
[215] Ibid., Svanberg, 49.
[216] Ibid.,Altay, 329.
[217] Ibid., Gayretullah, 96.

provinces of Ili, Targabatay and Altai.[218] However, both sides of this agreement were dissatisfied with the terms of the contract.[219]Osman Islamoğlu (Batur), one of the military leaders of the Ili rebellion, did not remain unresponsive to the allegedly silent elimination of Alihan Töre, who was the head of the newly formed coalition government, by the Russians, and took up arms again.

Osman Batur grew up with the stories of Kazakh heroes and their struggle for independence in the Altai region in the 1930s and 1940s. Rumour says that Böke Batur trained him. Based on the narratives of Ali beg Hakim and other Kazakhs, who lived in Salihli, he was one of the critical leaders of this independence movement, as mentioned in the book *Kazakh Exodus* by British journalist Godfrey Lias.[220] Before Osman Batur embarked on an armed struggle against Sheng in the early 1940s, the guerrilla movements initiated by Kazakh warriors Iris and Esim were suppressed by Sheng. Throughout Sheng's reign, as previously mentioned, he had the local people disarmed to prevent their uprising. After such a revolt, while Chinese soldiers were seizing the weapons of the Kazakh people, it was the turn of Osman's father's aulu (the name given to dwellings where Kazakh families lived). Osman did not even comply with his father's requests to surrender his weapon and started an armed struggle in the Altai mountains.[221] Osman Islamoğlu (Batur) fought with guerrilla (bandit attacks) tactics from 1940 until 195, when he was caught and executed. He fought both the Chinese provincial government as well as the Soviet and Mongolian forces, who wanted to dominate the region from 1946.[222]

Ahmet Can Kasım, who succeeded Ali Han Töre, was supported by the Soviets. Sheng's dismissal in 1944 reduced the Kuomintang (Guomintang) government's authority over East Turkestan (Xinjiang) province. In 1942, due to Germany's attempt to invade Russia, the Soviets withdrew their forces from East Turkestan (Xinjiang).[223] However, in the mid-1940s, the Soviets and thus communism dominated the region again. The Russians supported Ahmet Can Kasım, so the appointment of a pro-Russian

[218] Ibid.,Altay, 330.
[219] Ibid.,Oraltay, 157.
[220] Godfrey, Büyük Kazak Göçü, 27-56.
[221] Ibid., Gayretullah, 86.
[222] Ibid., Gayretullah, Ibid.,Oraltay, and Ibid.,Altay,
[223] Ibid., Benson, 39-40

person to head the newly formed Communist government caused some leaders to worry that communism would spread and dominate the region.[224] Osman Batur was now dissatisfied with the efforts of Soviet Russia to dominate the region, and he rearmed. During this period, the Chinese central government and the communists were competing to rule East Turkestan (Xinjiang).[225]

Osman Batur gave his most important fight against the forces of Russians and Mongols in the Baytik region in 1947. During the battle in which the Russians attacked with planes, it became an international matter between China and Russia and was moved to the United Nations Security Council.[226]

With the establishment of the East Turkestan (Xinjiang) coalition government, there came a short period of calm in the East Turkestan (Xinjiang) region, deterred by the outbreak of civil war in Central China. In addition to Soviet Russia, which was already trying to increase its influence in the region, a civil war broke out within the Chinese central government. The Communist Mao side had won the conflict between Mao and the supporters of Chiang Kai Shek. Kazakh Turks were against communism as an ideology.[227]

Meanwhile, some administrators of the collapsed East Turkestan Republic went abroad, while some joined Osman Batur to continue the struggle for independence.[228] There's a narration in Hızırbek Gayretullah's book Bloody Days in the Altays of Zalabay Teyci, a close friend of Osman Batur and one of the witnesses of that day (no longer alive):

> Osman Batur was defeated in his struggle with the Reds (referring to the Communist Chinese forces as the Reds), and in 1950 he set out from Barköl to the neighboring province of Gansu fourteen years ago to unite with other Kazakhs led by Hüseyin Teyci. However, before he could reach Gasköl in Gansu, he was defeated and captured in the winter of 1951 during his struggle with the Reds. The Communist Chinese government executed him in April 1951.[229]

[224] Ibid.,Oraltay, 158.
[225] Ibid., Svanberg, 50.
[226] Ibid.,Oraltay, 159.
[227] Ibid., Gayretullah, 96.
[228] Ibid.,
[229] Ibid., 97-98.

The resistance of the Kazakhs against the national struggle had gradually failed, and the East Turkestan State had fallen. When Communist Mao came to power in Beijing in the 1930s, the Kazakhs who stayed in Barköl went to Gansu accompanied by their leaders to unite with the Kazakhs who settled in the Gansu province with the first wave of immigration in the 1930s. One of these leaders was Alibek Hakim (Qalibek).

Ali Bek (Qalibek) occupied important positions during the Kazakh revolts in the Altai region in 1940 and fought effectively against the Chinese and Communist Russian forces. Alibek (Qalibek) Rahimoğlu (Hakim), who raided along the Kızılözen river with his comrades in June 1945, was deemed worthy of a medal by the newly established East Turkestan Republic for his success in the wars called Manas and (Sauan) Savan, and was appointed as the administrative chief of Manas and Sauan (Savan) districts with the title of Hakim.[230] However, starting in 1946, he was disturbed by the Soviet influence on the newly established East Turkestan Republic and retreated to the mountains again to continue his guerrilla struggle.[231]

To break the Soviet influence, some of the Kazakh and Uyghur resistance leaders, with ties to the Central Chinese government, were sent to central Beijing in 1948 to elect the President of China and the members of the Chinese Constituent Assembly. Among these deputies were important Kazakhs such as Osman Batur's son Şerziman, Delihan Canaltay and Hamza Uçar. During this conference, although the general of the Tungans (Muslim Chinese) was contacted and discussed cooperation, it was to no avail.[232] Akile Hakim, the daughter of Hamza Uçar, who lives in Salihli today, narrates what happened after this conference as follows;

> My father went to China (referring to Beijing). In the assembly, Mao said that we would now be one nation. When my father stated that we were Kazakhs and could not be Chinese, Mao responded that our seven dynasties would be executed and that my father's name was on Mao's blacklist. My father told Mao that it didn't matter if we were on his blacklist. We cannot be shamefaced in the presence of God. Thus, my father and his companions refused to cooperate with Mao. After my father returned from Beijing, he gathered everyone and told them what had happened. Then he explained that we needed to migrate to Muslim lands since we didn't have the strength to oppose China. Most Kazakhs objected because the migration route was

[230] Ibid.,Oraltay, 138-154.
[231] Ibid., 162-165.
[232] Ibid.,Altay, 336.

> very long, and we could not go. Nevertheless, three thousand of us set out on the journey. Many of these people turned back, and some died on the way.[233]

Although this conference was held before Mao came to power, it is pretty standard for narrators or witnesses sometimes to fail to remember events and or place dates. However, this event seems to have been one of the driving forces for the Kazakhs to decide on a second migration movement.

Having seized power in 1949, Mao and the communists entered East Turkestan (Xinjiang) in September and October of the same year. The East Turkestan state established by Muslim Turks was destroyed, and the Chinese communist forces encountered resistance, albeit scattered. Although Osman Batur and Ali Bek Hakim continued their armed struggle in the Altai region, their opposition was defeated with the capture and execution of Osman Batur in 1951.[234]

While Osman Batur was not executed yet, when the Communist Chinese Forces invaded Urumqi and took over the government in 1949, the pro-Communist and provincial head Burhan Şahedi declared Alibek Hakim and Osman Batur traitors. In 1948, during the communist revolt in Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Poland, there was also a communist revolution in China that worried the anti-communist Muslims in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) and Gansu. Thus, these groups came together to join forces. However, according to the Tungans, the possible communist attack would come from the Tien Shan mountains, the homeland of the Kazakhs. This meant that the Kazakhs would lose their homeland and move to the less favourable foothills of the mountain.[235] Based on all these reasons, the Kazakhs who remained in East Turkestan had already set out to unite with the Kazakhs in Gansu. However, Hüseyin Teyci, Sultan Şerif Teyci, and Delihan Canaltay, who were in the vicinity of Gasköl in Gansu, received the news that the East Turkestan state in Urumqi had collapsed, and prominent figures such as Mehmet Emin Buğra and İsa Yusuf Alptekin had left Urumqi. He had set out with Kazakh groups.[236]Alibek Hakim's group of 400 people,

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233 Personal interview with Akile Hakim, Salihli, Manisa, 2020.
234 Wang and Carissa, *The East Turkestan Independence*, 238.
235 Godfrey, *Büyük Kazak Göçü*, 91-93.
236 Ibid.,Altay, 345.

which was moving towards Gansu in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), immediately changed their route to migrate to India.[237]

Consequently, the second wave of migration of Kazakhs to India began. In 1948, about 20,000 Kazakh families fled their homeland from the rule of communism in a wave of emigration, along with their herds of camels, sheep, horses, and other belongings. The second group faced the same difficulties as the first migration group. Due to the constant attacks and pursuit of the Communist troops behind them, they found themselves in the deserts without water and had to drink the blood of their animals to survive. When they finally reached the snowy springs of Tibet, about eighteen thousand feet above sea level, they got caught in a terrifying war of survival.[238] While trying to cope with the snow and storm in the Tibetan highlands, as well as the lack of oxygen, which they call l "IS",in desperation, relatives and friends watched their families' bodies swell and die in indescribable pain.[239]

After a two-year struggle, only one-third of the emigration group reached East Kashmir. After all the hardship, Hasan Oraltay, the son of Alibek Hakim, who witnessed the migration himself, states that the group led by Alibek Hakim numbered only 174 people when they reached the town of Ladakh on the Indian border.[240] There is no information about how many people were in other groups.

The first group of immigrants stayed for twelve years in different cities in India and Pakistan, while the second group stayed in Kashmir for two to four years. Although the Kazakh groups had herds of sheep, cattle, horses and camels before they set out, when they reached the border, they lost almost all of their packs, along with two-thirds of the people in their group. The remnants of the convoy that migrated twelve years ago have always tried to keep in touch with the Kazakhs living in East Turkestan. They were aware of the developments in their hometown. For this reason, Kazakh refugees in India, who now live in Pakistan (and even have formed an association), contacted

[237] Ibid.,Godfrey, 106.
[238] Ibid.,Godfrey, .1.
[239] Ibid., Oraltay, Ibid.,Godfrey, Ibid., Altay,and Ibid., Gayretullah.
[240] Ibid., Oraltay, 267.

the newly arrived as soon as they heard of a second Kazakh migration wave. As a result of the discussions they held together, it was decided that they immigrate to Turkey.[241]

In conclusion, Kazakhs rebelled in the Altay and Tian Shan regions of their homeland East Turkestan (Xinjiang), from time to time due to the damaging policies implemented by the governors of East Turkestan, and these rebellions turned into a struggle for independence over time. As a result of these independence struggles, specifically the bloody suppression by Governor Sheng Shicai and the arrest or murder of Kazakh leaders, Kazakhs left their homeland where they had lived for centuries. They followed a problematic migration route to India. However, this flight was not so easy. They had to pass through Tibet, the highest plateau in the world, with camels, horses and herds of sheep, and cross the Himalayan mountains. Considering the shape and route of the journey, this was a death journey for the Kazakhs, and these deaths were not limited to a single expedition but continued in waves.

[241] Ibid.,Altay, 268-291.

CHAPTER IV

EXODUS: KAZAKHS IN TRANSITION

4.1. Memory and the Self

İlim, yurdum file (komünist) elinde kaldı
Biraz yol cefa (büyük sıkıntı) yaşadık
Karanlık gece içinde kalmış vatanım,
Sizzler (Vatan) için gece gündüz savaştım.

My city and my land remained in the hands of spies (communists)
It was troublesome (we had hard times)
My homeland, stuck in darkness,
I fought day and night for you (for my homeland).[242]

Migrations are factors that fundamentally change the lives of immigrants. Still, this transformation is personal, so the narratives of each individual who experienced the same migration may differ. While the descriptions are different, there is no doubt that these experiences are real. In this thesis, although the motivations and styles of those who told the migration stories were the same, their experiences during the migration were different.

In this section, I will present experiences and narratives of older Kazakh narrators, the youngest of whom were five and the most aged thirteen years old when they left their homeland, and who today live in two different regions of Turkey, Zeytinburnu, Istanbul and Salihli, Manisa. While focusing on the memories of the first generation who witnessed the Kazakh migration, I will also concentrate on what they remember. In addition, a migration experience significantly impacts the "Self" of individuals. Therefore, while trying to present the Kazakh migration experience chronologically, I also aim to draw a picture that reveals the dimensions of the narrators' "Self" perceptions.

[242] Saadet Çağatay, *Kazakça Metinler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1961), 101.

4.1.1. Childhood Memories

As I mentioned in the historical background of the Kazakh migration, Kazakhs, together with other people living in the Xinjiang region, rebelled against the mismanagement of the governors in the area, and these rebellions turned into an independence movement in a short time. However, the Kazakhs, who were unsuccessful in their struggle for independence, gradually migrated to the neighbouring Gansu state and then to India under the leadership of about 30 leaders with the title of Teyci, who headed several hundred families from the Barköl region, where they lived.[243] However, this journey on horses and camels in the 20th century was the beginning of a tragedy for Kazakhs.

Ömer Yiğit borning in the Barköl district of the Hami province in 1935, one of the narrators, is one of the survivors of the convoy that migrated first to Gansu and then to India via Tibet led by Elishan Batur. He is not alive today, but above all, what he told or did not tell during my interviews in 2019 is a story of inability to remember.

> We migrated from the country when I was five or six years old; we came to India in 1941; India and Pakistan were one country back then. We started our journey as 5600 immigrants,3017 of us arrived in India. Some died. They had some troubles. Sheikh Abdullah Muhammed Ali Jinnah was a political leader, and they took care of us...[244]

Ömer Yiğit starts telling his immigration story with these words. Afterwards, he speaks very little in his informal or recorded narratives. It is usual for some narrators to remain silent and refrain from talking during the oral history interview. Because these gaps or silences in memories have a role in understanding what needs to be said and remembered is essential. While there are various reasons individuals or groups remain silent, most often, the silence of individuals or groups is related to fear, threatening, dangerous or painful situations, issues, and aspects.[245]Witnesses may become secretive about escaping the intolerable existence of an experience they cannot

[243] HızırBek Gayretullah, *Altaylarda Kanlı Günler,(I*stanbul: Türkistan Kauçuk ve Plastik Sanayi Koll. Şti.,1977) , 5-240 , Halife Altay, *Anayurttan Anadolu'ya,(I*stanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2019), 11-347, Hasan Oraltay, *Kazak Türkleri (*Istanbul: Türk Kültür Yayını, 1976), 7-285.
[244] Personal interview with Ömer Yiğit, December 25, 2019,
[245] Diana Gittins, "Silence: the case of a psychiatric hospital", *Narrative and Genre,* ed. Mary Chamberlain and Paul R. Thompson (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), 46-47.

convey. Victims of dreadful events may want to live, or even forget, to survive.[246] Sometimes gaps or silences in life stories can also signify amnesia. People forget many things because they think it doesn't concern them. Still, things that people don't remember and think are unimportant to them can be an indicator of their own lives.[247]

In this narrative, the tragedies experienced during the migration journey of the narrator, who is a child who migrated when he was only five years old, remained as a foggy area in his memory, or just like every Kazakh child of that age, he was shaken by the steps of the camel in a wooden chest called *Kebece* and placed on the back of the camel. His little body may have already fallen asleep. After an oral history interview, the historian may have the narrator's words or silence. Yet in such studies, the narratives soon overlap, and eventually, one person's silence is illuminated by another person's description. In an interview with Ömer Yiğit, although his memories of his journey from East Türkistan (Xinjiang) to India are buried deep, the memories of migration in the books written by Halife Altay and Hızırbek, who emigrated the first migration convoy, can help fill in the missing parts of his buried memories.

In the first wave of migration, under the leadership of Elishan Batur, they set out to migrate in 1939 to Tungan (Muslim of Chinese origin) - a dominated region called Saydam. The Kazakh convoy (group) gave up relocating to the part where Tungans living in Gansu lived and left Xinjiang in September. They were on their way to the Tibetan highlands. This convoy, which managed to reach the border city of Tibet at the end of a month on horseback and camel, was stopped by Tibetan soldiers. The Kazakhs, who left their weapons in return for a permit, continued on their way after three months. In the meantime, Zayip Teyci and several other Kazakh leaders set out for Tibet.[248]

The route of their convoys was so arduous that even today, it could be challenging to overcome this migration route with the help of available technological devices. While the migration convoy had to fight with the Chinese forces following them from behind,

[246] Marc Auge, "Unutma Görevinden," *Kolektif Hafıza kitabı*, ed.Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, Daniel Levy (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları,2020), 359-360.
[247] Ibid., Gittins, 46-48.
[248] Ibid.,Altay, p.221-267, and Ibid.,Gayretullah, 96.

other hand, they struggled with the disease they called "IS" due to the increase in altitude and decrease in pressure as they climbed the Himalayas. Depending on the high length, the pressure decreases, and the number of oxygen decreases, resulting in brain or pulmonary oedema. After a while, it causes the person to die.[249] Kazakhs who climbed the Himalayan mountains also suffered from this condition; the bodies of the Kazakhs who got the disease swelled, eventually vomiting blood and dying in the snowy mountains of Tibet.

The belief among the Kazakhs that the only way to avoid this disease was to eat the meat of local wild animals became widespread, and they began to hunt and eat wild animals in the Tibetan highlands. Another belief is that the only way to get rid of the disease is to drink the urine of Kazakh men. At that time, Kazakhs had no chance to attend schools in Urumqi and other cities, and they may have resorted to such methods to get rid of the disease due to medical deficiencies. However, it is debatable whether these methods work. They were trying to survive by drinking the urine of small children.[250] The changes in the faces and tones of some Kazakhs who had not witnessed the migration but were familiar with their parents' stories were distinctive when they talked about this urine-drinking issue during the interview.

Indeed, during my meeting, an old Kazakh, Aslan Tosun, who entered the Kazakh association in Bağcılar, agreed to meet me, and he completed some of Ömer Yiğit's memories of his migration journey, which he forgot or did not remember at all. Although I asked him, the memories, he tells contain a chronology of a particular life story and talk about his experience with urine drinking.

> I was ten or twelve years old back then. As we climbed higher, our people's bodies swelled; their white lungs (lungs) swelled and burst like a balloon, so they died. There is no cure once you get the disease. It would help if you drank a lot of children's urine to prevent catching it. I drank too. Adults would come up to us and ask if we had urinated. It was cold, and there was hardly any food or water, so how could we pee? They would force us into a bowl to pee and beat us if we didn't. [251]

[249] "Yüksek İrtifa Ve İnsan Vücuduna Tesiri, " *samdak.org*, last modified January 25, 2015, http://samdak.org/genel/egitim-2/dagcilik/zirve-dagciligi/yuksek-irtifa/
[250] Ibid.,Gayretullah, 58-59.
[251] Personal interview with Aslan Tosun, May 26, 2022,

The Chinese took some people from the Kazakh convoy prisoner. Those who were taken captive were their children, siblings, mothers, fathers, uncles, and aunts. They could not hear from them whether they lived for many years. However, the Kazakhs continued, leaving their loved ones behind. During their time in Tibet, they struggled with harsh natural conditions and hunger. It was challenging to find pasture on Tibet's snow and ice-covered plateaus for their herds, horses, and camels to accompany them. During this long migration, the Kazakhs' food was also running low. Even digging graves to bury their dead was hard on them now. Zayip Teyci, one of the crucial leaders during the migration, passed away from the "IS" disease. On the one hand, although they managed to escape the raids of both Tibetan and Chinese forces and reach the Indian border, many Kazakhs who set out at the beginning of this journey were no longer alive.

Although the ultimate goal of the Kazakhs, who managed to reach India at the end of such a disaster, was to get to Turkey, they went to Turkey thirteen years later. The convoy of Halife Altay, one of the migration witnesses, set off right after the convoy of Elishan Batur, the first migration convoy, and followed his migration path. The Kazakhs, who could not breathe and vomit bloody foam while climbing the Tibetan highlands, did not even have time to bury them. The enemy might have attacked them at any time.

If attacked, they would have to evade the bullets of machine guns while trying to control camels carrying their babies, children too young to ride, ammunition and other supplies. Women mostly undertook this task. Sometimes, when the camels carrying the children fled, no one knew the end of the children and babies. Babies and children probably froze to death on the camels. Camels also carried the houses of these nomadic families. When they lost their camels, they just stood there in the cold of Tibet, their chins banging (shivering). Halife Altay wrote in his book what he witnessed about the situation of the migration convoy after the enemy attack;

> That night we stayed on the northern shore of the Kızılırmak River. The weather was freezing and frosty. Our condition and the families like us who were left homeless were disastrous. Because there was no shelter or a place to stay. Shivering, hungry children in the cold, crying old mothers with tears on their wrinkled faces, and youngsters trying not to speak up with the courage of their youth were looking at each other in bewilderment. Among them, we tried to be as brave as possible. Migration

> was still in the Tibetan tablelands in November of 1940, and the cold peaked. Therewere families without shelter or food. There was no feed for the animals. On the other hand, the "soot" disease was still an issue.[252]

When they lost their camels, they just stood there in the cold of Tibet, their chins banging (shivering).

> ….some families did not have an animal to ride. After travelling for four days in snowy and stormy weather, when the pedestrians sat down in a tired and exhausted state during this journey, they would freeze under the snow within a few hours due to the heavy snow and storm.…[253]

The Tibetan soldiers constantly attacked those who could finally cross the Tibetan highlands and reach the Indian border. Finally, after a three-day war on the Indian border, they crossed the border with India's permission and entered the free country, in their own words, that they had always dreamed of. Although Ömer Yiğit started the meeting by telling the story of India, other witnesses, who were older than him then, have quite a memory of those days.[254]

After the first wave of immigration, Kazakhs from the Barköl region of Xinjiang and the Gasköl region of the Gansu province struggled to gain independence, but these attempts failed. As a result, after the Communist revolution in 1949, after the Communist forces occupied the region, the second wave of immigration started. A large Kazakh population escaped the communist regime in convoys and set out for India. Although they knew this migration had no return and the end was likely death, the second migration group did not hesitate to embark on this death journey in 1949.

On the other hand, it is pretty remarkable that Abdurrahman Çetin tells the story of migration not as an older adult in his eighties but as a thirteen-fourteen-year-old boy who witnessed the migration. While conveying his experiences regarding this migration, Abdurrahman emphasizes hunger the most. The migration story of his life, which he spent in poverty and misery, did not end with his migration to Turkey. Still, again, he immigrated to Germany with labour migration in the sixties due to economic

[252] Ibid., Gayretullah, 260.
[253] Ibid., 260.
[254] Personal interview with Ömer Yiğit, December 25, 2019,

reasons. He reconstructs the migration experience within the framework that positions himself and his story.

He was 81 years old during the oral history study with Abdurrahman Çetin at his home in Bağcılar in 2019. During the migration experience, I had the opportunity to listen to some memories that could only leak through the cracks due to being a child. During the interview, when I asked Abdurrahman Çetin about his most vivid memory during the migration when he surprisingly told me about a joyful memory involving him mistaking the light of a flashlight in the water as a luminous natural stone; this is undoubtedly the first memory of one of the witnesses of this journey, which included disasters, deaths, and losses, from the depths of his memory.It was about the framework of childhood memories.

Abdurrahman Çetin was only eleven years old at the time of migration, and when he returned to his childhood memories as an adult at eighty when we interviewed in 2019, were these memories the same? The child's mind differs from the mind of an adult in that it has non-adult frameworks, habits, patterns, and experiences. Because while the social order in the background is perhaps the thing that worries an adult the most, the child is still alien to the products of social life, and his imagination is active and freer. An individual of that period is at the age when he passes through extreme forms of emotion and is interested in adventure stories.

At this point, Abdurrahman Çetin's most vivid memory is the story involving the flashlight he saw in the middle of the river at night, as he thought the light of a magic stone while the Indian authorities were loading his belongings on trucks and being transported to another city after he arrived at the Indian border. Activating his imagination while transferring those childhood memories and positioning this memory within his memory frame gives us an idea about his childhood memories. Contrary to the child's mind, he has completed his adulthood, and someone in old age has inevitably already realised his position and differences. As a result, an adult reproduces his childhood memories from the present. Thus, childhood memories are deformed.

After their leader, Şerif Teyci, was arrested for no reason and tortured for about a week; he was released to make communist propaganda. But instead of making

communist propaganda, they set out with their convoy to immigrate to Gansu province again and Abdurrahman Çetin's words;

> There is no belief in God in communism. You had to be a non-believer, and they were putting pressure on whoever believed in Islam. We were interrogated for a week without bread, water, or sleep. When Sultan Şerif Teyci arrived, he realized that there was no exit. We were told that we should emigrate for our nation, for our religion. We set out with that goal. After that, we immigrated for about a year and came to Mansur Teyci's father, Hüseyin...[255]

Abdurrahman Çetin based his reasons for emigration on the communist regime's ideology that people should not adhere to any religion;

> We escaped from there on horses and camels. Wherever there was a water source or pasture, the Chinese soldiers were holding it. We traveled from the foothills of the mountains. We traveled forward fighting...[256]

Adult individual has now been involved in many different conceptual systems in various periods of their life, and they have lost the forms and appearances they once had. Thus, an adult reproduces his childhood memories with the help of existing concepts and transforms that memory into another. These reconstructed memories replace, distort, and rebuild the original memories. Then an initial impression is recreated, which should be close to our appearance. Reproducing with the help of your existing concepts is another memory. When I listen to Abdurrahman Çetin's life story, he is already an adult. He was an older adult who had completed his term. From this point of view, his memories will inevitably be deformed and reproduced by incorporating various concepts into these memories. However, this does not mean that his migration experience is not accurate. Abdurrahman Çetin continues to narrate his memories without following a regular chronological order while describing the preparation process for migration in the continuation of his life story.

> During our two-year journey, horses, camels, and herds needed to graze, but there was no place to graze them. Because Kazakhs are nomads, they do not carry cash. Thus, we sent the animals to the city. They were traded (the animals). Before we went to Hüseyin Teyci, for example, we sent 30 people to buy clothing, rice, and flour, but they were caught and did not return. After that, we were forced to starve. We did not suffer from hunger and thirst until we came to Hüseyin Teyci. And we passed through the desert. For 11 days on the back of camels. Not even a trace of the camels was left. We passed through the Taklamakan desert. We were very thirsty there. We were drying the animal meats and putting them in sacks until they finished

[255] Personal interview with Abdurrahman Çetin, December 21, 2019,
[256] Ibid., Abdurrahman Çetin,

> (we ran out of camels). There was no food after that—no animals to hunt in the desert. We were hunting and eating deer and horses. There was a lot of suffering and hardship. I'm not sure if I need to explain at length…[257]

Naturally, the child's mind is far from many concepts that the adult mind has, and when childhood memories are revived, the individual can relive his childhood which can excite him. Yet what survives when these memories are rekindled is not a child but an adult recreating the lost world in and around him. And fiction, rather than truth, is included in the memories. While it is evident that Abdurrahman Çetin has heard many discourses from other adults while telling his migration story, he is not wholly isolated from physiological conditions. Considering the effect of external and social conditions on the shaping of memories, the hunger factor he constantly emphasizes in his memories should not be ignored.[258]

While conveying his memory of finally reaching the Indian border, Abdurrahman Çetin emphasizes the hunger included in every memory.

> ... My grandmother consulted the Chiefs, so I went there with her. I heard and saw lots of things. There, it was decided to hide some of the weapons. How are we going to hide it? They said let's oil them, wrap them and hide them between the rocks. We kept half and gave the rest. One night, while we were waiting, Chinese and Tibetan soldiers raided us. Conflict broke out. There was no loss from our side. Many of them died. After this incident, we were taken ten kilometers inland. We stayed for a month by a creek. The reason why we stayed for a month there was because Delilhal Canaltay wrote a petition to the United Nations. He came only a month later. We were children then, five or six children would go to the soldiers in secret, and they'd give us biscuits, and we would eat them...[259]

We confuse what we hear from others with our memories, and as we revitalise and refine them, imagination takes on exciting value. It is a fact that there is a spatial, temporal, and social framework in the formation of memory, and the child's mind is shaped within the boundaries of these frameworks.

My other interviewee, Mansur Teyci, the son of one of the migration leaders, Hüseyin Teyci, acted on his nationalistic feelings and devoted himself to the development of his people; his narratives were not free from some political concerns. Lastly, two

[257] Personal interview with Abdurrahman Çetin, December 21, 2019,
[258] Maurice Halbwachs, *Hafızanı Toplumsal Çerçevesi*, trans. Büşra Uçar (Ankara: Heretik , 2019), 124
[259] Personal interview with Abdurrahman Çetin, December 21, 2019,

female narrators, Kayn Orhon, who came to Turkey with a migration group led by Alibek Hakim, narrate the tragedy of migration with all her transparency, and her migration stories are stories of destruction.

On 23 November 2019, I was recording my first oral history interview with Mansur Teyci, who was 74 at the time, in Bağcılar. Mansur Teyci was born in 1945 in Gaskol County of Gansu province, a province of China. Like every migration witness, Mansur Teyci's experience was a turning point. During my interview, I learned that Mansur Teyci, with his Kazakh convoy, fled to India from the communist Chinese regime in his East Turkestan (Xinjiang) homeland when he was only eight. When Mansur Teyci invited me to her house to talk about her migration experience, unexpectedly, her home was like a memory museum of Kazakh migration history.

Mansur Teyci had been exhibiting the photographs and documents carefully hidden behind the frames for years. Older people do not passively wait for their memories to revive; however, they try to explain them. While doing this, they sometimes interrogate other elders, mix old notebooks and letters, and tend to base these memories, especially by writing. In this context, a stack of tapes, documents, and pictures in Mansur Teyci's house indicates not only his desire to preserve memories but also proof that he undertook the task of teaching young people about the past and preserving memories. In primitive tribes, the elders are the guardians of the traditions and the person who passes them on to the younger generations.

However, these documents, for whatever reason, excited me as an oral historian. While walking to his house's terrace for an interview, I came across a map of Kazakh migration covering the entire wall of Mansur Teyci's terrace. I had the opportunity to meet with Mansur Teyci at his home twice. During my first interview, he told me some unforgettable memories of his immigration experience.

> …There was a chest loaded on one of the camels. My sister and I used to sit on that chest till late and eat dried meat when we were hungry. We watched over whether the fox or the yak, or the ox were passing. It was not a rosy journey, and we set out on January 7th - every day at -20 degrees; we set the trip every day, and the snow was at 20 to 30 cm. Our mothers cleaned up the snow to place felt tents to hide us there as soon as they were ready. They would lay

> carpets made of felt on the snow. The fire was made, snow was poured into the cauldrons, and tea and food were prepared with that water…[260]

Mansur Teyci's immigration experience was not clear enough due to some political concerns. Mansur Teyci has active political connections in China and Kazakhstan, and Turkey. However, when the Elders present a memory of the past to us, it is typical for their present memories to be somewhat distorted because they cannot evaluate it objectively.[261] Nevertheless, what Mansur Teyci presents to us from his migration experiences is as follows;

> In the Tibetan highlands, people died due to oxygen deficiency, called "Is". Twenty people died at that time. When someone passed away, a fire was lit for two days to melt the snow in degrees of frost, and digging a grave, took a day or two. When we couldn't dig a grave, we left the bodies in caves, wrapped in carpets. We were comfortable in the summer and got rid of the chest box. When we came to the Tibetan steppes, we met 3 Tibetans and encountered poor Tibetans who were tradespersons. These Tibetans tied the skin of sheep, they didn't own any other clothes or shoes, we were scared for some time, we were afraid, and their tents were made of the hair of yak oxen. These Tibetans had never seen camels; when they saw our camels, they were so scared, as if they had seen a dinosaur, we were tickled to death…[262]

Kayn Orhon is a female narrator who fled the Communist Chinese regime from East Turkestan to Kashmir when she was only seven or eight years old.

> The place we call lok'nor (lok nur) is a lake (an icy lake), we were told that if we passed over the lake, we would pass quickly, but if we went around, it would be a waste of time. Now the leaders were saying, ok then can we cross a frozen lake? Will our animals be able to cross? Will our horse be able to pass and our camel? They passed first. The ice was thick, but he said," It's Summertime; what are we going to do?" We decided to pour some soil first, then the camels dug the ground and poured the foundation with sacks on the ice. Our mothers carried soil in their clothes. We ran it this way and passed it along with the horses. That's how we crossed that lake. That's how we passed through Loknor. It took 3 to 4 days to get there. We left Loknor, and we said, "Thank God ". This time we have salt in front of us.No water, drought. They said it was the Taklamakan desert, the camels were evacuated, and horses were unloaded. We were told to find ice. We need water to cross the desert. How will we transport the water; the canister (a kind of pot made of copper or iron with handles), but my canister was small. Everyone had water bowls made of leather, but it wasn't enough for everyone to cross the desert. We filled them all with water. It was fine, but what happened was that it had to be ice. We needed to find ice. We were on camels. Our fathers and heroic brothers who went to war left to look for ice. They came back with ice from that lake. Two days later, they distributed it to the whole group…[263]

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[260] Personal interview with Mansur Teyci, November 23, 2019,
[261] Ibid.,Halbwachs, 143.
[262] Ibid.,
[263] Personal interview with Kayn Orhon, December 4, 2019,

The most striking point in Kayn Orhon's story of her migration experiences was her emphasis on "Islam". After a few sentences during the interview, she said words like "thank God" or "for our religion (Islam)".

> We entered the desert, but there was a sudden wind, after which we advanced a little. There were dunes like mountains, and the immigrants who got into that sand did not survive. He wrote on this date. After that, we came to the essence of salt through it; where we stepped on was pure white salt. We arrived in the evening. We thought it was white snow everywhere, but it was salt. It took us three days, but some died along the way, and those who disappeared. Because of thirst, the shepherds behind us slaughtered sheep so we could drink the blood; they drank the blood but could not swallow it. With such difficulties concerning our religion, this is how our ancestors and our heroes brought us here…[264]

Kayn Orhon experienced migration when she was still a child; however, when Kayn Orhon recounts his childhood memories, she is now an older person and has adult thoughts and experiences. As a result, Kayn Orhon may have reconstructed her memories through the social, religious and contemporary beliefs she acquired while recounting her childhood memories.

In this section, I included the migration stories of first-generation narrators who were still children when they left their homeland. In the 20th century, the Kazakhs revolted against the misrule of the Chinese governors in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), but they failed in their struggle for independence. Thus, the Kazakhs gradually migrated to the neighbouring Gansu province and then to India under the leadership of about 30 leaders with the title of Teyci, who headed several hundred families from the region. But during this journey on horses and camels in the 20th century, the Kazakhs lost almost two-thirds of their population due to the harsh conditions. This section includes the story of the narrators who witnessed this great tragedy and a glimpse into their childhood memories as adults. These stories provide an opportunity to analyze both the reconstruction of childhood memories of older people and the silences and gaps in memory. In addition, this episode has helped to bring the tragedy of the Kazakh migration to the listener through the words of witnesses.

[264] Ibid., Kayn Orhon,

4.1.2. Stories of Migration: The Question of Self and Us

One of the effects of a migration experience is individuals' perceptions of "the Self". Therefore, I tried to analyze the narrators' "Self" dimensions in this section. Before exploring, I presented a literature review on "the Self".

Peter Burke and Jan E. Stets defined the concept of "the self" as that which originates in the mind of persons and is that which characterizes an individual's consciousness of their being or identity and also added;[265]

> The self can take itself as an object, to regard and evaluate itself, to take account of itself and plan accordingly, and to manipulate itself as an object to bring about future states. As McCall and Simmons point out, the individual achieves selfhood at that point when he first begins to act toward himself in more or less the same fashion in which he acts toward other people. This reflexive behavior is the core of the self. The self can be both subject and object.[266]

Identities that define a person, social relations, roles, and social group memberships give direction and provide a lens that creates meaning and comes together as what comes to mind when one thinks of oneself, forming the self-concept.[267]Both the Self and the identities that make up the Self are dynamically constructed in context, so the 'I' is not fixed, static, and innate, but rather a sense of self-knowledge and the dynamic nature of who one is at that moment. After all, the Self is an essential motivational tool.

The individual enters the same field of experience as the other individual in which they act in any social situation. As a result, the Self is essentially social.[268]

> ...The individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly, from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group, or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs. For he enters his own experience as a self or individual, not directly or immediately, not by becoming a subject to himself, but only in so far as he first becomes an object to himself just as other individuals are objects to him or in his experience. He becomes an object to himself only by taking other

[265] Burke, Peter J., ve Jan E. Stets. *Identity theory* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 9.
[266] Ibid., 9.
[267] Mark R. Leary, ve June Price Tangney, *Handbook of Self and Identity.* 2nd ed.(New York; London: Guilford Press, 20129, 69-70.
[268] George Herbert Mead, *Mind, self, and society: from the standpoint of a social behaviorist*, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1985), 137-139.

> individuals' attitudes toward himself within a social environment or context of experience and behavior in which both he and they are involved…[269]

The Self, which can be an object to itself, is essentially a social structure and emerges in social experience.[270] It is the social process responsible for the emergence of the Self.[271] We maintain a range of different relationships with different people. We are one thing to one man and another thing to another. There are parts of the self that exist only for the self-concerning it. By discussing politics with one and religion with the other, we separate ourselves into different selves. There are all kinds of different selves that respond to all sorts of different social responses.[272] The Self is shaped and continually processed through social experiences and factors. The person interprets the self-perceived through another person's eyes and creates an identity. There is no Self-formation without interaction.[273]

People can think of themselves in different ways, look at themselves from an Individualist perspective, or think of themselves from an immersed or distal perspective. Self often refers to a warm feeling that something is "about me" or "about us". - A "me" or "us" perspective -People may see themselves as actors battered by others and situations, but rather take a step back and evaluate themselves from a more distant perspective. People can think of what others are observing, seeing themselves through the eyes of others, including near and far perspectives, called near and observant memories. The person's first person singular (1, me) and plural (we, we). Preparing the self-concept structure in this way affects how people think about themselves and their general thoughts. In addition, people who use the pronoun "we" perform the task of remembering better, and they remember the relationships between objects better.

In this context, while aged Kazakh narrators use the expression "We" while conveying their "immigration experiences", they use the "I" language when introducing

[269] Ibid., 138.
[270] Ibid.141.
[271] Ibid.,142.
[272] Ibid., 142.
[273] Nur Banu Zafer, "*The Kazakh Identity and Its Transformation After 1990 In Turkey*" (Master Thesis, Yıldız Technical University, 2020), 15-16.

themselves or expressing their more specific personal memories. In Kayn Orhon's words:

> … I left my homeland when I was six years old. I was quite young. I jumped onto the bed because I was scared, but my mother was not. Almost 15 people mounted their horses, with many soldiers trailing behind them. I remember this very well. I was young and terrified. We took a two or three-day break to rest. Also, animals needed water and food. We had to watch our backs and bury the dead. Then, we continued to migrate. However, we could not always walk on flat ground or the slope of the mountain. We had to climb high hills like Uludağ. It would be nice if there had been flat areas; we could have gone on foot…[274]

Using "we" or "I" language is not only about fulfilling the task of remembering. It is also about how they position themselves in the story. Portelli places the analysis of the three main narrative modes in a narrative as follows; The first is the 'institutional' (a third-person account, 'it was the custom or the rule', located nationally or vis-à-vis the State and focused on politics, government and so on); the second is the 'communal' (an account narrated in the first-person plural–' we did this, located in the community, the locality, the workplace and focused on work-related action, neighbourhood activity and so on); and the third is the 'personal' (a first-person singular account, 'I did this', located in the home and focused on family and other personal issues).[275]Mansur Teyci uses the first person plural tense in his memories of migration.

> ….We went to the steppes of Tibet. Then, as I previously stated, we did not have a rebellion against the country, so we had better migrate to India. No soldier was chasing us. I was riding a camel, and there was nobody behind us. By riding horses and camels, we could arrive comfortably.…[276]

According to Portelli, those who persistently use the institutional or communal mode are less confident in the importance of their own stories. In contrast, if a narrator consistently uses the private method, the person can position themselves as the hero or heroine of their own life. Mansur Teyci has frequently used the remote process.[277] "....During my military service, my friends in the military admired me very much. Everybody admired me. I was trying to help everyone….[278]"

[274] Personal interview with Kayn Orhon, December 4, 2019,
[275] Abrams. "Narrative, 116.
[276] Personal interview with Mansur Teyci, November 23, 2019,
[277] Ibid., Abrams, 116.
[278] Personal interview with Mansur Teyci, December 23 Kasım 2019,

In addition, the narrators who have experienced the Kazakh Migration use a language far from their memories while describing these events. At this point, the narrator sees himself from the outside and takes the perspective of an observer; thus, he thinks and perceives the self from a more distal perspective, focusing on its broader goals and values. Daphna Oyserman, Kristen Elmore and George Smith, in their book *Self, Self-Concept, and Identity*, argue that the purpose of doing this is to reduce emotional investment in the self, reflect on the past, and reduce the perceived overlap between the self that one is and will be.[279] Taking a relational "we" perspective on the self can come along with possibly taking a more distal view of the self to include what others can see.Individuals tend to organize all experiences and memories according to self-experience.According to Peter Burke, paradoxically, while the "I" emerges as a separate object, there is also a fusion of the self and others' perspectives and becoming with the others we interact with. This becoming-as-one emphasizes that the things and symbols we respond to in social interaction are implied in their shared meaning.

Another point is that linguistic symbols and behaviours can only identify situations in which an individual is an object. But in everyday behaviour and experiences, an individual does not mean much of what he does and says. Yet it is more or less the self that communicates, and much of the self does not need to be expressed because we separate ourselves into different selves.[280]

Typically, there is a unified self in the kind of community as a whole to which we belong, but this can be fragmented. Most of the time, we recognise the dividing lines running through us. We are content to forget things, to get rid of things that the self is tied to by past experiences. Individuals from the Kazakh Migration experience use the term "We" to make this experience a collective self, to look at their own lived experiences from the perspective of "We". They use the pronoun "I" when conveying very few personal memories to avoid these catastrophic and painful experiences. These indicate their desire to walk away from the painful memories of this dramatic event and not be involved in it. An event that causes emotional turmoil can cause separation. This state reflects the whole self as a reflection of the complete social process. The

[279] Leary, and June Price, "*Handbook of self* ", 72.
[280] Ibid.,*Mead*, 142.

organisation and unification of a social group are identical to the organisation and unification of any of the selves that occurs in the social process in which that group is involved or is continuing.

Eventually, people can structure their self-concepts around what others make sense of, such as race, ethnicity, gender, weight, and age. In addition, self and identity are concepts often used side by side and synonymously. Identities, which are part of self-concepts, can be thought of as intertwined elements.

Since the self emerges in social interaction in a complex differentiated society and people occupy different societal positions, we can speak of others, called "multiple selves". Each of these little "selves" within the general self is called an identity. Identities are as crucial as the self because they provide us with bonds with others and, in a situation, the social. Based on this, in the fifth chapter, I will try to analyse the identity perceptions of Kazakh immigrants in Turkey.[281]

In conclusion, narrators of the Kazakh migration use the first person plural when telling collective stories about the migration. Portelli emphasizes individuals may wish to emphasize the significance of a collective catastrophe rather than the importance of their autobiography.[282] Moreover, they may want to distance themselves from the traumatic effects of migration by not using the first person singular tense and not positioning themselves as a hero of these disasters, or they may be trying to cope with the trauma by not being directly involved. The narrators position themselves as the protagonists of these stories by using the first person singular tense in memories other than migration memories. Following this section on the migration stories and selves of first-generation narrators, I will present the experiences of Kazakhs in India and their permanent settlement in Turkey in 1953.

[281] Ibid.,Burke,.10.
[282] Ibid., Abrams,116.

4.2. The First Route: Migration to Kashmir and Pakistan

Ultimately, the first Kazakh tribe who managed to reach the border close to the city of Ladak, which is the entrance and exit gate of India from East Turkestan, as a wretched took their steps as 3039 people through the Indian border, that is, the gate of the "Free World" as they call.[283]

Nevertheless, the ordeal of the Kazakhs was not expired yet, and the British-ruled Indian authorities had deemed it appropriate to place them in the refugee camp in Muzaffarabad. Thus a new journey was on the horizon for the Kazakhs, crossing the "Kargil", rough and steep slopes. The life of the Kazakhs was no longer in their hands. This weary convoy was finally settled in a refugee camp in Muzaffarabad. Although they had hoped that their suffering during this migration would eventually end, it did not seem like that. Kazakhs had a hard time adapting to India's climate and dishes. The food provided was insufficient. Moreover, the Kazakhs, who left their loved ones behind by burying their loved ones in the icy lands of the Tibetan highlands during this journey to reach the Free World, are now suffering from epidemics in the camp in India. Instead of experiencing this persecution, some Kazakhs sorrowfully wished they had died under the Chinese bayonet.[284]

Halife Altay, who set out from the Altay in 1939 and reached India in 1941, describes those days as follows in his book "Anayurttan Anadolu'ya "; "…There were about 1000 tents in the camp. Some families did not have tents. The weather was mostly rainy, and the humidity was incredible. 10-15 people were dying every day due to the epidemic..."[285]

While the Kazakhs were trying to live under these conditions in the camp, some Muslim Indian leaders in the region, who were aware of their situation, helped the Kazakhs, and the Muslims in the area organised aid campaigns for them.[286] The Kazakhs, who stayed in the Muzaffarabad camp for six months, were transferred to

[283] Ingvar Svanberg, *Kazak refugees in Turkey: a study of cultural persistence and social change (* Stockholm: Academiae Ubsaliensis ; Distributor, Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1989), 52.
[284] Ibid.,.71.
[285] Halife Altay, *Anayurttan Anadolu'ya, (*Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2019), 271.
[286] Ibid., Gayretullah, 76-80.

the Kamfor camp in the Ternava vault near Rawalpindi. However, the plague and cholera epidemic in the Kamfor camp caused the death of two thousand Kazakhs in the centre. Within a year, the number of Kazakhs remained around 1200. Ömer is one of the Kazakhs who managed to be a survivor of the first migration groups who is not alive today and talks about a memory from those days;

> …On our first visit, we arrived at a town in Kashmir called Muzaffarabad. There was a river, and they made us sit on the water's edge. Soldiers surrounded us. After that, the British took us out of there, and the Muslim community took good care of us. It was a relief.…[287]

After settling in the Kamfor camp, the deaths did not stop. No children had been born since the Kazakhs came to India. The lack of births among the Kazakhs, who were already stricken by the epidemic, caused concern that their population would perish. After the Kazakhs informed their situation, Viceroy Sir Lord Halifax, who served as the deputy of the English king, visited the Kazakhs' camp with a delegation, listened to their problems, and declared that they would fulfil their demands. Kazakhs would be settled where they wanted to drop, and the education of Kazakh children would be supported and taught the craft.

Kazakhs, who could not adapt to the Indian climate, split into groups in the Ternova camp, demanding to settle in a cold environment similar to the Altai. About 450 others settled in Bhopal, while more than 700 settled in more excellent areas such as Abudabad, Suvat, and Çatıral. Kazakhs who aspired to settle in Bhopal City were determined in a place called Matar, surrounded by dense forests, near Bhopal. Ömer describes those days as follows;

> …They were taken to the city of Matar in India, it was forest and woods, with lots of rain. There were a lot of predators there, such as lions, and many predators of all kinds. It was a challenging environment to survive. In some regions, they went west to Afghanistan, so they were geographically scattered. After that, there were killings in Matar, so we were taken to Bhopal. They took care of us in the camp and built homes for us. The Muslims in charge helped us. 2 or 3 years later, India and Pakistan were founded, and our people went to Pakistan and left India. We stayed in Pakistan for a long time. We left in 1953. We stayed there for 12 years. I lived there from age six till 18...[288]

[287] Personal interview with Ömer Yiğit, December 25, 2019,
[288] Ibid., Ömer Yiğit,

Because of the heavy rain, they were not used to the humid climatic conditions and did not engage in agriculture, the only job they could do in the region. They also are not knowledgeable about agriculture, the sole livelihood supply in the area. For this reason, they left this place. They settled in trade centres such as Bhopal, Lahore and Pişhaver.[289] Halife Altay mentions in his book "From Homeland to Anatolia " that various workshops were opened for Kazakhs in Bhopal, giving them vocational training and teaching literacy. He also learned Urdu and Arabic in these workshops.[290]

In addition, when the Kazakhs left the Kamfor camp in 1944 and settled in other cities when they heard that Osman Batur and Alihan Tore founded the East Turkestan Republic, some Kazakhs returned to their country.[291] Meanwhile, political turmoil began in the Indian subcontinent. Long-standing conflicts between Muslims and Hindus had turned into bloody battles. Muslim Indians, who wanted to establish their state, declared their independence in the peninsula and found a new form. The Indian subcontinent is divided into Pakistan and India.[292] Kazakhs preferred to settle in Pakistan because they were Hanafi Muslims. Kazakhs were trying to get citizenship from Pakistan while attempting to continue their lives under inadequate conditions, even though they were engaged in sewing leather and trade.

There was no chance of them returning to China again because communist China had utterly taken over Xinjiang. In addition, Pakistan's close political relations with China made the future of the Kazakhs even more uncertain. Kazakhs were looking for new countries to migrate to. In fact, according to the everyday discourse of my interviewees, Kazakh elders insisted that their ultimate goal was to migrate to Turkey before they fled from East Turkestan (Xinjiang). Even though they applied to immigrate to Turkey in 1949, 1950, and 1951, there was no response from Ankara.[293]

Two Uighur leaders already: Mehmet Emin Buğra and İsa Yusuf Alptekin, had emigrated to Turkey. On October 17th, 1951, an "Eastern Turkistani Qazag Refugee

[289] Ibid.,Gayretullah, 81
[290] Ibid.,Altay, 280-281.
[291] Ibid.,Gayretullah, 81.
[292] Ibid.,Altay, .284.
[293] Ibid.,Gayretullah, .83.

Association" was founded. Officials from the People's Republic of China tried to persuade the immigrating Kazakhs to return to their homeland by visiting them both in the camps and the association. Although some families returned, many did not accept this proposal. Arriving in India with the first wave of migration, the Kazakhs could adapt to their lives in India and Pakistan for thirteen years under inadequate conditions and earn their livelihood by trade and leather work.

When they received the news that the Communists had been captured and the East Turkestan Republic was destroyed, they were deeply saddened. After these events, the Kazakhs who stayed in Barköl and Gansu left their homeland in a large convoy and fled to India. This second group, which set out in 1949, came to the Indian border in 1952 under the leadership of Alibek Hakim and Hüseyin Teyci and reached Srinagar airport by plane from Ladakh.[294] Then they were put on trucks and in an immigrant guesthouse called "*Saraysaakadil"*.

I met Abdurrahman Çetin, who was in Hüseyin Teyci's convoy and was a child in those days, at his home in Güneşli. He told me what he remembered from those days:

> ….We then came to Ladakh. We were told that if we didn't have enough camels and horses to get us to Kashmir, they could get horses from Tibetans to help us reach Kashmir. Then a Muslim general came. At that time, I could not distinguish a Muslim from a Hindu. They took us to the swinging bridge between two mountains, we tried to help the animals cross the bridge, but they wouldn't cross. Let alone the animals, and we could not cross either. I was a child then, and I was afraid. We crossed over that bridge, blindfolding the camels and horses.After that, we arrived at a place. We waited there. Then the truck came. We placed our load and everything and sat in the truck. After a little while, we were asked not to make any sounds or let the children cry. They turned off the headlights of the trucks. We were told that if the Indian soldiers smelled anything fishy, they would not let us out of there. All lights were, therefore, switched off. We passed through, and there was a big creek. It was dark everywhere; there was running water in the stream and light in the water. It's a kind of stone that emits light," said one of the soldiers. I believed him. I later figured they were making fun of me; it was an electric bulb with a reflection in the water. I had never seen a light bulb before, and we are nomadic people. There was no electric power in our lives.…[295]

Abdurrahman Çetin also shared his memories about where they stayed when they arrived in Kashmir and his impressions there. In Abdurrahman Çetin's Words;

> …. From there, they took us to Kashmir. In Kashmir, there was a society founded by the Uighurs. They heard we were coming and reserved a whole building for us, which they called the Palace. They prepared bread and tea. After the welcome speech of the association's

[294] Ibid.,Altay, 344-348.
[295] Personal interview with Abdurrahman Çetin, December 21,2019,

> president, Sheikh Abdullah was going to come, the sultan at the time. He was the head of the Kashmir autonomous region. They provided us with food. They provided electricity. We wanted to play with it like a game since we had never seen electricity before. The next day in the morning, Sheikh Abdullah was to arrive. The Palace was made of two floors with a square in the centre. We were asked to go to the square and to sit. There was a big door through which he would enter the square. The big door opened, like in the movies. The Uyghurs knew and introduced Sheikh Abdullah to us. He was slender and handsome. After entering through the door, he came towards us with a translator. He kissed our hands, our faces, our foreheads. At that time, our clothes during the journey were not clean. We had no clothes or towels. We were miserable and quite filthy. The man kissed us without even thinking about it. He gave a speech. We were only children. He said he knew we were Muslim and forced to become refugees because of our religion. He was briefed about our situation the day before. He said, "Do not be afraid. From tomorrow on, you will be provided with meat, rice, flour, and whatever else you need. We'll give you all our supplies, and you won't go hungry. We will give it all to you." The man spoke for a while, and everyone present cried. We were also provided with clothes donated by the Red Crescent…[296]

Compared to the first group, the situation of the Kazakh convoys in 1952 was much better. American officials in Xinjiang also left the region by participating in the Kazakh migration. They symbolically gave half of the five and a half dollars to Alibek Hakim.[297] It is unknown whether it is because of this. Still, the United States of America was very interested in the Kazakhs and even offered them to settle in America. Kayn Orhan expresses her memories and feelings at that time as follows; "…A year later, the US said they'd accept us. They saw us in the media and realised it was ethnic cleansing…"[298]

Refugee Isa Yusuf Alptekin, of Uyghur origin, went to Turkey in January 1952, when the Turkish government did not answer the Kazakhs' requests for asylum for a long time. In Turkey, Alptekin met with another influential Uyghur leader, Mehmet Emin Buğra, who had immigrated to Turkey, with senior government officials. However, the Republican People's Party, which was in power then, did not favour this asylum request. They advised them to keep their relations with America warm. In the same period, only the World Council of Churches (WCC) assisted the Kazakhs, although the refugee leaders contacted the US embassy in India and asked for help.[299] Mansur Teyci narrates the event as he heard from his father, Hüseyin Teyci, and his friends;

> ….The Red Crescent helped us there. Journalists came from various countries and learned that we were staying there. My father instructed us not to make unnecessary comments or talk

[296] Ibid., Abdurrahman Çetin,
[297] Godfrey Lias, *Büyük Kazak Göçü*, (Istanbul: Bilgeoğuz, 2013), 78.
[298] Personal interview with Kayn Orhon, December 4, 2019,
[299] Kuşçu, "*Changing Perception,"*384.

> excessively so they were not harmed. By the way, those who went eleven years before were reading Pakistani newspapers. Friends of my father and my father, Hüseyin Teyci, wrote letters. They applied to come to Turkey in 1948 during İnönü's rule. They did not accept us, and they said they weren't in a condition to accept immigrants. We were advised in a letter to insist on going to Turkey. My father visited the Turkish embassy in Delhi, and he applied again. The Turkish State agreed. The Ministery Council accepted us on March 13, 1952…[300]

Abdurrahman Çetin, a witness of that period, narrates the events that developed after their admission to Turkey as follows;

> … We resided in Kashmir for three years. We made contact with the Kazakhs who came to Pakistan before us. During the time of Inönü, Turkey did not accept us. Adnan Menderes was on our side, though. The Kazakhs in Kashmir were worried about their posterity. It was said that a delegation would come from Turkey. Kashmiri people were impoverished, using manure for their fire. They couldn't afford to light a stove in their house. Simply poor. When the door opened, 12 people entered through the door. It was the Turkish delegation. When we saw them, we said, "God Almighty," with a hat on their head, jacket and ties. We were surprised. One asked us, "How are you doing, children?". We laughed because children mean sausage in Kazakh. He started speaking Kazakh. They said that they came here as a delegation and that we would be accepted. We were told to be patient, as it may take some time. We were told that we had been accepted. We would soon go to Turkey. They were the members of parliament from the National Assembly...[301]

On March 13, 1952, with the decision of the Council of Ministers, 1850 Kazakh immigrants were accepted as "settlement immigrants" by the Turkish government.[302]

The 3039 members of the first convoy who managed to reach the Indian city of Ladak were settled in a refugee camp in Muzaffarabad. However, the Kazakhs found it challenging to adapt to the Indian climate and the Indian food, and an epidemic broke out in the camp. The Kazakhs were then placed in the Kamfor camp, suffering heavy losses due to outbreaks. Thereupon, the Kazakhs reported their situation to Governor Sir Lord Halifax, who was acting as the deputy of the British king and were placed in the Ternova camp. After changing several camps, they settled in Bhopal, Abudabad, Suvat and Çatıral cities in India. In 1944, when the Kazakhs heard that Osman Batur and Alihan Töre had established the East Turkestan Republic, some Kazakhs returned to East Turkestan.

Meanwhile, bloody clashes between Muslims and Hindus broke out, and the Indian Peninsula was divided into Pakistan and India. The Kazakhs, being Hanafi Muslims,

[300] Personal interview with Mansur Teyci, December 23 Kasım 2019,
[301] Personal interview with Abdurrahman Çetin, December 21,2019,
[302] Ibid.,Altay.292.

chose to settle in Pakistan. Kazakhs began to engage in leather sewing and trade. In 1952, with the second wave of emigration, a group of Kazakhs also fled to India. The second group of Kazakhs and the first group applied for immigration to Turkey and were accepted in 1952 under the Adnan Menderes government. In the next chapter, I discuss the Kazakhs' arduous journey to Turkey and their efforts to settle in Turkey.

4.3. The Final Destination: Turkey as the Second Homeland

Kazakhs had to wait several months for their migration from Pakistan to Turkey. The required documents arrived at the embassy in Karachi only in September 1953. In the four months from October 12, 1953, to December 26, 1379, people came gradually from Karachi to Basra by sea and from Baghdad to Turkey by train. In 1958, more than 48 Kazakhs from Pakistan immigrated to Turkey. Mansur Teyci, 77 years old today, had a childlike joy and enthusiasm as he talked about their journey to Turkey. Mansur Teyci is a terrific storyteller. When he starts to tell, you feel like you are listening to a fairy tale, and this journey will never end. In Mansur Teyci's words:

> ….We boarded the ferry. We were frightened when we got on the ferry. Oh, brother (expression of sincerity)! It's the Indian Ocean, after all. The sun had risen on the ferry, and the ocean surrounded us. No sign of land. Only the ocean. Stars at night and sunshine during daytime. We travelled for thirteen days. When we arrived at the Persian Gulf, it was like in poems; Medina, Mecca, Karbala, wow (expression of disbelief, joy), we were in Mecca. We found Basra. We were exhilarated. Why? Because the religious education we received is still there. We took the train from Baghdad and got off at the Nusaybin gate. A few officers greeted us. They welcomed us with open arms announcing, "Welcome our brothers", so we were surprised. "Welcome to your land, welcome," they said. Those in our group started to prostrate one by one. It wasn't, however, prayer time, "what are they doing," I thought. It turns out they were prostrating for having arrived at the homeland….[303]

Kazakh immigrants who came to Turkey were first settled in Tuzla, Sirkeci and Zeytinburnu guesthouses. All kinds of needs of the immigrants, who underwent health checks in the guesthouses, were covered.[304] Kayn Orhan was thirteen years old when she came to Turkey; her most vivid memory in Tuzla Guesthouse was the clean white sheets. She narrated:

> ....There were snow-white beddings. We opened the door of the Muhajirhane (refugee guesthouse). One part was reserved for women and one side for men. The tables were all prepared, the food was ready, and these details caught our attention. We were not used to eating

[303] Ibid.,292.
[304] Ibid.,Altay, .297.

> at a table and were accustomed to sitting and eating on the floor.There are no tables in the Kazakh custom. Maybe 6 to 10 people sat at one table, eating together. We had dinner with people who didn't know each other. We belong to the same religion, like a brotherhood. Food in the cauldron…. it was the cauldron of our essence… Our elders prayed to God….[305]

Kayn Orhon's memories of the Kazakhs' life in Tuzla are as follows;

> ….We stayed in Tuzla. Some of us stayed for three years, and some for two years. Sheep were slaughtered every day in the guesthouse. Four or five each day. Sometimes they slaughtered six sheep when it was crowded. The beds of our guesthouse were clean, and our linens were washed daily. We were provided with lunch, breakfast, and dinner. They were so kind to us. May Allah bless them (Allah razı olsun). May Allah not let our Turkish brothers ever struggle….[306]

One of my key interlocutors Mansur Teyci narrates his memories of Sirkeci guesthouse. He stated:

> ….We arrived in Haydarpasa. Haydarpaşa looked like a beautiful palace paved with handmade tiles. Our people said "This is a very nice place, let's stay here", they didn't want to leave. Then a ferry came to pick us up. This time, the ladies said, "Oh, it's a beautiful place here; why must we move?". It was sheer ignorance. This time they took us down to Galata. We got on trucks. They placed us in the Sirkeci guesthouse. It smelled so good. There was a long corridor with sofas on either side; I was short. Then, I saw a warm object; it was hot despite the cold weather. It turns out it was a stove. It was our first time seeing a stove. "How does this even heat up without wood or coal?" we asked… Then the manager came to attend to us. He explained how things work. Where and when is the time for breakfast, the bathroom, and the toilet? At Sirkeci guesthouse, it was the first time we experienced civilization. The Turkish Government appointed teachers to teach the children and adults. Our teacher was named Selim. We started learning with the phrase "throw and fetch the apple" (at tut elma)...[307]

Mansur Teyci also tells a story about Adnan Menderes, the Prime Minister of the period;

> ….They told us that the prime minister will come. In our language, we call tent poles a minister. We did not understand what the minister meant. A black car came. Our elders met with Adnan Menderes. Adnan Menderes wanted to meet with the children. He called me right away. He stroked and caressed my head. Menderes: "Can he read?" He was told that I could read and write. Then I sang the Turkish National Anthem. I had memorized it. I received a gift from Adnan Menderes…[308]

While the Kazakh immigrants were in the guesthouses, they were given traditional Turkish dishes and slaughtered lamb at least once weekly. In addition, immigrants

[305] Personal interview with Kayn Orhon, December 4, 2019,
[306] Ibid., Kayn Orhon,
[307] Ibid., Kayn Orhon,
[308] Personal interview with Mansur Teyci, December 23 Kasım 2019,

were given literacy and Turkish speaking lessons. Textile businesses such as carpet weaving and handicraft were taught in the workshops opened. They were trained in needlework, sewing hats, and carpentry in Pakistan.[309]

Table 4.1. The Regions Where Kazakhs Settled in Turkey and the Number of Families Settled[310]

Province	District	Family
Kayseri	Develi	104
Konya	İsmil	72
Sakarya	Adapazarı	2
Manisa	Salihli	160
Niğde	Ulukışla	226

After staying at the camps for at least six months and at most three years, they were settled in Kayseri, Konya, Manisa, and Niğde provinces, their first settlements. Those paid in Manisa/ Salihli were given houses as tradesmen, while the government gave others homes and fields as farmers. Thus, all kinds of support were provided by the Turkish government so that the Kazakhs could lead an everyday life.[311]

Kazakhs had to make an effort to earn their living and be a part of the society in the regions where they settled. Kayn Orhan, one of my interviewees, immigrated to the Salihli district of Manisa with her family after staying in the guesthouses in Tuzla. She narrated:

> ….We were asked what our plan was. Would we be breeding animals? Did we need housing? What will you do? If we wanted homes, they would arrange a place, and if we were going to plant crops, they would provide the land. Some said they wanted to keep animals. Yes, they would be shown some land to become farmers. That's how they settled us in Konya. We were also settled in Niğde and Kayseri. After that, a few people who grew up in Urumqi said they wanted homes (to be provided by the government). They said they wanted to become tradespeople, buy and sell fabrics, and deal with similar things. So we, therefore, went to nearby Izmir (we settled near Izmir). We settled in Salihli. We were told they would not provide land for those who wished to do business, such as trading; they would give houses instead. We were provided with a house to keep ourselves safe. We were given a house with three bedrooms (3 gözlü ev) with a backyard. We settled there…[312]

[309] Svanberg, *Kazak refugees in Turkey*, 83-84.
[310] Ibid.,Altay, 152.
[311] Ibid., 297.
[312] Ibid.,

Kayn Orhon tells how they started working as agricultural labourers as a family in the vineyards in Salihli.

> ...Because there were vineyards and gardens everywhere, there were grapes, melons, and watermelons, and there was fruit all around. It was summertime when we arrived. They were grown in home gardens. Loaded them into the truck, and we worked as the whole family, including the children; we picked grapes at the vineyard...[313]

I asked Kayn Orhon if she had ever collected grapes before while she was telling his story about the people who were taken in a truck to become farmworkers in that region that Summer to work in the vineyards (voluntarily);

> ... "No, we didn't," he said. "Of course, our ancestors had properties (animals) and land in the old days. But we haven't seen anything like these vineyards. Grapes grow in the Altai mountains, for sure. But of course, Kazakhs do not deal with crops, just with animals. Some did not engage in agriculture but traded animals. Such people are not blindfolded (it's not like they know nothing). When we came to Salihli, we worked on such jobs. My father took my brother and me as well. We worked until the evening. But our lunch was the bread we took and the grapes we picked in the field. My father asked if we could eat these grapes with bread. The owner of the vineyard responded, "For sure you can". It was only dry bread, but it was tasty. He paid us our money in the evenings. 5 lira for children, 5 lira was a lot of money back then. After that, I went two days in a row. On the third day, my father said," I will not take the little boy. I will not take my little boy, and they give him money. Salihli is a beautiful place, and it is close to the mountains. Where we lived was called Kurtuluş district. He also gave me money the next day...[314]

> The story of Kayn Orhon;
>
> My father said:
> You paid the child yesterday, and you also paid him today. Is it ok to produce a child?
> The employer replied:
> Why not? He is also working, so he deserves it.
> My father:
> It’s up to you, and please do give your blessing…
> The employer:
> Of course, you do have my blessing, but why are you guys all like this?
> My father:
> We are not a greedy bunch.[315]

While conveying these memories, Kayn Orhon often emphasized the hard work and honesty of the Kazakhs. She added that "there's no stealing or theft" among Kazakhs.

However, the Kazakhs did not stay in the regions they settled for long. 1960 some migrated to Zeytinburnu for economic reasons and established leather workshops. The

[313] Ibid., 297.
[314] Ibid., 297.
[315] Personal interview with Kayn Orhon, December 4, 2019,

Kazakhs, who had been dealing with leather processing and trade for a long time, settled in Bağcılar / Güneşli over time. Today they live in Zeytinburnu and Bağcılar/ Güneşli.

In short, in the four months from October 12, 1953, to December 26, 1379, they were accepted as immigrants by the Turkish government and arrived in Turkey from Karachi to Basra, then by sea to Baghdad and finally by train. Kazakh immigrants who arrived in Turkey were first placed in Tuzla, Sirkeci and Zeytinburnu guesthouses. Kazakh immigrants were given literacy and Turkish speaking lessons in guesthouses. They were taught textile businesses, such as carpet weaving and handicrafts, in the workshops. Kazakh migrants who stayed in the camps for a minimum of six months and a maximum of three years were resettled in Kayseri, Konya, Manisa and Niğde. Although Kazakhs strive to make a living and become a part of the society in the regions where they settled, Kazakhs did not stay in the areas they settled for a long time. In 1960 some migrated to Zeytinburnu for economic reasons and established leather workshops—the Kazakhs, who had been engaged in leather processing and trade for a long time. Today, the majority of them live in Zeytinburnu and Bağcılar. After explaining a broad chronology of the Kazakhs' journey of settlement from India to Turkey based on the narrators' stories, I will present an analysis of how and why Kazakh male and female narrators explain and make sense of their past within the framework of social, material and cultural patterns.

4.4. Gendered Stories of Migration

The oral history study I conducted with men and women narrators was instructive in demonstrating how different men's and women's experiences are and how gender differences shape the dominant side of their memories. At the same time, this oral history study has attempted to reveal why and how men and women explain, rationalize and make sense of their past within the framework of the social, material, and cultural patterns in which they operate. At this point, while the stories of women mainly focus on the traditions of daily life, social and economic situations, birth, death,

and other privacy issues, the male narrators try to paint a clear picture of the political, religious, and cultural structures of the Kazakh community.

While male narrators generally conveyed their political and historical life stories, women's narratives revealed life practices such as social-cultural relations. The reasons for escaping from Communist China, their experiences during migration, Turkey's refusal to apply for asylum after coming to India and their gratitude to Adnan Menderes for accepting them were the common themes of all narrators. On the other hand, in settling in Turkey, their narratives touched on issues such as cultural adaptation processes, economic concerns and social problems in the different regions they inhabited. While the main transitional periods in men's life stories are closely related to politics and the economy, transitional periods in women's life stories include deaths, births, personal dramas during migration and other social experiences such as cultural characteristics and housework. But still, there are some exceptional cases.

My study includes male and female Kazakh interviewees of all ages. Therefore, it allows us to analyze the narrative styles of three generations of male and female narrators. Firstly, the prominent differences in the life stories of the first generation old Kazakh male and female narrators. Female narrators did not mind telling emotional and intimate stories, such as losses and childbirth during migration. Male narrators rarely preferred to talk about their losses. In Kayn. Orhon's words;

> …She is riding on a camel and holding another camel's bridle simultaneously. Besides, she has a baby. The woman is migrating somewhere by riding a camel. How is this woman supposed to breastfeed her baby? There is no time to stop and have a rest. Sorry! The woman will open her breast to feed her baby, so the men ride their camels a little far from her. She has to breastfeed her baby like this because the enemy is after them. The surrounding echoes with the sound of guns and arrows. They don't have the chance to look behind, so the women have to breastfeed their babies like that when they cry…[316]

In addition, while the female narrators are more emotional when conveying their experiences of the loss, the male narrators normalise the losses by saying they have already set out on this road for a reason. They are grateful for being able to practice their religion freely, even if very few of them can come to Turkey. It is a common tradition to lament after a loss in various cultures worldwide. Painful words, literary

[316] Ibid.,Kayn Orhon

metaphors, crying, screaming, silence, facial expressions, and bodily disturbances (trembling, whistling, self-beating, hair pulling) are some ways to express the pain experienced due to the loss of someone.[317]This is the most tangible way of saying pain in Kazakh community.

The lament, called "Coqtav aytuv" in Kazakh, is performed by lamenting the wife or daughter of the deceased and then commemorating the characteristics of the dead and his/her services to the community. In the Kazakh community, Kazakh women gathered in the funeral home undertake lament. Every woman who comes to the funeral home begins lamenting as soon as she enters. No matter how emotionally bitter the lament is, it does not end until you read some verses from the Quran and Al-Fatiha.[318] The requiem consists of splendid words and is sung in a mournful voice. An example of Kazakh laments is as follows;

> Agaekem ketti tas üyge,
> (Ağabeyciğim gitti taş eve)
> My dear brother went to the stone house.
>
> Beldevi cok bos üyge,
> (Belinde ipi olmayan eve,)
> The Home without a rope
>
> Cancağına karaşı,
> (Etrafına bak bakalım,)
> Look around
>
> Agaekem kusap kim görünür o süydö.
> (Ağabeyciğim gibi kim görülmüş söyle)
> Tell me, is there anyone else like my dear brother?[319]

However, during my interviews, when I asked the Kazakh narrators whether there were various types of oral or written narratives related to their losses, such as laments, songs, and poems, most said they did not know anything about such kinds of oral narratives. I could only reach a limited number of examples of verbal descriptions compiled in previous years about Kazakhs living in Turkey. Due to various reasons, such as hunger, high pressure, epidemic, and being shot by the enemy during the migration journey, the Kazakhs did not have the opportunity to mourn the losses and

[317] Ramazan Aras, *The formation of Kurdishness in Turkey: political violence, fear and pain (* London ; New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 120.
[318] Tanju Karadağ, "*Manisa Salihli İlçesi kazakları (Kültür ve Folklor)*" (Master Theisis ,,Muğlla sıtkı kocaman üniversitesi, 2019), 107-108.
[319] Ibid., 110.

sufferings. They have to escape without stopping. When they came to India, they continued to experience losses. Immediately after their permanent settlers arrived in Turkey, economic concerns arose. Men and women narrators who witnessed the migration have an everyday discourse when conveying their memories. "We could not fulfil the practices of our religion there, and we migrated because we did not want to leave our religion." (Islam) -They think it is similar to Muhammad's Hegira to Medina-

In fact, in the narratives of the Kazakhs, we do not see similar descriptions of violence, persecution, torture, and mass murder that the Jews suffered in the Nazi camps. However, there is an estimated 50,000 losses.[320]The total population of Kazakhs[321] is estimated to be 500,000 in the 1940s.[322] Migrating to another country for justified reasons and being displaced is another type of violence and indicates social trauma. Furthermore, the loss of life of thousands of Kazakhs while escaping for fear of persecution is a massacre in itself. As a result, the witnesses of Kazakh migration are traumatized individuals. These traumatized individuals, who have deep and painful memories, develop many coping strategies such as forgetting, suppressing, ignoring, and denying to be free from the burden of the past.[323]

During my fieldwork, I observed that male and female witnesses developed discourses such as "in the way of Allah, for Allah, to follow our religion (Islam)" to escape the heavy burden of the past. First-generation Kazakh interviewees, who frequently emphasize their Muslim identity, added to their narratives that the extreme behaviour of those who mourn in Islam is considered a sin and that a Muslim must internalize the tradition of perseverance. They also emphasized how holy it is to be a martyr on the path of religion and the importance of patience and perseverance in the face of death (strength of endurance shown to complete or conclude) in the Islamic traditions. It is seen that they can cope with the loss and pain of their migration memories in this way. In Aklima Hakim's words;

[320] There is no official record as the migration convoys are scattered. Therefore, the numbers are approximate.
[321] Hasan Oraltay, *Kazak Türkleri,* (Istanbul: Türk Kültür Yayını, 1976), 267.a
[322] According to the official provincial government report it is 319,000.(Clark 1955, .21.)
[323] Paul Antze ve Michael Lambek, *Tense past: cultural essays in trauma and memory.(* New York: Routledge, 1996),3-25..

> ….My mother died. My siblings. They failed, too. We lost our relatives due to the lack of air. However, thank God, our elders are still alive. We were able to arrive at the Indian border….[324]

Today, more than seventy years have passed since the Kazakh migration. Even though all of the first-generation narrators do not have many memories because they left their homeland, East Turkestan, at a young age, while female narrators convey emotional memories such as their longing for their land and nightmares about immigration, on the contrary, the narratives of the males were related to the economic and political developments in China, Kazakhstan, and Turkey. In Aklima Hakim's words;

> ….I do not see it in my dreams because we spent a little time there. I mostly heard about it from my father. I was not exposed to any cruelty there. I see the journey as a nightmare. I wanted to lie on a horse and sleep while the enemy chased after us..."[325]

Kayn Orhan, another migration witness, relates her dreams as follows;

> ….We experienced it but forgot about it. Back then, we always escaped like that in my dreams, crossing the mountains, and there was always snow. My mother used to say that the snow was cold and white, so this would end well. We would be okay. She also said that the snow indicates separation since the snow is cold, and we would never come together again. She was right….[326]

As in every community, the traumas experienced by the Kazakh community have found a place in their oral narratives and literature. Today, Kazakhs' longing for their homeland appears in some types of verbal descriptions collected in various studies on Kazakhs in Turkey, especially in poetry and folk songs. To talk about the current situation of Kazakh oral narratives, most have disappeared, or the younger generation rarely remembers them.

However, Saadet Çağatay published Kazakh oral narratives compiled from interviews with Kazakh immigrants staying in the Sirkeci guesthouse in 1953 under the title "Kazakh Texts". An example from a poem in this book that describes homesickness.

> *Hasret Bastan Keşken*
>
> *Memleketime hasretim*

[324] Personal interview with Aklima Hakim, December 23, 2021,
[325] Ibid.,Aklima Hakim,
[326] Personal interview with Kayn Orhon, December 4, 2019,

I long for my homeland

1-Altay edi mekenim tuwğan cerim,
Altay idi mekanı
Altai was my home.

2- Meken cerden ayrīlīp tütsü belim.
Mekanımdan ayrı düştüm
I have been separated from my home/homeland

3- Kayran elim Kazağīm Kaldīn keyin,
Sevgili vatanım, Kazağım geride kaldı.
My beloved country, my Kazakh, was left behind.

4- Sizder üşün oy oylap kayğī ciyim,
Sizleri düşünüp özlüyorum.
I am thinking of you and miss you.

5- Zalimdarīn kolunda korluk körgen
Zalimlerin elinde hakaret çekiyorum.
I suffer insults at the hands of demons/ oppressors.

6- Azattīkka kolunda korluk körgen
Halkımı hürriyete kavuştursam diyorum
I yearn for my people's freedom.

7- Aman esen biz cürmöz canyada
Biz sağ Salim yürüyoruz can atarak
We are walking/going safely and willing

…….[327]

Another example ;

Qara tavdın el basına, köş keledi ay.
(Karadağın başına göç geliyor ay)
Köşküñ sayın bir taylak bos keledi ay.
(Göçün içinde bir deve yavrusu boş geliyor ay)
Elim ay, elim ay.
Elden jerden ayrılgan, kıyın eken ay,
(memleketten ayrılmak, zor imiş ay)
Kara közdün möldürüp, jas keledi ay.
(Kara gözüm ağlayıp yaş geliyor ay)[328]

Second-generation male and female participants rarely mentioned different themes in their narratives. Their narratives revolved around political, economic, historical, and social issues such as a chronological narrative of migration, the necessity of knowing their family tree up to seven common ancestors[329], their love for Turkey, the

[327] Saadet Çağatay, *Kazakça Metinler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1961), 101.
[328] Karadağ, " *Manisa Salihli Kazakları,"* 124.
[329] Every Kazakh Turk knows his family tree up to seven ancestors. Each Kazakh child is taught their ancestral family tree as soon as they learn to speak. Kazakh Turks, as per their tradition, ask their newly acquainted kinsmen, "Which tribe are you from?"The most important reason for this is that, according

independence of Kazakhstan, the leather businesses established in Zeytinburnu, and Adnan Menderes. Few of the interviewees presented narratives from their own parents' migration memories. The most important and common theme here was "Pride". Both male and female participants from the second generation expressed their feelings of pride for their emigration to Turkey. Muzaffer altınmakas stated:

> … Our elders suffered a lot. They migrated to Pakistan. They do not speak the language, and they do not know any Turkish. The Turkish government provided them with a house. They stood on their feet and became a family. They raised children. I feel very proud of them…[330]

On the other hand, in the same manner, Gülsüm Hakim also remembers and narrated that:

> …They used to tell me when I was a child. The stories they tell are like in the movies. The difficulties they experienced on the way… For instance, their last encounter with Osman Batur is with my father. He went there with Alibek Hakim. They always used to talk with their friends. When they told these stories when I was a kid (with a smile on her face), sometimes I wish I had been there. One wants to join and fight, but you hesitate when you realise how hard it is. I mean, it is a complete ambivalence. A tragedy they live in every day. This whole thing is like a novel, and I am so proud of them…[331]

Children of survivors of a cultural or collective trauma inherit this family heritage through their parents' narratives. While it is not surprising that trauma passes through the generations, the children of the victims end up in possession of someone else's memories. This situation, which defines by the term "post-memory", can be explained simply as the indirect transfer of traumatic memories to the second generation of trauma survivors, and this is a compelling memory because it circulates not through its connection with its object or source but through reminiscence representational projection.[332] In this respect, Gülsüm Hakim, whom I interviewed in Salihli, stated that as a second-generation Kazakh immigrant, besides the bond she established with the story, her mother told her, Sara Ahmed noted that although she is connected with love, one cannot convey someone else's pain from her point of view.[333] We have the opportunity to listen to the story of the daughter of a woman with dementia and touch

to the traditions of the Kazakhs, those who have up to seven common ancestors are considered relatives and cannot marry among themselves.This information included in the book called "From Homeland to Anatolia" by Halife Altay was given in a similar way by almost all of the narrators during my interviews.

[330] Personal interview with Muzaffer Altınmakas,December 22, 2020,

[331] Personal interview with Gülsüm Hakim, December 23, 2020,

[332] Marrianne Hirsch, "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory," *Johns Hopkins University* 14, no. 1 (spring 2001), 9-12.

[333] Sara Ahmet, "Acının Olumsallığı," *Duyguların Kültürel* Politikası, trans., Sultan Komut (Istanbul, : Sel yayıncılık , 3.pub. 2019), 54.

on the story of the pregnancy and birth of a woman, which is considered private by some. It is not as easy to hear such stories from male narrators as from female narrators. When the Chinese forces attacked them during the migration, Gülsüm's mother, who was seven months pregnant then, was injured in her arm. Even though the caravan managed to pass through the swamp and repel the attack, Gülsüm's mother went into travail. Gülsüm relates what she heard from her mother;

> …. She (my mother) gave birth that night. My mother was afraid and got a bullet, so the baby was born when he was seven months old. Then, she abandoned the baby as she thought he would not be able to live under those circumstances. They just put the baby in a *Kalpak* so that animals would not find and eat it. The other women cared for my mother; however, there was no cloth to wrap her arm up. They asked my aunt for some goods to use. Two hours later, when the baby started crying, they named the child Oklubay. (because of the bullet) Then, he died of an infectious disease at four or five. My mother had 13 children in total, but seven of them died….[334]

Finally, a Kazakh woman narrator representing the third generation, when I visited their association in Bağcılar to interview, while we were chatting with two male narrators and around a table, mentioned her grandmother's memories and she told a story; "After the loss of a woman's baby, she carried a stone in her bosom instead of her baby." During this interview, I recorded one of the first stories in which the pain experienced after the losses during the Kazakh migration until then came to the surface. The most remarkable point is that in *Anayurttan Anadolu'ya (From the Motherland to Anatolia)*, Halife Altay and *Kazakhs in Turkey, Kazakh Refugees in Turkey; A study of Cultural Persistence and Social Change,* Ingvar Svanberg attributed the case of no birth among Kazakhs during the few years they spent in India to climatic conditions while a third-generation female narrator related it to the fact that women did not have period due to extreme sadness and stress.[335] That is an obvious example of the adverse effects experienced on women's bodies in traumatic situations. While listening to the migration stories during my interview, I wanted to ask how the women narrators deal with conditions such as births and menstruation, but they did not want to talk about such things. That is understandable because it is still challenging for women to discuss these issues publicly.

[334] Personal interview with Gülsüm Hakim, December 23, 2020,
[335] Svanberg, *Kazak refugees in Turkey*,282.

In most societies, it is considered shameful and concealed for women to state that they have menstruation and to talk about sexual diseases peculiar to women in the presence of men. In this narrative, it can be seen that many issues that are a part of women's daily life and will affect women's quality of life in displacement events such as migration are still not clarified.

In this section, I analyze how Kazakh male and female narrators across generations have adopted different narrative styles in telling their stories. Regardless of age, male narratives are characterized by topics such as politics, economics, religion, and culture. Women's narratives are characterized by more emotional and intimate issues such as family, daily practices, death, and mourning. While female narrators were more willing to talk about grief and loss, men either ignored it or accepted it by attributing it to a reason such as "it had to be done". Nevertheless, while women's narratives contain a more dramatic structure, men's narratives are far from surprising and emotional. Finally, the tendency of almost all second and third-generation female narrators to narrate the migration stories of their ancestors as if they were their memories was rarely seen in male narrators of the same generation. In addition, unlike the first and second-generation female narrators, the third-generation female narrators did not hesitate to touch upon issues considered intimate for women, such as childbirth and menstruation. As a result, although the narratives and contents of men and women are different, I had the opportunity to observe through my oral history study that the range of the descriptions of men and women in different generations in the same community has changed.

CHAPTER V

IDENTITY AND THE SENSE OF THE BELONG

5.1. The Politics of Identity: "I am a Turk but Kazakh"

Even though it has been more than half a century since the Kazakh community migrated to Turkey in 1953, during the interviews, when I talked about the identities of the narrators from each generation, they shared their "personal stories" by establishing versatile identifications with other members of the group based on their social, cultural, personal histories and interests. In this context, this section aims to explain how, since their first migration to Turkey, members of the Kazakh community have formulated and reformulated their identities and allegiances in Turkey, which has been the host state for generations, within the framework of the experiences of three generations of narrators. Still, before doing that, I will present a literature review on the theory of identity and "Identity" itself.

Various disciplines and scientists have discussed the term identity, which comes from the Latin root "idem", meaning "the same"[336] at micro, mezzo, macro, and global levels, and tried to explain how people categorize or label themselves and others and define their identity.[337] The term "identity" has been used in many different meanings and contexts in recent years. David Buckingham defines identity as an ambiguous and slippery term that means both "similarity" and "difference" and that identity is something unique to each of us, something we possess uniquely, which we assume to be more or less consistent (and therefore the same) over time. Formulates it as what separates us from other people. According to him, a person establishes multiple identifications with others based on social, cultural, and biological characteristics, shared values, personal histories, and interests. Still, one is not entirely free to choose

[336] David Buckingham, Youth, identity, and digital media;The John D. and Catherine T. Macarthur Foundation series on digital media and learning, (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2008), 1.
[337] Stuart Hall, and Paul Du Gay, *Questions of cultural identity* (London /Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 1996), 6-9.

how that will occur, and one's identity may change depending on who they are or believe one is, who one is in social situations and their motivations. Others define persons. As a result, Buckingham associates identity with the collective and some social groups.[338]

Social theorist Zygmunt Bauman's assertion is that: "The idea of 'identity' was born out of the crisis of belonging and out of the effort it triggered to bridge the gap between the 'ought' and the 'is' and to lift reality to the standards set by the idea - to remake the reality in the likeness of the idea"[339] On the other hand Gerd Baumann defines identity in several different categories. First, "postulated identity" and "disembedded identity". "Postulated identity" is to say one word too many, as neither there is nor can there be any other identities but a postulated one. Besides, The 'disembedded' identity simultaneously ushered in the individual's freedom of choice and dependency on expert guidance[340] Douglas Kellner mentions that "identity today becomes a freely chosen game, a theatrical presentation of the self" and argues that identity is reconstructed and defined in modern societies[341] On the other hand, Amin Maalouf emphasizes that identity is formed throughout life and undergoes changes in this process. The elements that makeup identity are not innate, and identity is an acquired acquisition.[342]

As one can see, there is not only one definition of identity, and individuals may not have a single identity. Modern life categorizes individuals and assigns them multiple identities.[343] At this point, Stuart defines that the concept of identity has not remained unchanged throughout history as a more superficial or artificially imposed multiple "selves" shared by a people with a common history and ancestors. Also, he argues that identity can be seen as "the meeting point" between subjective processes inscribed in

[338] Ibid., Buckingham, 1-2.
[339] Zygmunt Bauman,"Identity: conversations with Benedetto Vecchi," *Identity*, ed.Zygmunt Bauman, (Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2004), 20.
[340] Gerd Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic and Religious Identities,* 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 1999), 19.
[341] Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay, *Questions of cultural identity,* 18.
[342] Amin Maalouf, *In the Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong* (New York: Arcade : Distributed by Time Warner Trade, 2001),23.
[343] Nur Banu Zafer, " *The Kazakh Identity and Its Transformation After 1990 in Turkey*," (Master Thesis, Yıldız Technıcal University, 2020),12.

our way of life and the discourses that position us: identities are temporary attachment points to subject positions that discursive practices construct for us. "They are the result of a successful articulation or "chaining" of the subject into the flow of the discourse."[344]

On the other hand, Gerd Baumann defines identity as a multicultural puzzle. Also, he explains identity as ethnicity and cultural identity by emphasizing that each of the peoples has their own culture and the idea of cultural unity in establishing states. Ethnicity is related to blood ties, so roots are "- where I come from, what makes me who I am, in a word, natural identity."[345]Still, Gerd Baumann emphasizes that it is wrong to assume that ethnicity or absolute ethnic identity is the only person's identity. The idea of ethnicity essentially refers to Biological ancestry.[346]

> First, descent, that is, tracing persons from ancestors, is an act of present-day memory looking back, as opposed to an authentic action of genealogical bookkeeping. Second, even a scientifically ascertained individual ancestry does not determine patterns of behaviour or preferences among humans. Genetics may influence our looks and even our horizons, but these can be transformed in the light of individual choices and experience.[347]

Gerd Baumann touches upon the importance of culture on identity rather than race or ethnicity. Therefore, identities are not fixed. They are fluid and can be shaped.[348] As a result, the approaches to the definition of identity in the Modern and Postmodern eras have focused on the fact that identity is multiple mobile, fluid, shaped and reconstructed concepts.

After briefly discussing identity theories, I will attempt to analyze their identity perceptions based on my fieldwork interviews with twenty Kazakh interviewees. During my discussions with five first-generation Kazakh immigrants born in East Turkestan and who immigrated from East Turkestan when the youngest was five, and the oldest was thirteen, they identified as "Muslim," "Kazakh," "Turk," or "Kazakh Turk." Aklima Hakim, one of the old narrators living in Salihli, prioritizes her

[344] Ibid., Hall and Du Gay, 3-6.
[345] Baumann, The Multicultural Riddle, 19.
[346] Ibid, 19-20.
[347] Ibid, 20.
[348] Ibid, 19-20.

"Muslim" identity when defining her identity. “ First of all, I must say that I am a Muslim, Kazakh and Turk.”[349]

Mansur Teyci, another narrator, emphasizes his Kazakh identity as well as his Turkish identity as he grew up in Turkey. “ I am Kazakh, but I grew up here, so I am also Turkish. There is no need to say that we are Kazakh because it is obvious.”[350]

Ömer Yiğit states that his Turkish identity is not separate from his Kazakh identity. “ We call it Kazakh, but it does not mean we are separated from the Turks.”[351]

For the first generation, while their Kazakh identity is is apparent, being Kazakh does not require the construction of an identity separate from being Turkish. In Kayn Orhon’s words “ I cannot forget my ancestors. I am Turkish and Kazakh. It is also clear that the homeland of the Turks in Central Asia.”[352]

For these first-generation immigrants, the answers to the questions "Where are you from?" and "Who are you?" were "I am from East Turkestan" and "I am a Muslim, Kazakh Turk." Kayn Orhon states; “ Our elders knew that it was a Muslim country, but they knew it as Central Asian. The origins of the Turks are from there. They don't know they come from the same root, and they just know they are Muslims.”[353]

Also, Kayn Orhon’s answer to my question about her identity: “ Do you identify yourself as a Kazakh Turk living in Turkey? Kayn Orhon answer the question: Sure (emphasizing). Is it a lie? Thank God. Can I say that I am different? My religion, roots, and blood are the same, so why should I say I am different?”[354]

During the interviews, they frequently emphasized their Muslim identity. Still, they did not always directly answer the question of who they were as "I am a Muslim," but instead stressed that they were "Kazakh Turks". For the first generation, Islam and

[349] Personal interview with Aklima Hakim,December 23, 2021,
[350] Personal interview with Mansur Teyci, November 23, 2019,
[351] Personal interview with Ömer Yiğit, December 25, 2019,
[352] Personal interview with Kayn Orhon, December 4, 2019,
[353] Ibid., Kayn Orhon,
[354] Ibid., Kayn Orhon,

Turkishness equate them with the host country as an umbrella identity. Identity consists of elements that include a series of attachments, such as a religion, a nation, a profession, an institution, and an environment. According to Maalouf, one can feel a more or less strong attachment to a state, a village, or a neighbourhood.[355]

At this point, the first-generation narrators of Kazakhs unite around two common discourses when discussing their identities. The first one is Muslim identity. Aklima Hakim, the daughter of Hamza Ucar, one of the essential leaders of the Kazakh migration, tells the following story about the American government's acceptance of Kazakhs as immigrants, but the Kazakhs' refusal to accept it;

> … Our elders had some concerns. They believed that if they migrated to the USA, their children would remain Muslims until they died, and their grandchildren would abandon their Muslim identity and adopt different beliefs. (They believed that their grandchildren would become "gavur", which means leaving Islam and becoming an unbeliever in Turkish) They had already escaped from China because of this reason. Would it be reasonable if they accepted now? For this reason, they decided to arrive in a Muslim country no matter what, and they did not receive the invitation to the USA…[356]

While presenting a chronological narrative of the migration stories, the narrators stated that the main reason for their ancestors' migration was that they fled to a Muslim country to live their religion freely after the Chinese Communist Party prohibited Muslim practices. They compared it to the migration of Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. Nevertheless, Islam was a unifying umbrella identity for Muslim ethnic groups living in East Turkestan, separating them from non-Muslim ethnic groups such as Han Chinese living in the region.[357] In this context, Aklima Hanım narrated that:

> There was a chief of the tribe named Sultan Şerif Teyci. They questioned him there for a week. They had forced him to preach to his people and praise communism. They were saying that there is no belief in God in communism. They pressured whoever believed in Islam, saying they had to become a non-believer. They were interrogated/questioned for a week without bread, water, and sleep. When Sultan Şerif Teyci came from there, he had made his decision. The best thing to do was immigrate. They had to protect their nation and religion, so we set out to achieve this goal.[358]

[355] Maalouf, In the Name of Identity, 10.
[356] Personal interview with Aklima Hakim,December 23, 2021,
[357] Linda Benson, The Ili Rebellion: the Moslem challenge to Chinese authority in Xinjiang, 1944-1949 (Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 1990), 30.
[358] Ibid., 30.

Gerd Bauman insists that "in complex situations of social strife, one can often find ethnic, national, or migratory boundaries transformed into religious ones."[359] Muslim communities living in the East Turkestan (Xinjiang) region, such as Uyghur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Taranchi, Tatar, Tajik and Kyrgyz, all spoke Turkish dialects, except for Tajiks. Islam was the common heritage of these communities.[360] At this point, the first-generation Kazakh narrators adopted Islam as the umbrella identity. Although it is pretty usual for them to be old, the first-generation old Kazakh narrators in my study left their hometown when the youngest was five, the oldest was thirteen, and a few grew up in Turkey. Therefore, they use expressions. "Turkishness" as a second identity when describing themselves. The spread of thought movements such as "Pan Islamism" and "Pan-Turanism" in East Turkestan impacted the identity formation of the nomadic Kazakhs in the region.

The rapid expansion of trade between Uyghur communities and Russia (especially Tatar traders) in the 18th century brought various currents of ideas and ideologies to the region. Xinjiang traders interacted with progressive Muslim intellectuals during their trade-in in Kazan (Crimea) and other Russian cities.[361] Thus, a new "Intellectual Class" emerged among the ethnic elements living in the region, especially the Uyghurs, who experienced a profound identity crisis regarding their ethnic identity. While this period was called the "Uyghur Enlightenment", the Jadist movement (Jadist education referred to as a secular education system) for modern schools spread in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century against the dominant school and madrasah-based Islamic education in Central Asia. While in Jadist schools, subjects were taught outside the traditional Islamic school curriculum, including mathematics, history, and geography.[362]

The Ottoman Empire, the only Muslim state ruled by the Turks, also contributed to the Uyghur enlightenment.[363] Turkish teachers were appointed in the Jadist schools in

[359] Baumann, The Multicultural Riddle, .23.
[360] Benson, The Ili Rebellion, 29-30.
[361] James A.Millard, *Eurasian crossroads: a history of Xinjiang*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 171-172.
[362] Ibid., 171-175.
[363] Ke Wang ve Carissa Fletcher, *The East Turkestan Independence Movement, the 1930s-1940s (*Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2018), 31.

Southern Xinjiang, and some Uyghur Intellectuals received education in the Ottoman Empire.[364] While the Jadist curriculum contributed to the spread of Pan-Turanist ideology, the Kazakhs, rarely educated in the established schools, returned to the nomadic peoples of the mountains and ensured the spread of these ideologies.[365] In addition, leaders from both the Uyghur and Kazakh groups embraced these new ideas during their long and arduous "pilgrimage" to Mecca. They also formed deep ties with Islamic culture. Leaders with the title of "Haji" were instrumental in spreading these new views and ideas since they had high status when they returned from Mecca.

Vamık D. Volkan defines large group identity - religion, nationality or ethnicity - as the subjective experience of thousands or millions of people who are linked by a persistent sense of sameness and, at the same time, sharing numerous characteristics with other people in foreign groups.[366] Based on this definition, I emphasize the "Muslim" identity as the large group identity of the Kazakhs. Volkan underlines that a large group identity provides comfort, belonging and protection, where the person shares a constant sense of sameness with others in the large group. Because it is worn every day, the individual with a large group identity hardly notices it under normal circumstances.[367] In this sense, the first-generation Kazakh narrators' explanation of "Muslimness" as the first and primary identity may be related to the fact that the first-generation narrators have been wearing their Muslim identity every day since East Turkestan, providing them with a sense of comfort, belonging and protection, because in East Turkestan, being Muslim or not being Muslim was the dividing line rather than ethnic identity. To add that, first-generation narrators underlined that they saw communism as a threat to their "Muslim" identity. In times of collective stress, such as economic crisis, serious political change, social upheaval or war, the importance of the identity worn every day increases, and the large group identity is protected and defended by the large group members. The main task of a large group is to try to protect the large group's identity. In the case of Kazakhs, Kazakhs have worn and defended their "Muslim" identity against the threat of communism. As a result, the first

[364] Ibid., 32.
[365] Ibid., Millward, 175.
[366] Vamık D. Volkan, "Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas, " *Transgenerational Transmissions and "Chosen Trauma": An Element of Large-Group Identity (*Opening address XIII International Association of Group Psychotherapy August 1998).
[367]Ibid.,

generation of Kazakh narrators lived in East Turkestan for a while and experienced the comfortable and belonging process of Muslim identity.

Moreover, the placement of non-Muslim peoples in the East Turkestan region of the Chinese, who invaded the territory in the 20th century, led to a more fantastic indication of their Muslim and Turkish identity.[368] Finally. In contrast, Xinjiang's resident Turkish speakers were referred to as Turks or Turkic peoples, and the use of fourteen different ethnic names, such as Uyghur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Taranchi, Tatar, Tajik and Kyrgyz, Mongolian, Hui, was encouraged during the Sheng period.[369] In this context, the "Turkishness" identity emerged as another umbrella identity besides Islam with the influence of these currents of thought spreading in East Turkestan, especially in East Turkestan since the 19th century, and gathered the Turkish speakers of the region under one umbrella.

Gerd Bauman claims that the multicultural triangle has three problematic relationships. These are nation-state versus ethnicity, nation-state versus religion, and ethnicity versus religion. In this sense, the reason why nation-state and ethnicity make a problematic pair because of the romantic heritage of the concept of nation.[370] This romantic heritage distinguishes ethnicities as if they were biological identities; then equates these biological identities with all cultures; and, finally, assumes that the fulfilment of ethnic identity is to become a state-forming nation. However, no matter how much the idea that the ethnic groups in the nation-state are a single nation is tried to be accepted, ethnic groups are marginalized and tend to form their nation-state by separating.[371] In the case of East Turkestan (point), as Chiang Kai Sheng tried to spread the idea of a single nation or when a single ideology was accepted as Communism in the Mao era, Turkish Muslim groups started independence movements.[372]

Although rare, the narrators described themselves as "Muslim, Kazakh or Kazakh Turk". Although they pointed to their civic ties with the host country, Turkey, during

[368] Ibid., Benson, p. 32.
[369] Ibid., p.31.
[370] Baumann, The Multicultural Riddle, p.51-52.
[371] Ibid., 51-52.
[372] Ibid.,Benson, 10-18.

their narratives, they also felt the need to state their ethnic identity. Born and raised in Turkey, Muzaffer Altinmakas today identifies himself more as a Turkish than a Kazakh: "I consider myself more Turkish than Kazakh. Because I learned both good and bad here. I am Kazakh. It is my origin. My lifestyle is like a Kazakh. But I grew up in this country."[373]

Similarly, Abdulvahap Kılınç equates being a Kazakh Turk with being a Turkish: "I consider myself as a Kazakh Turk. I mean, we are Turks." [374]

Abdulvahap Kılınç also points out that becoming a citizen legitimizes their Turkish identity: "Those born after 1960, we are not different from you. We have the citizenship of the Republic of Turkey. We are the citizens of the Turkish Republic." [375]

When does one think about identity? Zygmunt Bauman answers this question as follows;

> One thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs; that is, one is not sure how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioural styles and patterns, and how to make sure that people around would accept this placement as proper so that both sides would know how to go on in each other's presence. 'Identity' is a name given to the escape sought from that uncertainty. [376]

The fact that Kazakh immigrants position themselves between distinctive behavioural styles and patterns and that they are sure that the people around them accept this settlement as correct and appropriate have changed in the process, causing them to think about "identity" between generations. Meryem Hakim explains the rethinking of Kazakh identity after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the following words;

> …Before the Soviets collapsed, we were all from Turkestan. Uzbeks, Pakistanis and Kyrgyz can be included in this. When Kazakhstan became independent, it suddenly became called "Kazakhs". This is one of the things that irritates me the most. We are already Kazakhs, but we suddenly became Kazakh as an identity. We suddenly became Kazakhs from being Turkish or Central Asian. Like the Soviet Kazakhs… This meant that we came here as Turks and Muslims, and this identity should have outweighed. There is also a matter of benefit. Since

[373] Personal interview with Muzaffer Altınmakas,December 22, 2020,

[374] Personal interview with Abdulvahap Kılınç December 29, 2019,

[375] Ibid., Abdulvahap Kılınç,

[376] Zygmunt Bauman, "From Pilgrim to Tourist- or a Short History of Identity, " ,*Questions of Cultural identity, e*d.Hall, Stuart, ve Paul Du Gay (London/ Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 1996), 19.

> Kazakhstan is a prosperous country, some people used to go to Kazakhstan. But they were like... I know some people whose seventy-seven dynasties were born in Turkey and buried here. However, these people say that they are Kazakhs when their identity is asked, wait a minute..." (She started laughing)[377]

Second Generation narrators gave conscious or unconscious references to "Turkishness" while defining their identities. In this context, "Turkishness" became the default identity for the second generation. Zygmunt Bauman touches on that "Postulated identity' is to say one word too many, as neither there is nor can there be any other identities but a postulated one. Identity is a critical projection of what is demanded or sought upon what is, or, more precisely still, an oblique assertion of the inadequacy or incompleteness of the latter. Identity entered the modern mind and practice dressed as an individual task."[378]

Another point about the second generation narrators is that, unlike the first generation narrators, they rarely answer "I am a Muslim" to the question "Who are you?". That brings to mind Anthony Giddens' claim that many beliefs and customary practices used to define identities in traditional societies are now less effective. Just like other thinkers, Giddens believes that identity is fluid and malleable rather than fixed.[379]

On the other hand, although their emphasis on their ethnic identity is similar to that of the first generation, their priority is to state that they are "Turkish" when defining their identity. At the same time, they either do not need to note that they are "Kazakh or Kazakh Turk" at all or emphasize the essence of "Turkishness" in the second place. According to Gerd Bauman, individuals emphasize or reject the characteristics of their ethnicity, which is referred to as "shifting identity" or "contextual ethnicity."[380]

> In social science code, we, therefore, speak of "shifting identity" or "contextual ethnicity." Ethnic identities are thus nothing more than acts of ethnic identification that are frozen in time. As the social climate gets colder, they can go into deep- freeze and harden; as the social climate gets warmer, they can unfreeze and melt into new forms. Analytically speaking, ethnicity is not an identity given by nature, but an identification created through social action.[381]

[377] Personal interview with Meryem Hakim, June 12, 2021,
[378] Ibid., Bauman, 19.
[379] Buckingham, *Youth, identity*, 9.
[380] Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle*, 21.
[381] Ibid., 21.

Finally, in my interviews with the third generation of the Kazakh community between the ages of twenty and thirty, I observed that the narrators' "Identity" discourses changed. Focusing on the understanding of ethnicity and migration that shape identity in the modern age through the lens of the concept of "*translocational positionality,*"[382] Floya Anthias discussed the issue of identity in terms of positions that are not fixed but related to context, meaning, and time and therefore contain shifts and contradictions.[383] At this point, the third-generation Kazakh immigrants, born and raised in Turkey, ask, "Who am I?" He answers the question, "I am from Turkey". Responses such as "I am a Muslim, Kazakh" or "I am a Kazakh Turk" are rarely included in the narrator's definitions of identity, and they hardly refer to the "Muslim" identity. As in the case of Kazakh immigrants, Identity is a fluid and variable term that can encompass many concepts at the same time. Besides, Anthias emphasizes that identity can contain pictures of the 'core self' and notions of objective measures of other people's, for example, country of birth or primary language.

> Identity is a key concept in contemporary discussions of migration. This is not only linked to the role of ethnic markers, which become both visible and challenging in a globalizing world, but also to the regulatory regimes of modern states and coalitions.[384]

Anthias argues that ethnic and cultural links operate not only at the national level but increasingly at the transnational level, pointing to the need for a new paradigm to understand social boundaries and divisions.[385] Today's "Transnational movements" have revealed the necessity of introducing a new concept in identity debates beyond all known definitions. Antias aimed to explain the complex identity acquisition processes of the migrating communities through the term he called "Translocational positionality". He emphasizes that the concept not only challenges national boundaries but also draws attention to various social processes, such as the increasing flow of people, commodities, cultures, and economic and political interests.[386]

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[382] Floya Anthias, "Thinking through the lens of translocational positionality: an intersectionality frame for understanding identity and belonging, " Translocations: Migration and Social Change, 4, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 5-20.
[383] Ibid., 5-20.
[384] Ibid., 6-7.
[385] Ibid., 6.
[386] Ibid.,p.6.

Eventually, members of the Kazakh community have consistently shown "who they are" and "who or what they identify with" because their perception of "identity" varies between generations. Many thinkers working on identity emphasize the slippery and ambiguous identity of identity while at the same time avoiding a single identity. Still, instead, they point to "multiple identities" or "Multiple selves".[387] While the first two generations of Kazakh community members defined an identity based on the question "Who am I" the third generation members answered the question "Where do I belong" rather than "Who am I?" -Question "How do you describe yourself? Or "Who are you" though - Indeed, this is quite natural because many people who have migrated or relocated consider the question "Where do I belong" along with their identity. Anthias says that such questions apply primarily to the children of immigrants.[388] In this context, third-generation narrators, as the children of immigrants, use ethnic or religious identities less frequently and call themselves by an alternative identity different from their ancestors that includes "place": "Türkiyeli (From Turkish)".

In this section, I have tried to explain how members of the Kazakh community have formulated and reformulated their identities and loyalties in Turkey, which has been the host state for generations since their first migration to Turkey. In this sense, I have observed that the first generation narrators have shaped their identities around religion and ethnicity. Interviewees identified themselves as "Muslim", "Kazakh", "Turk", or "Kazakh Turk". They stated that the main reason for their ancestors' emigration was that they fled to a Muslim country to freely practice their religion after the Chinese Communist Party banned Muslim practices. For the first-generation narrators, the formalization of their identities in this way is that Islam creates a unifying umbrella identity by separating Muslim ethnic groups living in East Turkestan from non-Muslim ethnic groups such as Han Chinese living in the region. The acceptance of a single ideology as Communism during the Mao period and the effort to impose it on minorities caused the Kazakhs, who had shaped their identities through Islam for many years. Besides, "Pan-Turanism" spread through education in East Turkestan from the 19th century onwards, leading to "Turkishness" as a second unifying identity. For the first generation of narrators, it is clear that they are Kazakhs, so they rarely emphasize Kazakh identity.

[387] Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay, *Questions of cultural identity*, .3-6.
[388] Anthias, "*Thinking through the lens of translocational positionality"*, .9.

In contrast to the first generation, the "Muslim" identity is obscured in the second generation's identity definitions. Finally, third-generation narrators, as children of migrants, are less likely to use ethnic or religious identities, calling themselves by an identity that includes "place": "Türkiyeli (From Turkey)". In the following chapters, I will analyze Kazakhs' perceptions of homeland and belonging and the effects of trauma transmission on identity and emotional sanctioning across generations in the broader post-memory section.

5.2. The Making of a Homeland: Where is "Vatan"?

In this part of the study, I will focus on the homeland perceptions of the Kazakhs and try to find out what makes a place home for them and how they define "homeland" as a concept. While doing this, I will touch on the concept of "Diaspora", which provides a theoretical basis for understanding and analyzing the perceptions of the homeland and the discussions in the literature. Although the idea of "homeland" has been used alongside the concept of "diaspora" over the years, both images are complex and contingent. However, they are not given, isomorphic, and precise.[389] Various scholars have defined and discussed the concept of "Diaspora" in this context.In this context, the concept of "Diaspora" has been defined and discussed by various scholars.

Brubaker's article "Diaspora" can be seen as the most comprehensive work in diaspora research, but a critical turning point. Brubaker's article made the concept of "Diaspora" concerning migration and mobility an expanding field of discussion, with phenomena such as transnationality, ethnicity, globalization, post-colonial studies, and hybridity. By emphasizing that "Diaspora" should be understood widely, Brubaker attempts to explain it using elements such as expansion, orientation in space, a homeland, and border protection. These elements that he proposed formed the focal point of this phenomenon field.[390] While describing the diaspora as a moving target, perhaps by nature, both as a social and historical process and as a concept, Claire Alexander

[389] Andre Levy and Alex Weingrod, " On Homelands and Diasporas: An Introduction," *Homelands and diasporas: holy lands and other places,* ed. Andre Levy and Alex Weingrod (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2005), .6-9.
[390] Claire Alexander, "Beyond the 'The "Diaspora" Diaspora : A Response to Rogers Brubaker," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40, no. 9 (15 July 2017), 1544-55.

emphasizes that it is scattered, heterogeneous, and fragmented by its character with ambiguous contours and immeasurable meanings. It also defines not only "roots" but also "routes" as the place where movement ends and identities and explanations converge.[391]

William Safran criticizes the lack of inclusion of the concept of diaspora in scientific debates involving ethnic communities, immigrants, and foreigners, stating that this is not surprising given that the idea of diaspora refers to the exile of Jews from their historical homeland and their dispersal to many countries, as well as the oppression and moral degradation implied by this dispersal. Safran points out that diaspora or diaspora groups are conceptualized and placed in "on-the-go" categories of people such as immigrants, exiles, expatriates, political refugees, foreign residents, ethnic and racial minorities, and the term is based on Walker Connor's definition of "a segment of the population living outside the homeland" the definition expands.[392] Besides, he defines diaspora in six forms, classical and modern, and diaspora groups such as Armenian, Maghreb, Turkish, Jewish, Cuban, Palestinian, Greek, and Chinese, through these six application categories.

> 1) They or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "centre" to two or more ' peripheral' or Foreign region 2) they retain a collective memory, vision or myth about their original homeland-its physical location, history and achievements 3) they believe that they are not-and perhaps cannot be fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return- when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and the existence of such a relationship importantly defines their ethnic, communal consciousness and solidarity.[393]

The word "Diaspora", meaning forced dispersal, has been thought to be synonymous with immigration and colonization. Diaspora derives from the verb "to sow" and the preposition "over" in the Greek translation of the Bible. The word originally had a positive connotation, denoting expansion through plunder, military conquest,

[391] Ibid.,1544.
[392] William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1, no. 1 (1991), p. 83-99. https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.1991.0004.p.83.
[393] Ibid.,p.83-84.

colonization, and immigration.[394] This word's connotation changed in the process, and the term "Diaspora" began to express opposition as it was identified with the Babylonian and Jewish peoples. But for Cohen, Jewish diasporic experiences are far more diverse and complex than the catastrophic tradition allows, and this interpretation of disaster has been imposed, internalized, promoted, and debated.[395]

Cohen describes "Diaspora" as follows;

> Diaspora signified a collective trauma, a banishment, where one dreamed of home but lived in exile. Other peoples abroad who have also maintained strong collective identities have, in recent years, defined themselves as diasporas. However, they were neither active agents of colonization nor passive victims of persecution. The idea of a diaspora thus varies greatly. However, all diasporic communities settled outside their natal (or imagined natal) territories, and acknowledge that "the old country" – a notion often buried deep in language, religion, custom or folklore always has some claim on their loyalty and emotions. That claim may be strong or weak, or boldly or meekly articulated in a given circumstance or historical period, but a member's adherence to a diasporic community is demonstrated by an acceptance of an inescapable link with their past migration history and a sense of co-ethnicity with others of a similar background.[396]

Cohen pointed out that understanding the concept of diaspora fundamentally deals with some central aspects of the Jewish experience, without which it is impossible to understand the concepts of diaspora. Even for those who find a new and exciting way of understanding cultural differences and identity politics in the changing meanings of the contemporary concept, the term's classical origins and connotations must be assimilated and understood before they can be transcended.[397]

Emphasizing the concept of transnational, Tölölyan touches on the fact that Diaspora nations are about real but imaginary communities, how people tale in culture and politics both in the lands, they call their own and in exile in culture and politics. According to him, European states expelled some people from the lands they exploited or imprisoned a tiny part of it in a small piece of land. Similarly, Native Americans remained transnational, like the ethnic-social republics of the Soviets or the Japanese, Indians, and Chinese. Those who resist the cohesion imposed by that state within a given state while living at a disadvantage in restricted lands try to reach their relatives

[394] Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction. Global Diasporas* (London: University college London press, 1997),.2.
[395] Ibid., 2.
[396] Levy, "*Introduction*," 4-5.
[397] Ibid., 6.

elsewhere.[398] He refers to the relationship between the nation-state and diaspora communities. With the desire for a homogeneous structure, the nation-state either assimilates differences, namely diaspora communities or confines them to a particular blood.[399]

In addition, in his book Diaspora and Transnationalism Concepts, Theories and Methods, Faist describes the emergence and reproduction of transnational social formations and the specific macro-social contexts in which these cross-border social formations operate, such as "globalization" and "multiculturalism". He revealed the differences between diaspora concepts. He points out that although both terms refer to cross-border processes, diaspora is often used to denote religious or national groups living outside a (fictitious) homeland. In contrast, transnationality is often used in a narrower sense to express immigrants' enduring ties between countries.[400] Faist emphasizes that most definitions of the diaspora are categorized in three ways; The first characteristic relates to the causes of migration or dispersal of the second characteristic links cross-border experiences of the homeland with the destination. The third characteristic concerns the incorporation or integration of migrants or minorities into the countries of settlement.[401]

According to Gabriel Sheffer, while diaspora in the earliest sense refers to groups that leave their homeland and live outside their homeland through voluntary or forced "migration", the concept has been expanded and redefined. Using the term "ethnonational diaspora" instead of "Diaspora", he states that the most meaningful boundaries between other social and political formations in the host country are not physical or geographical but cultural, psychological, and social virtual boundaries [402] and also adds ;

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[398] Khachig Tölölyan, "The Nation-State and Its Others: In Lieu of a Preface", *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies 1*, no. 1 (1991), p. 3-7. https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.1991.0008.p.3-4.
[399] Ibid., 5-6.
[400] Bauböck, Rainer, ve Thomas Faist, *Diaspora and transnationalism: concepts, theories and methods* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010),11-13.
[401] Ibid., 12-13.
[402] Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad, (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 9-11.

> That is, the most significant ones are not the actual geographic boundaries of the neighborhoods, suburbs, towns, or regions where diaspora members permanently dwell. Rather, most important are the cultural, psychological, and social virtual boundaries. Those pertain to the spheres of influence of groups sharing the same identity and cultural traits. Those virtual boundaries, which define intra-state and trans-state social and political spaces, also determine the range of those entities' spheres of activity. Because in most cases those are not hermetically sealed borders, they do not physically isolate those groups from other groups dwelling in the same host countries, nor do they prevent cross fertilization and mutual influences. Usually there are regular contacts, flows of information, and exchanges of resources, including cultural features, between such groups.[403]

Indeed, the concept of "Diaspora" refers to groups or communities that have been somehow dispersed from their homeland. In diaspora discussions, while many thinkers defined diaspora and analyzed a series of problems in concrete historical or contemporary communities by trying to apply it to their definitions, scholars such as Clifford Appadurai, Bhabha, and Hall used the term in a more metaphorical and looser sense.[404]

In the case of East Turkestan (Xinjiang) Kazakhs, they left their homeland East Turkestan in the middle of the twentieth century due to the turmoil in East Turkestan and fled to India, temporarily living as refugees in India and Pakistan after its independence, and then settled in Turkey permanently. Starting from the 1960s, they first left their primary settlements in Turkey and moved to big cities such as Istanbul and Izmir, and then, within the framework of labour migration agreements between the Turkish government and European countries, Kazakhs from Turkey migrated to European countries such as Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Sweden as workers, just like the Turks, they migrated.[405] In addition, the Soviet Socialist Republics disintegrated and Kazakhstan emerged as an independent state in 1991.

After that, they put into practice the policy of "Relocation of Kazakhs from Abroad to Kazakhstan (Nurlı Köş), which aims to unite the ethnic Kazakh people scattered all over the world under the umbrella of the "Kazakh diaspora"[406] Therefore, Kazakhs immigrating from East Turkestan living in Turkey were perceived as a diaspora, and studies were conducted describing Kazakhs migrating from East Turkestan as

[403] Ibid., 12.
[404] Levy, "*Introduction,*" .9.
[405] Kuşçu, "*Changing Perception,"* 385.
[406] Zhansaya Bekmurzayeva , "*Yurtdışı Kazaklarının Kazakistan'a Yeniden Yerleştirilmeleri (Nurlı Köş) Politikası ve Kazak Milliyetçiliğindeki Rolü,* " (Master Thesis , İstanbul Üniversitesi , 2012), 11-14.

“Diaspora”.As well as historically, these developments reflect the homeland discourses of the Kazakh community who migrated from East Turkestan reformulated.

While conducting my fieldwork, the narrators were also interviewed about the concept of "Homeland". In the light of these interviews, five first-generation narrators aged seventy and above often included the expression "My homeland (Memleketim), my homeland is Altay or East Turkestan" in their narratives while describing their migration experiences. Mansur Teyci answered;

> Where were you born? May I know where you were born?
>
> I was born in a place called Gaskol, in the Eastern Altai region, which is currently considered the territory of the Chinese state, but once belonged to the ancient Turks, that is, our homeland. [407]

Just like Mansur Teyci, Kayn Orhon unconsciously uses the expression "My hometown" to refer to "East Turkestan" when telling her story. “Departure time from our homeland (East Turkestan) was 1948 or 1947. Migration has begun. When it started, we migrated from the Altai region of China. At that time, I was six years old.” [408]

However, when I asked them, "Where is your motherland 'Vatan'", their answer was "Turkey" without hesitation. Where is the motherland for you? What do you feel? Kayn Orhon's response; Turkey (replied with a determined/steady voice)[409] Like Kayn Orhon, Aklima Hakim gives a similar answer to the question;Turkey. No hesitation.[410]

Another point to be noted is that the second-generation Kazakh narrators did not answer "East Turkestan" to the question, "Where is your homeland?". The main reason why "East Turkestan" could not constitute a "homeland" image in the narratives of the second generation may be that not all of this generation were born and raised in Turkey.

[407] Personal interview with Mansur Teyci, November 23, 2019,
[408] Personal interview with Kayn Orhon, December 4, 2019,
[409] Ibid., Orhan.
[410] Ibid., Aklima.

Safran argues that not all dispersed minority groups can be legitimately accepted as diaspora and argues that many diasporic groups, except the Gypsies, are a myth of return in Diasporas in Modern societies; Myths of homeland and return.[411] In the case of the Kazakh community, it is a very central question whether the "Myth of Return" is shaped over "East Turkestan" or over Kazakhstan. Based on the data I gathered while conducting my fieldwork, I concluded that the Kazakhs in Turkey do not reproduce both of two as a place to return to. Because "East Turkestan" produces a feeling of fear and anxiety transmitted between generations and symbolizes "danger" for Kazakh in Turkey. The Kazakh community in Turkey did not formulate both places: East Turkestan and Kazakhstan, as a place to return to. However, how has Turkey become a place of return for them?

Some of the Kazakhs who settled in Turkey immigrated to European countries such as Germany, France, the Netherlands and Sweden as workers in the 1960s due to economic reasons.[412]They mention that they have returned to Turkey and that their relatives who migrated have dreams of returning to Turkey. At this point, their perception of the homeland is "Turkey". While the second and third generations think that the homeland of their ancestors is "East Turkestan", East Turkestan remains a distant homeland for them and "Turkey" is forming as a new homeland.

The nationalist movement that spread worldwide with the French Revolution also affected the Ottoman intellectuals, the flame of Turkishness that they had found supporters in the political arena. Especially after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era, when the Committee of Union and Progress took over, the ideology of Turkishness replaced Ottomanist ideas and was increasingly accepted. The Tripoli and Balkan Wars constantly fueled these nationalist ideas.[413] Furthermore, prominent figures such as Enver Pasha were Turkish nationalists and adopted the policy of Pan-Turanism. The Committee of Union and Progress argued that Turkistan was the primary source of the Turks and that it should show that it longed for this ancient Turkish homeland.[414] Pan-turanism - was the goal of the unity of the Turkish peoples

[411] Safran,"*Diasporas in Modern Societies*," 83-99.
[412] Kuşçu, "*Changing Perception,"* 385.
[413] Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: a modern history.* 3rd ed. (London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 1.
[414] Ibid., 1-6.

if they wanted to create a Turkish state with the support of all the Turkish people of Asia, they would have faced opposition from Russia. During the First World War, the Unionists promoted pan-Turkism in the context of the struggle with Russia, and with the collapse of the Russian army in 1917, the pan-Turanism ideology gained momentum.[415] After the establishment of the Republic, Turkish nationalism was adopted as the primary tool in the construction of a new national identity with the accompanying creation of historical myths.[416] The nation-construction process of the Republic of Turkey had an important ideological effect on Kazakhs and "Turkish nationalism" rose among Kazakhs living in Turkey.

In addition, Kazakhs living in Turkey and intellectuals such as Hasan Oraltay, Halifa Altay, and Hızırbek Gayretullah often state that they come from the exact ethnic origin as the Turks in the host country, even though they point out the different aspects of the traditions, food and language of Turks and Kazakhs in their books on Kazakh migration.[417] Consequently, unlike their first-generation ancestors, the influence of political, economic, and cultural ıssues on the reproduction of "homeland" perceptions of second and third-generation Kazakh narrators who are between the ages of twenty-five and sixty and were born and raised in Turkey cannot be ignored.

Another point is the problem of whether the homeland perception of Kazakhs who migrated from East Turkestan was reformulated by Kazakhstan's independence or not. While some of the Kazakhs, a historically disunited people, lived in East Turkestan, most remained under Soviet rule. However, after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Kazakhs declared their independence like many ethnic identities living in Central Asia. Kazakhstan had a multinational structure that gathered one hundred and forty different ethnic groups under the same umbrella, and Kazakhs had less than half of the entire population. For this reason, post-Soviet Kazakhstan nation-building started and brought Kazakh nationality to the fore. After independence, the Kazakhstan government sought to create a new ideology by returning to traditions and historical

[415] Ibid., 129-130.
[416] Ibid., 182.
[417] Gayretullah, *Altaylarda* , 5-240. *Altay, Anayurttan, 1*1-347. Hasan Oraltay, *Kazak Türkleri*, .7-285.

and cultural roots. In addition, it was concluded that state intervention was necessary for the development of the founding nation that gave its name to the state.[418]

As a result, Kazakhstan has implemented a resettlement policy that gives the right to return and settle in Kazakhstan to the Kazakh population scattered in China, Central Asian countries, Afghanistan and Iran, Western Europe, America and the countries of the Persian Gulf region countries.[419] Ethnic Kazakhs living outside the borders of Kazakhstan have the right to immigrate to the country, according to the idea stated in Article 3 of the Constitution of Kazakhstan and re-emphasized by this immigration law. In this context, the government has promised to support all ethnic Kazakhs living abroad. Kazakhs residing in Turkey are included in this resettlement policy.[420]

New homeland of Kazakhstan discourses revealed the "Kazakh Diaspora" discourse, and the World Kazakh Association (WKA) was established in 1992 to serve purposes such as the protection of the Kazakh diaspora and the establishment of the homeland. In addition, the association is also responsible for managing relations with Kazakh associations abroad. Relations with Kazakhs in Turkey have been established through the Kazakh Turks Association(AKT). The Kazakhstan government invited Kazakhs living in Turkey. Privileges were given in areas such as education, culture and economy.[421] In Muzaffer Altınmakas words;

> …The government of Kazakhstan is trying to gather Kazakhs scattered around the world in Kazakhstan every year so that we cannot be assimilated. They offer to give us land for us to come back. But I'm not going. I do not care what they give. I grew up here. My parents' grave is here…[422]

Esra, a third-generation female narrator, talked about how she felt trapped between Kazakhstan and Turkey when she went to Kazakhstan to study on a Kazakhstan government scholarship.

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[418] Bekmurzayeva,"Yurtdışı Kazaklarının Kazakistan'a" .11-14.
[419] Ibid., 70
[420] Ibid., 79.
[421] Kuşçu,"Changing Perception," 389-390.
[422] Personal interview with Muzaffer Altınmakas,December 22, 2020,

> ….We were initially Kazakhs but grew up and were born here. We get that mentality. For instance, when I first went to Kazakhstan, I felt like a foreigner. They don't fully embrace me when I'm in Turkey, but I do. While I'm there, in Kazakhstan, they assume, but I can't.
> For this reason, I am stuck between two different cultures, like a Turk living in Germany. You can't speak Kazakh exactly, and you didn't grow up with that culture, so your knowledge doesn't exactly match. It doesn't quite fit here either…[423]

However, did they affect reshaping the "Homeland" perceptions as "Kazakhstan"? Based on my interviews over two years, I observed that Kazakh's ties with Kazakhstan are weak. While the first-generation narrators of my interviewees had almost no relationship with Kazakhstan, the second-generation narrators stated that the establishment of the Kazakhstan state made it easier to explain their identity in Turkey.

> ….Before the Soviet collapsed, we were all called Turkistanis. This includes Uzbeks and Kyrgyz. Turkistanis also can be included.When Kazakhstan became independent, they suddenly started to be called "Kazakhs" and this is one of the things I am most angry about. We were known as Turks and Central Asians, and suddenly our identity was accepted as Kazakhs. We settled here as "Turks" and "Muslims" and I think this should have come first. There is also a matter of benefits, of course. Since Kazakhstan is a very rich country, a group of people were traveling there. I know some people whose ancestors were all born and buried here. However, they say they are Kazakhs. This is how they express their identities. Wait a minute. How is it possible?…[424]

The word "Kazakh" means "jumper" in Modern Turkish, and before the collapse of the Soviet Union in Turkey, an ethnic identity called Kazakh was not known to the people. Suna Düzenli point out;

> …We tried very hard to prove that we were Turkish when we first arrived in elementary school. Locals referred to us as Chinese, Japanese, or Tatars. Because Kazakhs were unknown before Kazakhstan's independence, Turkish people were unaware of a society known as "Kazakh." When we told them we were Kazakhs, they laughed and said, "Then we're shirts," because that word means sweater in Modern Turkish….[425]

In addition, because of their physical characteristics, people of Asian origin were asked, "Are you a Tatar" if they were Muslim, and sometimes "Are you Japanese or Tatar?" Kazakh People are also often asked by local people in Turkey, "Are you a Tatar?" due to their physical characteristics. They stated that they were asked, and this question bothered them. In Meryem Hakim's word;

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[423] Personal interview with Esra Kazak, May 23, 2019,
[424] Personal interview with Meryem Hakim, June 12, 2021,
[425] Personal interview with Suna Düzenli,December 4, 2019,

> …. They were asking, "What does this "Kazakh" mean?" because they didn't understand. Then, they said, "I think you are a Tatar person." We had to say, "Yes, we are Tatars" because we could not explain the situation. I used to cry a lot because of this. Those who know the history used to ask, "Are you from East Turkestan?". However, currently, the settlers of Zeytinburnu know us; they know who we are…[426]

Suna Düzenli explained what Kazakhstan's independence meant for her Kazakh identity.

> ….Fortunately, Kazakhstan gained independence, and people now understand what we mean when we say we are Kazakhs. But now, they think we have immigrated from Kazakhstan. We are trying to explain that we migrated from East Turkestan. We clarify that it was divided into two parts, with some remaining in the Soviet Union and others in East Turkestan. They used to ask, "Then, why do you have monolid eyes?" and I replied, "I am Turkish". When I settled in Trabzon, people used to ask me, "Are you a Turk now?" I needed to prove that I am Turkish….[427]

Although some narrators returned to Kazakhstan following Kazakhstan's resettlement policy, very few settled in Kazakhstan, and most of those who went to Kazakhstan returned to Turkey. Third-generation narrators stated that they had no ties with Kazakhstan, only some opportunities were given to them, but they adopted the real "Turkey" as their homeland. In addition, very few of the second and third-generation narrators can speak Kazakh.

> ….I can speak Modern Turkish, and also I can speak Kazakh Turkish very fluently. There is a dialect that we call "Mutfak Kazakçası". It is used to express basic concepts. For example, say, "Take this" or "Wait here". In addition, a Kazakh dialect is used in literary works/literature. Children ask their elders to tell a story. Do you know? Our grandmother used to tell Kazakh epics. I learned the Kiril alphabet on my own. It has a different background, but most of them do not know. Kazakh has a nasal N sound, but our daughter-in-law can't pronounce it, but physically she looks more like Kazakh.…[428]

As a result, diasporic identity is never complete and consistently reproduces itself. Diaspora is used to express the concepts of hybridity, heterogeneity, identity fragmentation, and (re)construction, and double consciousness in the modern and postmodern era, not referring to dispersed tribes whose identities are always secured concerning a sacred homeland to which they must return.[429] Following this framework, I argue that although the Kazakh Turks living in Turkey are referred to as a diaspora, Turkey has been reformulated as a "Homeland" for them. At this point, it

[426] Ibid., Meryem Hakim,
[427] Ibid., Suna Düzenli.
[428] Personal interview with Meryem Hakim, June 12, 2021,
[429] Levy, "Introduction," .9-11

is essential to determine how and in what direction the sense of belonging and the perceptions of the homeland are shaped.

5.3. Sense of Belonging: Intergenerational Perspectives

After a detailed analysis based on the changing perceptions of the homeland of Kazakh community members, in this section, I will discuss the concept of belonging" as a conceptual framework. In addition to identity, which is the key concept of migration debates, the concept of "belonging" is considered together with discussions about the phenomenon of migration, ethnicity, nationality, citizenship, integration problems and multiculturalism.[430] In addition, '" where do you come from and 'where do you belong' are inevitably other questions asked by immigrant communities themselves and others, which predominantly problematizes the dues of immigrant communities to their homeland. As a result, migration has effects and consequences at social and subjective levels, and each shifting paradigm and form of community creates new identities and types of commitment. In this section, in the example of East Turkestan Kazakh immigrants living in Turkey, it will be examined whether there are new types of identification and attachment arising from the Kazakh nation-building of Kazakhstan, which was established with the collapse of the Soviet Union.

According to Ulf Hedetorf, "Belonging used to be a concept used almost exclusively use by right-wing racists who wanted to draw a rigid line between their national-natural and therefore 'organic ' belonging to 'here' and the other who just as naturally belongs 'elsewhere and therefore not here.[431]

Nevertheless in a rapidly globalizing world, "belonging" has become a key concept of identity and factional political hegemony. The idea of belonging has been tried to be explained by different thinkers by positioning it in different ways. First, Hedetoft identifies four key parameters that the concept of belonging has to be arranged analytically, which is claimed to be responsible in varying configurations for its

[430] Anthias, "Thinking through the lens of translocational positionality," 7.
[431] Shen Yuanfang, "The Politics of Multiple Belonging: Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe and East Asia . Flemming Christiansen, Ulf Hedetoft, " *The China Journal 54* (Temmuz 2005): 129-31. https://doi.org/10.2307/20066073.

relation to different groups and its importance for identity politics. These are sources of belonging; feelings of belonging; ascriptions and constructors of belonging; and the fluidities of belonging.[432]These parameters are built on top of each other. It refers to locality and familiarity, identification and memory.

Nira Yuval-Davis points out the three primary analytical levels on which belonging is constructed and the distinction between them; The first level is social location; the second is identifications and their emotional attachments to various communities and groupings; the third concerns the ethical and political value systems in which people judge their belonging and the belonging of others.[433]

Marco Antonsich organizes two central analytical dimensions concept of "belonging" as a sense of being somewhere, as a discursive resource that constructs, claims, justifies or resists "at home" (place-belongingness) and socio-spatial forms of inclusion-exclusion (political of belonging).[434] Furthermore he approaches the first of two analytical levels regarding the concept of "belonging" as an emotional feeling.[435] Like Hedetoft, he also refers to familiarity: Belonging is defined as an individual's finding a comfortable and safe place "at home", that is familiar.[436] "Actually, "Home" is symbolic as it provides a space of emotional attachment to the individual, and the concept refers to "sense of rootedness" since feeling at home indicates an emotional connotation.[437] Nira Yuval-Davis and Anthias similarly point out that the concept of "belonging" is related to emotional attachment, feeling "at home" and feeling "safe".[438]

On the other hand, the concept of “belonging” is associated with being the other and exclusion-iınclusion.[439] FloyaAnthias mentions that questions of belonging arise

[432] Ibid., 130.
[433] Nira Yuval-Davis, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, no. 3 (Temmuz 2006): .197-214. https://doi.org/10.1080/00313220600769331.199-213.
[434] Marco Antonsich, “Searching for Belonging - An Analytical Framework: Searching for Belonging,” *Geography Compass* 4, no. 6 (Haziran 2010), 644-59. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2009.00317.x. P. 645.
[435] Ibid., 646.
[436] Ibid.,
[437] Ibid., 646-647.
[438] Davis,“*Belonging*,” 197-214, and Anthias, “*Thinking through the lens of translocational positionality*,” .7.
[439] Ibid., Antonsich, 644.

because we feel that we do not belong and cannot belong, that there is a range of spaces, places, localities, and identities that we cannot gain access, participate in or be included within.[440] The concept of belonging becomes active when subjects feel a sense of exclusion about their position in the social world.[441]

The concept of "belonging" must be reformulated with the effects of migration in the global context, despite all these ways of thinking and analysis. While the idea refers to primary belonging, namely "National Identity" due to ethnic origins, the concept also refers to new forms of belonging identified with transnational networks, images, and memories in the era of migration flows.[442]

On the other hand, Anthias discusses the fixed aspects of identity and belonging. Although the concepts of identity and belonging cannot be considered separately, identity differs from belonging in that it includes individual and collective narratives of the self and the other, presentation and labelling, origin myths and destiny myths together with related strategies and identifications. Belonging is about social inclusion practices and experiences. Being accepted as part of a community, feeling safe in that community and, having a stake in the future of such a membership community, sharing values, networks, and practices are the basis of belonging. Anthias relates the concept of "belonging" to different locations and contexts in which belongings are imagined and described.[443]

Starting from this framework, I tried to examine where the Kazakh community from East Turkestan living in Turkey, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the establishment of Kazakhstan, sensed they belonged and in what ways they developed new forms of belonging. I will present my analysis by following Marco Antonsich, who introduced two analytical levels based on the three primary analytical levels of Nira Yuval Davis. The concept of "belonging" has an emotional dimension. Therefore it involves being attached to a specific place by an individual, which produces place-belongingness. In this context, a place is felt as 'home' and belonging

[440] Anthias, "Thinking through", 8.
[441] Ibid.p.18.
[442] Ibid., Antonsich, 651.
[443] Ibid., Floya, 8

accordingly means finding a place where an individual can feel 'at home'. In Marco Antonsich's article *Searching for Belonging - An Analytical Framework,* he defines belonging as "feeling at home". He refers to the fact that "place does not represent space, but a symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment".Belonging can be conceptualized at multiple scales, such as one's apartment, local neighbourhood, country, and island community.

With this in mind, in light of my interviews with twenty members of the Kazakh community, I will examine whether their sense of belonging is shaped by Turkey. Moreover, I tried to reveal how the individual sense of belonging was shaped after the declaration of independence of Kazakhstan, which has ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious affinities in 1991, by following Antonsich's five factors that contributed to the formation of the sense of belonging.[444] First, the five factors that Antonich put forward are auto-biographical, relational, cultural, economic, and legal factors.

First, auto-biographical factors relate to one's history, personal experiences, relations and memories that attach a particular person to a given place.[445]Indeed, belonging is mainly associated with ethnicity.[446] In other words, the sense of belonging of a Kazakh person can be expected to emerge around Kazakh ethnicity. However, the historical and geographical division separated the East Turkestan Kazakhs from their cognates living in Soviet Russia. In this context, the migration history of Kazakhs puts them in an emotional interaction with Turkey. In addition, childhood memories often play an essential role in the first generation's personal experiences, relationships and memories; their sense of belonging was shaped around Turkey.“In these where a person was born and has grown up often remains a central place in that individual's life.”[447] The memories that connect the Kazakh community to Turkey have contributed to the Turkey-oriented formation of their place-belongingness.[448] The continued presence of family members in that place and memories of one's ancestors also contribute to feelings of belonging to the place. In the case of the Kazakhs,

[444] Ibid., 647.
[445] Ibid., 647.
[446] Özgür Bal, “*Memory, Identity, home: Self- Perception of Identity Among the Armenian and Jewish Communities in Ankara*,” (Master thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2006),.41.
[447] Ibid., Antonsich, 647.
[448] Ibid., 647.

Kazakhstan, which gained independence in 1991, does not appear as a homeland in the memories of the ancestors of Kazakhs who migrated from East Turkestan to Turkey. Because before relocating, the ancestors of the Kazakhs lived in the East Turkestan region for more than five hundred years. However, since they migrated from the region, East Turkestan has moved away from being where they produce memories, especially for the second and third generations.

Secondly, relational factors refer to the personal and social connection that enriches an individual's life in a given place. These bonds range from emotionally intense relationships with friends and family members to what he calls "weak ties," namely occasional interactions with strangers we come with to share public spaces. To create a sense of (group) belonging, these relationships must be long-lasting, positive, stable, and significant (i.e., filled with affective concerns, "caring"). They should also "take place" through frequent physical interaction and reach a minimum number which varies from person to person.[449] Within the framework of this factor, the Kazakh community has established close or weak ties both with its members and with other groups living in Turkey since the day they came to Turkey.

The cultural factor is another of these five factors, and language is usually considered the most essential component of this factor.

> A particular language stands for a particular way of constructing and conveying meaning, a certain way of interpreting and defining situations , which can also take the form of tacit codes, signs, and gestures, not actually uttered, yet still understood by those who share the same semiotic universe. Although, on the one hand, language can certainly be activated in the politics of belonging, demarcating 'we' from 'them', on the other hand, it can also evoke a sense of community, the 'warm sensation' to be among people who not only merely understand what you say, but also what you mean In this sense, language can be felt as an element of intimacy, which resonates with one's auto-biographical sphere and, as such, contributes to generating a sense of feeling 'at home'. A similar feeling can also be generated by other forms of cultural expressions, traditions and habits, related, for instance, to religion, as well as to the materiality of cultural practices like, for instance, food production/consumption.[450]

Following this factor, it may seem natural for the Kazakh community members living in Turkey to feel a belonging to Kazakhstan. However, the influence of Russia is relatively high in Kazakhstan, which has been under Soviet rule for many years. While

[449] Ibid., .647.
[450] Ibid., 468.

some narrators declared that they spoke a slightly different Kazakh language than the Kazakh they learned from their ancestors when they visited Kazakhstan or that they spoke Russian, almost all Kazakhs today can speak Turkish fluently. -Some of them are native speakers of Turkish and speak very little Kazakh.

School-age Kazakh children were educated in schools in the regions where they were placed in Turkey, and they were taught the "dominant culture" of the host culture -the fundamental values adopted by the Republic of Turkey- the Turkish language has been made permanent. Turkish language of instruction in Turkey, and there are no schools where minorities or ethnic groups are educated in the mother tongue. Therefore, the new generations of Kazakhs continued to be bilingual, both because they were very few and because Turkish was the official language in education. After a while, the Turkish dominantly replaced the Kazakh. However, according to the information I gathered from my fieldwork. At the same time, the first generation could speak Kazakh and Turkish; some even immigrated to various European countries and acquired the languages there. Among the second generation, Kazakh speakers are tiny, except for those interested in learning Kazakh. Kazakh is only known at the level of words such as "come, go, take, sit," Turkish has become the dominant language.

Kazakh languages have become less well-known among new generations over time. The second and third generations spoke very little Kazakh as they were exposed to Turkish throughout their education and public life, and some of them knew little or no Kazakh. However, the Kazakh language continues to be passed on to new generations through Kazakh associations in Turkey. After the independence of Kazakhstan, it became easier for Kazakhs living in Turkey to access written and visual sources in Kazakh. For instance, a Kazakh TV channel was being watched by the hosts in one of the houses where I had an interview. Besides, they try to maintain their culture through associations. Kazakhs have formed mutual aid and cultural organizations in their cities. The Salihli Turkistani Aid and Culture Association, for example, was founded in 1963 under the chairmanship of Hamza Uçar. Then, In 1986, Kazakh Turks Foundation was established in Zeytinburnu. Fazıl Toplu, the association's president that day, informed me that various kinds of events, including funerals and weddings of Kazakhs in Istanbul, were held in the association building during my visits to the association between 2019 and 2022.Regarding practices such as saying goodbye to the dying

person, announcing the death, expressing condolences called Aytuv, and performing funeral prayers, Kazakh funeral traditions are similar to Muslim Turk funeral traditions in Turkey. However, the custom of saying "Coqtav", that is, lamenting - the custom of saying the goodness of a deceased person, his services for his country, well - does not exist in Turkish society.[451] Today, funeral announcements are made via groups on Facebook pages. Similarly, the materiality of cultural practices, such as food production-consumption and forms of cultural expression, can be produced by traditions and habits.[452]

Although Kazakh culture differs from Turkish society, which is the host country, in terms of cuisine, entertainment, dressing, funeral ceremonies, daily practices, and family structure, it has patterns quite similar to Turkish culture. While Kazakhs used to cook horse meat while living in East Turkestan, it was replaced by mutton in Turkey. On the other hand, they still make their "Kımız" beverage from horse milk in Turkey. My interviewee, who lives in Salihli, stated that an acquaintance of his in Izmir has a horse farm and produces "Kımız". Dairy products and meat are essential components of Kazakh cuisine. They informed me during my visits to Salihli that while they make dishes with vegetables like the residents in the Aegean, meat is generally the main ingredient in their meals. The family who hosted me offered me the traditional Kazakh dish "Rice with Carrots." White bean stew, a traditional Turkish dish, was served alongside the rice with carrots.

Furthermore, at every house, I went to for an interview, they offered me fruits, cookies, "Irimşik Kurt" (food made from milk), "Bavırsak" (salted cookies), and "Ak Çay" which is the traditional tea of Kazakhs (it is brewed in a large teapot and added some milk, butter, various spicy and salt). They said they also drink black tea, brewed in Turkey, but generally prefer "Ak Çay". I was warmly welcomed in every Kazakh home I visited, and Kazakhs are also hospitable people in Turkey.

The word "Nevruz" refers to the holiday and the month in which that holiday is celebrated in Kazakh Turks. Moreover, the name of the day when Nevruz is celebrated

[451] Ibid., Karadağ, 106-107.
[452] Ibid., 648.

is also known as the "Great Day of the Nation" or the "National Day". Besides, the Mitzvah of boys in the Kazakh community is celebrated with a ceremony similar to that of Turkish society.[453]

In addition, Kazakhs, like most of the Turkish society, adopted the Hanafi-Sunni belief. Implementing the same religious practices and using them in the same places is another dimension that facilitates their adaptation to Turkish culture. Even though the Kazakh community comes from the same ethnic background as the Turks and has adopted the same religious belief, it is still a process for them to integrate into society as an immigrant community for a long or short time.

On the other hand, the next generation of Kazakh improved their relations by marrying people from the local people. However, this process has not been quick and easy. One of my interviewees talked about how the community excluded her for a long time because she married a Trabzon native. She also mentioned that the natives who joined the family through Marriage quickly adapted to their traditions. Although the Kazakhs have largely managed to preserve their unique culture, they still have adopted some social and cultural practices in the host society. Some members of the host society, albeit on a small scale, have adapted to the Kazakh culture through the relationships they have established through Marriage. One of my non-Kazakh interviewees living in Salihli told me she quickly adapted to the Kazakh community by marrying a Kazakh man. The newly arrived Kazakhs and the people of the host country, Turkey, met in a melting pot through the marriage process and came together culturally and socially. In this case, while the Kazakhs accepted many new behaviour patterns and values of the Turks, the Turks changed their behaviour and values following the traditions of the Kazakhs. This exchange took place with appropriate changes and compromises, and a new cultural system developed through Marriage.[454]

The concept of belonging is re-discussed around the multiple forms of belonging to 'here' (receiving society) and 'there', focusing on immigrants and their children.[455] The concept of "longing" has often been discussed from the perspective of these new forms.

[453] Karadağ,"*Manisa Salihli İlçesi kazakları,*" 33-35.
[454] Ibid.,Gordon, 74.
[455] Ibid., Antonsich, 647.

"Here, it tends to be described concerning expressions of (not) belonging, whereas there it is often associated with a longing." Probyn, who first introduced this concept, defines the concept not only as a dimension associated with migration and displacement but also as a fundamental dimension of belonging. "Longing can be defined as the 'desire to become the other', the longing for one-something/something else."[456]

One of my interviewees, Meryem Hakim, one of the second-generation narrators born and raised in Turkey, expressed her feelings during her visit to the country after Kazakhstan gained its independence as follows;

> When I visited Kazakhstan, the thing that impressed me the most was the conversations in Kazakh I heard. It reminded me of Kazakh expressions used at home. When I read the literary works, heroic stories, I felt as if I was galloping on a horse like them. And same for the music. I considered moving when I retire, but I can't live there. I would miss eating olive oil and grape leaves stuffed with rice (sarma). Also, I would miss the Aegean coasts.[457]

Based on this narrative, although familiarity with the language in Kazakhstan reminds us of home, Salihli, an Aegean town in Turkey, emerges as the place to be missed. In addition, foods such as olive oil and "Sarma", which are widely consumed in the region, became a part of the diet of the Kazakh community and were even reproduced as an object longed for.

Kazakhs who emigrated to Germany and whose children were born and raised there visit Turkey on holidays, like Turks in Germany, called "*Almancı*". The bodies of those who died in Germany are buried in Turkey. Furthermore, while the younger generation has a hookah culture and spends time in coffee shops, Kazakhs generally gather in associations. I had an online conversation with a young Kazakh who was smoking hookah. When I met the majority of my Kazakh interviewees at the Kazakh Studies Association in Bağcılar and Zeytinburnu, I discovered that the association in Bağcılar serves as a meeting place for Kazakh youth.

[456] Ibid., 652.
[457] Personal interview with Meryem Hakim, June 12, 2021,

Economic factors are also important, as they contribute to creating a safe and stable material condition for the individual and their family.[458] Kazakh immigrants living in Turkey were engaged in the leather business shortly after they arrived in Turkey, producing leather hats and jackets. They made significant contributions to leather production in Turkey and dominated the leather market.[459] Thus, they have been successfully integrated with their contribution to the host country's economy. Economic embeddedness is essential in making a person feel interested in the future of where they live.[460] Kazakh immigrants who settled in Salihli worked in factories or as seasonal agricultural workers in grape harvesting. While Kazakhs adopted a nomadic lifestyle in their homeland, they decided on Turkey. Their social structure has changed, and there has been a transition from extended to nuclear families. With the increase in access to state institutions, their education level has increased, and their access to health services has become more accessible.[461]

During their first years in Turkey, the Kazakh community also worked in road construction and the Halkalı-Sirkeci railway construction. Later, they worked in the leather and plastics industries and became pioneers in these fields.[462] Aklima Hakim, who lives in Salihli, tells the story of how his father started the leather business as follows:

> …My father and father-in-law had been to Izmir. They stopped by the flea market there and saw a leather jacket. They asked the vendor how it was produced. The vendor claimed that it was challenging to produce and that Jews in İstanbul were pioneers in this field...[463]

Finally, legal factors, essential factors such as citizenship and residence permits, are a necessary component in creating security, which many consider a critical dimension of belonging.[464]Indeed, while there are many definitions of citizenship, it is a legal process between the state and the individual that includes rights and duties. The most

[458] Ibid, 648.
[459] Gayretullah, "Altay'da, "153.
[460] Ibid. Anthonish, 648.
[461] Ibid., Svanberg, 168.
[462] "En Mutlu Kazak Diasporası," last modified November 1, 2011, https://www.abdulvahapkara.com/en-mutlu-kazak-dyasporasi-tuerkye-kazaklari/
[463] Personal interview with Aklima Hakim, December 23, 2019,
[464] Ibid., .648.

famous British communitarian citizenship theorist, T. H. Marshall, defined citizenship as 'full membership of a community with all its rights and responsibilities.'[465]

Over the centuries, human communities have migrated to other places by leaving their places of residence for many reasons, and many states have hosted immigrants and minorities. Similarly, Anatolian lands have hosted individuals from various cultural backgrounds, including refugees and immigrants. In the 20th century, the Ottoman Empire suffered territorial losses in the Balkans due to the influence of nationalism. In the period when the Ottoman state began to withdraw from the Balkans, Muslim immigrants were referred to as "muhajir" (a word used to describe the people who emigrate to a different place).[466] As a result, the Republic of Turkey was established instead of destroyed by the First World War. The Republic of Turkey was founded on the idea of ethnic and cultural homogeneity. However, while Muslim Turks in Western Thrace, the former lands of the Ottoman Empire, lived in minority positions in Balkan countries such as Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, and the former Yugoslavia, they immigrated to Turkey in masses at various times as a result of political, religious and ethnic pressures.[467] The first mass refugee movement was the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1922. Secondly, in the 1950s, a large wave of Turkish-Muslim mass immigration from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria flocked to Turkey.[468] The third wave of immigration occurred from Bulgaria in 1989.

Citizenship was granted to those who could prove that they were Turks among the Balkan Muslims, who were the unique heirs of the Ottoman Empire.[469] The Turkish state has restricted immigration to people of "Turkish origin and close to Turkish culture" since the first Settlement Law in 1926.[470] Immigrants were defined in Article 3 of Settlement Law No. 2510, dated June 14, 1934, as "resident or nomadic

[465] Yuval-Davis,"Belonging," 205-206
[466] Ibid., 195.
[467] Başak Kale, "Zorunlu Göçün 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmpratorluğu Üzerindeki etkisi," *Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihi: 14. Yüzyıldan 21. Yüzyıla Türkiye'ye Göçler,* ed. M.Murat Erdoğan and Ayhan Kaya, (Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi Üniveristesi Yayınları, 2015), 155-168.
[468] Nurcan Özgür Baklacıoğlu, "Yugoslavya'dan Türkiye'ye Göçlerle Sayılar, Koşullar ve Tartışmalar," *Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihi: 14. Yüzyıldan 21. Yüzyıla Türkiye'ye Göçler,* ed. M.Murat Erdoğan and Ayhan Kaya (Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi Üniveristesi Yayınları, 2015), 193-218.
[469] Ayşe Parla, *Precarious hope: migration and the limits of belonging in Turkey (* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2019), 29.
[470] Ibid.,Parla, 48.

individuals of Turkish descent" who provided an immigration visa, were registered with an "immigrant paper," and were immediately naturalized. The choice of which individuals and populations from which nations would be associated with Turkish culture was left to the Executive Committee(İcra Vekilleri Heyeti).[471]

Based on the 3rd Article of the Settlement Law No. 2510, dated June 4, 1934, the members of the Kazakh community attained legal status by collectively taking the identity of the Republic of Turkey shortly after they were accepted as settlement immigrants to Turkey. Concerning the resettlement of migrants and their access to state assistance, two distinct categories—settlement migrants and free migrants—have been established. While the settlement immigrant is a concept used to refer to the group that can benefit from state aid, that is, those who are provided with properties such as lands, houses, and shops, free immigrants are those who do not have the right to benefit from any state aid and are mostly invited or hosted by relatives.[472] The fact that Kazakhs applied to Turkey in 1952 easily obtained citizenship after arriving in the country may be partly related to the Turkish Republic's "ethnic blood ties," policy. At the individual level, they participated in political life. As a result, the Republic of Turkey supported immigrants of Turkish descent and followed a citizenship policy based on blood ties, where the prerequisite for citizenship was Turkish ancestry and culture.[473]

The "official structure of belonging" of citizenship is reliable as it involves entitlement and facilitates the participation and active shaping of the person regarded as necessary in forming a sense of belonging. There is also a negative relationship between an individual's uncertain legal status and their understanding of belonging.[474] In this sense, the position of the Kazakhs in East Turkestan in Turkey has not included a precarious legal status from the first days they settled in Turkey.

In this sense, the position of the Kazakhs in East Turkestan in Turkey has not included a precarious legal status from the first days they settled in Turkey.

[471] Ibid., Kale, 196-197.
[472] Ibid., Kale, 194-195.
[473] Ibid., Parla, 48-58.
[474] Ibid., 648.

Is a secure legal status enough to provide a sense of "belonging"? Kazakhstan emphasized a "homeland" discourse for Kazakhs living outside the borders of the new state immediately after independence, calling for the return of Kazakhs abroad to their historical homeland and guaranteeing their legal status in the country.[475] However, the majority of the narrators stated that, while the Kazakhstan government granted Kazakhs in Turkey legal status (citizenship), very few of them benefited from this right. One of the narrators stated that she received a scholarship from Kazakhstan's universities and was supported by the Kazakhstan government to study there.[476] Another narrator mentioned his business ties to Kazakhstan.[477]Nevertheless, although their legal status is guaranteed in both Turkey and Kazakhstan, a sense of belonging to "Turkey" predominates over a sense of belonging to Kazakhstan.

Another point is about exclusion and discrimination. Threats to national identity and notions of "us against them" are often directly or indirectly involved in anti-immigration discourse.[478] At this point, Kazakh interviewees emphasized that they did not experience any discrimination. By saying "Tatar," they mentioned that an exclusionary discourse, which has a negative meaning for other communities in the host society, is used within them because of their physical views. In addition, they stated that they were stigmatized as nationalists in the 1970s due to their physical appearance and were attacked by leftist groups. Although they indicated that they had an anti-communist and nationalist side due to their historical background, most of the community members stated that in the 70s and 80s, only the right-wing ideology was adopted by some of the individual group members. However, the majority of the group was only concerned with their livelihood.

In the case of Kazakhs, whether migrants are subjected to discriminatory discourses in the host country is also a factor that affects their sense of belonging. Even though minority groups such as Gypsies, Alevis, Armenian Greeks, and Kurds in Turkey were exposed to discriminatory discourses and actions from time to time by the host society,

[475] Kuşçu, "*Changing Perception"*, p.385.
[476] Personal interview with Esra Kazak, May 23, 2019,
[477] Personal interview with Metehan Kazak,November 6, 2021,
[478] Nadzeya Laurentsyeva and Alessandra Venturini, "The Social Integration of Immigrants and the Role of Policy; A Literature Review," *Intereconomics 52,* no. 5 (Eylül 2017): 285. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10272-017-0691-6.

my interviewees stated that they were not exposed to disturbing discrimination or exclusion. Mansur Teyci's words:

> ….When we started school, we learned Turkish in fifteen or twenty days. Our elders struggled a bit. They could not pronounce it well. We moved to the third grade… My Kazakh friend and I sat next to a boy named Nazar, who was Armenian. They called us "Tatar" or "Immigrant." We were going to the garden. Other children were beating Nazar. We are the children of heroes, so we beat our friends so we would not have them beaten. They gave up in a couple of days. Then Nazar told his family, "They always excluded me, beating me; two immigrant children came and saved me. We did not know why it was done to Nazar. Then his parents invited us. The man said, "You helped our son," we started eating there weekly (the interviewee laughs happily). We became close friends right away…[479]

Since each of Antonich's five factors contributing to the formation of the individual sense of belonging to a place can be met by the host country, in the case of Kazakhs in Turkey, their emotional response to the questions "Who am I", "where am I from" or "where do I belong" as a diaspora community spread across many countries today is Turkey.

5.4. The Work of Post-Memory

"Memory" has been a subject of analysis since the classical period philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle. Since the 19th century, the rise of the nation-state and the importance of historiography have accelerated memory analysis. Throughout the long history of memory analysis, new concepts such as "Collective memory" and "Post memory" have emerged from researchers. "Post memory" is a new concept put forward by Marianne Hirsch due to memory studies.

While it is not surprising that the term post-memory was coined given the ever-expanding nature of "memory studies," Marianne Hirsch points out why she needed the term because trauma and its subsequent bodily, psychic, and emotional impact, ways of remembering or reactivating the effects of one trauma in another have crossed the boundaries of traditional historical archives and methodologies. In coining the concept of "Post-memory," Marianne Hirsch draws from not only her family history but also "autobiographical" graphic readings of the works of second-generation writers

[479] Ibid., Mansur Teyci,

and visual artists.[480] She defines "Post memory" as experiences that the relationship that the "generation after" bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before-to experiences they "remember" only using the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up. However, these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and effectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right.[481]

> …victim-survivors, as well as perpetrators and of bystanders who witnessed massive traumatic events, connect so profoundly to the previous generation's remembrances of the past that they identify that connection as a form of memory and that, in certain extreme circumstances, memory can be transferred to those who were not there to live an event…[482]

This new term has created countless witness projects, oral history archives, and photography museology archives under "Memory". Various scholars have called the unique situation a "syndrome" of belatedness or "post-ness" and have been variously termed "absent memory", "inherited memory", "belated memory", "prosthetic memory", and "post-memory", "vicarious witnessing", "received history", "haunting legacy".[483]

In fact, "Post Memory" is a kind of intergenerational transfer action. Therefore, the term "post-memory" has become one of the means of transmission of "pain" as a term that has been added to "memory" studies with the increase in reflections on historical disasters and traumas.[484] At this point, it is imperative to rediscover different aspects of the migration history of the Kazakhs, who have experienced collective catastrophes, through the context of "Post-memory".

I analyzed how the stories of the disastrous migration of the Kazakhs, who migrated to India and finally to Turkey, which resulted in the death of thousands of Kazakhs while crossing the Himalayan mountains and settling permanently, were perceived by their children and grandchildren. In addition, during my fieldwork, I tried to trace post-

[480] Marianne Hirsch, The Generation of post-memory: writing and visual culture after the Holocaust (, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), .4.
[481] Ibid., 5.
[482] Ibid., 3.
[483] Ibid.,.3.
[484] Ibid., 2-3.

memory by interviewing the children and grandchildren of survivors. I asked them to identify how specific qualities and symptoms might make them "Post-generation".

Considering the losses of the Kazakh community during and after the migration, it can be regarded as a traumatized community. Each member of a large community of this size may have their own unique identity and personal reaction to trauma; however, all members also share mental representations of the tragedies that befallen the group.[485] The mental picture of an event that has caused a large group to face drastic losses, feel helpless and victimized by another group, and share a humiliating injury is defined by Vamık D. Volkan as "Chosen Trauma". He tried to explain the unconscious "choice" a group makes to incorporate a past generation's mental representation of an event into its own identity with the term "Chosen Trauma".[486] Chosen trauma is characterized by the inability of the past generation to mourn their loss after experiencing a joint traumatic event.

The Kazakhs have an image of postponed mourning. Kazakhs decided to leave East Turkestan almost overnight. During the interviews, the narrators repeatedly emphasized that they left knowing they would not be able to return and would never see their relatives again. Salman Akhtar argues that migrants who are exiled or who leave their homeland due to sudden events will suffer more, but the grieving process can be postponed.[487]

> Their injured self-images associated with the mental representations of the shared traumatic event are “deposited” into the developing self-representation of children in the next generation as if these children will be able to mourn the loss or reverse the humiliation. Such depositing constitutes an intergenerational transmission of trauma. If the children cannot deal with what is deposited in them, they, as adults, will, in turn, pass the mental representation of the event to the next generation.[488]

[485] Vamık D. Volkan, “Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas,” *Transgenerational Transmissions and “Chosen Trauma”: An Element of Large-Group Identity* (Opening address XIII International Association of Group Psychotherapy August 1998).
[486] Ibid.,
[487] Salman Akhtar, *Göç ve Kimlik: Kargaşa, Sağaltım ve Dönüşüm* (Istanbul : Sfenks Kitap, 2021), 4-7.
[488] Vamık D. Volkan, “Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas,” *Transgenerational Transmissions and “Chosen Trauma”: An Element of Large-Group Identity (*Opening address XIII International Association of Group Psychotherapy August 1998).

I met Abdulvahap Kılıç, a second-generation narrator, in Zeytinburnu, Istanbul, 2019. The effort in his narrative was to recount a traumatic past in an accurate chronology.

> …Muhammadi (from the religion of the Prophet Muhammad) migrated from there (Sincan / Barköl) in 1938. There are Muslim Chinese; we call them "Döngen" (Tungan). There is an autonomous region where they live called Kansu (Gansu), so they migrate to that region first. With this migration, they unite with all caravans. They are thinking of staying there because they are Muslims. But the common interest was not shown there. Döngens took their good horses from our soldiers. Our people say there is no comfort there, so they migrate to Turkey. They go to India via Tibet, claiming their origin (root) is Turkish. They went to India in 1940. The first convoy to migrate was established with a leader named Elistan Teyci. Other convoys follow his first migration. For example, my father came with our group leader, Zaip Teyci. After coming to Pakistan in 1940, they settled in the Kashmir Muzaffarabat region.

> A deep river on one side, a deep mountain on the other, a forest on the other, soldiers stand guard on the other. That area transformed into a camp. The disease begins when they stay in that camp for five or six months. The cholera plague prevents them from going to other regions because they are tormented. After him, the Raj of Kashmir, Elistan Teyji, with a few of his friends, went to a governor called Islamhan, a Muslim governor in India, and with his help, they went to Punjab. After staying in Punjab for a year, they can travel throughout the country, and the diseases continue a little there because the region where Kazakhs lived was cold. The places they go to are very hot regions, and they are a problem because they deal with animal husbandry in a country with different nutritional conditions. Because mostly our meals are meat dishes. They remained there until 1949...[489]

Why are they trying to convey their parents' immigration stories in a particular chronology as if they were presenting an official historical narrative? Because the second and third generations have learned the remaining parts of the migration, which includes a complex process, from the books written by Kazakh intellectuals such as Halife Altay, Hızırbek Gayretullah, Hasan Oraltay, Delilhan Canaltay, who survived the Kazakh migration, and succeeded in coming to Turkey, both in which they included their own experiences and after long researches. In addition, their concern to make their voices heard in the world paved the way for them to create a classic story set up as a community. The second generations of the Kazakhs migration set themselves as somehow tasked with telling the tragic story of the Kazakh migration. Volkan emphasizes that this process occurs mainly in so-called "replacement children". Replacement children's self-representations include the image of a dead sibling or other dead or missing relative transmitted to them through their interactions with the mother or the affected caregiver. This "foreign" psychological gene influences or alters the child's identity and manifests as "tasks" that the child is unconsciously

[489] Personal interview with Abdulvahap Kılınç, May 23, 2019,

driven to fulfil. This task is sometimes to mourn what the parents cannot mourn or make them feel better by saying what they cannot speak on their behalf.[490]

> ….Nebil Batu is appointed as the first ambassador. They petitioned and held talks with that ambassador. During this time, a journalist named Mehmet İrfan, the correspondent of Hürriyet newspaper, came there by motorcycle. Our news is published in Turkey. In 1952, the Republic of Turkey accepted our petition. After that, while the immigration procedures were being carried out, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı came as an ambassador in 1953 and met him. They came to Turkey in the 10th month of 1953...[491]

As seen in Abdulvahap Kılınç's narrative above, second-generation narrators seem to have taken it as a mission to tell migration stories most accurately in the Kazakh case. Intergenerational transmission is not that a child imitates the behaviour of its parents or develops its ideas based on stories told by the older generation. It is the result of primarily unconscious psychological processes that influence the child's identity and unconsciously assign specific tasks to the child.[492]

During the fieldwork, each interviewee underlined the emphasis of "This is what I saw and heard". Kazakh Intellectuals from East Turkestan, who wrote works about "Kazakh migration" as the first generation - are first-generation narrators - transferred these works to the next generations, that is, to the second generation and later. Thus they turned their memories from the parent's memory into the child's post-memory. Therefore, these memories also include mediation.

If the Kazakh community is considered an extended family, the case of the Kazakh community is a unique example to understand how familial post-memory works. While they are describing the migration with a particular chronology, the reasons for coming to Turkey are shared among the second-generation Kazakh narrators, such as "To live our religion comfortably, our origin (our essence) is Turkish, our generations would forget their origin (essence)".

During my fieldwork, I often imagined myself in a traditional Kazakh immigrant house on a cold winter night, listening to their fairytale adventures with a large group of children while first-generation Kazakh narrators were talking about their "experiences

[490] Ibid.,Volkan,
[491] Personal interview with Abdulvahap Kılınç, May 23, 2019,
[492] Ibid.,Volkan,

of migration": "Sometimes I rode in the Altai mountains, adorned with a thick white blanket of snow, sometimes I fought against an enemy. I crossed the high dunes on the camel's back. I have often seen in my dreams that I cross the mountains on the back of a camel. As a researcher, I listened to these stories of mass catastrophes for days and months and experienced the enormity of the witnesses' memories. Also, I felt crowded out by them. In the winter, I was researching, and I had Kazakh immigrants who froze to death in my mind on the bumpy road I crossed to the school's restaurant, 500 meters away from the dormitory where I was staying, under the falling snow. These memories from the past were a part of my dreams and thoughts, albeit briefly, because I undoubtedly imagined myself in the lives they passed on to me.

Now I thought about the more unique and terrifying aspects of these stories, the generations of Kazakhs told to them by their ancestors. Even if I was exposed briefly, this censored history caused me to upload the narrators' memories as my own, most of which were just images I had imagined. In this case, the connections of the second and third generations of the Kazakh community with the points of memory of the Kazakh migration, such as memories, places and things, must be much larger and more numerous than mine.

Did they not envision what it was like to drink sheep's blood when thirsty while crossing a desert? Or did they not question whether they could drink urine as they swelled to death in the Tibetan steppes they loved? When the memories circulated again, didn't they feel helpless with the cold wind hitting them there every time? As Marianne Hirsch points out, "Hinge generation" can pass on the stories of their ancestors as if they were memories of their own "life experience".[493] One of my interviewees, Gülsüm Hakim, transfers the memories of her ancestors as if they were her while at the same time imagining herself in those times.

> ….They used to tell me when I was a kid. Their stories are the kind to be made into movies. The difficulties they experienced on the roads... The last encounter with Osman Batur was with my father, for example. My father went with Alibek Hakim. They would always talk about it with their friends. When they told these stories (with a smile) when I was a kid, I sometimes wanted to be there. I wanted to join that fight. Then, when you see the difficulties, you hesitate; that is, the confusion of emotions. It's a tragedy they live in every day. A story is like a novel;

[493] Ibid.,Hirsch, 5.

> I am proud of them. I tell my children. For example, my little boy listens to his mother (grandma). He is always curious. I want them to learn….[494]

Likewise, Esra, one of my interviewees, tells a story her grandmother told her about a woman whose child had died during the migration, and she realized that after a long time, she did not have a child; she says the following to explain how she would feel if she lost her child: " I left my son behind….I couldn't bear the pain."[495]

The concept of chosen trauma also includes the fluidity between the psychic boundaries of parent and child, and the passage of the parent's anxieties, unconscious fantasies, perceptions and expectations of the external world and the child into the child's developing sense of self. Psychic boundaries are also known to be permeable in the relationship between a child and a parent or between two adult individuals who relate to each other in situations of regression or partial regression.[496]

Sometimes the mother's voice is rarely heard. Still, suppose there is a girl inclined to speak on her behalf. In that case, we can listen to the mother from her daughter's voice.[497] Similarly, Gülsüm has revealed her memories as the daughter of her dominant mother, who conveys her rarely-heard voice.

[498] "Women are both the carriers and narrators of historical persecution.[499] The trauma has been told and circulated by family members for generations, speaking on behalf of the father and the daughter of the mother.

Indeed, they look for memories told by their "Hinge generation" families in barely discernible objects, images, documents, fragments, and traces. Sometimes, as in the younger generations of Jews, they try to find parts of the stories by returning to the streets and homes of the cities their ancestors told. [500] In fact, they look for memories

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[494] Personal interview with Gülsüm Hakim, December 23, 2020,
[495] Personal interview with Esra Kazak, May 23, 2022,
[496] Vamık D. Volkan, "Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas, " *Transgenerational Transmissions and "Chosen Trauma": An Element of Large-Group Identity* (Opening address XIII International Association of Group Psychotherapy August 1998).
[497] Ibid, Hirsch, 10.
[498] Ibid., 11.
[499] Ibid, 11.
[500] Ibid., 42-43.

described by their "Hinge generation" families in barely discernible objects, images, documents, fragments, and traces. Sometimes, as in the younger generations of Jews, they try to find parts of the stories by returning to the streets and homes of the cities their ancestors told.[501]

However, in Kazakh immigrants' case, it is nearly impossible to go back to "remember the place" to search for traces. Moreover, their hometown is currently being ruled by the oppressive regime of the People's Republic of China, and they think travelling to the region could be quite dangerous for them. Marianne Hirsch, who coined the term post-memory, also attempted to investigate the role played by generations in interiors, household items, clothing, photographs, and stories of returning to a lost home.[502]

In the case of Kazakh immigrants from East Turkestan, Mansur Teyci first began to draw from his childhood perception of his father's role in the migration as an East Turkestan Kazakh leader and the story of his and his convey's survival. He then aimed to increase the credibility of his story with familiar visual archives and narrative conventions, which he transformed in radical and surprising ways. Photos of his father and leaders in Kashmir, a ring with a Tayci (Teyci) stamp given to his father by the East Turkestan government of the time. “Political and cultural memory, in contrast, is not inter- but transgenerational, it is no longer mediated through embodied practice but solely through symbolic system.”[503]

Nonetheless, for generations of Kazakhs, the possibility of rekindling memories by connecting with items left over from the migration is very low. Kazakhs lost almost all of their belongings during migration. Few of them have family photos from those days, as they were a nomadic community; Family photos of a few leaders taken when they arrived in Kashmir, a few souvenirs, maybe a letter from their relatives living in East Turkestan years later, there are very little left to revive the "point of memory".

In this context, the second-generation narrators of the Kazakh community develop a tremendous reaction against communism, and they deeply love Adnan Menderes

[501] Ibid., 42-43.
[502] Ibid., 29-52.
[503] Ibid., 29.

because they were accepted to Turkey during Adnan Menderes's prime ministry. In addition, they voted for the "Democrat" party because it was Adnan Menderes' party, and they stated that they continued to vote for other parties, which they saw as its successor. On the other hand, second and third-generation Kazakh narrators do not take the idea of Communism warmly. However, they refer to people who either did not take sides in the right-left conflicts in the 70s in Turkey or acted with the rightists.

During my interviews with Gülsüm Hakim and Suna Düzenli, when I asked them how they would react if a member of the Kazakh community today were a Communist and an atheist, they responded by saying, "It would never have been approved." Although the "Second generation" Kazakh narrators were not directly exposed to the communist regime, they tended to convey a negative perception of communism ideology by reacting as if it were part of their memories or experiences. In this sense, returning to the term chosen trauma is useful. The reality related to the trauma experienced has lost its importance, and its function has changed from generation to generation. However, in this case, the chosen trauma is essential in binding the group members together. It becomes an integral part of the group's identity.[504] Volkan refers to time collapse as one of the stages of chosen trauma. Time collapse describes the fears, expectations, fantasies and defences associated with a selected trauma that reemerge when conscious and unconscious connections are made between past trauma and a current threat.[505] The reactions of the second generation of Kazakhs, such as Gülsüm Hakim and Suna Düzenli, to Communism have magnified the image of Communism.

In communities with a traumatic past, the transmission of memories severed by catastrophe, as in the case of the Jews, totalitarian regimes may destroy their archives, and their records may be burned. In societies or communities with such a traumatic past, individual and familial mediation and memories interact and embody, and even after familial grandchildren are lost, the remaining family members can be a part of post-memory production.[506]

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[504] Vamık D. Volkan, "Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas, " *Transgenerational Transmissions and "Chosen Trauma": An Element of Large-Group Identity* (Opening address XIII International Association of Group Psychotherapy August 1998).
[505]Ibid., .
[506] Ibid., 33.

Herewith "Memory" refers to an emotional connection to the past—a genuinely material sense of "living connection"—and is strongly mediated by technologies such as literature, photography, and witnessing.[507] However, in catastrophic situations, such as destroying archives and deleting records, memory continues to exist through intergenerational transfer.

In sum, in this chapter, I have traced how the transmission of migration stories to subsequent generations, including the catastrophic deaths of thousands of Kazakhs in the Himalayan mountains and camps in India during their migration to India and finally to Turkey in 1940-1952, transformed subsequent generations of Kazakhs into "Post-ness".I centered on Vamık D. Volkan's concept of chosen trauma and Marianne Hirsch's concept of "Post-memory." Since the next generations of Kazakhs postponed their mourning process due to their ancestors fleeing their homeland overnight, they both accompanied their mourning process and embraced their memories as their memories and took on the task of speaking on their behalf. During my interviews, the next generations were eager to accurately tell the story of the Kazakh emigration (more in the sense of describing it chronologically). They were, in Volkan's definition, "replacement children".

I found an example of the "hinge generation" telling the stories of their ancestors as if they were memories of their own "life experiences" in the memories of Gülsüm Hakim and Esra, who told the stories of their ancestors. This is often seen in later generations of female narrators, a daughter speaking on behalf of her mother. In addition, later generations revitalize memory points by connecting with objects and places left over from the disaster. I mentioned that Mansur Teyci, one of the Kazakh interviewees, inherited a ring from his father and the photographs in his house as points of memory. I tried to explain the overreaction of the next generations of Kazakhs to the ideology of Communism with the time collapse, one of the stages of Volkan's concept of chosen trauma. I have provided an example of how the image of existing enemies and conflicts grows in the next generations, such as the reactions of second-generation narrators like Gülsüm Hakim and Suna Düzenli to Communism. In the case of Kazakh immigrants

[507] Ibid., 33.

from East Turkestan living in Turkey, "memories of the past" are passed on through generations, and post-memory production continues.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to analyze the concepts of migration, identity, homeland and belonging as reflected in the stories of some members of the Kazakh community who left their lands in East Turkestan in the 1940s and 1950s, crossed to India and Pakistan via Tibet and Kashmir, and settled permanently in Turkey. At the micro level, this thesis also attempts to analyze the economic and cultural adaptation paths of East Turkestan Kazakh immigrants living in Turkey. First of all, the analyzes I have put are based on the primary source, telling the narratives of the East Turkestan Kazakhs in Turkey and my observations throughout the field.

After the literature studies I conducted within the scope of my thesis study, I interviewed twenty Kazakh narrators, aged between twenty and ninety, living in Kurtuluş, Salihli, Manisa in the south of Turkey and Zeytinburnu, Istanbul, where various immigrant groups live together. In this study, applying the oral history method, I collected narratives about the personal experiences and life stories of Kazakh immigrants from East Turkestan residing in Turkey. I transformed these life stories into an academic text using narrative analysis. I endeavoured to uncover these transcribed stories' embedded meanings, codes and language patterns; thus, I aimed to obtain more data about their unwritten experiences and perceptual practices. The narratives of members of the Kazakh community helped me reveal their migration stories and memories and provide data on how these memories shape and formulate the identity formation, homeland and belonging of second and third generations.

Life stories are another way of conveying memories, both personal and communal. A life story is made up of people's experiences. In telling their life stories, people relate expertise but also dream, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticize, construct, gossip, learn, hate and love. In other words, they convey

their interpretation of the world through a life story.[508] My interviews with members of the Kazakh community allowed me to trace their memories of migration across generations simultaneously and to access their intimate feelings and experiences. Since this thesis deals with many aspects of memory identity, including the migration of Kazakhs from East Turkestan to Turkey, oral history has provided a rich source of data that can be used to uncover parts of the Kazakh community's past that remain in the dark.

The history of the Kazakh community living in Turkey involves quite complex processes. While some of the Kazakhs lived a nomadic life in the Kazakh steppes, in the 18th century, during Abilay Khan's reign (Ablai) reign, they settled in the steppes of East Turkestan under the Manchu empire. They were nomadic shepherds in this region until the 1940s and 50s when they migrated. Since the 19th century, the Kazakhs, who had rebelled against the Manchu empire many times by uniting with Muslim groups such as Kazakhs, Uyghurs, Uzbeks and Kyrgyz, rebelled again and struggled for independence after the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911 and the mismanagement of the governors appointed to the region with the establishment of the Republic of China. The repressive behaviour of the governors in the area caused the first group of Kazakhs to flee to India in the 1940s. In 1945, the People's Republic of China, founded under the leadership of Mao, adopted the ideology of communism. The Kazakhs reacted to the doctrine of communism because they feared that it would disappear their "Muslim" identity. Therefore, the Kazakhs migrated across the Himalayan mountains to Kashmir in 1952. In 1953, the Adnan Menderes government accepted them as immigrants to Turkey. Shortly after they arrived in Turkey, they obtained citizenship.

Gradually migrating to neighbouring Gansu province and then to India under the leadership of about 30 leaders with the title of Teyci, who led several hundred families, the Kazakhs lost almost two-thirds of their population in the 20th century due to the arduous journey on horses and camels. In the fourth chapter of this thesis, I analyzed the story of each of the narrators who witnessed the great tragedy and their reconstruction of childhood memories as an adult, as well as the silences and gaps in

[508] Lynn Abrams, "Narrative," *Oral History Theory*, ed. Abraham Lynn, (London; New York: Routledge, 2010), 106.

memory. My interviews with Kazakh narrators who had experienced the tragedies of the migration revealed the whole tragedy of the Kazakh migration. These narratives covered a series of traumatic stories of drinking the blood of sheep as a last resort when thirsty while crossing a desert, of family members freezing to death in the Tibetan highlands, and of relatives swelling to death from high pressure in the Himalayan highlands.

During the interviews, first-generation narrators who witnessed the migration could not hold back their tears as they described the hardships and deaths they experienced on the migration route. Moreover, the narrators of the Kazakh migration tried to emphasize the importance of this collective catastrophe by using the first person plural when telling collective stories about the migration. Nevertheless, they used the language of we in their memories of migration in order to look at the memories of migration from a distance rather than being the protagonists of these catastrophes. It is, therefore, evidence that they wanted to distance themselves from the traumatic effects of migration.

In the fourth chapter of the thesis, I showed how Kazakh male and female narrators had adopted different narrative styles in telling their stories across generations. While male narrators, regardless of age, shape their narratives around topics such as politics, economy, religion, and culture, female narrators' narratives emphasize more emotional and intimate issues such as family, daily practices, death, and mourning. Female narrators were more willing to talk about grief and loss, while men did not mention the existence of grief and loss. However, women's narratives contain a more emotional discourse. Finally, the tendency for almost all second and third-generation female narrators to tell their ancestors' migration stories as if they were their memories was rarely seen in male narrators of the same generation. Furthermore, the content of women's narratives has changed between ages. While first and second-generation women's narratives ignored intimate topics, third-generation women's narrators did not hesitate to touch upon issues considered confidential for women, such as childbirth and menstruation.

After presenting a general introduction, methodology, historical background and an analysis of migration memories in the first four chapters of my thesis, in the fifth

chapter, I focused on the concepts of identity, homeland and belonging, and post-memory. First of all, through life stories, I traced how members of the Kazakh community have formulated their identities in the host state of Turkey over generations since their first migration to Turkey. Identity is a fluid and can be shaped term, and identity scholars have defined it as something unique to the individual, uniquely possessed and more or less consistent over time. Identity is what distinguishes one person from others. A person makes multiple identifications with others based on their social, cultural and biological characteristics, shared values, personal history and interests. Just as there is no precise definition of identity, individuals may not have a single identity.[509] First-generation narrators shaped their identities around religion and ethnicity. These first-generation narrators I interviewed defined their identities as "Muslim", "Kazakh", "Turk", or "Kazakh Turk". They stated that the main reason for their ancestors' migration was that they fled to a Muslim country to live their religion freely after the Chinese Communist Party banned Muslim worship. For first-generation narrators, this formalization of their identity is how Islam had become a unifying umbrella that separates Muslim ethnic groups living in East Turkestan from non-Muslim ethnic groups such as Han Chinese living in the region.

The adoption of a single ideology as Communism during the Mao period and the attempt to impose it on minorities caused Kazakhs, who had shaped their identity through Islam for many years, to adopt the Muslim identity as the large group identity defined by Vamık D. Volkan. This large group identity provided the Kazakhs with a comfort zone. Vamık D. Volkan defines large group identity as the subjective experience of thousands or millions of people who are bound together by a constant sense of sameness - be it religion, nationality or ethnicity - and at the same time share many characteristics with others in foreign groups.[510] Because in East Turkistan, being Muslim or not being Muslim was the dividing line rather than ethnic identity. They perceived the communist ideology as threatening their "Muslim" identity. Besides, the idea of "Pan-Turanism", which spread through education in East Turkestan from the 19th century onwards, made "Turkishness" a second unifying identity. The first

[509] Ibid., 19-20.
[510] Vamık D. Volkan, "Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas ", *Transgenerational Transmissions and "Chosen Trauma": An Element of Large-Group Identity* (Opening address XIII International Association of Group Psychotherapy August 1998).

generation of narrators rarely emphasized their ethnic identity as "Kazakh" because there is no need to specify the Kazakh identity, which is obvious. In contrast to the first generation, the second generation did not emphasize being "Muslim" in their self-identification. The third generation of young narrators use their ethnic or religious identity less frequently, and the discourse of "From Turkey (Türkiyeli)" has come to the fore as a new alternative identity.

Secondly, based on their life stories, I tried to analyze how Kazakh migrants' perceptions of the homeland were reshaped after the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the emergence of Kazakhstan as an independent republic in 1991. First, I conducted a literature review on diaspora studies because "diaspora" and "homeland" are often used together. The concept of "diaspora" refers to groups or communities that have been separated from their homeland in some way and is defined as the place where the movement ends, and identities and explanations converge, not the "roots" but the "paths."[511]

In the case of the Kazakh community, I analyzed their perceptions of the homeland based on the data from my fieldwork. In the light of the interviews, first-generation narrators frequently used the phrase "My homeland, my homeland Altai or East Turkestan" in their narratives while describing their migration experiences. However, when asked, "Where is the homeland?" They answered "Turkey" without hesitation. Although the second and third-generation Kazakh narrators never mentioned "East Turkestan" as their homeland in their narratives, it was seen in their narratives that they determined the image of "homeland" as "Turkey".

Following Safran's framework of the "myth of return",[512] I observed that the Kazakh community who migrated from East Turkestan produced Turkey "as a place to return to." The main reason is that "East Turkestan" evokes a sense of fear and anxiety passed down from generation to generation and symbolizes "danger" for Kazakhs in Turkey. Some Kazakhs who settled in Turkey migrated to European countries such as Germany, France, the Netherlands and Sweden as labourers in the 1960s for economic reasons. During my interviews, they mentioned that most of their relatives living in

[511] Ibid.,
[512] Safran,"*Diasporas in Modern Societies,"* 83-99.

Europe dream of returning to Turkey after retirement. While East Turkestan did not create a homeland image to return to in the minds of later generations of Kazakhs, the collapse of the Soviet Socialist Republics in 1991 and the subsequent emergence of Kazakhstan as an independent state did not change Turkey's position as a homeland for Kazakhs.

Kazakhstan has implemented the "Relocation of Kazakhs from Abroad to Kazakhstan (Nurlı Köş) policy"[513] which aims to unite the ethnic Kazakh people scattered all over the world under the umbrella of the "Kazakh diaspora".For this purpose, it has tried to communicate with Kazakhs living in Turkey through the World Kazakhs Association (WKA), established the aim of effective contact with those living outside the borders of Kazakhstan.[514] The association has established close relations with Kazakhs in Turkey by cooperating with the Kazakh Turks Association in Zeytinburnu. The government of Kazakhstan has implemented privileges policies for Kazakhs living in Turkey, such as citizenship, resettlement in Kazakhstan and scholarships to Kazakh universities. However, these practices were ineffective in reshaping the perception of "Homeland" as "Kazakhstan".The narrators stated that their ties with Kazakhstan were relatively weak. They clearly said that the establishment of the state of Kazakhstan made it easier for them to declare their identity in Turkey and that Turkey was their "homeland".As a result, it was necessary to analyze whether Kazakhstan's independence reproduced feelings of belonging, although it did not reshape perceptions of the homeland.

I examined how the sense of belonging of the Kazakh community living in Turkey is shaped by five factors put forward by Marc Antonish: autobiographical, relational, cultural, economic and legal factors. Within the framework of the first factor, historical and geographical division separated the East Turkestan Kazakhs from their compatriots living in Soviet Russia.The personal experiences, relationships and memories of the first generation, who left East Turkestan when the youngest was five and the oldest thirteen years old, and the second and third generation, who were born

[513] Zhansaya Bekmurzayeva , "*Yurtdışı Kazaklarının Kazakistan'a Yeniden Yerleştirilmeleri (Nurlı Köş) Politikası ve Kazak Milliyetçiliğindeki Rolü "(*Master Thesis , İstanbul Üniversitesi , 2012), 11-14.
[514] Kuşçu,"*Changing Perception,"*389-390.

and raised in Turkey, are shaped around Turkey. In this context, Kazakhs have an emotional interaction with Turkey. Secondly, based on the relational factor, which refers to personal and social connection, the Kazakh community has established close ties with its members and other groups living in Turkey since their arrival in Turkey. In the early years, Kazakhs married within the group, while the next generations married local community members. Through marriages, they interacted with the host community and came together in a melting pot through marriage.

The third factor is the cultural factor, which includes forms of artistic expression, traditions and habits, such as language, food production and consumption, and the materiality of cultural practices. Kazakhs have undergone many changes while trying to adapt to a different environment in Turkey. The ecology, social and cultural landscapes, living conditions, economic practices, language, etc., that they were used to in their homeland have changed or been replaced by new ones. In their homeland, the Kazakhs led a nomadic lifestyle, while in Turkey, they adopted a sedentary lifestyle. The Kazakhs moved from a nomadic lifestyle to a sedentary one after settling in India and Pakistan. Therefore, they had already adapted to settled life when they arrived in Turkey. Nevertheless, their social structure changed in Turkey, they moved from extended to nuclear families, and their education level increased with increased access to state institutions.

Although Kazakh culture differs from the host country, Turkish society, in terms of cuisine, entertainment, clothing, funeral ceremonies, daily practices and family structure, it has patterns that are pretty similar to Turkish culture. In this sense, the Kazakh community has adopted the food culture of the host country without completely changing its food and drink culture. For example, when the Kazakhs lived in East Turkestan, they cooked with horse meat; in Turkey, this was replaced by mutton. Vegetables were also included in their diet. Nowruz celebrations in Turkey and the practices of the Hanafi-Sunni faith were compatible with the beliefs and culture of the Kazakh community.

In Kazakhstan, which was under Soviet rule for many years, the influence of the Russian language is relatively strong. Some narrators stated that when they travelled to Kazakhstan, they heard Kazakh or Russian spoken in Kazakhstan, slightly different

from the Kazakh they learned from their ancestors. Today, almost all Kazakhs living in Turkey speak Turkish fluently. -Some are native speakers of Turkish and speak very little Kazakh- School-age children of Kazakhs were educated in schools in the areas where they were resettled and adopted the "dominant culture" and the official language through education in Turkey. However, after the independence of Kazakhstan, Kazakhs living in Turkey have had more accessible access to Kazakh written and visual resources.

Second-generation narrator Meryem Hakim, born and raised in Turkey, expressed her feelings when she visited Kazakhstan after its independence. She was impressed by the Kazakh speakers but still missed Turkey. For the Kazakhs who settled in Salihli, vegetables became a part of their diet, just like the locals in the region, and even olive oil and sarma, the traditional products and food of the Aegean region, became an object of longing.

The fourth factor is the economic factor. Kazakh immigrants living in Turkey entered the leather business shortly after arriving in Turkey. They significantly contributed to leather production in Turkey by producing leather hats and jackets and dominating the leather market. Finally, in 1892 Kazakh immigrants, who gradually arrived in Turkey from 1952 until the end of 1958, were admitted to Turkey with legal elements such as citizenship and residence permits. Shortly after they arrived in Turkey, they received their citizenship documents and their legal status was secured. As a result, although their legal status is guaranteed in Turkey and Kazakhstan, Turkey emerged as a place where Kazakh narrators developed "belonging".

Apart from my analysis of identity, homeland and belonging, one of the other points of this thesis is memory. The Kazakhs fled to India in stages between 1940 and 1952, and during this journey, they died tragically in the Himalayan mountains and camps in India. Following Vamık D. Volkan's concept of "Chosen trauma" and Marianne Hirsch's concept of "Post-memory", I drew a picture of how the transmission of these stories, which contain a lot of pain, sadness and mourning, to the next generations transformed the next generations of Kazakhs into "Post-Memory". Subsequent generations of Kazakhs claimed the memories of their ancestors as their own. They took it upon themselves to speak on behalf of their ancestors about the tortures,

disappearances or sufferings that were sometimes covered up. During my interviews, it was seen as the most important task for the next generations to accurately tell the story of the Kazakh migration (more in the sense of telling it chronologically). Volkan called these children "replacement children".[515]

Two female narrators, Gülsüm Hakim and Esra, narrated the births of their mothers and grandmothers during migration, and the loss of children by women in narratives with a lot of emotional discourse like their own memories, sometimes with tremors in their voices. This is an example of a daughter speaking on behalf of her mother in the next generations of women narrators. "post-memory" is also associated with objects and places such as photographs, letters. Because the next generations regenerate memory points by connecting with objects and places left by the disaster. Mansur Teyci, whose house I visited, seemed to have turned his house into a commemorative museum. Photographs, tapes, and letters exhibited many of the remaining objects. A ring inherited from his father was the most notable of these objects. Finally, the next generations of the Kazakh community are overreacting to the communist ideology, even though the communist threat is no longer present. I explained this situation with time collapse, one of the stages of Volkan's concept of chosen trauma. It was an example of how the image of the enemy and the existing conflicts grew in the next generations, as was the reaction of the second-generation narrators such as Gülsüm Hakim and Suna Düzenli to communism. As a result, East Turkestan Kazakh immigrants living in Turkey have passed on "memories of the past" for generations, and post-memory production has continued.

In conclusion, the Kazakh community migrating from East Turkestan has established an emotional attachment to the host country and social integration has taken place, allowing them to be accepted as a member of the host society. All these have influenced Kazakhs' identity discourses and their sense of home and belonging in favour of Turkey. As a result, the situation of the Kazakh community who migrated from East Turkestan and settled in Turkey has caused their identity, homeland and belonging discourses to be shaped through Turkey rather than Kazakhstan, where they

[515]Vamık D. Volkan, “Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas ”, Transgenerational Transmissions and “Chosen Trauma”: An Element of Large-Group Identity (Opening address XIII International Association of Group Psychotherapy August 1998).

have ethnic affinities, since their social structure following the norms and values of the dominant society, except for minor differences, and they are not subjected to exclusion.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Mansur Teyci (1945-)

Mansur Teyci was born in 1945 in the Gasköl region of East Turkestan. His father was Hüseyin Teyci, one of the prominent Kazakh migration leaders. In 1949, under the leadership of his father, he migrated with thousands of Kazakhs across the Tibetan highlands and Himalayan mountains, first to the Kashmir region and then to Turkey in 1953. A few years after they settled in Kayseri, they settled in Bağcılar, Istanbul and currently reside in Güneşli, Bağcılar (in İstanbul).

Nerede doğdunuz?

Çin devletinin toprakları sayılan eski Türklerin ana yurdumuz Doğu Altay bölgesinin Gasköl denen yerinde dünyaya geldim.

Babanız ile ilgili hatıralarınız nedir?

Benim babam Kazak Türklerinin o yörede liderlerindendi. Ben onun tek oğluyum. Beni severdi yanından ayırmazdı. İsmi Hüseyin Teyci. 7-8 yaşlarında devamlı kulağıma küpe olarak duyulmuştur. Buradan cesareti metanetliği anladım. Babamın babası dedem Tolabay Alkanbay iki kardeşmiş onlar da aynen 35 sene Altay yöresinde Kazaklara hizmet yapmış kişilerdir. Eski törelerimize göre maaş almaz. Karşılık beklemez, kendisinin malı vardır mülkü vardır. Kim iyi olursa onu seçiyorlar o halkı yönetiyor. İşte öyle dönemde dedemiz 35 sene hizmet yapmış. Dedemden sonra benim babam 1919'dan itibaren, babam Hüsyin Teyci atasının vasiyeti gereğince orada Kazak yöresinde başkanlık yapıyor. Benim babam da halkına 31 sene hizmet yapmıştır. Babam şimdi evlenmiş benim annemle 3-4 tane kız çocuğu dünyaya gelmiş. Herkes Hüseyin Teyci'ye rabbim bir erkek çocuk versene diyor varis kalsa diye dua ediyormuş halk.7. sırada ben geliyorum. 6 kız ben 7. erkek tek oğluyum. Babamın

halkı da beni çok severdi babam da. Babam beni çok severdi tek gözünün Nuru evladı olduğu için.

Bizim Orta Asya'da evlenme işleri anne baba görücülüğü ile evlenir, benim babam da annem de böyle atalarının görücülüğü şeyi ile evlenmişlerdir. Sevmişlerdir. Annem 6 kere kız çocuk doğurunca babama diyor ki Hüseyin diyor, "Bey, efendi başka bir hanım al" diyor. Belki benim genimde hep böyle kız doğurma vardır. Hayatını paylaşıyor ve babamı evlendiriyor 2. annem ile. Evleniyor Annem geldiği sene de bir sene sonra kız doğuran beni doğuruyor. Toplumumuzda iki eş olabiliyordu. İkisini bir sevebiliyorsa o zaman olur.

Doğduğunuz yer ile ilgili hatırladıklarınız nelerdir?

5 yaşında sonra ben çok meraklıydım. Komşunun oğlu vardı, o benim at bakıcımdı. Tayı getirirdi, beni bindirdi. Yazın bir toy(düğün) oldu. At yarışı yapılacak dediler. Gittik hava güzeldi. Gittik tepenin üzerine şimdi burada ne oldu ilk gördüğüm şey delikanlı kız yiğitler attan yarış yapıyor, yarış yaparken enteresan gidiyorlar buradan aşağı yukarı 500 metre ileriye varıyor oradan oğlan kaçıyor geriye kaçarken kızda kovalıyor yetiştiği zaman hiç dinleme yok, kırbaçlan bunu vuruyor. Yani mesele bu yani. Millette bakıyor vay sopayı yedi kızdan diyecek yani. Onun için delikanlı öyle kaçması lazım ki rezil olmasın. İşte ben bunları yaşadım. Kök oğlak dediğimiz koyunu kesiyor derisini iki delikanlı çekiyor bunun çekimlerini, gördük. Benim babamın kardeşi güreşçi idi.

Okula nerede başladın?

Orada ben dini hocalardan bana elif-be'den başladık. Kuranı kerim cüzine kadar okuyordu her kazak çocuğu. Ben elif- be'ye kelime-i tevhidi orada öğrendim. Sonra işte beklemeden 8 yaşında 1951de göç başlayınca okul falan kaldı. O zaman öyle bir şey yok o zaman şehirdeki çocuklar hem kazak öğretmen tarafından ilkokul ortaokula Kazak öğretmenler başlatıyor. Çince de Kazakça da öğreniyordu. Burada Çince ille öğreneceksin diye bir şey yok serbest. O zaman ki dönem 70 sene önce bomboştu yani Türkiyemiz'de dahi o dönemde başka bir hava vardı. Öyle bir şey yoktu. Zaten

babamın gayesi göçmesek Urumçi'de beni okullara verecekti, okuyup yüksek adam olacaktım ama o nasip olmadı.

Göç başladı.

Bizim toplumuzda yüksek eğitim alan kişiler vardı. Eğitim dili Kazakça idi. Bölge eyaletinin maliye bakanı Kazaktı. Emniyet komiserleri vardı. Kaymakamlar vardı yani. Çin'in o zamanlardaki durumu geri kalması Avrupalılar tarafından Çin'i uyuttular. Afyonu verdiler onu verdiler bunu verdiler.

Çin toprakları içinde Doğu Altay dediğimiz Türkistan diyoruz şu anda Türkistan hududunun Tibet sınırına yakın Gasköl denen yerdir. 1867 yılına kadar sınır yok, Rusya sınırından girip Sonra sınır çizildikten sonra kayıt pasaportlan girme çıkma olduğu zaman kesildi. Onun üzerine de Rusya'da Çar Rusya'sı bitti. Stalin geldikten sonra daha sertleştirdi, yani o zaman tabi katı durum oldu.

Bizim gideceğimiz zaman Çin'in içerisindeki devrim Mao'nun parti kazanması en sonunda bizim Altaylar Doğu Türkistan eyaletine de gelip burayı da işgal etti.

Sizin göç etmenizin nedeni neydi peki?

Şimdi bu bir devrim nerede devrim olursa haklı ol haksız ol ilk zamanlar çok insanlar karambole gider. Şimdi benim babam da orada dedesi 35 sene hizmet yapmış. Babam da şimdi bu devrim oluyor ne olur biz en iyisi biraz kendimizi kenara çekelim biraz diye böylece biz Tibet steplerine çıktık. Sonra dedik ya şimdi biz memlekete karşı bir asiliğimiz yok yavaş yavaş Hindistana doğru yol alalım diye biz böyle çıktık. Yoksa bizi kovalayan bizim arkamıza düşen asker yok. Deve üzerindeyim arkamızdan kimse gelmedi. At deve üzerinde 60 aile rahat rahat geldik yani.(göç hikayesinde)

Devrim yapa yapa evvela halka adam gönderiyor konuşma yapıyor. Arkadaşlar eski hükümet şunu yapamadı bunu yapamadı yeni hükümet şimdi hizmetlere geçecek onun için yanlış bir harekete geçmeyin yeni hükümeti tanıyın gibi evvela bu bilgiler yani adamlar geldi. Heyetler geldi. Bazı bu heyetleri dinlemeyen asilik yapan oldu mu? O zaman onlara.

Heyet geldiğinde dinlediğiniz bir olay var mı?

Şimdi bizim 1938'de bak komünist Çin'den değil eski Çin var ya eski Çin'in Urumçi eyaletinin başkanı olan Şinsisay bir tane çinli geldi. Bu Çinli ne yaptı biliyor musunuz? Kazakların ileri gelenlerini yavaş yavaş Urumçiye çağırarak bunları kapatmaya hapsetmeye yani Kazakların ileri gelenleri alaşağı indirmek medenice bunu yapmaya başladı. Bundan dolayı bizim Barköl yöresindeki Kazaklar 13.000 aile 1938 senesinde Gansu Şinkay bölgesi oraya mecburen göç ettiler. Bizim göçümüz komünist Çin'den önce eski Çin'in zulmü zamanında yapıldı. Böylece Gansu geldikten sonra oradan 4 kola dağıldı.1938 senesinde 18.000 nüfus 13.000 aile Gansu Şinkay bölgesine geldiler. Geldikten sonra buradaki eyalet başkanı Çin müslümanı, müslüman müslümanın kardeşidir. Belki bu adam yumuşaktır diye buraya geldiler geldikten sonra burada da pek fazla bir netice alamadılar. Alamayınca buraya gelen adam 4 dağıldık. 1.'si şu yeşilden 1940 senesinde Hindistana bir grup Kazaklar geldi. Şu yol ondan sonra Sultan Şerif zukoaoğlu 3.'de benim babam Hüseyin Teyci Gasköl'e yerleşti. Bu arada 1 sene geçti.1 sene sonra Gasköl'den tam 4.000 km yol kat ederek Keşmir'e geldik. Bizim bu atalarımızn göçü Hz. Muhammed'in hicretine benzer. Biz o peygamberin ümmeti olarak hicret yaptık.

Göçten hatırladığınız nedir?

Develerin üzerinde sandık vardı. Kız kardeşimle biz o devenin üzerindeki sandıkta akşama kadar oturduk, karnımız acıkınca kurutulmuş et verirlerdi. Bize sonra seyrederdik tilki mi geçiyor yak öküzler mi geçiyor hep seyrederdik. Bu yolda günlük gülistanlık değildi 7 Ocakta yola çıktık -20 derece at deve üzerinde her gün göç başlıyordu. 20-30 santim kar vardı annelerimiz orayı temizliyor, oraya keçi evleri yapıyor, annelerimiz o biter bitmez bizi oraya saklıyordu. Karın üzerine keçeden yapılma halılar sererlerdi. Ateşler yakılır kazanların içine kar konulur o su ile çay yemek yapılırdı. Tibet yayalarında oksijen az "is" dediğimiz oksijen yetersizliğinden ölenler oldu. O sırada 20 kişi vefat etti. Bunlar öldüğü zaman -20 derece don toprak bir kişiyi koymak için 2 gün ateş yakılıyor, bir mezarcı bir gün iki gün zor kazıyorsun, kazamadığımız zamanlarda derelerde oyuk olur ya onun gibi yerlere götürüp halı falan kapatıp oraya koyardık. Yazın rahattık sandıktan kurtulduk. Tibet steplerine geldiğimiz zaman 3 ayrı Tibetli var. Fakir orta ticaret yapan. Biz fakir Tibetlilere

rastladık. Bu Tibetliler koyun derisini bağlamış üstüne başka bir elbise yok, ayaklarında çarık bir zaman korktuk yontma taş devrindeki gibi çadırlar. Yak öküzlerinin kıllarından yapılmış. Bu tibetliler deve görmemiş bizim develeri görünce dinazor görmüş gibi korktular, güle güle öldük.

Kendi koyduğumuz ismimiz burada Çin sen Kazak sen Uygursun diye isim vermiyor.

Kazakistan ile bağınız var mı?

Tabi benim atalarımızın mezarı var. Biz hudut çizildi de ayrıldık. Yani yoksa insanlar Rusya-Çin gidip geliyorlardı. Göç etmeden önce Kazak, Uygur diye isimler vardı. Kalu beladan beri vardı. Uygur soyu Kazak diyor bunun atası Uygur bunun atası Kazak ayrım yok atanı bilmezsen ne olur.

Göç yolunda ibadet nasıldı?

Teyyemmüm ile namazını kılıyor, oruç tutuyorlardı. Cuma namazı kılınamıyordu.

Sizin toplumunuzda da şaman inancından kalan şeyler var mıydı?

Ben şimdi nezle grip gibi şeylerde beni bile tedavi ettiler. Seni sadece donun var ev yuvarlak ev var ya evin dışarısına çıkarıyor, su döküyor evin etrafında iki kere dolandırıyor sonra yatırıyor et suyu veriyor, iyileşiyorsun. Kurşun dökme yoktur. Mezarların başında ağaç dikilir. O kişilerin başında ağaç varsa o ağaca beyaz çaput bağlanır. Biz de Kazaklarda bir adam vefat ederse bu adamın evinde yemek pişirilmez komşuları getirilir. Kur'an okunur hatim indirilir. Bizim Kazak Türklerinin parası yok tek malı hayvanları koyunları atları sığırları koyunları getrilip kurban kesilir hatim indirilir. Yedisinden sonra kırkında hatim indirilir sonra senesi dolunca hayır yapılır.

Biz buradan giderken Tibetlilerle karşılaştık ya tercüman kanalı ile anlaştık bizim koyunlarımız zayıflamıştı, biz onlardan iyi koyun aldık. Bize böyle yardımda bulundular.

Şimdi Hindistan hududuna geldik asker görmedik ya gri gri elbiseli adamlar çıktı. Eyvah dedik kaça kaça geldik gene mi yakalandık? İçlerinde Müslüman asker varmış bizim içimizde de Hintçe bilen varmış. Nereden geldik Çin'de, devrim oldu kaçtık dedik. O Müslüman yüzbaşı bizi hemen sınırdan içeri aldı. Biz hemen Şerif Abdüllah başbakan telgraf çekildi. Biz orada 1 veya 2 ay kaldık sonra bizi içeri aldı. Çin bunlara hesap sormuş neden bizim adamımızı aldın diye. Bunlar hacca gidiyormuş birkaç ay dinlenip hacca gidecekler diye böylece biz Hindistan'da kaldık. Babamın o zaman 2000 koyunu bu sürüyü yanımızdakiler kesip Hindistan hududuna 700 koyun geldi bu 700 koyunu satıp para yapmış. Bizi Keşmir başkanının yeğeni geldi. Biz Keşmir'e gelmeden orada 3 gün dinlendik akşam keşmir başbakanı sizi burada karşılamaya gelecek dediler.90 kmden adam geldi. Merak etmeyin biz size yardım edeceğiz dediler. Bize orada kızıl hac yardım ettiler. Orada kaldığımız öğrenen çeşitli ülkelerden gazeteciler geldi. Babam biz geldik akrabalarımız kaldı onlara zarar gelmemesi için aşırı konuşmalar yapmayın dedi. Akrabalarımdan ondan sonra 29 sene sonra haber aldık. Bu arada Pakistan gazetelerini oluyorlar bizden 11 sene önce gidenler. Babam Hüseyin Teyci'nin arkadaşları mektup yazdılar. Onlar 1948 senesinde Türkiye'ye gelmek için başvurmuşlar. İnönü döneminde şu an biz göçmen kabul edemeyiz diyerek kabul etmemişler. Bize mektupta siz Türkiye'ye tekrar müracat edin diye yazmışlar.

1951 Ekimde Hindistan'a vardık 9 ay yol gittik. Babam 700 koyunun parası var ya Delhi Türk Büyükelçiliğine vardı. Müracat etti. Devlet kabul etti 13 Mart 1952'de bakanlar kurulu kabul ediyor.

Türkiye'ye müracacat etmeleri hindistandaki bir durumdan dolayı mı?

Yok kardeşim orada Müslümanlar bize yardım ettiler. Bizimki daha iyi yere gidelim. Türkiye'de Türk devleti var Osmanlı'nın devamı Mustafa Kemal'in devleti paşa devleti cumhuriyeti falan bilmiyoruz. Bir Türk devleti olduğunu biliyoruz. Türk olduğu için bir Hintlinin bir Pakistanlının yanında kalmaktansa kendi soydaşımız kan çekiyor. Türkiye devleti duyunca yarı inanır yarı inanmaz bir şey algıladım çocuklukta.

Kabul aldıktan sonra

Başbakan Şerif Abdüllah otobüs yollladı. Geldi bizi aldı. 21 aile 101 kişi yüklediler bir trene ordan bombaya ordan da vapura bindik. Vapura binince bizi korku bastı. Kardeşim ya hind okyanusu, gemi gün doğuyor deniz kara mara yok deniz akşam yıldız gece güneş var. Böyle 10-13 gün yol gittik. Basra körfezine gelince şiirler yazar ya Medine Mekke kerbela vay anasını Basra'yı bulmuşuz. Böyle heyecanlar bastı. Çünkü neden dini şeyler öğreniyoruz ya aklımızda kalıyor. Bağdat'tan ekspresse bindik Nusaybin kapısında indik. Birkaç memur merhaba merhaba giyor bunlar bizim merhabayı söylüyor. Hoş geldiniz kardeşim diye kucaklaşınca bizimkiler şaşırdı. Yurdunuza geldiniz, hoş geldiniz diyorlar. Bizimkiler secde yapıyorlar ikindi değil öğlen değil bu adamlar ne yapıyor meğerse ata yurduna geldik diye secde yapıyorlarmış.

Kazak Türkçesi ile Türkiye Türkçesi arasında az fark vardır. Akşama doğru kap kaçaklarınızı getirin çorba vereceğiz dediler bizimkiler çaydanlıktı tencereydi götürdü. Bizimkilerin çorba et suyu. Başka çorba olmaz. 10-20 gün denizdeyiz. Bizimkiler çaydanlık tencere ne varsa götürdüler. Koydular kap kaçaklara bizimkiler bu ne çorbamı meğerse çorba diye mercimek çorbası vermişler. Bizimkiler mercimek çorbası bilmiyor. Bu defa içmiyor döküyorlar. Sabah Güneydoğu ekspresi geldi. Bak özel geldi. Bizi yüklediler Adana'da bekleyen ikinci trene eklediler bizi. Adana'da bir karşıladılar. Ekmek kavun üzüm. Ankara- Eskişehir Haydarpaşa'ya geldik. O Haydarpaşa çinilerle güzel bir saraya. Bizimkiler herkes güzel bir yer kapmaya çalışıyorlar. Sonra bize bir vapur geldi. Cahillik işte bu defa bizi Galata'da indirdiler kamyonlar yüklediler. Bizi sirkeci misafirhanesine yerleştirdiler. Bir mis. Uzun bir koridor varmış iki tarafında kanepe uzun o zaman boyum kısa bir şey duruyor sıcak mı sıcak hava serin meğerse sobaymış biz sobayı ilk orada gördük. Bu nasıl ısınıyor odun yok bir şey yok. Sonra müdür geldi bize toplantı yaptı, düzeni anlattı. Kahvaltı ne zaman, banyo tuvalet. Biz ilk medeniyeti Sirkeci misafirhanesinde başladı. Çocuklara ayrı büyüklere ayrı öğretmen geldi. Selim diye öğretmen bize geldi. At tut elma diye başladık biz öğrenmeye. Bize başbakan gelecek dediler biz bakan diye biz bakan çadır direklerindeki şeye deriz eviş yöneten. Siyah bir araba geldi. Adnan Menderes ile ileri gelenler görüştü. "Rahat mısınız, memnun musunuz" diye hal hatır sordu. 2. Anavatanınız Türkiyedir. Size Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kimlik kartı verilecek dedi. Çocuklara bakayım dedi hemen beni çağırdı. Beni okşadı Menderes. Nasıl okudu mu? Okudu dediler. İstiklal marşını okudum onu ezberlemiştim Adnan Menderes'ten

hediye aldım. Türkiye Kazaklarının aksakallısıyım şimdi. 1952 ağustosunda bizi başka yere yerleştireceklerdi.25 Ağustosta Pakistandakiler gelmiş. Onlarla kucaklaştık. Bir hafta sonra Kayseri'ye gittik.

Kayseriye vardığımız zaman bize 2 oda; salon, mutfak, banyo, bahçe, at arabası, at pulluk. Bunları aldık. Çiftçilik yapmaya başladı. Develiye geldik. O kış evlere yerleşmeden önce biz Sirkeci' de okuma yazma biliyoruz. Okula yazıldık, birinci sınıfa başladık ama yaşımız büyüktü sonra 2. Sınıfa başlattılar.

Kayn Orhon (1940-)

Born in 1940 in East Turkistan, Kayn Orhon currently lives in Zeytinburnu, Istanbul.

6 yaşından önce yani göç etmeden önce memleketinizle ilgili hatıralarınız nedir? Size yapılan herhangi bir baskı zulüm söz konusu muydu? Askerler geldi mi evinize?

Şimdi askerler gelecek diye kaçıyorlar ya askerler evimizi basmaya geliyorlar, malımızı almaya geliyorlar dediler. Küçüktüm o zaman geldi bir sürü asker ama onlar tabi düşman askeri mi? Yoksa böyle eğitim yapman askerler mi orasını bilemem. Çadır diyorlar ya şimdi şeyden yapılan yuvarlak onlardan Kazakların evi hep öyle bir evimiz vardı. Evimizin içi dayalı döşeli annem çok titiz böyle temiz bir hanımdı. Geldiler. Ne düşman askeri olduğundan haberi yok. Gene akrabalar var yanımızda beş altı ev ondan sonra geldiler. Onlara dediki ben sizleri yemek yapayım, çay yapayım hazır bir şeyler vardı onları başındaki insanlar geldi oturdu. Onların yedik içtik biz dedik burdan geçtiyorduk. Öyle bir bakalım yazlık nasıl bir yer diye biz geldik ama bizi şimdi oturup yemek yemeğe vaktimiz yok. Hemen karyolanın üstüne çıktım korktum oturdum öyle annem hiç korkmadı. Tabi kapıyı böyle açıyor böyle saldı. On beş kişi arkalarında çok asker var. Onları öyle yol boyunca onlar başlarını aldı böyle böyle yaptılar. (Hareketi gösteriyor.) Onu çok iyi biliyorum. Küçüktüm onu öyle korktuğumu biliyorum ondan sonra anneme dedim ki bunlar böyle neyin nesi bir asker yani asker de bilmiyorum dedi. Bunlar asker kimin askeri olduğunu bilmiyorum ama dedi.

Sizinle Çince mi konuştular?

Kazakça konuşuyorlardı. Başkanları tabi kazakça askerleri bilmiyorum artık. Ondan sonra annemde dedi insan dedi bunlar dedi müslüman mı katil mi orasını bilmem insan olduğu için bende insanlık yaptım onlarda ona teşekkür etti. Korkma yavrum dedi. Ondan sonra bir haber geldi Urumçiden annemin kardeşleri şeyleri varmış orada okuyan demişti Kazaklara baskın edecekler. Kazakları öldürecekler. Bir an önce buradan çıkmak lazım diye haber gönderiyorlar. Yazlıkta mesele biz diyelim, İstanbul oturuyoruz. Altay koy diyoruz ya Konya-Niğde öyle uzak uzak aralı o zamanlar tabi böyle araba falan yok. Hep at. At üstünde haber veriliyor. Deve üstünde yük taşıyorlar. Evler büyüklere aksakallar mesela hanımlar kahraman olan hanımlarda var. Kahraman olup da yani sokağa çıkıp böyle silah sıkan değil. (kahramandan kasıt hanım kahraman cevap verebiliyor.) Ondan böyle insanlardan seçiliyor böyle 250 kişi mi ne oluyorlar öyle kaçmaya başlıyorlar. Kaçmaya kendileri değil akrabalarıyla beraber mesela atı var develeri var koyunları var. Bunlar yolda yiyecek koyunlar lazım. Öyle şeyler, göç olarak çıkıyor savaş çıkmıyor. Göç olarak öyle yavaş yavaş Erzincan'a doğru gidiyoruz mesela.

Peki yolda sizi durdurup ne yapıyorsunuz diyenler oldu mu?

Öyle durdurup o zamanlarda bir şey yapmadı. Değelim erzincana geldik orada artık çıkarmak istemediler haberleri oldular artık. Ondan sonra savaşmaya başladılar. Çok şükür kurtuldular ama kalanlar kaldı. Çinlilerle savaştılar. Bizde senin bizle ne işin var sen bizi oturtturmak istemiyorsun. Her şeyi göz dikiyorsun bizde terk ediyoruz burayı. Terk edemezsin falan derken savaşıyorlar. Baya bir savaş oluyor. Orada ölüm kalım savaşı.

Onu işte hatırlıyorum. Arada bir buçuk iki sene oluyor böyle şey yaparak. Şimdiki çocuklar hiç bir şey anlamıyor o zaman mesela biz okula gidemedik mektep görmedik. Ama her şey kafamızda yazıyor mesela bize diyor ki biz mesela bir savaş oldu kaldın bir yerde ya, bir taşın ardında yahutta evin içinde evin kapısından çıkmayacaksın. Çadırın arka kapısından çıkıp dağlara doğru kaçacaksın düşmana doğru değil. Böyle öğretiyor. Bize ondan sonra ayağımıza çarık yapıyorlar babalarımız çarıkla kaçmak bir şeye yerdeki bir şeye sürünmez doğru yani düz ayak olduğu için öyle kaçabiliyorsun. Bunu öğrenmeniz lazım. Kaçtık ama mal var, deve var, at var onların üstündeysen mesela bir taşın ardında yahutta evin içinde evin kapısından

çıkmayacaksın. Mesela çadırın arka kapısından çıkıp dağlara doğru kaçacaksın düşmana doğru değil. Böyle öğretiyor.

35 yıl sonra gititm at getirdiler. Dedim hala abla binebilecek misin? Niye binemeyeyim? Hepsi biz unuttu diye düşündü. Dedim kalbinde yazılan beyninde yazılan şey unutulmaz. 35 sene sonra gittik Urumçi'ye. Akrabalarımız hep orada onlarla görüştük gezdik. Orada üç ay kaldım, hep at üstündeydik. Çünkü yol yok. Genç nesil konuşamıyor. Korkuyorlar ama eski Kazakça dillerini biliyor. Hep saklı namaz kıldık diyor. Kur'anı kerimi toplamışlar. Kimisi ağaçların altına saklamış. Dua öğretip birbirine namaz öğretip ama sen görüyorsun oraya gidip hemen böyle yapıyor deyince hemen öldürüp yahut da sakatlayıp yahut da hapse atıp öyle yapmışlar.

Göç sırasında sınırı nasıl aştınız?

Biz göçtü, ondan sonra ne büyük yüksek dağlar üzerine yukarıya çıkarsak inemeyiz inersek bütün hayvanlarımız telef olur dediler. Başkanlarımız Himalaya'nın eteğinden Himalaya çok yüksek kar soğuk onun eteğinden göç edeceğiz Himalaya'yı zaman demek ki haritaya bakıyormuş. Allah bize nereye yol gösterecek ona göre doğru yola çıkacağız, birbirleri ile böyle konuşuyorlar. Böyle söz alıyorlar. Birbirlerinin sözünde duracaksın elhamdülillah böyle bizim Kazak sözünde durar. Yalan konuşmaz. Bugün öyle yarın yok bizim kökümüz öyle. Arka tarafta göçün yarısı kaldı. Niye kaldı büyük derya sularından geçemedi. Oradan şey bulunamadı. İki gün üç gün oturuyoruz. Nefes almaya, hayvanlar böyle mal su içecek, ot yiyecek öyle birbirini böyle arkalarını kollaya toplayıp ölenlerin cenazesini koyup mezarların öyle göç edip geldik. Ama bir zamanlarda tabi hep etekte yürüyemedik. Dağlara yüksek yerlere çıktık mesela Uludağ dümdüz bir yer öyle düz yerler olsa ne güzel yayanda gidiyoruz. Yürüyoruz Çünkü niye atlarımız devlerimiz zayıflarsa hepimiz taşıyamaz. Çocuklara devenin yanında böyle büyük bir sandık yaptılar. Bizi çoğunlukla yanında böyle bir sandık yaptılar ağaçtan o sandığımn içinde bizleri koydu. Ben büyük olduğum için beni sandığa koymadılar. Küçük kardeşlerim beni de taya bindirdiler. Böyle keçeden üzengi tayın bir tarafını annem tutuyor ama altı tane devesi var. Kolunda bir de beşiğide var, bebeği de var. O beşik ona da keçeden kap dikiyorlar giydiriyorlar affedersin emzirecek yerini açmak için yer bırakıyorlar. Onu böyle emziriyor çünkü arkadan gelen düşman var. Çok ateş var çok ok sesi var. Onun için sağa sola bakamıyorlar çocuk ağlayınca öyle

emziriyorlar. Ama kaçıyor bazen gece gündüz hiç dinlenmeden neden çünkü kar yağacak çok üzgar olacak (RÜZGAR). O zaman birbirimizi bulamayız diyerekten hava güzelken gece gündüz böyle derken biz o yer(neresiydi düşünüyor hatırlamaya çalışıyor) Loknor diye bir yere geldik. Kalan herkesi toplayıp hava da güzellik oldu ama loknor (lok nur) dediğimiz yer bir göl (Buz tutmuş) Gölün üstünden geçersek tez geçeceğiz ama etrafını dönersek zaman kaybı olacak diyorlar şimdi başkanlar peki diyorlar o zaman buz tutmuş buzun üstüne geçebilir miyiz? Hayvanlarımız geçe bilecek mi, atımız devemiz geçebilecek mi? En önce kendileri geçtiler o dedi buz kalın ama dedi yaza doğru şimdi onu ne yapacağız en önce toprak dökelim o zaman develerle toprak kazıp böyle o buzun üstüne çuvallarla toprak döküldü. Az bir yerlere annemlerimiz büyük elbiselerine toprak döktü. Böyle serpiştirip attan beraber öyle geçtik o gölden öyle geçtik. Loknor'dan öyle geçtik. Geçtikten sonra o şimdi oradan geçene kadar 3-4 gün geçti. Sonra herkesi toplayıp Loknor'dan geçtik. Loknor'a bir daha çıktık gölden çok şükür dedik. 3 günü ah bu ne önümüzde tuz var. Su yok kuraklık Taklamakan'nın çölü dediler develeri boşaltın sağlam atları boşaltın şimdi tekrar gidin şey lazım oldu buz. Su lazım çöle gireceğiz, napcaz. Suyu ne ile taşıyacağız. Gögüm diyorlar ama az gögüm herkes de deriden yapılmış ama o herkese yetişmez az. Ona su doldurduk iyi güzel ama ne olacak buz olması şart, buz almak lazım develerle gittiler. Babamlar o kahraman böyle savaşa çıkan kahraman abilerimiz çoktu. Onlar gittiler öyle o şeyden buz alıp geldiler iki gün sonra bütün millete dağıttılar. Yarın çöle girdik ama çöl kenarına girdik böyle bir apar topar bir rüzgar ondan sonra biraz ilerledik sanki apartman gibi dağlar gibi küçük küçük kum o kumun arasında girip zamanında gelen göçler ölmüş. Bu tarihte yazarmış. Ondan sonra onun içinden öyle yavaş yavaş tam da tuzun özüne geldik bastığımız yer bembeyaz tuz, akşam üzeri geldik göç biliyorum her yer bembeyaz meğerse kar zannnetsek hava bir sıcak tuzmuş. O tuzun üstünden öyle geçtik kızım. 3 günde geçtik ama gece gündüz ölenler oldu kaybolanlar oldu susamaktan. Ondan sonra arkamızda koyun çobanları koyun kesmişler kanı içelim susamaktan içmişler yutamamışlar kanı. Böyle zorluklarla böyle bir dinimizi atalarımız bizim kahramanlarımız böyle getirdi bizi yavrum. Çölden sonra çok güzel bir yere geldik, çölden çıktık ama su yok hep önümüzde başkanlar var. Filan yerde su var ama başkanlar ne çalışkan ne kafalı insanlar filan yerde su gördük su var ama hemen sudan atlara develere hayvanlara içirmeyin göstermeyin acaba tuzlu mu? Çünkü göl tuzdan çıktık ya bir de bakarsın tuz. Peki burada duraklamak yok gene başladılar. Ama hava sıcak millet aç sussuz gene böyle hasta bir kimse yok ama

susuzluktan hastalanıyorlar. Ondan sonra o günü gece gündüz 3 gün orada geçirdik mi, bir de 1 gece 1 gündüz ertesi günü geçirdik mi? Ertesi günü 3 gün altı gün oluyor. 6. günde başkanlar müjde müjde diye geliyorlar su bulmuşlar otta var orada kaldık.

Ölen de oldu hasta olanda oldu. O atlar o devele bir suya geldiler ki kafasını kaldırmıyor sudan ama deve çok sağlam bir hayvan 3 gün dayanıyor hiç kıpırdamadan atta öyle ama hep sağlam at hep sağlam böyle. Koyunlarda böylelikle ölen oldu ama ölmez olur mu? Hasta olan da oldu? Gene biz niye çıktık niye kaçtık niye böyle yaptık diyen olmadı. Niye? Çünkü kalsan ne olacak bir dinimizi için öyle kaçtık ondan sonra Tibet yaylasına çıktık. Tibet yaylasına çıkınca insanlar hasta olmaya başladı. Peki bu yine böyle hasta? Tibet yaylası çok yüksektir. Tibet yaylası yükseğe çıktığımız zaman hemen nefes alamıyor insanlar hemen şişiyor hemen ölüyor. Koyun eti yediği zaman hemen ölüyorlar. Bu ne acaba gene böyle araştırmaya başladılar. Artık Kur'anı kerimden mi bakıyorlar ne yapıyorlarsa artık ne olacak peki? Eteğine gene Tibet'in eteğine gidelim ama Pakistan çok sıcak, o sıcak bizim soğuk millet dayanmaz. Öyle bizden önce gidenler, Kazaklar varmış onlar yolu bilemiyor ilk önce pakistana dönmüşler ondan sonra bunlar Hindistan. Hindistan tarafı geçirmek istemedi bizi bir hududa geldik hindistan hududuna geldik, kaldık.

Dediler sizleri geçirmek istemiyorlar. Onlar gavur Tibetler onlar gibi değil. Gene merhametli ama Tibet ondan sonra orada bir savaş oldu iki defa oh ne savaş oldu ne savaş orada ölenler oldu malımız mülkümüz orada kaldı. O zaman bu apartman diyelim karşıdaki apartman gibi dağ var yakın ama biz etekteyiz geldiler bu taraftan bir ses arkamızdan kovuyor ya savaş ondan sonra hemen bir şey olduğu zaman bir tane erkek kalmadı hepsi savaşta ama hanımlar çoluk çocukla böyle malla uğraşıp üstüne binecekleri develere yük yüklüyor, hanımlar öyle derken savaş oldu geçirmediler. Biz öyle kaldık. İkinci gün yine bir savaş olmuş Hindistan'ın bu Keşmir'in başkanının haberi olmuş böyle bir müslüman gelmiş ama böyle böyle geçirmiyorlar. Nerede böyle diyelim Türkiye'nin en kenar, derken yok biz onu alalım onlardan bizim haberimiz olmalı demiş ondan sonra haber salıyorlar bizimkilerde öyle şey yazıp gönderiyorlar biz müslümanız elhamdülillah böyle böyleyiz diye ondan sonra anlıyorlar arapça okuyorlar. Öyle derken ikinci savaşta keşmir diyor benim müslümanım salacaksın bana onu ben alacağım sen almayacaksın. Derken gavur bizi gönderdi savaşı savaşa o zaman her şeyimiz orada kaldı. Annemlere birbirlerine haber veriyorlar bak bugün

akşam düşman gelecek hepimiz kırıp orada öldürüp gidecek haberiniz olsun yani nöbette çıkın hanımlarda uyumasın çoluk çocuk giyindirip hazır. Mesela okun sesi çıkınca ne yapacak hemen kaçıp dağlara çıkacaz kapıyı açıp kapıdan çıkmayacağız, dağa doğru kaçacağız. Öğretti bize o zaman benim artık 9-10 yaşındayım bana da çarık yaptılar hazırladılar. Öyle kaçtık ondan sonra işte Hindistan'ın kenarına Keşmir tarafına bakan oradan bizi karşıladılar. Hindistan'a daha göçmeden yerin ismini hatırlayamadı uçak getirmişler ama hep böyle mal taşıyan uçaklardan içine çoluk çocuğu doldurup bir kaç kez öyle Keşmire getirdiler bizi öyle. Orada kaldık orada yerleşmedik, orada bir muhacirhane hepimiz getirip muhacirhaneye koydu iki yerde muhacirhane varmış. Bölüp iki yere koydular çünkü kalabalığız. Tuvalet lazım yatacak yer lazım ondan sonra of dedik namaz kılıyor orada analarımız babalarımız ramazan oldu, bayram oldu derken orada 1 senemiz geçti. 1 sene sonra amerika geldi biz sizi alacağız gazeteden görüyorlar bizim kökümüzü kurutmak için yapıyorlar.

APPENDIX B

Interviewee: Mansur Teyci

Interview date and place: 23 Kasım Güneşli / Bağcılar / İstanbul/ Ev

… Görüşmeci aile apartmanında yaşıyor. Kazak mahallesi. Çocukları evli en üst katta yaşıyor. Alt katta çocukları ve torunları yaşıyor. Eve ilk girdiğimizde evin salonu çok büyük ve sadeydi. Bir çadıra girmişsin hissi vardı. Ortada dize kadar gelen çok büyük yuvarlak bir masa vardı. Her yerde resimler vardı. Yerdeki halılar eski Türk halıları gibi dokunmuş halılara benziyordu. Görüşmeci ile terasta konuştuk. Terasta duvarlara asılmış büyük haritalar vardı. Mansur Bey göç liderlerinden Hüseyin Teyci'nin oğlu. Kazaklar sıcak insanlar. Mansur Beyin evine daha öncede araştırma için çok kimseler gelmiş bu yüzden alışmış ve ne anlatacağına çok hazırlıklıydı. Kayda başlamadan önce hazırlandı üstünü başını değiştirdi. Bize hemen uzun yıllar tekrar ettiği göç tarihini anlatmaya başladı. Soru sormak çok zordu. Fakat bir süre sonra sohbet ilerledikçe sorularla yönlendirmek çok kolaylaştı. Sebebinin tam olarak bilmeme rağmen kimi anılarında doğruları söylemekten kaçınıyordu. Özellikle Çinliler ile ilgili yerlerde Çinlileri suçlamaktan çok Kazakları suçluyordu. Muhtemelen bugünkü bazı siyasi durumlardan dolayı doğruları söylememe eğilimininde. Babasına duyduğu aşırı hayranlık anlatılarını da etkiliyor. Babasının geçmişte varlıklı ve lider olmasından dolayı bu misyonu bırakmak istemiyor. Bu yüzden bize de Türkiye'de yaşayan Kazaklar için ne gibi şeyler yaptığını atalarını anlattı. Cami anıt mezar yaptırmışlar bunlardan bahsetti. Bize çay ve krakere benzer bir şey ikram ettiler bu kazakların kendilerinin evde yaptıkları bir yiyecekmiş. Misafire ikramı çok önemsiyorlar. Büyüklere saygı çok fazla Bize ikramları torunu yaptı. Görüşme sırasında tektik el kolunu sürekli oynatarak Haritada göstererek kimi zaman heyecanlı bir şekilde anlatıyordu. Göç hikâyesini anlatırken duygulandı ve ağlamaya başladı. Görüşme Yaklaşık 2.5 saat sürdü. Daha sonra babasının fotoğrafları ona gönderilen mektupları gösterdi. Böylece görüşmemiz sona erdi.

Interviewee: Abdulvahap Kılınç

Interview date and place: 6 Kasım Zeytinburnu/ İstanbul Kazak derneği

NOTLAR:

Görüşme Zeytinburnu'ndaki Kazak Derneğinde yapıldı görüşme sırasında yalnızdık. Abdulvahap bey anlatmaya çok hevesliydi. Görüşme Kazak derneğinde olduğu için çok fazla gözlem yapma şansı yoktu. Fakat Kazakların düğünleri önemli kutlamaları hep bu dernekte yapılıyormuş. Duvarda Kazakça yazılar yazan resimler asılıydı. Abdulvahap Bey düzgün bir Türkçe konuşuyordu. Konya'da doğup büyümüş. Göç tarihi ile ilgili anılarda daha çok babasından duyduklarını aktardı. Çocukluk anılarını anlatırken gülümseyerek ve mutlu aktardı. Deri işi ile uğraştıklarında bu konuya fazla odaklanıyordu. Zeytinburnu'nu çok sevdiğini söyledi, son zamanlardaki Suriyeli göçmenlere karşı daha olumlu bakış açısına sahipti. Anılarını anlatma konusunda daha çok istekli ve daha az dış faktörlerden etkilenmişti. Görüşme sonunda bize dombra çalarak göç hikâyesini anlatan bir şarkı söyledi.

Interviewee: Kaynı Orhan

Interview date and place: 4 Aralık Zeytinburnu/ İstanbul Ev

Evi eski bir apartmandaydı. Evin içine girdiğimizde geniş bir salonla karşılaştık. Bu salon çok sade döşenmiş ve az eşya vardı. Günümüz mobilyalarından ziyade ahşap ve daha eski dönem mobilyalar vardı. Sanki yine geniş bir çadıra girmiş gibiydik. Ferah temiz ve sadeydi Bu evin Türk evlerinden başka bir havası vardı. Yerdeki halı tüm odayı kaplıyordu ve dokumaydı. Görüşmeden önce Kaynı teyze geleneksel Kazak kıyafetlerini giydi. Evde bir yemek kokusu vardı fakat bu yemek alışılmış Türk yemekleri gibi değildi. Daha önce Kazakistan'da bulunmuştum ve evin havası bana oradaki kokuyu hatırlatıyordu. Evde fazla olan tek şey neredeyse köşede duran seccade idi. Görüşme sırasında yalnızdık fakat evde olduğumuz için ara sıra kızları geldi. Normalde başörtülüymüşler. Evde oldukları için o an için kullanmıyorlardı. Fiziksel özellikleri Kazaklara benziyordu. Gözleri çekikti. Cana yakın misafirperver idiler. İkramda bulundular. Akçay adını verdikleri zencefil ve sütle karıştırılan koyu

kahverenginde çok leziz bir çay ikram ettiler. Krakere benzer yiyecekler ikram ettiler. Bunlar Kazakların geleneksel yiyecekleriymiş. Misafire çok önem veriyorlardı. Kaynı teyze anlatılarında din vurgusunu çok fazla yapıyordu. Yokluk ve fakirlikten yakındı ama buna rağmen mutlu olduklarından ve nasıl iyi bir eş olunacağı konusunda tavsiyelerde bulundu. Erkek anlatıcılara göre komşuluk ilişkilerine daha çok yer verdi. Türkçesi iyiydi ama kimi zaman bazı kelimeleri birkaç kelime değiştirerek farklı söylüyordu. Buz yerine Muz gibi. Göç hikâyesini anlatırken ağladı. Yeni neslin hiçbir şey bilmiyor olmamasından çok fazla yakındı. Suriyeli göçmenlere karşı daha ılımlıydı. Mecbur olmasalar göçerler mi gibi ifadeler kullandı.

Interviewee: Abdurrahman Çetin

Interview date and place: 21 Aralık Güneşli / Bağcılar / İstanbul Ev

Abdurrahman Bey ile Mansur Bey aracılığı ile görüşebildik. Kendisi uzun yıllar Almanya'da yaşamış şimdi de Türkiye'de yaşıyor. Evi diğer Kazak evleri gibiydi. Sade az eşya vardı. Geniş bir salon vardı. Mobilyalar eski moda fakat temizdi. L şeklinde koltuk vardı. Çoğu evde bu şekildeydi. Yerlerde halılar vardı. Abdurrahman bey çekik gözlü yaşlı bir orta Asyalı tipolojisindeydi. Görüşme sırasında Mansur Bey'de vardı. Türkçe konuşuyordu fakat Bazen farkında olmadan Kazakça konuşuyordu. Bazı yerleri anlaşılıyordu fakat çok hızlı konuşunca anlaşılmıyordu. Mansur Bey tercüme etti bu kısımları. Göç hikâyesini anlatırken çok ağladı. O açlık sefillik ve daha fazla ölüm görmüştü. Her şeyin bilincinde olacak kadar büyüktü bu sırada 13 yaşlarında olduğundan toplantılara da katılıyordu.Görüşmeden sonra ikramda bulundular. Kazak bir kadın vardı evde kızı olduğunu tahmin ediyorum Çekik gözlü çıkık elmacık kemikleri olan. Misafire karşı tutumları her zaman çok iyiydi ve ikramda kusur etmemeye çalışıyorlar. Bir yerde Osman Batur hakkında tam kötü bir şey söylenecekken bu konuyu açmayayım dedi ve Kazakça bir şey söyledi. Mansur Bey çevirmedi. Çin'de hala akrabaları var Çin'in son yıllarda uyguladığı politikalara kadar iletişim içindelermiş. Tahminim Çin ile ilgili kötü bir şey söylemekten kaçınıyorlar. Çok ölüm oldu dedikten sonra ağladı insanlar üst üste gömdük dedi ama devam etmedi. Bu anıyı anlatmadı. Çünkü oradaki kazakların tehlikeye düşmesini istemiyor olabilir ya da anlatacaklarının onları etkileyeceğini düşünüyor olabilir.

Interviewee: Ömer Yiğit

Interview date and place: 24 Aralık Bağcılar/ İstanbul/ Ev

Evi sade döşenmiş yine geniş bir salon ve L şeklinde koltuklar yerde geleneksel Türk halılarına benzeyen kırmızı halılar vardı. Burası da az eşyalıydı. Diğer Kazak evlerinin karakterini yansıtıyordu. Hatta bütün kazak evleri böyle mi döşenmiş diye sorduğumda evet diye cevap verdiler. Görüşme fazla uzun değildi. Ömer Bey düzgün Türkçe konuşuyordu. Orta Asyalılar gibi çekik gözlüydü. Görüşme sırasında yalnız değildik Mansur Bey ve Ömer beyin oğlu 'da vardı. Kayıt sonrası siyasi konulardan konuştular. Bana da hangi partiyi tuttuğumu sordular. Genel olarak Adnan Menderes tarafından kabul aldıkları için Demokrat partinin devamı olan partileri desteklemişler.80'li yıllarda gençler milliyetçi partileri de desteklemeye başlamış. Burası bir Kazak mahallesiymiş. Ama son yıllarda kentsel dönüşümle birlikte mahalleye başkaları da tanışınmış hatta mahallede Altay Camii adında bir camide vardı.

APPENDIX C

Illustration C.1. Kazakh Migration Leader Hüseyin Teyci and His Friends

Illustration C.2. Kazakh Leaders Hüseyin Teyci and Delilhan Canaltay Received Aid from the Kashmir Government in 1951

Illustration C.3. From the Family Album of Mansur Teyci, Son of Kazakh Leader Hüseyin Teyci in Kashmir in 1951

Illustration C.4. Hüseyin Teyci's Personal Belongings and a Ring with the Taycı Stamp Given by the Chinese Government at the Time

Illustration C.5. Map of the Kazakh Immigration Route in Mansur Teyci's House in Bağcılar, Istanbul

Illustration C.6. Some Objects Representing Kazakhs in the Kazakh Turks Foundation in Zeytinburnu, İstanbul

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